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# INTERNATIONAL AIR FORCE TO BE TAKEN THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCE

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## A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Vol. XVI. No. 3 [The Journal of the League of Nations Union]

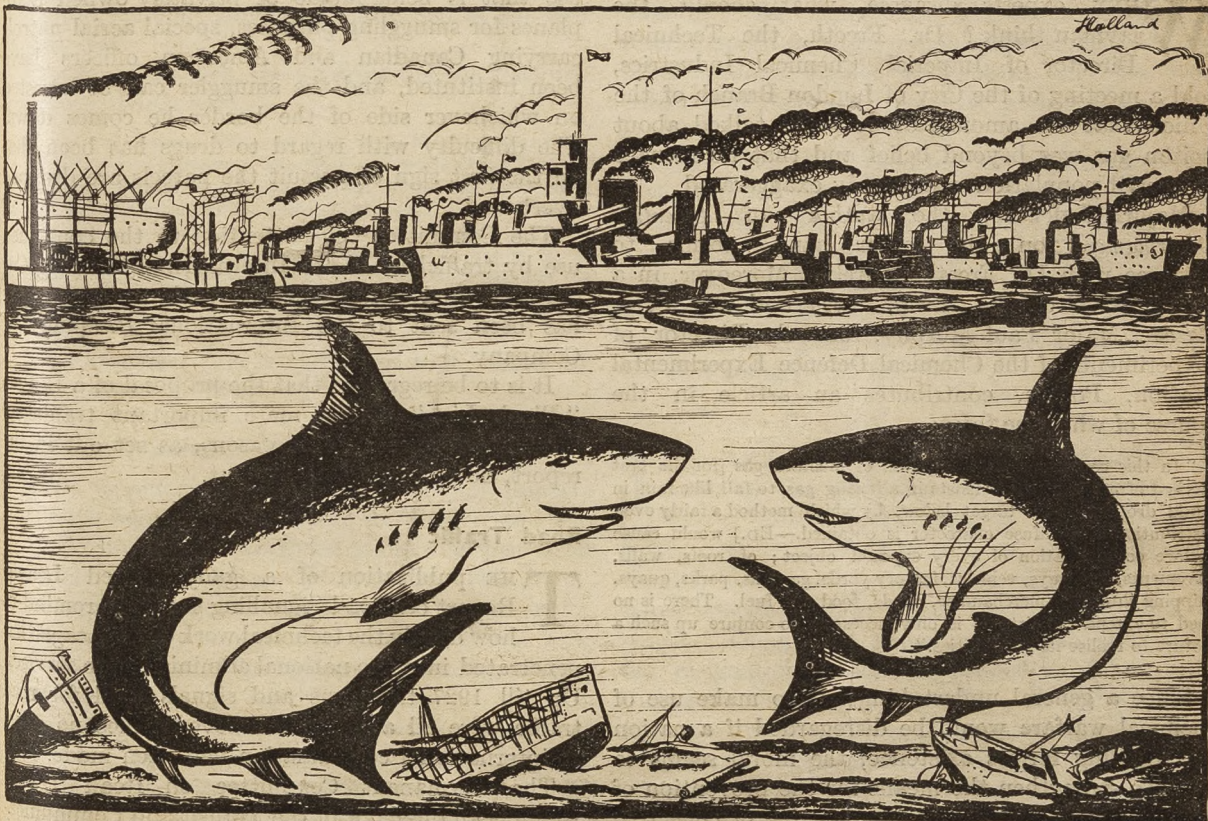
MARCH, 1934

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"MORE CANNED FOOD FOR SHARKS !"

Specially drawn by HOLLAND



## NEWS AND COMMENT

## Disarmament

THE reception accorded to the British Disarmament Memorandum cannot be said to have been very cordial. Such approbation as it received was due to the fact that half a loaf is better than no bread! The three Disarmament debates in the House of Commons further confirmed the public impression that the Government, whilst sincerely desirous of disarmament, has no practical programme, except perhaps to allow the private manufacture of arms to continue untrammelled.

There is reason to believe that British public opinion and world public opinion is far ahead of that of governments and their timid advisers who cry "Bogey! Bogey!" on the very suggestion of their being called upon to make the smallest sacrifice for peace. The Albert Hall meeting, the Brussels Conference, showed with certainty the public's feelings, and the Union's April Conference on the Defence of Peace, together with the International Federation's Whitsun meetings—both in England—combined with the National Canvass—will continue the process of the education of laggard opinion to the vital need of a declaration of Britain's belief in collective security.

## Chemical Warfare

WHEN experts disagree, what should the layman think? Dr. Freeth, the Technical Director of Imperial Chemical Industries, told a meeting of the City of London Branch of the Union that the amount of nonsense talked about poison gas was beyond belief and that its menace to a civil population was grossly exaggerated.

Major Lefebure, the author of *Scientific Disarmament*, on the other hand, seems to disagree with Dr. Freeth entirely. Moreover, in a recent issue of the *Army, Navy and Air Force Gazette*, Major Paul Murphy, formerly Director of Experiments of the Chemical Defence Experimental Station, Porton, contributes an article in the course of which he says:—

"In this case the descending rain of mustard gas [for the best method of aerial attack consists in allowing gas to fall like rain in liquid drops on to the target below, by which method a fairly even distribution of a diffuse character is obtained.—Ed.] would cause surface contamination of every exposed object; of roofs, walls, pavements, roadways, vehicles, factory yards, gardens, parks, quays, shipping in docks, merchandise, goods, food and fuel. There is no need to extend the list; it is only necessary to conjure up such a picture to realise its possibilities."

Since a general undertaking not to make use of chemical warfare would be disregarded if a nation was fighting for its existence, the moral seems to be: To strengthen the means for the prevention of war by the acceptance of the doctrine of collective security.

## The United States and Geneva

THE Government of the United States has concluded an arrangement for the registration with the Secretariat of the League of Nations of Treaties and other international agreements to which the U.S.A. becomes a party. The American Government is taking advantage of the provision for voluntary registration of Treaties by non-member States, and has taken this step in order to make the Treaty Series of the League of Nations more complete.

The American Government, who made a first tentative effort in this direction in 1925, was brought to the sticking point largely owing to a resolution of the American Society of International Law. Informed public opinion *does* count!

## New Smuggling Tricks

ILLICIT manufacture of drugs, mostly in small secret factories, continues in different parts of the world. New methods are being used by the traffickers to evade the watch which is being kept; in particular, they appear to be spreading the risk by dividing up the drugs to be smuggled into a number of small lots. So says the latest League Opium Committee "Report on the Work of its 17th Session."

The United States and Canada have evolved a first-class method of co-operation. In view of the use that is being made of privately owned aeroplanes for smuggling purposes, special aerial patrols carrying Canadian and American officers have been instituted, and the smuggler can be arrested on whichever side of the border he comes down. The difficulty with regard to drugs has been that on the first sign of pursuit the parcels are dropped overboard.

The Committee calls attention to the continued use by traffickers of the International Sleeping Car Services and Dining Cars, and a stiff letter has been sent to the International Sleeping Car Company.

It is to be regretted that the proposal of a League "Black List" of the more important traffickers has been dropped. The reasons, as set out in the report, do not seem very cogent.

## Road Traffic

THE publication of a gaily-covered League Report on Road Signalling serves to remind us how deeply the technical work of the League has penetrated into the national administrative services. Up till 1927 the signs and signals used for road traffic were all at sixes and sevens since no effort at international co-ordination had been made.

The Permanent Committee on Road Traffic, which is an off-shoot of the Transit and Communications Section, was then set up. It prepared a draft

Convention which formed the basis of a final text adopted by the Road Traffic Conference in 1931. And now we have this second illustrated edition of the Road Signalling Recommendations and Rules. If we scratch down into many recent national administrative instructions we find that the trend has been given by decisions at Geneva.

## At the Court

THE 31st Ordinary Session of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and the first over which Sir Cecil Hurst has presided, opened at The Hague on February 1. The only case to be heard is the "Lighthouse Case," submitted to the Court by special agreement between the French and Greek Governments. This suit relates to the question whether the contract concluded in 1913 between the French firm known as the "*Administration Générale des Phares de l'Empire Ottoman*" and the Ottoman Government, extending certain concessions granted to the said firm, was regularly concluded and is accordingly operative as regards the Greek Government insofar as concerns lighthouses situated in the territories assigned to it after the Balkan wars or subsequently. In other words; Who pays?

## Bankers and the World

THE Chairmen's addresses to the annual meetings of the big banks have shown that renewed effort is urgently needed to carry through the work abandoned by the Governments of the world when the London Conference adjourned at the end of July last.

Mr. Colin Campbell, the Chairman of the National Provincial Bank, said:—

"... I am sure you will agree with me in believing that there can be no genuine recovery in the trade and prosperity of this and other countries until co-operation between the nations has revived the flow of world trade, and the exchange of goods across the frontiers now reduced to less than half its former value. . . . The fashion so prevalent to-day by which nations do their best to live as far as possible on their own production is a reaction to the practices of the Middle Ages, and we see its results in the miserable figures of international trade. . . ."

Mr. Campbell's line is typical of that taken by all the other chairmen.

## Traffic in Women

THE Summary of the 1932-33 Annual Reports with regard to the Traffic in Women and the Traffic in Obscene Publications has just been published by the League Secretariat. This somewhat unpleasant document, dealing as it does exclusively with the seamy sides of life, shows how necessary it is to inflict swinging penalties on the *souteneurs*.

In the Polish report, for instance, a man of 20 years of age forced a woman to lead an immoral life and to give him all the money she earned. He ill-treated her when the earnings were too small, and finally he killed her with a knife. For all of

this he apparently received only a collective penalty of twelve years of imprisonment and the loss of civil rights.

In Yugoslavia a woman at Senta sold two girls to a merchant for 1,000 dinars each (under £5), but though the culprit was arrested, neither in this nor in any other of the Yugoslav cases does any penalty seem to have been inflicted.

France appears to retain the unenviable position of being the chief producer of obscene literature and films. For instance, a six-reel film was stopped in Bombay, consigned to an Indian dealer by post from Paris. The importer was fined 1,000 rupees, but the French authorities, it seems, took no action against the sender.

## Moral Disarmament

ONE of what many would call 'minor decisions' of the Council was that to circulate to all States Members the new Convention on Broadcasting which has been drawn up by the Paris Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

Under the new Draft Convention signatories undertake to stop any broadcasting designed for the inhabitants of another country constituting a menace to the internal peace or the security of that country; nor, says another article, should messages be broadcast inciting a nation to war, or by systematic provocation making people ready for it: and (though this article is couched in somewhat vaguer language) should false news be broadcast, a correction is to be made in a later news bulletin. All signatories are to undertake to reserve space in their programmes to make known other nations' habits, civilisation, and the work which they have been doing to promote peace and goodwill.

Brazil and the Argentine have just signed the first recorded Treaty for the Revision of School Text Books. The Treaty is open for signature by any other American country. The spirit of Internationalism, which is so hard to seek in Europe, has moved to South America. For all that, some efforts with regard to School Text-Book Revision are still going on in Europe.

\* \* \* \* \*

IT is with great regret that we chronicle the death, at the early age of 45, of Mr. William Martin, whose leading articles on international politics were such a feature of the *Journal de Genève*, from which he retired a year ago when the paper changed hands. They were read all over the world. Though no longer writing so much after his resignation, Martin continued to take a keen interest in international affairs. Probably one of his last public appearances was at the great Disarmament Demonstration in Geneva last October. The world can ill afford to lose a man of such excellent judgment, so admirably well informed and so exceedingly able.



# HEADWAY

MARCH 1934

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Telephone: Sloane 6161.

## THE PRICE OF PEACE

SIR HERBERT SAMUEL told a crowded meeting in the Albert Hall on February 6 that the proper attitude towards the British Government's Memorandum on Disarmament was "piety without enthusiasm." The meeting appeared to endorse this verdict.

As to piety there is, at all events, widespread recognition of the service rendered by the Government in openly giving a lead to the Disarmament Conference. Moreover, the British Memorandum begins with an admirable statement of principles. It insists that agreement can and must be reached: "No agreement is no solution at all, and the world will be thrown back upon unrestricted competition in the supply and manufacture of weapons of destruction, the end of which no man can see." The object of any agreement must be to achieve equality of rights in a regime of security; and the British Government deprecates the attainment of equality by the re-arming of Germany instead of by the disarmament of more heavily armed Powers. Again, the Memorandum proposes the permanent and automatic supervision and control of armaments. It regards as essential the return of Germany to Geneva and to the League of Nations.

So far, so good. But there can be no enthusiasm for this Memorandum.

Instead of proposing a scheme for supervising civil aviation and for abolishing the military and naval aircraft of all nations, the Memorandum would permit Germany to acquire an Air Force unless such a scheme has been discovered and accepted within two years. It allows Germany to provide her army with a formidable equipment of tanks (at present forbidden) and guns (three times heavier than are now permitted) without budgetary or numerical limitation of any kind.

Its proposal to equalise armaments at much too high a level is its worst feature. The British Government regards the immediate abandonment by all the world of the weapons which the Peace Treaties withheld from Germany as "in practice unattainable at the present time." The Memorandum does not say why. But the reason is not far to seek. It is that certain States, notably France, believe that it would be unsafe to disarm to Germany's permitted level unless they can rely on one another, and particularly on Great Britain, to come to the rescue in case they are attacked. Despite Mr. Baldwin's statement that what Great Britain has signed she will adhere to, the other States Members of the League remember Manchuria and do not yet

trust this country to join in collective defence against aggression.

But France and Britain and other heavily armed States would be able to abolish warships over ten thousand tons, tanks, heavy guns and warplanes, if only they were sure that their security would not be diminished by renouncing these weapons now forbidden to Germany. Disarmament can only be achieved in an atmosphere of security. Therefore, as the International Congress in Defence of Peace unanimously declared on February 17 in Brussels: "The nations must be prepared to pay the price of peace by accepting responsibility for the prevention of war." The Declaration of the Congress went on to say that:

"For States Members of the League this responsibility implies readiness, if need be, to use the strength of all for the defence of each. For other States, who are signatories of the Briand-Kellogg Pact, this responsibility involves consultation with the League with a view to averting a conflict or restoring peace, or, at least, in order to avoid any action which might frustrate the collective effort of other nations."

The acceptance of the minor responsibility by the signatories of the Briand-Kellogg Pact is proposed by the British Memorandum; and that is all that we are entitled to ask from a paper addressed to the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and other States outside the League. But the major responsibility of the Members of the League has still to be accepted by this country in order to attain all-round disarmament to Germany's permitted level. *France and the other States Members of the League still need to be assured that they can rely on Britain to join in collective defence against aggression.*

Such an assurance can only be honestly given if the British Government is convinced that the British nation really is prepared to pay this price for peace. It is with a view to producing that conviction in the minds of even the most cautious Cabinet Ministers that the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union has recently invited the co-operation of Branches in canvassing the whole country, and in completing a substantial part of this nation-wide house-to-house canvass within the next six months.

The urgent need for this great effort to strengthen the League of Nations so that peace may be maintained was explained to every Branch Secretary on February 14. The Union's letter was accompanied by an *Outline of the National Canvass*; a paper containing *Hints to Canvassers*; and samples of a leaflet and a pamphlet for free distribution by the canvassers.\*

In view of the prospect of this new effort by the League of Nations Union we would once more urge H.M. Government to take courage; to give and receive assurances of collective defence against aggression; and so to achieve disarmament to Germany's permitted level. If the Government will be bold enough to pay this price for peace, they will deserve the enthusiastic support of the British people and the gratitude of all the world. M.G.

\*Any reader of HEADWAY who is ready to devote to this adventure the greater part of his or her leisure between Easter and midsummer is asked to communicate with the local Branch Secretary or with the Secretary of the Union at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. Copies of all or any of the papers named above will be supplied free on request.

# RALLYING OPINION

On February 6 the Union took the first step in the campaign (of which the details were given in last month's leading article) to make Britain prepare to pay the price of peace. Nearly 7,000 people took part in a meeting at the Albert Hall, London. The audience was notable for the number of young people who were present, and, so far as can be judged, was by no means chiefly composed of members of the Union. Far-reaching resolutions were carried without any opposition, and the points made by the speakers in favour of collective security were promptly taken up by an audience that was obviously anxious for a successful outcome of the Disarmament Conference.

## LORD HALIFAX

ALL thinking people are disquieted at the state of the world. The remedies suggested differ according to men's outlooks. Some would return to narrowly restricted nationalism, but those who preach this gospel of behaviour, like Diogenes, live in a dreamland of their own creation.

A better remedy for the world's ills is to be found in international co-operation. There is no antagonism between Empire and League. We all know that human life is built upon a series of mutually supporting loyalties each of which tends to be stunted and atrophied if it is content to be merely self-regarding.

Loyalty to family, town and country will fade unless it is balanced by the ideal of wider obligation to the country of which all these form part. The same is true of the relation of the British Empire to the world.

## SIR HERBERT SAMUEL

I WAS one of those who were Members of the Cabinet in July and August, 1914, and had laid upon their shoulders the gravest responsibilities that any human beings can ever be called upon to bear, and I say without hesitation that if there had been in existence a machinery such as the machinery of the League and all the methods for settling disputes, that war might easily have been avoided. I think the League has been made fool-proof, but it has not been made crime-proof. No machinery ever can be. I claim that we who believe in the League, and in the principles of peace and disarmament, are the real patriots in this country. Our patriotism is not merely national for Great Britain; it

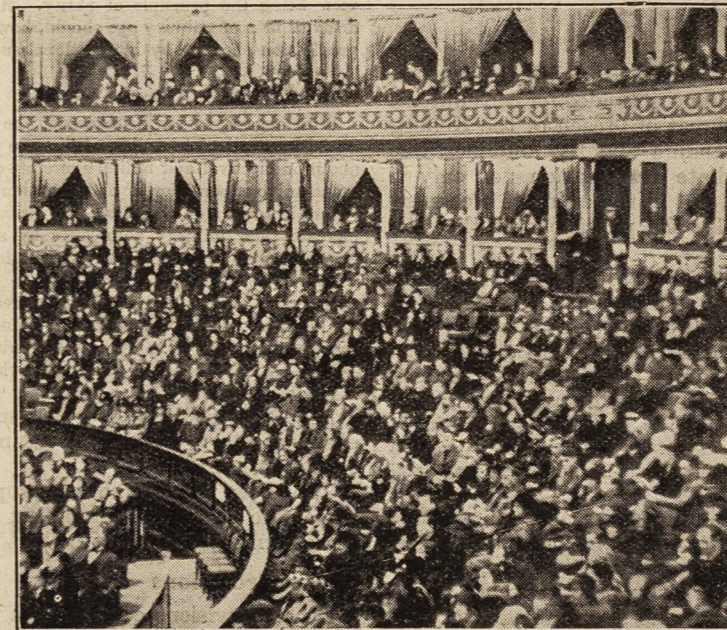
is Imperial for the whole British Commonwealth. And the opinions, the principles, the interests of the whole Commonwealth have to be taken into account in this connection, as I saw when, last summer, I went to Canada to attend a conference on Imperial relations.

## MR. P. J. NOEL BAKER

I STILL believe in the programme of Budapesth. I believe that the governments are far behind their peoples at the present time. The peoples have understood, as the governments hardly seem to, that we are gambling to-day with the whole future of mankind. Last March in Geneva I saw the ex-soldiers of the world. Five thousand chosen spokesmen come to Geneva, brought by special trains from North, South, East and West, who attached the utmost importance to the abolition of the private manufacture of and trade in arms.

Why is that so? Because they know that private armament firms have not only made inflated profits from the death and suffering of soldiers in the trenches, but have used their power and influence to work for war.

I believe that opinion in this country shares these soldiers' view. But there is a tendency to think that it is in foreign countries that the abuses have occurred. The impression which this phrase implies was strengthened by an Official Return made to Geneva a year ago. The Disarmament Conference had issued a questionnaire, designed to collect reliable government information about the scale on which the private trade in arms was being carried on. The French Government returned a list of 80 private armament factories in France; the American



This meeting records its profound conviction that only through the collective system embodied in the League of Nations can war be averted and civilization saved; and promises its support to H.M. Government in all efforts to secure the greatest measure of all-round disarmament for which agreement can be obtained.

This meeting declares that it is not in the public interest that the manufacture and sale of armaments should be carried on for private profit.



Government, if I remember rightly, a list of close upon 200. But our return declared that "there are no private undertakings in the United Kingdom which can be described as engaged chiefly or largely in armament manufacture." I remember the astonishment of a Frenchman when he read this statement. "I thought," he said, "that Vickers Armstrong were the greatest armament firm in the world."

I have taken a little trouble to find out what Vickers Armstrong themselves think about the point. I looked up their Deed of Association, made as lately as 1927. These are the declared purposes for which their £15 million nominal capital is to be employed. First and foremost, it is declared to be as follows:—

"To carry on the business of armament manufacturers in all its branches and in particular to manufacture, sell, maintain, repair and deal in warships . . . guns, gun-carriages, torpedoes, tanks,

(Synopses of the principal speeches can be obtained from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, Price 6d.)

## The British Memorandum Analysed

THE recent British Memorandum is in fact a compromise between three claims, the German claim for immediate equality of armaments, the French claim for more security, and the public demand for disarmament.

The Government "now re-affirm their unqualified adherence" to the principle of equality of rights. [This is in accordance with the views which the Union has often expressed, though the memorandum proposes to attain equality by a different method than that advocated by the Union.]

### Security

The first chapter of the 1933 British Draft Convention, as adopted on the first reading, provided for consultation concerning a breach or threat of breach of the Kellogg Pact. The new memorandum slightly amplifies this by providing for immediate consultation not only if there is a danger of war, but in the event of a country failing to carry out loyally the provisions of the Disarmament Convention.

The memorandum goes on to welcome Germany's offer to conclude pacts of non-aggression with all her neighbours on condition that these pacts do not weaken but "expressly re-affirm existing obligations."

[The relevant resolution of the General Council (December, 1933) of the Union on this point runs:

"The Collective system of security by common responsibility, embodied in Articles 8 to 17 of the Covenant, should be made a reality, particularly by the organisation in advance of economic and financial action."

The British memorandum states: "It is manifest that such a solution (i.e., the immediate abandonment by all the world of all the weapons which the Peace Treaties withheld from certain Powers) is in practice unattainable at the present time. That is no reason for abandoning the effort to secure in this first Convention all that can be attained."

[The Union has urged that equality should not be attained by re-armament.]

Thus, while it is proposed to postpone the discussion of naval armaments until the Naval Conference of 1935, the memorandum makes some proposals for the following land armaments:—

Mobile land guns over 13.8 in. should be destroyed by the end of the first year; those over 7.7 in. by the end of the fourth year; and those over 6.5 in. by the end of the seventh year.

Tanks over 30 tons should be destroyed by the end of the first year; those over 20 tons by the end of the third year; and those over 16 tons by the end of the fifth year. The Permanent Disarma-

ment Commission would then have to examine further the possibility of limiting or abolishing lighter tanks. Germany and the other Powers bound by the Peace Treaties would be permitted to equip themselves with 6-ton tanks.

With regard to personnel, the British would prefer to keep to the limit of 200,000 average daily effectives proposed for France and Germany alike in the Draft Convention, which also proposed a period of eight months' service with the Colours. They would, however, not oppose the adoption of a total between this figure and the 300,000 claimed by Germany on a basis of twelve months' service if a compromise could be reached, the essential point in their view being the principle of parity. Military training outside the army of men of military age should, however, be prohibited and the prohibition checked by international supervision.

armoured cars . . . machine guns, rifles and small arms, weapons ammunition, explosives and munitions of war . . . all component parts thereof and accessories thereto. . . . To carry on business as manufacturers of . . . aeroplanes, hydroplanes, and of all kinds of aircraft."

That seems fairly comprehensive. But we must be fair. It is true that they have other activities as well. Their Deed empowers them:—

"To purchase, acquire, rent, build, construct, equip, execute, carry out, improve, work, develop, administer, maintain or control in any part of the world works . . . of all kinds, including . . . railways, tramways, stations, aerodromes, docks . . . canals, telegraphs, telephones . . . hotels . . . exchanges, mints, ships, postal services, newspapers and other publications, breweries . . . churches, public and private buildings or any other works."

I confess I would prefer a system under which armament firms did not control churches or newspapers and other publications.

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### The Air

With regard to air armaments, the Disarmament Commission would be required to decide within two years whether the complete abolition of naval and military aircraft could be brought about and an effective supervision of civil aviation introduced. If it does not report in favour of abolition, the various nations should reduce or increase their military aeroplanes by stages during the following eight years so as to attain the figures laid down in the Draft Convention.

Germany is asked to refrain from creating any air force pending the decision of the Commission. If it does not provide for abolition she will be entitled to "acquire parity with the principal air Powers by stages." Corresponding provisions would be made for the other defeated Powers.

[The Union's policy is in favour of the total abolition of all military aircraft, with international control of civil aviation.]

The new memorandum proposes permanent and automatic supervision applying to all countries alike. [This is in accordance with the Union's proposals.]

### Other Provisions

Other provisions contained in the Draft Convention, such as the abolition of chemical warfare and all preparations for it, are maintained.

[But two measures advocated by the Union find no place in either British proposal. One is the budgetary limitation of expenditure on armaments. The other is the "rigorous national and international control of the manufacture of and trade in arms."]

The memorandum finally proposes that the first Disarmament Convention should last not for 5 but for 10 years.

NOTE.—A comparative table indicating the policies of the British, French, German and Italian Governments, as expressed in their most recently published memoranda, can be obtained from the Head Office of the Union on application, as well as the full text of the above.

## In Defence of Peace

The following are slightly shortened unofficial translations of the Declaration and Resolutions unanimously passed by 300 delegates from League Societies in 23 different countries at Brussels on February 17, 1934.—  
[EDITOR.]

### A Declaration

IN face of the dangers threatening international peace, the Congress, convinced that the peoples desire peace founded upon law and justice, adopt the following declaration:

1. Only by maintaining and strengthening the collective system based on the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Briand-Kellogg Pact can war be averted and civilisation saved.

2. Peace cannot be realised without disarmament; nor can disarmament be achieved in an atmosphere of insecurity. Therefore the nations must be prepared to pay the price of peace by accepting responsibility for the prevention of war.

3. For States Members of the League this responsibility implies readiness, if need be, to use the strength of all for the defence of each. For other States who are signatories of the Briand-Kellogg Pact, this responsibility involves consultation with the League of Nations, with a view to averting a conflict or of restoring peace, or at least in order to avoid any action which might frustrate the collective effort of other nations.

### The Resolutions

(1) *League of Nations*.—It believes that if the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Briand-Kellogg Pact had been applied in their entirety, the present crisis of international organisation could have been averted or at least greatly diminished in intensity.

(2) *Revision of the Covenant*.—The Covenant as implemented by the Statute of the Permanent Court, the Optional Clause, the General Act, and the Briand-Kellogg Pact, contains the minimum body of obligations required for any stable international system. . . .

(3) *Disarmament Conference*.—Competition in armaments must lead to a new war. It is, therefore, the imperative duty of every Government to work for the full and rapid success of the Disarmament Conference. . . .

(4) *The Organisation of Security by the Prevention of War*.—To allay the fears which many Governments and nations feel to-day, and to increase international security, the following measures should immediately be taken:—

(i) The creation of an effective system of supervision of all armaments and of expenditure on armaments, including regular and automatic inspection . . . and of an international system of quotas and licences for the manufacture, export and import of arms and munitions.

(ii) Provisions for exerting such collective pressure as may be necessary to put an end to the breach of the Convention and to restore the situation.

(iii) Consideration of the definition of aggression. . . .

(iv) The internationalisation or international control of civil aviation and the creation of an international air police under the auspices of the League of Nations.

(v) Training in world citizenship.

(5) *Basis of the Disarmament Convention*.—It is essential that the Disarmament Convention should include the following provisions:—

(i) The transformation of armies to a uniform type of short term army.

(ii) The abolition within a fixed period\* of all types of armament at present forbidden to certain countries by the Peace Treaties.

(iii) The reduction and limitation of budgetary expenditure.

(iv) Measures to end the abuses of the private manufacture and sale of arms and munitions and the profit derived therefrom by individuals.

\* The abolition should begin forthwith, without any "probationary period."

## Arnold Forster tells of the Special Conference

THE great Congress "In Defence of Peace," held at Brussels on February 15—17, has been a most impressive demonstration of faith in the League just when such evidence was most needed. I wish every reader of HEADWAY—yes, and every Cabinet Minister, too—could have seen the Mass Meeting with which the Congress ended: and I hope every Branch of the Union will study and help to make known the Declaration and Resolutions printed above.

The Congress was held under the auspices of the Federation of League of Nations Societies; but the delegates, numbering over 300, came from organisations of many kinds, including the British Legion and the other great ex-Servicemen's associations. Over twenty countries were represented, but there was no German delegation. (No German, it seems, may publicly support the League at present without incurring the severe disapproval of his Government.)

Before the Congress met, a draft Declaration was circulated, as a basis for discussion, with Lord Cecil's authority, and for three days the Congress discussed the subjects of this Draft.

### The Collective System

The first point to be emphasised was, of course, the need for supporting and strengthening the collective system based on the Covenant and Kellogg Pact. Lord Cecil made this the chief point of his speeches; and no

one who attended the Congress would have failed to appreciate the paramount importance of an unequivocal stand by the British Government in favour of loyal and effective co-operation to prevent and to stop breaches of the common peace. If we do not do this, if we insist (as Sir John Simon did on February 6) that "it is not the Anglo-Saxon habit to make defined engagements for undefined circumstances," if we refuse to commit ourselves to any definite action to stop a proven breach of the World Disarmament Treaty, then I believe we shall get no real disarmament from France and probably no Treaty.

The Declaration printed above summarises the case. Note the last sentence, which accords exactly with the position reached by the United States. An important statement about collective security, referred to below, was made by a Russian speaker.

### Revising the Covenant

Look now at the second of the Resolutions about revision of the Covenant, and the value of the existing engagements. On this subject we heard three speeches which deserve to be widely spread. One was by M. Politis, of Greece, one of the League's most brilliant servants, who reviewed the extraordinary development of the means and the practice of peaceful settlement of disputes which has been achieved with the League's help. He told the splendid story with convincing restraint.



and added important suggestions for further developments. Mr. Hambro, President of the Norwegian Parliament, who had come from Norway for the Congress, gave a skilfully compounded criticism and eulogy of the League as a whole; his support appeared all the more significant when he frankly avowed that he had himself, as leader of the Conservative Party in his Parliament, opposed the original entry of Norway into the League. M. Mertens, a Belgian who has rendered valuable service as a workers' delegate at the International Labour Conferences, gave an impressive account of the value of the I.L.O. to the workers of the world.

The Hungarian delegate made a great effort to have something put in, at this point in the Resolution, about Revision of Treaties and about the protection of Minorities. For my part, I am sorry this was not done, and I am convinced that the Union will have to face these thorny issues courageously in time for the next Congress of the kind if a dangerous situation is to be avoided.

#### Prevention of War

Turn next to Section IV of the Resolutions. In the discussion on this, three subjects received special attention. One was the definition of aggression. M. Rosenberg, Counsellor of the Soviet Embassy in Paris, made a notable speech commending the definition of aggression adopted (on the basis of a Russian project) by the Security Committee of the Disarmament Conference and embodied in the Non-Aggression Pacts made between Russia, Roumania and other countries last summer. He declared emphatically for the principle of collective restraint of an aggressor, as thus defined, and foreshadowed, in guarded but very sympathetic terms, closer collaboration by the Soviet Government with the League. He was warmly applauded; and it was significant that his argument was strongly supported by the Roumanian spokesman, M. Pella, a well-known jurist.

Another subject for special attention was, of course, aviation. Mr. G. N. Barnes, backed by a delegation from the "New Commonwealth," advocated an inter-

national armed force, with special reference to the air; Senator de Brouckère continued his splendid championship of the internationalisation and control of civil aviation; and Mr. Noel Baker made brilliant statements of the case for abolition of all naval and military aviation, and for creating a small international force of interceptor planes, to prevent (so far as possible) the use of civil aircraft for military ends.

A third subject was "Moral Disarmament," on which Professor E. Brookes, of South Africa, had a powerful word to say.

As for Disarmament, you will see that the Conference stood firmly for the principle that equality of treatment should begin from the outset; and that it ought to be applied, not by levelling-up, but by abolition all round, within a fixed period, of all the weapons that were prohibited for Germany. M. Rolin, of Belgium, made a fine speech on this; and a valuable contribution came from Colonel Sir John Brown, President of the British Legion.

As for the manufacture of arms for private profit, we had several speeches. I wish Mr. Duff Cooper, who made, as I think, so deplorable a reply to the recent debate in Parliament on this subject, could have heard the cheers which greeted the denunciation of the evils of this business which M. Jaspar, a prominent Belgian M.P., delivered at the final Mass Meeting. For the arms manufacturers he cried, "There are crosses of gold; for the combatants, only crosses of wood!"

The Mass Meeting was deeply impressive. We had laboured through the Congress with heavy hearts, thinking of the tragedy in Vienna (of which M. Vandervelde spoke with passionate appeal), thinking of Germany's "menacing empty chair," thinking of the British and French memoranda on disarmament, and of the recent speeches of Sir John Simon on Security, Mr. Baldwin on limitation of expenditure, and Mr. Duff Cooper on Private Manufacture. A dark prospect. But that great meeting gave one yet again the assurance of the ardent will of so many peoples for peace.

## Impressions of a League Council

"Write me as one who loves his fellow men," said LEIGH HUNT

IF the venerable and saintly Sheikh Abou ben Adhem had dreamed his famous dream in this year of grace 1934, he would no doubt have invited the Angel to write him "as one who loves the League of Nations." Here are some impressions from one of ben Adhem's tribe on attending his first session of the Council.

It must be rare for a friend of the League who has followed its activities closely ever since it came into existence to pay his first post-war visit to Geneva in January, 1934. Yet there may be compensating advantages for having been obliged to wait so long. Those who have been regular in their attendance at Council and Assembly meetings have seen the League grow up imperceptibly in the course of years. The newcomer of 1934 meets the League for the first time when it has already grown up—when it has acquired the poise of an established institution which has faced trials and disappointments.

The first impression of the newcomer must certainly be not only that the League (though not all of the delegates) has reached years of discretion—perhaps greater discretion than sometimes in the past—but that it has come to stay. Its status as an international forum

where statesmen, or politicians, may argue and international civil servants pour horns of oil is unassailable and well known. What is less well known but equally important is the opportunity Geneva provides for journalists of all nations to meet on a friendly footing, even when their respective governments are at loggerheads. The newcomer is also impressed by the fact that even journalists representing newspapers which are blatantly anti-League are emphatic in declaring that the League has already become indispensable.

This very indispensability, however, has its dangers. There is, for example, a tendency to take the League for granted, just as it is. To put it more bluntly, one notices at Geneva a certain impatience of criticism.

Most of the attacks on the League are no doubt ill-considered and uninformed. Yet here is one criticism that seems to have considerable validity. Much of the work of the Council is done, as everybody knows and as is inevitable, behind the scenes either by an exchange of views between the parties immediately concerned or in private session of the whole Council. But by the exercise of a little trouble, any normally persistent individual can discover—not from the League's Informa-

tion Section—the secrets of what goes on behind the scenes. Very often, no doubt, the information is coloured, or twisted, to support a particular point of view. It may be, often is, tendencious. It serves—is even intended—to create a desired impression and perhaps to foster ill-feeling.

There are, in fact, too many cows to be milked at Geneva. One obvious way to reduce their number would be to reduce the number of countries participating in the sessions of the Council. There may be other reasons against such a course. If so, an attempt should be made to stop the leakage of information in some other way. If the leaks are unstoppable, an alternative remedy would be more informative official communiqués about what goes on behind the scenes.

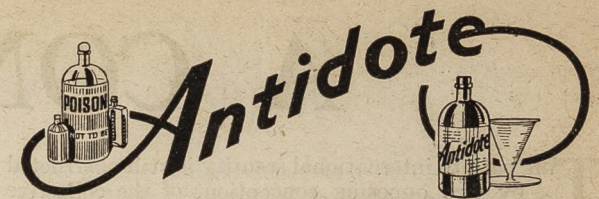
As things are to-day, most journalists at Geneva could, I imagine, tell the world (if they thought it desirable) exactly what Sir John Simon wrote on a slip of paper when he was annoyed at Poland's not wishing to have Mr. Sean Lester as High Commissioner of Danzig; what Sir John said in private to M. Paul-Boncour on the question of recruiting a neutral gendarmerie for the Saar, and various other tit-bits which the prudent newspaperman generally "forgets" as soon as possible.

A second and equally vital criticism concerns the public sessions of the Council. Too often there is an air of unreality about them. They lack life. The important topics have been so kneaded and pounded and massaged behind the scenes in order to achieve the uninspiring Least Common Multiple of unanimity that all the sparkle has generally gone out of them by the time the Public Session arrives. It is only the questions the League has failed to solve that retain any real freshness when discussed in the open. The questions on which the League has been successful are dealt with in the most perfunctory fashion. The rapporteur mumbles a few sentences to which a few people take the trouble to listen, but which most of them cannot hear, even if they want to; the translator then declaims it audibly all over again amidst a crescendo of conversation. Meanwhile, delegates (including the President of the Council), their staff and the Press, but not (so far as I could see) the General Public, smoke cigarettes.

It does seem that something a little more ceremonious, a little more dignified and much more impressive should characterise the proceedings. Informality is all very well. Smoking may be all very better. But the best place both for informality and smoking is surely not the League Council Chamber. Even Mr. Baldwin's pipe draws the line at being puffed in the House of Commons. The world is apt to take institutions, as well as individuals, at their own valuation. If it takes the Public Sessions of the Council at the Council's own estimate of their worth, either the Public Sessions or the League itself will soon cease to exist.

The Public Session is the League's great contribution to "open diplomacy." The private Session is the result of a realisation that "secret diplomacy" is still an essential part of international discussions. The need is to keep a proper balance between the two methods. President Wilson, who called the new system into existence to redress the balance of the old, would assuredly be horrified to-day if he could see how the scales at Geneva have again been weighted down with secrecy. Bargaining—which the supercilious sometimes call "intrigue"—is a necessary part of negotiation. And much of it inevitably has to be done behind the scenes. But it would be entirely regrettable if the secret (some might say shady) side of Geneva submerged the open side. The danger of this happening is not imaginary. It is for ben Adhem's tribesmen to see that the system of "open covenants openly arrived at" is fully safeguarded.

GODFREY LIAS.



#### POISON:

"Armaments are not a cause of war; rather are they a curb and check on it. The most formidable weapon is now the aeroplane. It can strike a decisive blow before any other form of armaments is ready. Yet of all armaments the aeroplane is the easiest to produce swiftly and secretly. The only effective deterrent to aerial aggression is the certainty of retaliation in kind. Disarmament invites attack. Armaments mean peace. We have disarmed to the edge of risk."—Lord Beaverbrook, in all the papers which have to print his articles.

#### ANTIDOTE:

"We have sold military aircraft to more foreign nations than any other British firm. I am pleased to put on record that the experience of those nations with Hawker aircraft is comparable to that of the Royal Air Force. We anticipate an increase in our foreign markets during the next twelve months."—THE CHAIRMAN OF HAWKER AIRCRAFT, LTD., speaking at Surbiton.

#### POISON:

"When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace."—Quotation from St. Luke, included in Lord Rothermere's article.

#### ANTIDOTE:

But not when the strong man helps to arm those who would disturb his peace.

#### POISON:

"Why should not British firms make aircraft for foreign nations, seeing that British armaments are the best in the world?"—A heckler in Hyde Park.

#### ANTIDOTE:

Because, if it be contended that Britain must be armed, it is obviously English to furnish those against whom we must arm with "the best in the world" for use against us.

#### POISON:

"The machine aircraft in Britain totals approximately 420, as compared with France's 1,210. Britain's weakness in the air is alarming."—Daily Mail, February 17.

#### ANTIDOTE:

"The French Air Ministry has just purchased 'for a very substantial sum' the new Gloster Handley Page slotted wing (as used throughout the Royal Air Force) to French military aircraft."—DAILY TELEGRAPH, February 5.

#### POISON:

"We are a densely populated island, and for this reason it is absolutely essential that our Air Force should be second to none in every sense of the word."—The Duke of Atholl, speaking at Glasgow on February 17.

#### ANTIDOTE:

"The Hawker Engineering Co. has acquired a controlling interest in the Gloster Aircraft Co. One important effect of the amalgamation will be the great enlargement of the manufacturing resources of the Hawker Co., which makes the famous 'Fury' Fighter, the 'Hart' day bomber, and half a dozen other types based upon designs for the Air Ministry and for many foreign countries."—Daily Telegraph on February 20, C.C.T.



# A CONTINENTAL

THE path to international security is still obstructed by two opposing conceptions of the collective system. They may be called, for convenience, the "Anglo-Saxon" and the "Continental." The article on the Covenant from an American correspondent which you published in the February issue of HEADWAY was typical of the former; no less typical is the persistent illusion of the British Government that an undertaking to consult, on the basis of the Pact of Paris, is a contribution to the "security" on which any reduction of national armaments in terms of Article 8 of the Covenant waits. Now there is everything to be said for bringing the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. into any scheme which may eventually emerge from the Conference—to that extent the list of British policy towards America is excusable. But we must not continue to make that fatal mistake which has crippled the League since the beginning—I mean castrating the Geneva steed in the fond hope that the American filly may be induced to team up with it.

## An American Angle

Mr. Norman Davis intimated on May 24 last year at Geneva that, when the final Disarmament Convention came to be drawn up, an assurance of American willingness to let the guarantees machinery (Articles 8—16 of the Covenant) work in Europe, would, in fact, be forthcoming. That President Roosevelt is estopped, by the present mood of his people, from any more active participation in the *political* work of the League, however, was surely the meaning of his observations at the Woodrow Wilson Foundation banquet on December 28. Any idea, therefore, of substituting the terms of the Briand-Kellogg Pact for the present Article 10 of the Covenant, as was suggested in your American correspondent's article, must be put out of our minds.

The equivocal status of Associate Membership, recommended by Dr. Maxwell Garnett, is open to the same objection, I suggest, as any suggestion of American membership of the League. The British Government, with its eyes firmly fixed on developments in the Pacific, contents itself with playing a highly-undignified game of wibbly-wob in Europe, as between the revisionist and anti-revisionist Powers. The inevitable and almost laughable futility thereof is encouraging a dismayed "public opinion" to say of France and Germany "a plague o' both your houses"—and wait for the next war, hoping that "we" shall keep out.

## European Pooled Security

There is an alternative, however, and that is for the United Kingdom (we know from the Toronto Conference that the Dominions are only asking for leadership in support of the collective system) to fulfil its responsibilities in and to the European Continent. While Japan's foray in Manchuria and her frank admission that disarmament does not at present come within her scheme of things exclude any hope of a "wor-ld" scheme, there is still time to erect a federative structure for Europe which will translate into concrete terms that "equality of status within a system of security for all nations" which is the agreed basis. The urgent need, then, is not to seek the best possible compromise on the basis of regulated re-armament, which "public opinion" everywhere would, rightly, interpret as utter failure, but, as the French plan of November, 1932, premised, to

create a special European security organisation within the universal *cadre*.

What was the history of the plan of mutual assistance considered in the political Committee of the Disarmament Conference? Mr. Eden, it may be recalled, voted for the resolution, after expressly stipulating that the word "continental" should be inserted. He also made the amazing assertion that "the British Government felt that they had done what they could and should do to promote 'security' in Europe"—citing Locarno as evidence! Now, as subsequent debate in the House of Commons made clear, since the Locarno Treaty leaves the British Government the right, in an emergency, to say whether or not it intends to fulfil the obligation undertaken, it can be no sort of contribution to an effective guarantees system such as the French are demanding and the League Covenant implies. (One is reminded of Lord Cecil's remark in a letter to Colonel House on July 22, 1918: "I am convinced that unless some form of coercion can be devised, which will work more or less automatically, no League of Peace will endure.")

## National Views

Holland voted against the plan of mutual assistance, specifically because the United Kingdom was backing out. The Belgian delegates abstained from voting for the same reason. The other Opposition votes, as might be expected, were from the delegates of Germany, Italy, Austria and Hungary.

By itself, this voting is not particularly significant. It shows only that, so long as the British Government, behind a barrage of fine words, proposes in fact to "contract out" of its obligations under the Covenant, the miasma of distrust with regard to French Policy, with its happy knack of identifying the interests of humanity with those of France, will persist. Whereas, if this country were pulling her weight in the counsels of Europe—and particularly insisting on the addition of some means of peaceful change to the otherwise admirable features of the original French Plan—the small States, one and all, would stand solidly behind the notion of non-neutrality and concentration of policing power against an "aggressor."

## Building for Europe

Taken in conjunction with the voting in the Air Committee of the Conference, I suggest, there is here a firm foundation on which to build for Europe. As Professor P. Noel Baker has reminded us, it was *British* opposition to M. Cot's scheme for an "international" air police and an Air Transport Union under international ownership which wrecked the proposal for all-round abolition of national forces. The German delegate expressly stated that abolition of military aviation was the kind of equality of status which his Government really wanted (though if other countries retained air "defence" forces, Germany was going to have one, too), but that, in any case, the German Government would not allow its natural disinclination to surrender sovereign control of her civil aviation to stand in the way of air disarmament. In view of Lord Londonderry's caperings in the House, let us not forget either that in April, 1933, a joint Memorandum was put before the Air Commission by the delegates of U.S.A., Canada, Argentine and Japan in which they offered to submit their civil aviation to appropriate

# CALL

By  
W. HORSFALL CARTER

regulation and supervision, if the Continental countries could agree among themselves upon the abolition of their respective national air forces, with the requisite safeguards in the form of a European air police force and the vesting in a central authority of the ownership of air transport in Europe.

## Civilise Commercial Aviation

The case for "civilising" aviation, for freeing the industry from the shackles of national sovereignty, has been adequately stated in the little booklet "*World Airways—Why Not?*" Unfortunately the authors of that report at once give a handle to their critics by use of such a Wellsian title. The same mistake is made, incidentally, by many of the advocates of a world or "international" police force. The man-in-the-street, applying ordinary common sense, is never going to support proposals for making possible that disarmament which the League promised him, unless they are expressed in practical terms. It is because establishment of a European air police force and "Europeanisation" of commercial flying is feasible, on the admission of the experts and on the showing of the Security and Air Commissions of the Disarmament Conference, that, to my mind, peace-workers should concentrate, during the two years' reprieve granted by the latest British Disarmament Plan, on compelling the Government to take its necessary part in ensuring that the boon of air transport shall not be transformed into the curse of aero-chemical warfare.

It may be, of course, that Germany, her bluff tactics having proved singularly successful, will reject out of hand the notion of maintaining her present *status quo* in respect of the air arm, as stipulated in the MacDonald Draft Convention. All the more should we listen to the voice of Lord Allen, who has pointed out that by abolition of national air forces alone can we avoid the danger and increased *insecurity* which must follow from the grant of equality of status.

## Politics in Uniform!

I am not concerned here with the technical side of this question. Certainly the various technical difficulties which are raised are, for the most part, in Señor Madariaga's words, "political objections in uniform." And many of the quips with regard to the Utopian character of the project for internationalizing civil aviation, are based on a misunderstanding of what is proposed. The original French scheme, rightly, stressed the idea of an international bureau of control, to be responsible for the authorization of *building* in the various countries. It envisaged inspectors in every aircraft factory, so that any building of potential bombing machines in the guise of commercial aircraft could at once be detected. Experimental machines—what the French call *prototypes*, were to be entirely free of control, and thus healthy competition among manufacturers would continue. At the same time, there would be no control of *operation*; the passenger who does not trust French- or Ruritanian-machines would be perfectly free to insist on going in an Imperial Airways liner!

For a European air police force to be effective, let us first of all bear in mind that it is a police force. An act of aggression—as President Roosevelt himself declares, thus coming into line with Article 10 of the Covenant—is essentially armed trespass. It should not be impossible to work out a scheme of de-militarized frontier

zones in the danger areas, and the job of the police would be simply to cut the communications of any invading force. Obviously the operation of such a force would have to be immediate, and the dilatory methods of the present Council replaced by an effective authority. That is only fulfilling the essential task of pre-organising "sanctions" implicit in *any* scheme for making the League effective.

## Make the League Effective

My point is that if we are determined to make the collective system a reality, we have to begin somewhere. That somewhere should be Europe (*a*) because Continentals, of any country, when not swayed by political passion, see quite clearly that an organised inter-State order is the only way of escape from European anarchy—whereas Englishmen are still lost in the fog of pacifist aspiration; and (*b*) because Europe is, in the words of Rear-Admiral R. A. Lawson, the metropolitan continent, and the first stage towards our goal must be a metropolitan police. If once the notion of *policing* in lieu of *competing* armaments were embodied in concrete form, and air transport deprived of those military associations which make of it at present the principal source of insecurity, the rest is easy. Man is not moved by abstractions. He has to see the thing.

We are witnessing a new war of the Austrian Succession. The Powers are united only on the negative policy of trying to rescue "Austria" from the maw of National Socialism. Yet everyone knows that the problems, economic and cultural, of Central and South-Eastern Europe can only be solved on a federal basis. But federalisation cannot be contemplated so long as the shadow of war looms over that ramshackle "new Europe." There is one thing that will have to be done before the diplomats and the political carpenters can be of any use—namely to make the League an effective instrument of the General Will, which in Europe, at least, is for peace—despite the manifestations to the contrary of which we become hyper-conscious through the Press.

## Appreciation of Air Transport

Air transport is the heaven-sent federative link of our generation. European history having been what it has been, physical bonds of unity must precede and condition the creation of that "European state of mind" which Signor Mussolini recently invoked. If through concentration on this one simple means to disarmament a European sphere of effective action can be marked off and made the beat of a European air police force, MM. Briand and Stresemann will not have died in vain. The fate of Europe, of civilization, is in the hands of Great Britain, for, as Brig.-Gen. Groves says in his admirable exposure of the world "Behind the Smoke-screen":—

"There can be no organisation of peace in Europe so long as this country, to which that peace is vitally essential, remains under the delusion that war is due chiefly to the evil in men's hearts and can be abolished merely by eliminating the means of aggression. Continental peoples have far greater personal experience of the horrors of war than have the hitherto fortunate people of these islands, and appreciate even more the blessings of peace. To tell them that war is a crime and should therefore be outlawed is the last word in fatuity, when the alternatives to some peoples are conquest by a neighbour and to others perpetual servitude or the abandonment of every hope of betterment."







## BOOK NOTICES

**Revision of Treaties and Changes in International Law.** (Issued by the New Fabian Research Bureau and published by Victor Gollancz. 6d.)

The New Fabian Research Bureau is justly earning a wide reputation. The present pamphlet, though heavy reading, is an important contribution to world-constitutional literature. Of course, it is intended to advise the Labour Party as to its policy, but there is much in it on which people of differing political views would do well to ponder. For instance, not only the Labour Party but all parties should ponder the following paragraph:—

"The Labour policy in the present generation must be based on the principle that the securing of the observance of the law—and not the question of its change—constitutes the first task of international statesmanship. It must also realise that in so far as change is necessary it must be effected within the orbit of the law and through its machinery."

**How We are Governed.** By J. A. R. Marriott. (Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d.)

In order to furnish in the fewest and simplest words an introduction to larger works, Sir John Marriott has written this little book "for beginners of all ages from 15 to 50." First published in 1928, this is a new and revised edition. All of it is excellent so far as it goes, but it is to be regretted that no mention is made of the relationship of national sovereignty to international obligations.

On page 103 "Mesopotamia" should surely be Iraq; and Iraq is no longer a Mandate but became an independent member of the League of Nations in 1932.

**"War Upon Women."** By Mabeth Moseley. (Hutchinson. 7s. 6d.)

An interestingly successful attempt to visualise in fiction form the personal effect of a sudden outbreak of war on women who are caught in the path of the onset. The authoress has most ingeniously contrived to set her story so that it cannot possibly give offence to any individual nation, but at the same time is quite on all fours with the international facts as we know them to-day. One pregnant sentence merits special quotation from this eminently readable book: "Civilians and women are always more bloodthirsty than the actual fighters!" C. C. T.

**Transit of a Demigod.** By Joseph Cabot. (Hamish Hamilton. 7s. 6d.)

Our excuse for mentioning this light fantastical novel is based on one chapter of excellent fooling in which we may see ourselves as others see us. "Genteel Assembly" is the title which Mr. Cabot has chosen for an account of the formation of a branch of the Union. Those of us who speak, those of us who take the chair, those of us who organise meetings should read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the author's gentle railery on the theme of a drawing-room meeting—h'm! the vicar in the chair.

**Wealth and Work: An Introduction to Economics for Beginners of All Ages.** By George W. Gough, M.A. (London: George Philip & Son, Ltd.) 3s.

In this new edition of a book which has gained some repute as a popularisation of elementary economics, Mr. Gough explains simply and clearly the leading principles of the science of wealth. So long as the author confines himself to theory and a description of the

conceptions used by economists in analyzing economic phenomena he is excellent, but he seems unable to decide whether his object is to provide his readers with a new apparatus of thought, or to make sure that by no possible chance shall they fall into economic heresies. He is full of opinions, which take up perhaps a quarter of his space, and which will only prejudice some, while confirming the prejudices of others, and in neither case will they serve the cause of clear and disinterested thinking.

**New Wars for Old.** By H. M. Swanwick, C.H. (Women's International League. 6d.)

Mrs. Swanwick is always interesting. In this W.I.L. pamphlet she exposes the weaknesses of the International Police Force.

**Frankenstein and His Monster.** By H. M. Swanwick, C.H., M.A. (Women's International League. 4d.)

A sequel to "New Wars for Old," arguing the need for the total abolition of military aviation and the internationalisation of civil aviation. The actual account of the proposals put forward is compressed into a couple of pages.

**Is Democracy a Failure?** By Ramsay Muir. (Loval Dickson, Ltd. 6d.)

In the first instance, a party plea for Liberalism, but the pamphlet is also a reasoned appeal for support of democracy and of the Parliamentary system.

"Why do we connive in these preparations for our destruction? Why do we gape at the guns and do nothing?" asks C. E. M. Joad in a new pamphlet [1s. 9d. a 100], entitled "Insecurity in Arms," which has just been issued by the National Peace Council. The pamphlet is a vigorous exposure of the present bigger armaments ramp.

The National Peace Council has also issued "How Should We Answer Hitler?" by W. Arnold Forster, a clear analysis of the conflicting attitudes which led to Germany's withdrawal from the Disarmament Conference, together with suggestions for a policy in the present crisis.

**The Lighter Side of Peace Making** 3d.

An attractive little booklet in which are reproduced some of the lighter articles and drawings which have appeared from time to time in the *Quarterly News*. The items included are not necessarily humorous, but were chosen by the editor in response to a demand for peace literature which is easy and pleasant to read and which does not contain too many solid facts and figures.

## New Union Publications

**No. 197. Patriotism.** By Maxwell Garnett, C.B.E., Sc.D. Second Edition. 3d.

An up-to-date version of a paper originally read to the Psychology Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science at its meetings in 1926.

**No. 364. Critics of the League Answered.** 1d. A most useful little pamphlet consisting of several pages reprinted from Fanshawe and Macartney's "What the League Has Done." It should prove of service to canvassers and collectors.

**No. 366. Recent General Treaties.** 1s. A collection of the actual texts of many noteworthy post-war treaties—viz. The Covenant, The Kellogg Pact, The Four-Power Pact, The Locarno Agreements, The General Act, The Washington and London Naval Treaties, The Statute of the Court and the Labour Section of the Treaty of Versailles.

**Annotated Bibliography, 1933.** 8d. A list issued by the Union's Library.

## For the National Canvass.

**No. 0262 and 0264. Notes for Secretaries.** Free.  
**No. 0265. League—or War!** Outline of National Canvass. Free.  
**No. 0266. League—or War!** Hints to Canvassers. Free.

## 'In Defence of the League'

A NATIONAL CONFERENCE on April 12 and 13 in the GOLDSMITHS' HALL, LONDON

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A short, persuasive pamphlet specially prepared for house-to-house distribution and for dealing with "hard-boiled" critics of the League system.

## Official League Publications

**Holiday Courses in Europe, 1934.** Published by the League of Nations International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. Paris, 1934. 80 pages. 2s. 6d.

All the essential information about 155 different advanced holiday courses open to foreign students in 109 cities in 16 European countries, with a subject index.

**Report to the Council on the Work of the Seventeenth Session of the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs, held at Geneva from October 30 to November 9, 1933.** (C.642.M.305. 1933. XI.) (O.C. 1507 (1).) (Ser. L.O.N.P. 1933. XI.5.) 22 pages. 1s.

**Summary of Annual Reports for 1932-33, prepared by the Secretariat of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee.** I.—Traffic in Women and Children. II.—Traffic in Obscene Publications. (C.2.M.2. 1934. IV.) (Ser. L.O.N.P. 1934. IV.2.) 36 pages. 1s. 6d. [See under Notes and Comments.]

**Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Session of the Permanent Mandates Commission, held at Geneva from October 23 to November 4, 1933, including the Report of the Commission to the Council.** (C.619.M.292. 1933. VI.) (Ser. L.O.N.P. 1933. VI. A.3.) 148 pages. 6s.

**The Course of American Recovery.** By H. B. Butler. 6d.  
**Child Labour in India.** By R. K. Das. 1s. 6d.

Both of these are reprints of articles in the January number of the *International Labour Review*.

**International Survey of Social Services.** 15s.

A new volume in the I.L.O.'s "Studies and Report Series"; 24 countries' statistics are dealt with under the heads of: Social Insurance; Social Assistance; Housing; Family Allowances; Holidays with Pay. The volume also explains why real international comparison is impossible.

## Two Useful Peace Playlets

"THE ELEVENTH HOUR," by Anthony Armstrong, is a welcome addition to the one-act playlets which can be soundly recommended as valuable Peace propaganda combined with dramatic and entertainment value that is calculated to appeal to the "unconverted."

There are only three characters, all male, but two of them call for definite acting ability. The stage-needs are simple and should be easily managed by Branches. The playlet, which is centred round a munition manufacturer who suddenly learns on Armistice Day that he was responsible for the invention which killed his son during the War, plays about 30 minutes.

The fee for every representation, payable in advance to the London Play Co., of 51, Piccadilly, W.1, is one guinea. Copies can be obtained through the Union Book Shop, price 1s.

"OUR HAT," by Dorothy B. Faber, is a playlet in one scene for five characters, including a maid for announcement purposes. The characters are all feminine, and should be within the scope of any ordinary amateur. No special scenery is required, and the only properties are a table set for tea, chairs, and a smart little hat.

The plot centres round an unexplained quarrel between a Frenchwoman and another neighbour of the hostess who is giving the little tea-party. A League of Nations' Union speaker has made a recent impression by an address, but the hostess conceives the idea of challenging her to an exposition of the power of arbitration by undertaking to double her subscription if she succeeds in making peace or halving it if she fails.

The dialogue is snappy and very much to the point. The little analogy is cleverly developed so that the very triviality and normality of the trouble in question serves to illustrate convincingly the evolution of international troubles.

An acting fee of 2s. 6d. is charged by the authoress, and the playlet is strongly recommended to Branches and Women's Institutes in search of a really useful and convincing little vehicle.

## Official I.L.O. Documents

**Institutions for Erring and Delinquent Minors.** (Ser. L.O.N.P. 1934. IV.1.) 253 pages. 7s. 6d.

Information regarding the organisation and working of the institutions to which erring and delinquent minors are sent in forty different countries, with full particulars of the laws under which these institutions were created, their staffs, the various categories of minors sent to them and the educational methods adopted; also information concerning the release of minors and the maintenance of contact with them after release.

**Road Signalling: Recommendations and Prescriptive Rules adopted by the European Conference on Road Traffic and the Permanent Committee on Road Traffic.** (Ser. L.O.N.P. 1934. VIII.1.) 20 pages, with coloured tables. 1s. 6d.

This pamphlet gives a summary of the work so far done by the League of Nations in this field. [See Notes and Comments.]

**La Societe des Nations.** Monthly Bulletin of the Zagreb Association pour la S. des N., January issue.

## Books Received

**Yarns from the Far East.** By George G. Barnes. (Edinburgh House Press. 1s.)

**The School of Charity.** By Evelyn Underhill. (Longmans. 2s. 6d.)

**India in 1931-32: A Statement prepared for presentation to Parliament in accordance with the requirements of the 26th Section of the Government of India Act.** (The Government of India Central Publication Branch. 2s. 6d.)

**War in the Air.** By P. J. Noel Baker. A 4-page leaflet. (National Peace Council. 1s. 6d. per 100.)

**Pacifism and the Class War.** (National Peace Council. 2d., or 12s. 6d. per 100.)

**Public and Private Morality.** By R. B. Mowat. (Arrowsmith. 3s. 6d. net.)

**In Defence of Germany.** By G. E. O. Knight. (The Golden Eagle Publishing Co. 6d.)

**More Talk on Economics.** By L. Hey Sharp. (Simmons, Ltd., Sydney, Australia.)

## Taking Stock

## A BRISTOL EASTER SCHOOL

THE 1934 School for the Study of Contemporary International Affairs will meet this year at the University of Bristol from March 29 to April 3, and take stock of:—

## The Present Position.

Germany and Central Europe, Behind the Scenes in France, Diplomacy in the Balkans, The New Deal in the United States, Problems of the Pacific, The Armament Makers, The League and Human Welfare.

## The Outlook for a World System.

Proposals to amend the Covenant, The Regulation of National Armaments, The Case for an International Police Force, The Standard of Living.

## The Human Problem.

The Man in the Street, Education for World Co-operation.

## REGISTER NOW FOR EASTER IN THE WEST COUNTRY

Five full days' accommodation at Wills' Hall, Durham Downs. Lectures and discussions at the Easter School. Inclusive fee, 3½ guineas.

Particulars of this and of Geneva Summer Schools may be obtained from the League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.



## READERS' VIEWS

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

### BUILDING INTEREST

SIR,—I write to congratulate the Union on the success of the Albert Hall meeting, for which the Watford Branch took 60 tickets. I wonder if any other Branch at such a distance brought up so large a party?

We find these big meetings most valuable for local propaganda purposes and we have both made new members, and opened the eyes of old members, as a result of encouraging them to attend. It is a tremendous help to feel that you belong to a really big institution or society, and these big meetings certainly create and stimulate that feeling.

Watford.

F. G. PENMAN.

### CHEAP SNEERS AT PACIFISTS!

SIR,—In certain quarters it appears to be deemed smart and fashionable to indulge in cheap sneers at "Pacifists," who, by the way, under the old name of "Peacemakers," were blessed by the One whom Christendom is supposed to revere as "Children of God." May I be allowed to remind such sneerers that our greatest Generals have been self-declared pacifists?

Moreover, in our present stage of up-to-date civilisation what does common sense preach? One good old American motto that could be adopted world-wide by every people of every colour in every country is "United we stand: divided we fall."

Zangwill enumerated over forty different occupations that make hard money out of war and preparation therefor.

What does Humanity at large gain? Taxes, taxes, and more taxes! Wholesale idiotic butchery of its finest youth! The sowing of seeds of future slaughter and the perpetuation of senseless inherited international jealousies and hates. If civilised humanity is to endure, pacifism must be its life blood.

EDWARD BERWICK.

Pacific Grove, California.

### CHILDREN OF WALES BROADCAST

SIR,—Year after year you have allowed me, in the month of March, to call the attention of the readers of HEADWAY to the annual broadcast of the Children of Wales. This year the message will be sent out on May 18. In 1933, replies to the Twelfth Annual Message reached Wales from schools in some sixty countries—Newfoundland and Turkey joining for the first time in the world response. This is the English text of the 1934 Message:—

"From our little land of poetry and song we, boys and girls of Wales, greet you the boys and girls of every country under the sun.

We are thrilled to know that, through the air, our greeting can reach you. This is a wonderful world in which we live, a world which will be still more wonderful when these dark days are over.

We rejoice in the lovely things that are in the world, the beauty of the earth, the sea and the air, the heritage that belongs to us all and in which we are all united. We rejoice, too, in the courage of those pioneers of all countries who have conquered fear and danger. Deeds of daring like flying alone in the night across the Atlantic fill us all with pride.

Let us, then, boys and girls, so strive that every triumph over difficulty shall only serve to draw our nations closer together as members of one big family.

Peace and goodwill to you all. Let us make our dreams come true."

I shall be pleased to send to any reader of HEADWAY

who cares to apply for a copy, a 16-page illustrated pamphlet with the 1934 text printed in several languages.

GWILYM DAVIES, *Vice-President*,

Welsh National Council of the  
League of Nations Union.

### UNION ENVELOPES WITH SLOGAN

SIR,—Readers of HEADWAY, especially Branch secretaries, may perhaps be interested in the following scheme:—

As I use Union envelopes for all my private correspondence, I decided quite lately, that others might do the same. I arranged the names of my members under streets and set out to ask them if they would use the envelopes. Most of them agreed.

I also asked my neighbours, first, whether they supported the League system and then, if I received a satisfactory reply, if they would use the envelopes. In most cases I was successful. In fact, within a few weeks I have sold 1,200 envelopes, mainly in threepenny batches of 25.

W. J. BRIGDEN,

Balham and Tooting Branch.

Hon. Sec.

### A SUGGESTION

SIR,—When I see places like the Bull Ring here, filled with men who meet there because they have nowhere else to go, and listen to the agitators because they have nothing else to do, I feel we ought to have glazed frames, like the L.N.U. wayside pulpits, at reading height, into which we might put the quarterly news sheet or articles from HEADWAY.

They would at first be read from sheer boredom and later out of interest, till they came to be looked for and regularly read. Every group could help to get at the Un-get-at-able in this way.—Yours faithfully,

(Miss) A. STRATFORD COX.

Birmingham.

### PEACE IN THE AIR

SIR,—In your last issue, the writer of "World Airways—Why Not?" suggests that a less radical plan than ours would do. There is clearly force in the contention that some modified plan would more easily win agreement. But aerial aggression threatens to destroy all that we value, and although we obviously cannot hope to "prevent all possibility" of the misuse of civil aviation, we must try to make it as difficult as we can.

If we were equipping a railway we should not be satisfied with merely taking some precautions against accidents (nor would public opinion be satisfied); we should take every precaution, should adopt the best up-to-date system of signals, of training for personnel, of tests and inspection. So, too, for the safety of the people of the whole world, it is not merely a good system, but the best system that we must adopt. And an international body must be empowered to keep that system up-to-date.

It is for this reason that we recommend the international ownership of all transport aviation, and the public must already begin to face the fact that it may be necessary to take drastic measures with regard to tourist aviation while that is still largely a rich man's hobby. We think that thorough internationalisation will greatly promote the development of international flying and so promote international co-operation. It is possible that the system suggested by your reviewer would encourage international flying even more; but it would at the same time create big vested interests in private hands, perhaps secretly under national control, and it is easy to see that a powerful vested interest in something potentially military might become a new and grave menace.

"ESSENTIAL NEWS."

JONATHAN GRIFFIN.

## Mining and Maritime Matters

(From our Geneva Correspondent.)

Two classes of workers, miners and seamen, are particularly affected by decisions taken at the meeting of the Governing body of the "I.L.O." in Geneva in January.

After a discussion regarding the difficulties which prevented certain countries from ratifying the Convention limiting hours of work in coal mining, it was decided to call a tripartite meeting to facilitate simultaneous and early ratification. The seven States mentioned in the Convention (Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, France, Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands and Poland) will be invited to this meeting, which will take place, if possible, before the coming Session of the International Labour Conference. Other Governments may be represented and express their views if they so desire.

With regard to seamen, it was decided to call a special maritime Session of the Conference. It will meet directly after the general Session next year and will undertake the second discussion of questions\* relating to the work of seamen on which the first discussion took place at a similar session in 1929. The question of *holidays with pay* for seamen was added to the agenda.

In view of the fact that replies to the various *questionnaires* were still awaited from several Governments, the Governing Body decided to postpone the meeting of the next Session of the Conference from May 11 to June 4, feeling that distant countries should be given ample time to consider the comments of important industrial countries on such intricate questions as the 40-hour week and the like.

This being the first meeting since the announcement of Germany's intention to withdraw from the I.L.O., M. Jouhaux, French worker, pointed out that Germany had always enjoyed the same rights as any other member of the Organisation since the beginning and had never had any occasion to complain of having been placed in an inferior position.

Official observers have been sent in recent years by Turkey and Mexico, before they joined the Organisation, and by Egypt. Last year they were sent by the United States, which proposes to do so again this year. The Governing Body decided to recommend to the Conference that such observers, appointed by a non-member State, invited to the Conference, should have the right to attend plenary sittings and speak during general discussions, with the permission of the President. They should also be entitled to attend meetings of committees of the Conference and to speak, if specially called upon to do so by the chairman.

During the discussion of the report of Mr. Harold Butler, Director of the Office, the Brazilian Government representative affirmed the attachment of his country and of all the Latin-American States to the I.L.O.

\* Hours of work on Board Ship: Protection of seamen in case of sickness; Welfare at Ports: Officers' certificates of capacity.

### SYRETT ESSAY PRIZE

Mr. H. S. Syrett, a member of the Union's Executive Committee, is giving prizes to boys and girls under 13 years of age for the best answers to the following question: "What is the Good of the League of Nations?"

The first prize will be a free fortnight at the Peace Camp for League of Nations Pioneers in the New Forest (July 28—August 11) and books to the value of 10s. 0d. The second prize will be one free week at the Camp and books to the value of 10s. There are also two additional prizes of books.

Further and fuller particulars of the competition will be sent by the Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1, on the receipt of a stamped, addressed envelope.

## HOW TO LEARN A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Remarkable Success of New Pelman Method of Learning French, Italian, Spanish and German



A REMARKABLE success has been achieved by the famous Pelman Institute with its new system of teaching French, German, Italian and Spanish without the use of English.

People who have failed to learn languages by any other method are writing to say that the new Pelman Plan has enabled them to master all those difficulties which formerly prevented them from "getting on" with French, Italian, German and Spanish.

Here are a few examples of letters received from readers who have adopted this method.

"Your Italian Course is a revelation and a joy. I find myself often working at it eight and ten hours a day—if it can be called work." (I. C. 311.)

"I thought you would be interested to know that I got a 1st Class Army Interpreter's Certificate (French) last June, having started your Course in the previous October." (D. 1233.)

"I also wish to praise your system of instruction which I am positive is much better than many years of school work. I took the Oxford School Certificate Examination in July, and was pleasantly surprised when I found that I had obtained credit marks for both written and oral French." (W. 1775.)

"I want to express my gratitude to the Pelman Languages Institute. I first tried to learn French by the ordinary methods of correspondence schools, and I failed. Next I tried a gramophone method, and failed once more. It was, therefore, with little hope that I took up your Course, and my success has been a great surprise to me.

"I have many friends in France, with whom I correspond, and they would not believe I had written the letters myself." (S. 1939.)

Amongst the advantages of the new method are the following:—

*First.* It enables you to learn French in French, Spanish in Spanish, Italian in Italian, and German in German. No English is employed, consequently there is no translation.

*Second.* There are no vocabularies to be learnt by heart. You learn the words you require by using them, and in such a way that they stay in your mind without effort.

*Third.* Grammatical Difficulties are avoided. The Pelman method enables you to read, write, speak and understand a Foreign Language without spending months studying dreary grammatical rules. You absorb the grammar almost unconsciously as you go along.

### Write For Free Book To-Day

This new method is explained in a little book entitled "The Gift of Tongues." There are four editions of this book, one for each language.

**FRENCH, SPANISH, GERMAN, ITALIAN**

Also Courses in Afrikaans and Urdu.

You can have a free copy of any one of these by writing for it to-day to the

**Pelman Institute,  
114, Languages House, Bloomsbury Street,  
London, W.C.1.**

State which edition (French, German, Spanish or Italian) you want, and it will be sent you by return, post free.

Pelman (Overseas) Institutes: PARIS, 80, Boulevard Haussmann. NEW YORK, 271, North Avenue, New Rochelle. MELBOURNE, 396, Flinders Lane. DURBAN, Natal Bank Chambers. DELHI, 10, Alipore Road. CALCUTTA, 102, Clive Street. AMSTERDAM, Leliegracht 30. JAVA, Kromhoutweg 8, Bandoeng.







# The Writer's World

No. 18

March, 1934

For New Writers

## Can You Write?

The Call for New Talent

A GREAT FIELD OF OPPORTUNITY

By Michael Goring

OVER 1,000 newspapers and magazines in Great Britain rely upon the work of non-staff writers, and the supply of well-written articles and stories falls far short of requirements. Some free-lances (as outside contributors are aptly called) are certainly "professional" in that they devote all their time to literary work, but the great majority are people who write for the Press in their spare time. Excellent prices are paid for good work.

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

Between you and a steady sale of your MSS. lies technique—the knowledge of what to write about, how to shape

your MSS. and how to market them. You must have that knowledge to succeed as a writer.

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

How is it done? Write for the Institute's free booklet, "How to Succeed as a Writer," and you will see how you, if you have a little natural aptitude, can be turned in a few months into a free-lance journalist or story writer who is capable of earning a second income in leisure hours.

## What to Write About

By A Successful Journalist

YOUR particular interest—not necessarily an expert one—may be, say, Science, Psychology, Nature, Business, Domesticity, Children. There is ample scope for endless articles upon any of those subjects, and once one has learnt how to dig up information, one need not confine oneself to one's pet topic. To demonstrate how easy it is to find article matter from the general subject, glance at the titles under the headings below.

**NATURE.**—Nature's Mimicry; Hedgerow Medicines; How to Make a Bird-Bath.

**BUSINESS.**—Has the Business Woman "Made Good"? The Secret of Success; The Best Hour of the Day.

**DOMESTICITY.**—That Spare Room; Make Your Own Wine; Hot Weather Dishes.

**CHILDREN.**—The Boyish Girl; Are Prizes Wrong? The Best Games for Children.

You might not now be able to write on any of these subjects, but if you learn to express yourself in a journalistic style there is scarcely one you could not tackle. It is not a matter of particular knowledge but of knowing where to seek certain information and of having the confidence to treat a subject—a confidence born of ease of style and acquiring the rules of construction.

Send for "How to Succeed as a Writer," the free booklet issued by the Regent Institute. It will show you of what the literary Courses consist and how it is possible to make an absorbing hobby both cultural and remunerative.

## "I Am Inundated With Work"

—a new writer

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

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

"Ever since I started your lessons I have been fortunate enough to be inundated with work, having written travel notes and also a travel book, which is being published next month."

### "Remarkable Success"

"My success has been remarkable, and I pride myself that now I have achieved my end and can claim to be a professional journalist earning substantial monetary reward for my work, thanks for which are in the first place due to your guidance and coaching."

### An Article a Week

"In the two years which have elapsed since I completed your Course in Journalism I have had, on an average, about one article a week accepted. . . . Considering how little time I can devote to writing my progress—thanks to your Course—has surprised and pleased me."

### 200 Contributions Accepted

"I find I have been doing very nicely in the past year. I have had nearly 200 contributions accepted."

### Writing for Leading Magazines

"I went through your Journalism and Short Story Courses, and with a result that I cannot speak too highly of. I have the entry to the best magazines of the day, and act, not merely as a free lance but am constantly receiving commissions."

## Free Lessons for New Writers

Interesting Offer to Readers

Post the Coupon To-day

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

THE records of the Regent Institute (which has a world-wide reputation for training free-lance journalists) contain scores of cases of almost immediate success won by students who had never written a line for publication before they enrolled.

### Earning While Learning

One student earned over £100 while learning; another sold 90 articles and short stories; and many others have become regular contributors to the Press before reaching the end of the course.

"The Regent Institute has an enormous list of successful students."