

HEADWAY

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

AUGUST, 1933

[Registered with the G.P.O. for transmission by the Canadian Magazine Post] Price 3d.

CONTENTS

| | | | |
|---|----------|--|----------|
| Matters of Moment | Page 150 | Results of the International Labour Conference | Page 158 |
| In Praise of Parliament. [Editorial] | 152 | Moral Disarmament. By Brian Tunstall | 159 |
| Nazi Tactics and Mass Psychology. By Vivian Ogilvie | 153 | The Edinburgh Council. By John Eppstein | 160 |
| Shifting Centres of the Drug Traffic. By Leslie R. Aldous | 154 | The Queen's Hall Meeting | 161 |
| The Chinese Eastern Railway. By Stephen Heald | 155 | Film Notes | 161 |
| In the Executive | 157 | Book Notices | 162 |
| Disarmament. By David Woodward | 158 | Japanese Competition. By R. F. Fowler | 164 |
| | | Readers' Views | 165 |
| | | Notes and News | 166 |



With acknowledgments to "The Evening Standard"

BACK TO NATURE.

MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE world is weary of pacts, and in this country at least the signature of the Four Power Pact in the magnificent surroundings of the Palazzo Venezia at Rome has excited little interest. Yet it would be a profound mistake to diminish the importance of this agreement, or to fail to take full advantage of it as a step towards the pacification of Europe. Signor Mussolini has had the greatness to see that salvation for Italy lies not in a divided but in a united Europe. It is true that the crude militarism of the Nazis and the ruthless treatment which they have meted out to the Jews and to their political opponents has isolated Germany, more perhaps than any great power has ever been isolated in times of peace. For this reason the danger of two rival blocks of powers in Europe is less than it was when the Italian Premier first outlined his plan to Mr. MacDonald and Sir John Simon in Rome. But the differences between France and the Little Entente on the one hand, and the defeated countries on the other, are still profound; and the loss which the League of Nations has suffered from Franco-Italian antipathy has at times been serious. For these reasons a definite assurance that the four great Western Powers will confer and collaborate regularly within the framework of the League for the next ten years is a real encouragement. M. de Jouvenel deserves the thanks of Europe for securing, during his brief tenure of the French Embassy at Rome, a greater degree of cordiality in Franco-Italian relations than we have seen since the beginning of the Fascist régime.

M. Litvinoff and the Little Entente

NO sooner had M. Litvinoff secured the lifting of the embargo upon the import of Russian goods into Great Britain, while the British Government secured the very welcome release of the remaining British prisoners in Moscow, than he signed two Conventions, intended to supplement the Kellogg Pact for the outlawry of war by the definition of aggression. The first Convention was signed as between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan, Estonia, Latvia, Persia, Poland, Rumania and Turkey; the second between the Soviet Union and the Little Entente (Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia). If the Four Power Pact is a good augury for the settlement of disputes between the principal European Members of the League, the Soviet's Conventions to define aggression, which take into account another formidable group of European Powers—Poland and the Little Entente—are also a good omen for the peace of Europe; for they appreciably diminish the risks of conflict between the greatest non-Member State of the League which is a European Power, and its neighbours. The official British attitude is that the definition of an aggressor is of no great importance. This is not shared by other countries, and nothing

but good can come of the adoption in M. Litvinoff's Conventions of the clear definition of an aggressor produced by the Security Committee of the Disarmament Conference. It may be assumed that these Conventions mark the end of the aggressive foreign policy of Russian Communism; they also put an end to any fear of a Russian-German alliance against the Western Powers.

Small Consolation

THE adjournment of the World Economic Conference was inevitable after President Roosevelt's refusal at the end of June to join in monetary stabilisation, and the insistence of France and the other gold countries that this measure was the prerequisite of any extensive financial or commercial reforms. It is too early to assess the extent of the major failure—that is of the tasks which international co-operation must sooner or later undertake—or of the minor successes. The discussions on tariffs showed little willingness in any quarter to engage in a real effort for "Economic Disarmament." The nations found it easier to agree to restrict supply. A variety of commodities have been under review, including wheat, wine, timber, coal, cocoa, tin and sugar. In the cases of coal and wheat, the League's efforts to secure international agreements go back several years. It seems that the sole definite achievement of the present Conference may be an agreement between the exporting countries on a scheme to regulate the supplies of wheat becoming available for export, and a supplementary agreement with the importing countries on the degree of protection they shall afford to their own producers. Even that is not certain, but should it eventuate, no one acquainted with the difficulties would be inclined to belittle it.

The Far East

IN the debate on the Foreign Office vote in the House of Commons last month, Sir Austen Chamberlain said that he found it impossible to defend the course of action which Japan had pursued or to pretend that that course of action was reconcilable with her solemn international engagements. He put forward the constructive proposal that the League should follow up the proposals of the Lytton Commission for the creation of a really autonomous and free State in Manchuria. In his reply, Mr. Eden concentrated on answering the criticisms of other members of the House and avoided saying anything about Sir Austen's proposals. Apparently the Government's policy is one of *laissez-faire* and of hope that other countries will endeavour to make laws so that they shall be in a similar position to ourselves with regard to the control of the export of arms. In the press of other business the importance of the Far East is likely to be forgotten, though on the vindication of the Covenant, in the Union's opinion, hangs not only the problem of disarmament but

also that of the restoration of confidence on which the revival of prosperity depends.

Mandates

AT its 23rd Session the Permanent Mandates Commission, sitting under the chairmanship of the Marquis Theodoli, had to examine the annual reports for 1932 of the Mandatory Powers for Palestine (Great Britain), Syria and the Lebanon (France), Tanganyika (Great Britain), South West Africa (South Africa), New Guinea (Australia), and Nauru (New Zealand). The Commission also had to examine several general questions such as the use of the cinema, in view of the difference in outlook and culture between the various races living in the Mandated areas, and also with regard to Conventions which have special application to territories under mandate. In this connection, the special question regarding closer administrative customs and fiscal union between Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda was examined on the basis of material provided by the British Government.

South America

THANKS to the fact that special aeroplanes were put at its disposal by the Colombian Government, the League Commission got through its work of pacification at Leticia more quickly than was expected. To all intents and purposes the Peruvian and Colombian dispute is settled. Even the Bolivian-Paraguayan affair shows signs of amelioration. Bolivia has agreed that a League Commission of Investigation should be sent to the Gran Chaco territory, a procedure which is substantially in agreement with the Council's suggestions last May.

Weather and Accidents

IN the latest issue of the I.L.O.'s periodical, *The Industrial Safety Survey*, Dr. K. Hauck, the late Chief Factory Inspector at Vienna, draws attention to the way in which the weather affects the number and nature of accidents that occur. Apart from direct phenomena such as rain (which loosens masses of earth so that they slip or collapse), or snow and hoar frost (which are conducive to short circuits on overhead heavy current lines), very hot or very cold weather, through affecting the hands which may be moistened with perspiration or numbed by cold, cause accidents. In hot weather also the taking off of too many clothes increases the number of accidents. The fashion of working stripped to the waist that has become popular in many countries increases the possibilities of injuries to the unprotected skin from sharp, hot or corrosive substances; and even the wind, in blowing off a cap, has been the cause of more than one fatal accident since the owner, in rushing blindly after it, fails to notice an oncoming works locomotive, an obstacle in the way, or a pit.

Moral Disarmament

CONSIDERABLE discussion is expected at the meetings of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation on the request of last year's Assembly that the Committee should "seek the most effective means of getting the assistance of the Press in raising the general level of knowledge of the masses." Such a subject opens up large possibilities. Among the other items with which the committee (sitting under the chairmanship of Professor Gilbert Murray) will have to deal is first and foremost Moral Disarmament, since in the breathing space granted by the adjournment of the Disarmament Conference a series of concrete conclusions can be put forward. On Educational questions there will be the report of the Subcommittee of Experts to be considered and adopted.

The Newspaper War

THE *Financial News* has rightly directed attention to the folly of the newspaper war which is being waged between sections of the Press which vie with each other in their expenditures for the purpose of buying readers. It is pointed out that this policy is not only unfair to the shareholders in the papers concerned, but is also "insensate folly" which can only lead to further extravagance and bring journalism as a whole into derision. Even the *Daily Express* admitted on July 12 that "the cost of the newspaper war is ruinous," and referred to its "still more disastrous possibilities in the future."

Can Lord Beaverbrook still not see that the tendency towards international wars is at least equally "disastrous" to Britain's "shareholders"—otherwise British citizens?

An I.L.O. Memorial

TOWARDS the end of the International Labour Conference Monsieur Francois Albert, the French Minister of Labour, unveiled Landowski's bust of Arthur Fontaine, which has now been set up in the grounds of the Office at Geneva. M. Fontaine, it will be recalled, died some twelve months since after a long illness. He was the first Chairman that the Governing Body ever had, and it is a tribute to his tact that he was annually re-elected to that difficult post. M. Francois Albert, in his address, recalled that in his younger days Arthur Fontaine was the negotiator of the first international labour treaty ever signed (France-Italy, 1904). The bust was the result of individual gifts, including thirty thousand working men in many countries of the world. It was received on behalf of the I.L.O. by Sir Atul Chatterjee, the present Chairman of the Governing Body, who remarked that the spiritual background of the organisation was in large part due to Arthur Fontaine's wide internationalism and his vision of the harmonisation of the needs of the State, the worker and the employer.



In Praise of Parliament

DISCONTENT is the lever of political endeavour. It is because they believe "there is something rotten in the State" that political parties devise their plans to put things right. It is because the foreign policy of the country is not entirely in conformity with the ideal that the League of Nations Union exists to propound a course of conduct for the nation. Its methods of fulfilling this mission very naturally consist not only in winning the support of public opinion for its views, but in pressing them upon His Majesty's Ministers and upon Members of Parliament throughout the country. That is as it should be. But in the process the ardent constituent must often seem to his local legislator to be a plaguy nuisance; and to the ardent constituent the legislator often seems obtuse. It would indeed be easy to fill pages with criticisms of our Parliamentary system, particularly where foreign affairs are concerned. But that is not our present theme. There are times when we ought to count our blessings; and those who followed the course of the debate on the Foreign Office vote in the House of Commons on July 5 realise that we still have much for which to be grateful in our British public life.

All around us Parliaments have perished; dictatorships, whether of the Right or of the Left, have become the rule. But here we have seven hours devoted to a careful, dispassionate survey of world affairs; Members converted by argument; supporters and opponents of the Government agreeing upon main lines of policy; and constant reference to the lively interest in the problem of peace which is felt by the general body of citizens whom the Members represent.

"A true reflection of the feeling of the people of this country" was the Foreign Secretary's summary of the debate. "I am convinced," he said, "that there is a more widespread and more sincere interest in international relations than there ever was before. It is more than ever important to study them, to understand them and to try to do what we can to influence them in the right way."

Out of this discussion, which ranged all over the world, let us take only one point which appears in most of the speeches, the question of the British reservation to Article 34 of the Draft Disarmament Convention concerning the retention of bombing aircraft for police purposes in outlying regions, a subject upon which, in the fortnight preceding the debate, branches of the Union all over the country are known to have communicated with their Members of Parliament.

Mr. Lansbury, leader of the Opposition, led off with vigour: "For the British Government of all Governments to make a reservation on the question of air armaments and bombing is very bad indeed. The defence that it is for police purposes is really a scandal on the lips of an Englishman." Sir Austen Chamberlain conceded that "for the sole purpose for which the British Government desire it to be used, for such operations as we have to undertake from time to time on the North-West Frontier of India," the aeroplane has many advantages, if only because it can "nip trouble in the bud and prevent it spreading." But he continued: "This question arises now in relation to a general disarmament convention. . . . Can you allow a Disarmament Conference to break down by your insistence on this system? The answer is inevitable."

Mr. Amery and Commander James, despite Sir Austen's plea, put forward a very strong case for retaining bombing aircraft, the latter going so far as to say "the whole of British power east and south of Suez to-day rests on the air arm." But Captain McEwen changed his mind on the merits of the case. "I, too," he said, "have dropped a bomb or two from the air in my time. . . . I did not make up my mind exactly what attitude I intended to adopt in this matter. . . . But the arguments that he (Sir Austen Chamberlain) put forward were so good that I was completely convinced that the case he was making out against the retention of aerial bombing was a good one."

But the most striking part of the debate was the acceptance in all parts of the House of the fact that disarmament was a necessary condition of peace, and that the special interests of the Empire should give way to the general interests of the world. "The peoples of the world," said Mr. Vyvyan Adams, "are presented with a glorious opportunity at Geneva to eliminate one of the most terrible threats to civilised humanity. . . . If one takes the short view about police bombing, it is perfectly true that it is expedient, though very selfish; if one takes the long view, it is nothing less than suicide." And Mr. Robert Bernays, fresh from his visit to Germany and the alarming impressions which he had gained concerning the danger of re-armament in that country, seemed to sum up the feeling in the House when he said: "Surely it is insanity to weigh the police considerations on the extremities of the Empire beside the safety of the Empire itself at its heart. London is the most vulnerable city in the world."

Captain Eden replied for the Government and denied that the reservation on police bombing had the critical importance which some members attached to it, but added: "It is one of the problems which will have to be regulated if, and when, we come to the Second Reading. I can assure him (Sir Austen Chamberlain) that I should feel as strongly as he the terrible responsibility of any breakdown of the Conference upon such an issue."

We make no apology for quoting at length from this debate, and we commend those who speak lightly of our parliamentary institutions to a study of Hansard for July 5. There can be no doubt that, in Great Britain, at least, the whole of the Union's endeavour to assist in moulding the foreign policy of the country in accordance with the Covenant of the League of Nations is abundantly worth while.

Nazi Tactics and Mass Psychology . .

Hitler's Grasp of National Emotions

By VIVIAN OGILVIE

(Mr. Ogilvie has recently returned to England after many years spent in Germany.)

THE triumph of National Socialism in a country which had, even under the circumstances of the March election, not given a majority vote for it, is well worth looking into as a piece of political technique. However one may deplore the aims and methods of the Nazis, one cannot refrain from admiration for their leaders as psychologists and organisers.

Some years ago Mr. Bertrand Russell wrote that a political party which had digested the results of modern psychology could sweep the country. That is what has taken place in Germany. The friends of peace and international co-operation have too often worked on the assumptions that people are moved by reason and that people will do what is in their interest, if it is explained to them. The Nazi leaders have relied on the instinctive and emotional sides of human nature.

The Luck of the Nazis

Every successful movement has probably its stroke of luck. The Nazis' was this: the years since the war had been marked by so much distress and need that the responsibility came easily to be laid at the door of those in power, and as they were, in part, the men who were trying to build a new Germany on the lines of liberty, peace and international friendliness, discredit fell on the ideas they represented. So that when Captain Goering declared that "The Germany of to-day is not the Germany of a Brüning or a Stresemann," his statement was greeted with tumultuous applause. The blame could also be partly pushed on to the Allies or the Jews when occasion demanded additional strings to the fiddle. A profound dissatisfaction was there, a deep-seated feeling that Germany was being wronged and mocked, and on this promising foundation the Nazis worked, rubbing the points where German pride was feeling sore.

As the movement gathered strength, the leaders made masterly use of the strategical principle of inevitability—nothing succeeds like success—and even went so far in one of their popular papers as to publish weekly horoscopes of Hitler, Papen, Schleicher, Hindenburg or whomever else they chose, even horoscopes of the German nation, to show who was favoured by the stars and who was doomed. This worked well, especially when the stars foretold events for which the Nazis had nearly completed their preparations. The increase of the Nazi poll at the successive elections, although it did not come up to their expectations, was anyhow open to description as a "rising flood," and the notion was infectious. The heavy industries, with their control of press and cinema, eagerly collaborated in the campaign.

German Citizens and the League

The only aspect of the work of the League of Nations which was publicly heard of in Germany was disarmament and the prevention of wars, but the disputes which the League had satisfactorily settled were not reported, while the Manchurian affair made a very popular stick to beat it with, and the protraction of disarmament (by the Nations, incidentally, not by the League) was a regular subject of derision. The news films showed the warlike preparations of the rest of the world, as evidence

of the necessity for Germany to recover her military and naval strength in order to take part in the only real international discussions, namely, those of blood and iron. Other films were made to identify Germany's greatness with the Prussian military power of the past, and to excite in the young a romantic desire to be soldiers. In some parts of Germany, such a film as "All Quiet on the Western Front," because of its unromantic tendency, could only be shown privately. When I saw it about two years ago the Nazis were waiting for us after the show, and we had to be protected by the police. Films of soldier life in the gay uniforms of before the war were very frequent and touched one of the instinctive springs of human nature—the manly pride of men—by painting war as manly, peace and reasonable negotiation as womanish. The primitive sexual reaction proved very reliable. Naturally the Nazis have cleared the women out of public life (except some unavoidable forms of social work) and preach the gospel that woman's rôle is to bear children and look after the house. A large number of German women are captivated by this display of cave-man resolution, particularly when it is clothed in the stimulating exterior of serried, uniformed ranks on the march, with bands and flags. So, in addition to the film propaganda and the suppression of books which describe the last war as it actually was, they are vigorously combating the enlightenment of women that various organisations had been carrying on in recent years, and declare the statements of scientists on chemical and bacteriological warfare to be wildly exaggerated scare stories.

Wireless Propaganda

The wireless has played a great and terrifying part in the campaign. As soon as Herr Hitler was able to do so—and that was before the election—he took complete charge of it and used it day and night to flood the country with propaganda. He himself was heard fairly frequently, while one could hear his leading henchmen every evening. Their speeches were devoted to the greatness of Germany, the sins of the Allies and the Jews, and attacks on the previous administrators of Germany. They told scores of corruption stories which, needless to say, the people charged had no opportunity of answering, and the unceasing stream of speech carried many people with it.

The religion Herr Hitler has set before his followers is tactically excellent, because the most ordinary man can see in the god offered for his worship an enlargement of himself, but one wonders what will happen when the German people's temperature returns to normal and delirium gives place to thought. But, for the purpose of bringing Herr Hitler to power this bogus crusade has proved to be first-rate stuff.

The possibilities in the hand of a modern government which has worked up patriotic passion and hatred, when it controls the press, the sale of books, the cinema and the wireless and employs a system of denunciation combined with barbarous punishments, are so great that it can mould a nation's opinions in any way it wishes. Add to this an almost water-tight control of education, and we have a danger that can hardly be over-estimated.

Shifting Centres of the Drug Traffic

Russell Pasha has waged ceaseless war on drug smugglers for upwards of five years. He is Commandant of the Cairo City Police and head of the Central Narcotics Intelligence Bureau, which is out to smash the "Drug Kings" of Europe.



By
Leslie
R.
Aldous

As a result of the close control exercised, the illicit sources of supply in Western Europe appear to be rapidly drying up." This cheering statement is taken from the report on seizures in the illicit drug traffic during 1932, which came before the League's Advisory Committee on Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs at its recent sixteenth session.

Altogether there is abundant proof that Europe has in the League of Nations excellent machinery for rendering impossible the manufacture of drugs in large quantities. When the Opium Committee met, it had the satisfaction of knowing that more than sufficient ratifications had been registered to enable the 1931 Convention for Limiting the Manufacture and Regulating the Distribution of Narcotic Drugs to come into force on July 9, for the Limitation Convention has obtained a record number of ratifications in record time.

Although excessive optimism is always dangerous, and will prove especially so in the case of the drug traffic if it is made an excuse for relaxing effort, Europe, certainly, is no longer a happy hunting ground for drug traffickers in search of vast profits. Unfortunately, while important gangs have been broken up and scores of traffickers arrested, the "brains" of these organizations have often managed to slip through the net. They are being kept on the run, and dare not appear in any of their old haunts, but the European States cannot afford to ignore the danger of allowing their defences, so laboriously erected by means of collaboration against the dope scourge, to permit persistent penetration through the medium of cunningly devised schemes of large-scale smuggling from the bases established outside, for "distance is no object" to drug traffickers.

That, in essence, is one of the big problems which the Opium Committee will have to continue to tackle in the future, for serious developments of the illicit drug traffic are occurring at an alarming rate, in Asia particularly.

Egypt and Hashish

Russell Pasha, the energetic Director of the Central Narcotics Intelligence Bureau at Cairo, actively assisted the Committee with his usual profound insight as regards the inner workings of the drug traffic. Egypt has long occupied the unenviable position of being a kind of "half-way house" in the traffic between East and West.

This retired British general congratulated the Opium Committee on its intention to deal effectively with the hashish problem. So far, of course, major attention has been concentrated at Geneva on the derivatives of opium, such as morphine and heroin, and on cocaine. It is interesting to note, however, that the League Conventions, like Egyptian legislation, make no distinction between these "white" drugs and "black" drugs.

For that reason, it is not only logical but perfectly within the rights of the League to take action also in connection with hashish.

In reply to criticisms regarding the smuggling of hashish from Syria, the French delegate (M. Bourgeois) described the efforts being made in the mandated territory to suppress the traffic and to reduce the area under cultivation. Russell Pasha's reply was that contraband in Syria was on a larger scale than the French delegate imagined.

In the course of this debate interesting facts came to light about the situation in Egypt. A new habit was spreading in the use of "black tea"—concentrated essence of tannin. Addiction impaired the victims' capacity for work. The Egyptian police have been so active and the courts so severe in their sentences that at one time no fewer than 4,088 drug traffickers were in prison simultaneously.

The Situation in China

The Opium Committee passed on to a detailed examination of the serious situation in China. Without doubt, the military invasion by Japan has contributed to the prevailing confusion. In these circumstances, the Chinese Government has not been able to cope with the narcotics problem in an efficient manner. There is also reason to suppose that the foreign concessions and settlements are being used as bases for smuggling operations. According to the Egyptian Government's report for 1932, as much as 5 tons of heroin (a thousand million medical doses) a month were in 1928 flowing through the ports of Shanghai, Tientsin and Dairen.

In China, it is evident, the manufacture of modern drugs has become more serious than the old problem of smoking opium. Secret morphine factories have been established. So-called "anti-opium pills" are in many cases more dangerous than the drug which they are supposed to counteract.

After considerable discussion, the Committee adopted a resolution providing for the establishment of a special permanent sub-committee to examine methods of establishing close collaboration between the Chinese authorities and other Powers in the campaign against drugs.

The special position in two other countries was also examined. The Persian representative expressed the opinion that, although the opium habit is firmly ingrained in the older generation, it is being lost by Persian youth. Future generations will be freed from the scourge. In Turkey, poppy is being replaced by other crops, and the Government is granting credits to

farmers to aid the cultivation of beet. Sugar factories are being established.

In its final report to the League Council, the Advisory Committee vehemently protested against the move to reduce the budget of the Opium Section in the interests of economy. At the very moment when additional work, e.g., the enforcement of the Limitation Convention, is being thrust upon the Section, a cheese-paring policy is obviously to be deprecated. If persisted in, it will probably render impossible one of the measures which the Committee regards as among the most important, i.e., the publication, through a Black List, of the names of notorious traffickers.

The Chinese Eastern Railway

ANOTHER
MANCHURIAN
PROBLEM



By
STEPHEN
HEALD

ON June 25 negotiations opened in Tokyo between representatives of Soviet Russia and Manchukuo regarding the proposed sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

Ever since its inception in 1896, the railway has been a constant source of friction and an important factor in the relations of China, Russia and Japan. As recently as 1929 it featured in an outbreak of hostilities between China and Russia. During the last few months a dispute concerning the withdrawal by Russia of rolling-stock claimed to belong to the railway evoked strongly-worded protests from Manchukuo, supported by Japan, which led at the end of May to the blocking of the main line near the eastern frontier. This action was no doubt taken deliberately to force the issue, and it looked as though a serious situation might be precipitated, when the suggested sale of the railway to Japan or Manchukuo served to relax the tension.

The railway represents a direct cut from Chita to Vladivostok and effects a saving of nearly 600 miles on the all-Russian route along the Amur and Ussuri Rivers. The Tsarist Government was quick to appreciate this, and when a secret Sino-Russian treaty of alliance against Japan was signed in 1896, the consent of the Chinese Government to the construction of the line was obtained.

The Original Contract

In September, 1896, a contract was signed between China and the Russo-Chinese Bank, by the terms of which China granted a concession for the construction of the Chita-Vladivostok line and agreed to pay to the

Bank the sum of 5,000,000 taels, which should have been returned on completion of the line. The actual construction and operation of the line were to be undertaken by the Chinese Eastern Railway Company, which was a separate Russian company. Under the contracts the company, which had a Chinese chairman, obtained numerous and quite exceptional privileges such as the right to acquire all land necessary for the construction, upkeep, operation and protection of the line, China agreeing to be responsible for the protection of the line against bandits, but the company assumed the right to maintain its own police in the railway zone.

The contract further provided that after 80 years from its completion (1903) the railway would revert to China without payment. After 36 years China should have the option of redeeming the railway on full payment of capital, debts and interest.

Russia and Manchuria

During the years that followed Russia made full use of the terms of the contract to extend her influence in Manchuria. She also established virtual administrative autonomy in the railway zone. The Boxer disturbances gave her an excuse to send troops into Manchuria, which had not been withdrawn when relations with Japan became strained, and the Russo-Japanese war broke out in 1904. By the terms of peace, Russia transferred to Japan the lease of the South Manchuria Railway—a transfer recognised by China in a separate Treaty in the same year (1905). While the war checked Russian expansion, it resulted

in the development of two rival spheres of influence—the Russian sphere in the north, with the C.E.R. (broad-gauge) terminating at the port of Vladivostok; the Japanese sphere in the south, with the S.M.R. (standard gauge); and the leased territory of Kwantung, including the port of Dairen. Since then the triangular railway rivalries of China, Russia and Japan have been the salient factor in the Manchurian situation.

The 1924 Conventions

During the disorganisation of the War and the Russian Revolution, and until 1922, the railway was administered by an Inter-Allied Board. Meanwhile, in 1920, after negotiations with the Russo-Asiatic Bank, which held the majority of the shares in the railway, China assumed provisional administrative control of the railway pending arrangements with a recognised Government in Russia. It was, however, not until May, 1924, that the signature of two important Agreements took place in Peking.

The first declared the railway to be a purely commercial enterprise, handed over to China the judicial and administrative control of the railway zone gained by Tsarist Russia, and agreed to the eventual redemption of the railway by China, with the further important provision that the future of the railway should be decided between the two parties to the exclusion of all third parties. The second agreement dealt with the question of management.

At the time of the signature of the Convention, Chang Tso-lin was in complete control of Manchuria and at war with the Central Government. In September the U.S.S.R. thought it advisable to conclude a separate agreement with him in the same terms.*

The years from 1925 to 1929 were marked by a series of incidents arising out of increasing friction over the railway. The Chinese denounced its use as a centre for Communist propaganda. Raids on Soviet Consulates, followed by the seizure of the railway and the arrest of the Russian staff, led to an outbreak of hostilities in 1929. An agreement was eventually reached, but a conference in the following year to settle outstanding questions and to discuss the sale of the railway to China was prolonged without any result, until, with the Japanese occupation of Manchuria in 1931-33, Russian interest was diverted from China to Japan.

The Proposed Sale of the C.E.R.

Trouble with Japan was a different matter, and Russia was faced with the choice of serious complications with Japan or the sacrifice of the railway. In any case, with Japan in control of Manchuria, possession of the railway has become more a source of embarrassment than a strategic or commercial asset to Russia. Consequently, when the dispute with Manchuria over the withdrawal of the rolling-stock began to assume a serious aspect, M. Litvinov decided to propose the sale of the railway.

Russia's legal right to sell was immediately challenged by China, and on May 11 M. Litvinov issued a statement. The Soviet Government, he said, had always been prepared to sell the railway to China, but China had been unable to buy. As a result of the Manchurian trouble the Nanking Government had "ceased to be an active partner of the U.S.S.R.," which, in the view of the U.S.S.R., deprived Nanking of "any legal or moral right to appeal to these agreements," or to protest against the sale of the railway "to the Government which exists in Manchuria and has succeeded to the

rights and liabilities conferred on the Chinese Government there."

The Chinese Government, in reply, recalled the Russian agreement to the redemption of the railway by China in the Peking Convention of 1924, which also "explicitly stipulates that the future of the C.E.R. shall be determined . . . to the exclusion of any third party or parties."

In conclusion the Chinese Note reminded the Soviet Government of its signature of the Kellogg Pact and of the fact that the proposed transfer was tantamount to recognition of a country internationally condemned as unlawful, and giving aid and assistance to the aggressor party.

Such then, in brief outline, is the history of the C.E.R. and the background of the negotiations at present proceeding—negotiations which may well be protracted, for Russia is above all anxious to avoid a conflict with Japan; but time is an important factor operating in favour of Japan, for the occupation of Manchuria is progressively diminishing the value of the railway to Russia and undermining the Russian position in Vladivostok.

AS OTHERS SEE US!

THE following is an extract from an editorial article which appeared at the end of May in the "World Telegram" of America.

This journal is one of the Sciepps-Howard group, and the article was probably printed in twenty-five or more papers circulating throughout the States. We reprint it here as an indication of the possible trend of foreign public opinion of British feeling:—

BRITAIN'S PEACE SABOTAGE.

When President Roosevelt made his great peace appeal to all nations and offered to enter an effective non-aggression pact, it was assumed that other large nations would follow that leadership. . . .

The practice of blocking peace moves is getting to be a habit of the British Government.

The British Government emasculated the Kellogg anti-war pact with reservations which made it virtually meaningless.

The British Government tacitly supported Japanese treaty violation and aggression in Manchuria and repeatedly blocked League action against Japan.

The British Government is now trying to kill the Roosevelt non-aggression pact before it is born.

This anti-peace policy does not represent the British people; it is dictated by the imperialists of the British War Office and Admiralty. But that does not make it any the less disastrous for the world's peace plans.

This is the sort of thing which makes it so easy for the American big navy group to argue that the American Fleet should be built up to parity with the British. For our part, we grow weary of the constant British charge that the United States will not co-operate for peace—accompanied by British moves to defeat American peace co-operation.

It is not necessary to go to London to find Anglo-Saxon hypocrisy. We have had plenty of it in American foreign policy. But in the case of the Roosevelt non-aggression proposal our hands are clean.

IN THE EXECUTIVE

DISARMAMENT POLICY

Special Notice.

THE Disarmament Conference has adjourned. It meets again on October 16. If it is to succeed it will require all the support it can get from public opinion. In the view of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, the following points should be specially stressed at this juncture:—

The adjournment of the Disarmament Conference does not mean that the Conference has failed, or that the need of a Disarmament Treaty is any less urgent.

On the contrary, the situation in Germany has rendered an agreed reduction and limitation of armaments more important than ever.

Yet we cannot hope to achieve a Disarmament Treaty unless provision is made both for a real advance towards equality of status for Germany and security for France.

The unconditional abolition of military aircraft and of bombing from the air within a limited period, as well as the abolition of the other aggressive weapons now forbidden to Germany, would constitute the most practical and at the same time the most striking steps towards equality.

From the point of view of security, whatever other measures may be employed, we should advocate the provision of economic sanctions against Rearmament, which can only be regarded as preparation for aggression.

The principal economic sanctions contemplated would be the refusal to admit imports from any country found guilty by the Permanent Disarmament Commission of exceeding the limit fixed for its armaments in the Treaty.

Among other recent decisions of the Executive is the publication of a booklet on Treaty Revision, and of pamphlets containing the special reports presented to the Edinburgh Council on the manufacture of arms, sanctions and the question of a League air force. A special sub-committee was appointed to advise upon the policy to be put forward in regard to the Sino-Japanese dispute, in view of the armistice imposed by the Japanese at the gates of Peking.

On the occasion of Sir Eric Drummond's retirement, the Executive paid their tribute to his great services to peace by organising a mass meeting at which he spoke in the Queen's Hall, and also by issuing a note to the Press saying: "To have built up and directed for fourteen difficult years a permanent international civil service with so high a standard of integrity, impartiality and efficiency as the Secretariat of the League displays, may be seen by the historian of the future to be one of the greatest contributions which any one man of this generation has made to the order and tranquillity of mankind."

At its meeting on July 6 the Executive drew attention to Italy's unconditional ratification of the Washington Hours Convention, and to the efforts being made in France and the U.S.A. to reduce unemployment by diminishing hours of work, and "urged H.M. Government to treat the question of reduction of hours of work as requiring urgent and immediate consideration."

A consultation was arranged between Lord Cecil and other members of the Political and Parliamentary Committee and Captain Eden concerning the most helpful line which the Union could pursue at the present time to help the Disarmament Conference. On the 19th a special meeting of Members of Parliament was organised for Captain Eden to speak and answer questions on the future of the Conference. The Women's Advisory Council have decided to send a deputation to urge the Government to abandon their claim to retain bombing aircraft for "police purposes." Dozens of branches of the Union have written to their Members of Parliament in the same sense.

NEW UNION PUBLICATIONS

World Defence. No. 348. 2d.

A political report, covering the entire subject of the Sanctions of the League and including a special report on Air Disarmament and the question of a League Air Force.

The Private Manufacture of Arms. No. 347. 1d.

The report of the Special Committee appointed by the Executive, showing the arguments for and against the suppression of private manufacture.

OFFICIAL LEAGUE AND I.L.O. PUBLICATIONS

Statistical Year Book of the League of Nations, 1932-33. (7th Edition.) (George Allen & Unwin. Wrappers, 7s. 6d.; cloth, 10s.)

The Statistical Year Book of the League of Nations is the most complete and authoritative compilation of internationally comparable official statistics for all countries of the world. It covers a wide range of information, including economic and financial subjects.

Trade in Arms and Ammunition, 1933. (1933. IX. 6.) 389 pages and index. 14s.

This edition comprises the trade in arms and ammunition of practically the entire world.

Report of the Special Committee on Effectives to the General Commission of the Disarmament Conference. (1933. IX. 8. 9d.)

National Defence Expenditure Commission. Addendum to the report of the Technical Committee. Vol. 2. Summary of information on U.S.S.R. (1933. IX. 3. Vol. 2. Addendum. 6d.)

Report of the Fourth Session of the Committee of Enquiry for Public Works and National Technical Equipment. (1933. VIII. 1. 6d.)

Audited Accounts for the Fourteenth Financial Period. (1933. X. 1. 4s.)

Disclosure of Illegitimacy in Official Documents. (1933. IV. 2. 6d.)

Gradual Unification of Criminal Law and Co-operation of States in the Prevention and Suppression of Crime. (1933. V. 3. 6d.)

Sixth Quarterly Report of the Financial Position of Austria. (1933. 11A. 11. 9d.)

The League from Year to Year (1931-1932). 6th Series. 246 pages. 1s.

International Labour Review. (Vol. XXVII. No. 6.)

Industrial and Labour Information. (Vol. XLVI, Nos. 12 and 13. Vol. XLVII, Nos. 1 and 2.)

Conference Documents

17th Session. Supplementary White Report on Hours of Work. 1s. 6d. Supplementary Blue Report I. Abolition of Fee-Charging Employment Agencies. Free. Supplementary Blue Report II. Invalidity, Old Age, Widows' and Orphans' Insurance. 6d. Supplementary Grey Report III. Unemployment Insurance. 6d. Supplementary Blue-Grey Report V. Reduction of Hours of Work. Free.

Studies and Reports.

Series M/10. Compulsory Pension Insurance. 16s.

Industrial Safety Survey. (Vol. IX, No. 3.)

Weather and Accidents, by K. Hauck, formerly Chief Factory Inspector, Vienna.

Legislative Series. (May, 1933.)

Essential Facts About the League of Nations. (Publication of the Information Section.) 140 pages. Price, about 1s. 6d.

The Monetary and Economic Conference (London, 1933). 97 pp. Price 1s.

An account of the preparatory work for the Conference and an outline of the previous activities of the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League of Nations.

Quarterly Bulletin of the Health Organisation. Vol. II, No. 2. June, 1933. Price 2s. net. (Annual subscription rate (four numbers), 7s. 6d. post free.)

Table of Contents.

1. The Therapeutics of Malaria. Third General Report of the Malaria Commission.

2. Report on the best methods of safeguarding the public health during the depression.

3. The administrative machinery by which the adequate nourishment of the poor is ensured in Great Britain. By Dr. M. D. Mackenzie.

Complete catalogue sent free on application.

* At the moment of writing little news is available as to the course of the conversations, except that the Soviet Government has offered the railway for about £25,000,000, while the Manchukuo delegates have offered £5,000,000 at par.

Adjournment Until October

DISARMAMENT

THE Bureau of the Disarmament Conference met again on June 27 to hear Mr. Arthur Henderson's report on the negotiations with which he had been entrusted at its last meeting.

As had been forecast, the period of three weeks in which to solve almost all the outstanding disarmament questions proved entirely insufficient, and Mr. Henderson was obliged to admit that he had been unable to accomplish anything definite. He had found the world leaders so engrossed with the new Conference in London that they were unable to spare either time or thought for the old Conference in Geneva.

After reaffirming its confidence in Mr. Henderson's leadership, the Bureau, with the single dissentient voice of the German delegate, decided to recommend to the General Commission of the Conference that the Conference should adjourn until mid-October.

This recommendation was adopted by the General Commission on June 29, and accordingly the Conference ceased work until October 16, though the hope was expressed that it might prove possible to hold a meeting of the Bureau at the end of July or in mid-September.

In the meantime, the method of conference having signally failed to solve the different disarmament deadlocks which exist—and there are nine or ten of them of major importance—a new process is being tried.

Mr. Henderson has set out on a tour of the principal European capitals, with a view to seeing whether his personal influence will succeed where thirteen years of conference have failed.

At the time of writing Mr. Henderson, having been in Paris, has proceeded to Rome. In the French capital, the President is stated to have received full information

Results of the International Labour Conference

By Our Special Geneva Correspondent

THE Seventeenth Session of the International Labour Conference, which met in Geneva from June 8 to 30, adopted separate Draft Conventions with regard to Old-Age Insurance, Invalidity Insurance, Widows' and Orphans' Insurance, for each of which there are two texts concerning (1) workers employed in industrial and commercial undertakings, in the liberal professions, and for outworkers and domestic servants, and (2) workers employed in agricultural undertakings.

With regard to compulsory old-age insurance schemes, with which the first two Draft Conventions deal, it is provided that insured persons will be entitled to an old-age pension at the latest at 65.

The next two Draft Conventions, which deal with compulsory invalidity insurance, provide that insured workers who become generally incapacitated for work, and who thereby are unable to earn an appreciable remuneration, shall be entitled to an invalidity pension.

The Draft Conventions concerning widows' and orphans' insurance provide that on the death of an insured worker the widow and orphans shall receive a pension.

By David Woodward

on the French point of view. It is to be hoped that this may mean more than merely the conventional diplomatic sense, for the Conference has never yet been placed in possession of many of the most important points of French policy. For example, it has never been told, formally or informally, how much disarmament France is willing to give in return for varying measures of "security." It has not, as a matter of fact, even been told whether France would consent to stabilise her forces at their present levels.

Similarly, the Disarmament Conference is entirely without the complementary information from Germany. Though that country has given her theoretical assent to the standardisation of Continental European armies, she has not made clear her position on matters of detail such as the period over which this standardisation procedure should be spread, or the number of men of various categories which she will require at various times. A similar situation exists in regard to all other forms of armaments.

Meanwhile, the situation between France and Germany remains as acute as ever.

In all the circumstances, France can scarcely be expected to extend to Herr Hitler a milder attitude than that which she showed to Dr. Brüning or to Herr Stresemann.

In addition, there is a great increase in the United States of the old isolationist feeling. This is due, at least in part, to the discrediting (through the results of the Sino-Japanese dispute and the Disarmament Conference) of the policy of those who offered contributions in the field of co-operation.

The work performed by the Conference in the adoption of these Draft Conventions was completed by the adoption of a Recommendation which indicated to the States certain general principles the application of which would seem, in the light of experience, to be most likely to yield the maximum practical results in operating compulsory insurance schemes.

Finally, the Conference decided to put on the Agenda of the 1934 Session of the Conference the question of the maintenance of pension rights of insured migrant workers.

A Seventh Convention provides that fee-charging agencies conducted with a view to profit shall be abolished within three years. During this period, no new employment agency of this kind shall be established, and while such agencies exist they must be under public supervision. There is also a form of regulation of fee-charging employment agencies which are not conducted with a view to profit.

The Conference also adopted a Recommendation urging the States ratifying the Convention to take certain steps to adapt free public employment offices to the

needs of occupations relying on the services of fee-charging employment agencies, and to prohibit persons deriving direct or indirect profit from certain activities (such as the keeping of public houses, hotels, second-hand shops and pawnshops, or money changing), from engaging in the business of placing.

The Conference agreed to place three questions on the Agenda of the 1934 Conference for final decision, after approving the points upon which the Governments should be consulted. They were:

1. Reduction of Hours of Work. The Conference first decided that the question was suitable to form the subject of a Draft Convention or Recommendation.
2. Unemployment Insurance and Various Forms of Relief of Unemployment.
3. Methods of Providing Rest and Alternation of Shifts in Automatic Sheet-Glass Works.

A Reply to Mrs. Corbett Ashby

MORAL DISARMAMENT

By BRIAN TUNSTALL

MY attention has been drawn to an article in the December number of HEADWAY, entitled "Moral Disarmament," by Mrs. Corbett Ashby, which I understand has provoked considerable criticism in teaching circles.

Mrs. Ashby's assertions, at first sight, certainly appear sweeping and ill-considered, but on closer examination they become difficult to disprove. All intelligent supporters of the League realise the tremendous efforts which English teachers now make to show that national sovereignty and "Jungle Law" must give way to interdependence and co-operation. Judged, however, by results these efforts are by no means successful and are only too easily counteracted by the cynical chauvinism so easily accepted in adult circles. This is the substance of Mrs. Ashby's contention.

The reason for this lack of success is that "affairs of State" involving social, political, religious and economic questions are extremely difficult for children to understand, and cannot be approached through the ordinary channels and apparatus of learning in the same way in which mathematics and science can be approached. Children also suffer from the additional handicap that very few teachers have a practical knowledge of international affairs. This knowledge can only be obtained by personal contact with those who have helped or are helping to make the history of our own times in this and in other countries. Few teachers are able to make this contact and consequently they are deprived of just that personal insight into the work of government departments, parliamentary systems and international conferences without which their teaching must inevitably lack conviction.

Teachers of history are at a special disadvantage in this respect, for they are denied the comparatively easy access which the chemists and physicists have to the masters of their crafts, and are forced to rely on the second-hand interpretations of historians and publicists. Much can be, and is, done to overcome this difficulty by teachers attending meetings and conferences addressed by those concerned with "affairs of State," but unlike the chemist and the physicist, the Statesman and the Stateswoman has every reason for concealing

In addition to the Resolution for submission to the London Economic Conference, which, as a matter of urgency, was discussed and adopted at the beginning of the Session, the Conference adopted Resolutions on the following subjects:

1. The suspension of overtime and other exceptions to the forty-eight-hour week or their reduction to a strict minimum.
2. Placing equality of treatment of national and foreign workers on the Agenda of an early Session of the Conference.
3. Speedy Ratification of the Hours of Work (Coal Mines) Convention of 1931.
4. Placing on the Agenda of an early Session of the Conference the organisation and co-ordination of national and international public works, with a view to combating unemployment.
5. Undertaking necessary studies for placing German refugees in employment.

his or her most important thoughts when addressing a public audience. Thus, not only is the personal contact seldom achieved, but even the public contact is only made through a veil of official reticence. Consequently the teacher's presentation of international topics suffers from lack of exact and personal knowledge.

The teacher of history is also faced with a special difficulty arising out of the general one. How is the teacher to deal with the history of war? Until recently the general tendency was to provide lists of battles and sieges, to emphasise the importance of national victories, minimise the importance of national defeats, and to impart an atmosphere of realism by the use of maps, diagrams, models and readings from contemporary descriptions. The more recent tendency has been to reduce the amount of time allotted to wars, but without improving the actual treatment of them, except in emphasising their brutality and futility. Little attempt, however, is made to explain the causes, purpose and character of wars. How many teachers, for instance, are able to show internationalism at work in the curious combinations of forces employed in the War of the Spanish Succession, in which an army composed of English, Portuguese, Dutch, German and French Huguenot troops, under a French Huguenot general, fought against an army of French, Spaniards and English and Irish Catholics commanded by the Duke of Berwick, an illegitimate son of James II, the ex-King of England, by Arabella Churchill, sister of the Commander-in-Chief on the "Allied" side? How many teachers fully appreciate the extraordinary part played by England in the war against the Dutch of 1672-4 under the terms of the Secret Treaty of Dover? How many teachers are able to bring out the reactions of economics and nationalism during the Napoleonic War, or the overwhelming importance of trade factors in the West Indian campaigns, or the true causes of the war between Great Britain and the United States in 1812?

These wars and their causes have in them a substance from which the lesson of peace can be illustrated to-day, but teachers are inclined either to describe them in terms of battles or to ignore them in pious disgust. When teachers acquire more knowledge of public affairs and past wars they will be able to speak with more authority on peace and war in general terms.

THE EDINBURGH COUNCIL

By JOHN EPPSTEIN

THE meeting of the General Council of the League of Nations Union in Edinburgh in June, 1933, will long be remembered as an event in the history of the League movement in Great Britain. The almost royal hospitality offered to the Council by authorities of Church and State, the admirable arrangements made for its work and pleasure by the Edinburgh and East of Scotland District Council of the Union, and the generous attention of the Press, gave to the gathering a national importance which no English provincial city could impart.

The Cross of St. Andrew and the "World and Stars" flag, fluttering from twin towers on the steep slope leading to the Castle, proclaimed to the passer-by in Princes Street that something unusual was afoot at the General Assembly Hall of the Church of Scotland. Here the Council held all its sessions, and here Sir Austen Chamberlain and Lord Cecil addressed a packed and enthusiastic audience on the evening of June 22.

Before the deliberations began on the 21st, many delegates attended a special service in St. Giles' Cathedral, at which the Dean of the Thistle was the preacher; simultaneously Mass was offered for the Union's intention in St. Mary's Roman Catholic Cathedral by the Vicar-General. That evening, in the scarlet magnificence of their civic pageantry, the Lord Provost and Corporation of Edinburgh did honour to the cause of the League by offering the Council a brilliant reception; more than this, they caused the Castle to be floodlit for the occasion—a thing of beauty, hanging in air like a celestial city above the darkened city of spires and moving streets beneath. In answering tribute, the Chairman of the Union with many of his colleagues laid a wreath at the beautiful War Memorial Shrine which hallows the crest of the Castle rock. The debates of the Council and of "the Conference upon international affairs" were worthy of such a setting.

The Union's Affairs

A review of the Union's internal business revealed the fact that the society is holding its own. But there was no self-satisfaction; the fact that the total of subscriptions paid in 1932 fell short by 18,000 of those received in 1931 was recognised by all as a stimulus to more efficient administration and more vigorous recruiting. "Work as if you had the devil behind you," said Professor Murray.

It is in fact the revival of a rabid nationalism by the Beaverbrook and Rothermere press, with their unscrupulous attacks upon the whole conception of international co-operation, that has given the League of Nations Union a new importance in the political life of Europe. This it is, no doubt, that accounts for new faces in the Council—for it is now a gathering singularly representative in the matter of age and youth, political party and religious outlook. And for the same reason the Union's policy upon international affairs has left the realm of theory for that of practical application. We gave in our last issue Sir Austen Chamberlain's moderate but cogent argument in support of a resolution which the Council adopted, urging "H.M. Government to abandon the reservation at present contained in Article 34 of the Draft Disarmament Convention concerning the retention of bombing aircraft for police purposes in outlying regions." Before Sir Austen had occasion to

repeat his plea in the House of Commons on July 5, dozens of Members of Parliament had been begged by groups of their constituents to support the Union's policy; and the Union was greatly encouraged by Captain Eden's indication that the Government was ready to reconsider this reservation should it be found to jeopardise the acceptance of a satisfactory treaty.

The German Crisis

This was, however, only one part of a whole programme of disarmament adopted by the Council—the Budapest policy reaffirmed—for the purpose of meeting the serious situation caused by German developments and the impending adjournment of the Geneva Conference. For the Council was convinced by a powerful speech of Lord Cecil's that, menacing as the military spirit of the new Germany might be, it was only by keeping faith and making a real advance towards the promised equality of status, that the pretext and danger of German re-armament could be removed. Equally was it clear that without security against re-armament and aggression none of the other Powers could be induced to reduce their armies or abolish their air forces. While, then, the Council once more called for the general suppression of all the weapons forbidden to Germany by the Peace Treaty, it also advocated common action against Japan, and urged that States Members of the League should reaffirm their obligations of mutual assistance under the Covenant.

In one particular the Executive Committee has since completed the Council's policy in this regard by suggesting that economic sanctions, such as the prohibition of imports, should be provided against any country found guilty of exceeding the limits placed on its armaments by the future disarmament treaty. This, Lord Cecil held, combined with effective and regular investigation in every country, would give France a great deal more security than was to be found in a situation which would leave Germany morally free to add to her military preparations.

Moral Disarmament

Alongside of material disarmament, Sir Austen Chamberlain insisted, must go moral disarmament; education in all countries should aim at promoting "good understanding and mutual respect between peoples." Delegates were much moved by an eloquent appeal of Sir George Paish for a policy of freer trade—"cure Germany with kindness" is his remedy; a resolution of welcome was sent to the World Economic Conference. Among other resolutions was one condemning the oppressive measures taken by the German Government against the Jews, peace organisations and their political opponents in general, as "contrary to the principles of the League."

But it is not always either possible or wise to commit so large and representative a body as the Council of the Union to a particular course of action; and on this occasion a happy precedent was set. The Council simply received and commended to the study of branches three closely reasoned and balanced reports. Two of these had been prepared by special *ad hoc* committees appointed by the Executive—on the *Private Manufacture of Arms* and on the whole problem of *Aerial Disarma-*

ment and a League Air Force. The third was the work of the large and representative Parliamentary Committee of the Union, and dealt with the sanctions of the League as a whole under the title "*Collective Defence Against Aggression.*" In all these documents the "pros and cons" are set forth.

One other resolution cannot go unmentioned for it gave rise to a spate of newspaper correspondence. This resolution—obvious and uneventful enough in its final form—stated that it was the duty of all members of the Union to do their utmost by constitutional means to prevent this country breaking the Covenant, and that the Union could not countenance any war so waged. It arose from a proposal of the Manchester District Council, most ably advocated by Mr. Clift, to the effect

THE QUEEN'S HALL MEETING

IT is not often that a public meeting is attended by such a vast and distinguished audience as assembled at the Queen's Hall, London, on July 6 in order to pay its tribute to Sir Eric Drummond on his retirement as Secretary-General of the League of Nations.

Viscount Cecil, in his opening remarks from the chair, paid a high tribute to the services which Sir Eric Drummond had rendered to the League. He had, declared the chairman, the remarkable power of giving of his best to all nations with the utmost impartiality and without allowing any preconceived notions to bias his judgment.

The Foreign Secretary, who was the first speaker, said that the Prime Minister had laid it upon him that he would be expressing the Premier's feelings as well as his own.

After reading a message which Mr. de Valera, as Acting President of the Council, had written in appreciation of Sir Eric's services, Sir John Simon said they had reason to be truly grateful for the influence which Sir Eric had exercised with such good temper, with such assiduity and with such impartiality.

When Sir Eric rose to make his speech he was received with a burst of applause, the whole audience rising to its feet. Sir Eric devoted the bulk of his time to the developments which had taken place in the Assembly, the Council, and the Secretariat. He then spoke of the political disputes which had come before the League, and enumerated the nine major questions. In every case except one the League had either solved the dispute directly or had helped to find a solution by peaceful means. "One present failure, out of nine," exclaimed Sir Eric, "surely that's a good record? But, alas! too little is made of the successes of the League; sometimes they almost pass unnoticed in the Press."

"Much appeared in the newspapers about the outbreak and early stages of the Anglo-Persian dispute, but little about its settlement, and hardly any credit was given to the League for it. Yet if a failure occurs we are told on all sides that the League is futile and its continuance a dangerous illusion and extravagance."

Sir Eric Drummond was followed by Sir Austen Chamberlain and Mrs. Mary Hamilton, a vote of thanks to the chairman and speakers being proposed by Sir Herbert Samuel.

At the conclusion of the proceedings, M. Hymans, as President of the first League Assembly, added (in French) his tribute to the services rendered by the League's first Secretary-General.

H. S.

that citizens would be justified in refusing to fight in a war waged in contravention of the Covenant. Apart from the doubtful expediency of legislating for such a circumstance, the moral philosopher could hardly fail to give his assent to the proposition itself. But, swayed by Lord Cecil and Professor Murray, the Council decided that it was not for the Union to determine what the individual conscience might or might not do in hypothetical circumstances, especially if in so doing it gave many honest people, who did not appreciate the niceties of the hypothesis, cause to blaspheme. On the whole, a very successful Council in tune with the realities of the international situation and—by its very prudence and patience—less out of tune than it has sometimes been with the sentiments of the average Briton.

Film Notes

TWO new films take their origin from photographic records of the lives of world-famous public figures. "The Prince of Wales" is a thoughtfully arranged compilation of news-reels, of material taken by the Prince himself and of boyhood portraits. He has been so much before the public eye that a good balance is maintained between his many and varied public activities, and the film should constitute a treasured social document for future generations.

President Roosevelt has not been before the camera so much, but in "The Fighting President" we review some of the outstanding events and personalities with which he met during his rise in American politics.

Although no record was made of Dr. Mackenzie's work among the Krus of Liberia, yet a German expedition on another part of the coast made a film called "Kroo." It deals with the daily life of one of the tribal families with a rare intelligence and honesty which recommend it quite apart from its special interest.

For those who like war films, the spate continues. In the entertaining and witty American film, "Private Jones," a man is forced into the war against his will and consistently maintains a "But why fight about it?" attitude, which is a new angle in the cinema. In this case, war is not depicted as a squalid and dirty background for deeds of glittering heroism—it is rightly exposed as being merely silly!

D. R.

SIR ERIC DRUMMOND AND THE UNION

Acknowledging the telegram of appreciation sent to him by the Executive Committee, Sir Eric Drummond writes:—

"The League of Nations is under a debt greater than it would be easy to express to those who, outside official circles, have made it their aim to commend the ideals and work of the League to men and women everywhere, and to make known what issues to them personally may hang on the success or failure of its apparently remote activities. In furthering these aims the British League of Nations Union has played a signally important role. As a servant of the League, I thank it for its past help and wish it every success for the future."

BOOK NOTICES

The United States of Europe, and other Papers. By Sir Arthur Salter. Edited with Notes by W. Arnold-Forster. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 7s. 6d.)

Mr. Arnold-Forster has rendered valuable service by collating and putting before the public these memoranda of private notes which have been jotted down by Sir Arthur from time to time during his years of close association with Geneva.

Space will not permit of extensive quotations of the myriad aspects with which Sir Arthur has concisely dealt; suffice it to record that the now world-famous Memorandum on European Union is in this volume brought within the reach and understanding of the general public for the first time.

The great strength of Sir Arthur's contentions lies in the fact that he is unwaveringly constructive in all his arguments. By no means the least interesting points with which he deals (always from the positive, never from a negative angle) are the proper development of Economic Sanctions under Article 16 of the Covenant, the development of the Kellogg Pact into something more definite than a mere expression of right feeling, and the need for a satisfactory settlement of the vexed question of the freedom of the seas in the light of a changed world.

The reader will, on laying this book aside, feel something of dismay at the magnitude of the problem of selecting leaders who will prove themselves worthy to overcome the difficulties which confront them in the task of coping with the needs of the world. In that task, however, leaders of great ability and good will should find themselves materially aided by Sir Arthur's balanced expositions.

From Chaos to Control. By Sir Norman Angell. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 4s. 6d.)

Dealing with the present economic crisis, Sir Norman Angell ruthlessly exposes the futility of expecting nations to redeem their debts while they are deprived by trade restrictions of the means of payment. He also scarifies those who still cling to the exploded notions that "human nature makes war inevitable" or that "the growth of population demands war as a corrective." His plans for the organisation of a new social order condemn the separation of Socialist and Capitalist systems as though there were no possible point of balance between them, and he also contends that a great fault of modern education lies in its tendency to deal too closely with facts with insufficient attention to interpretations of those facts. Sir Norman possesses the skill to make even his most esoteric arguments intelligible to the ordinary reader who lacks the time essential to intensive personal study.

Europe Since the War. By J. Hampden Jackson. (Victor Gollancz. 3s. 6d.)

This book has an advantage over its predecessors in that its price brings it within the reach of many who could not afford the many earlier works which have appeared dealing with post-War history. It has the

further advantage of dealing with very recent historical developments such as the Spanish Revolution, the achievements of the Five-Year Plan, and the world economic crisis. There are decided defects and some surprising omissions. For instance, the writer succeeds—he is the first of the writers of this class of book to do so—in dealing with the history of Europe with practically no reference to the work of the League of Nations. This has been achieved, for one thing, by omitting all reference to the history of the Balkans. Such references as there are to the League are mostly of a disparaging nature.

Christianity and the Crisis. Edited by Dr. Percy Dearmer. (Victor Gollancz. 5s.)

Space only permits a bare introductory notice of this 600-page book to which 32 thinkers, including the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, have contributed of their best.

The purpose of this volume is to furnish thoughtful answers to the question:—"What has the Church to say in face of the present crisis?" The earlier pages describe the chaos in which we live to-day; Part II

is devoted to a résumé of Christianity as it is; while Part III (comprising more than half the book) proffers the Christian solution.

Although each contributor has been encouraged to state his personal views, there is a remarkable convergence of opinion that the only possible way out of the chaos in which we find ourselves to-day lies in the application of Christian thought and practice.

Those who claim to be Christian will gladly herald

this book, which so definitely strengthens the convictions they already hold. They will discover that the appeal contained therein is to the intellect rather than to sentiment, and for this reason it may be particularly recommended also to those who mistakenly contend that enlightened self-interest without any "religious" background can suffice to teach the lesson that the interests of the individual can be best realised only in harmony with the interests of all others.

Problems of Peace. (Published for the Geneva Institute of International Relations by George Allen & Unwin. 8s. 6d.)

As Dr. Gooch tells us in the first chapter, "No period since the Armistice has been richer in events and experiences" than the year 1931-1932, which is the main subject of the lectures delivered to the last meeting of the Geneva Institute of International Relations and now published in book form.

This volume is almost entirely concerned with the general topic of the world crisis and the need for national and international economic planning and action.

It would certainly be difficult to find within so limited a compass and for so moderate a fee a description at once so complete and so vivid of the main elements in the problem which challenges man's governmental capacity.

The contributors include Sir George Paish, Professor

 ★ USE THE
 ★ UNION'S BOOK SHOP!
 ★ The Union's own book shop at 15,
 ★ Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1,
 ★ supplies not only the Union's own
 ★ publications and official League and
 ★ International Labour Office documents,
 ★ but also any other published book.
 ★ Buy Your Books from Us.
 ★ *****

Peace Camps

There can be in the whole of England few better camping sites than the pinewood at Godshill in the New Forest. There, by permission of the Order of Woodcraft Chivalry, the Union is now able to organise its own camps, an inaugural camp having been held at Whitsuntide.

Each day there were lectures on the economic situation, due attention being given to the importance of the political conditions in which our economic problems must be solved. The presence of a number of foreign students (including a young supporter of the Nazi movement) gave zest to the discussions. It is evident that camping will find an important place in the future programmes of many Youth Groups. The Executive Committee has therefore decided that a similar camp shall be organised by Headquarters each year.

A Camp will be held at the beginning of this month on the same site for League of Nations Pioneers and other boys and girls between the ages of twelve and sixteen.

BOMBING FROM THE AIR

The unanimity with which Branches throughout the Union have passed Resolutions in favour of Abolition of Bombing by Aircraft for Police Purposes has made it impossible for us to publish a detailed list of those Branches in the space at our command.

FAMOUS MEN AND THE BIBLE

(6) THOMAS CARLYLE

"The one book wherein, for thousands of years, the spirit of man has found light and nourishment, and a response to whatever was deepest in his heart."

Light! Nourishment! Depth! These are three characteristic qualities which the discerning eye of Thomas Carlyle discovered in Holy Scripture—light amid the perplexities of daily life, nourishment for the starving souls of men, and a depth that reaches the profoundest needs of the human heart.

But there are many people who are strangers to these spiritual blessings, because they know not the Bible.

The Bible Society seeks to make the Bible known to all men.

Gifts will be gratefully received and acknowledged by the Secretaries:

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

EAT MORE MILK
 IN
 CADBURY'S
 DAIRY MILK CHOCOLATE

Rappard, Arnold-Forster, William Martin, Manley Hudson, Lees-Smith, Michael Farbman, Sherwood Eddy and Delisle Burns, in addition to some of the senior officials of the League of Nations Secretariat and the International Labour Office.

The closely reasoned and well-documented argument makes the book invaluable for speakers and study circles, whilst the personal experiences of authors who speak as eye-witnesses of the events they describe in Russia, Japan and China should commend it as a lively story for the individual reader.

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

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

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

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

Modern Russia—The Land of Planning. By Louis Segal, M.A., Ph.D. (Industrial Credits & Services, Ltd. 5s.)

Dr. Segal has dealt fully with the progress of Soviet planning, several excellent photographs illustrating the book. British readers may regret that Dr. Segal seems to have concentrated his attention on the points which have met with his approval, to the exclusion of other aspects in regard to which unprejudiced enlightenment would be welcome to us who are led by certain sections of our Press to understand that individual life in Russia is difficult and restricted.

Communism and the Alternative. By Arthur J. Plenty. (Student Christian Movement Press. 3s. 6d.)

A further contribution to the volumes issued by this publishing house, written with a view to help Christian people to assess both the truth and the errors of the Communist doctrine and way of life. The author has gone to pains to point out that, although Soviet Russia necessarily figures prominently in his book, "the Russian system to-day is not Communist but State Capitalist on a basis of class warfare."

"Unemployment and the Child." (Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd. 2s. 6d.)

This report, published on behalf of the Save the Children Fund, contains a mass of information which will be of great interest and value not only to public men and women and students of social problems, but to all who seek to understand the effect of the impact of one of the greatest scourges of modern times on the rising generation. The Child Welfare Committee of the League of Nations which has decided to consider the problem of the effect of the unemployment of the parents on their children at its 1934 session has asked that the results of this inquiry shall be put at its disposal.

Here and There. (Second Series.) By Stephen King-Hall. (Sidgwick & Jackson. 2s. 6d.)

This second series of Commander King-Hall's broadcast talks on international subjects should command an enormous sale. He possesses the rare art of interesting children and adults simultaneously, his talks being definitely of educative value to "children" of all ages. His most intensive points are always cleverly brought home to his hearers by apt parables. This series reprints his talks up to and including May 26 this year, and so includes many matters of extreme importance at this present time.

My Plan for 2,000,000 Workless. By Ernest Bevin. (The Clarion Press. One Penny.)

In this little pamphlet Mr. Bevin, as General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, puts forward a series of proposals, many of which were mentioned in one way or another at the I.L.O.'s Forty-Hour-Week Conference. Many are worth deep consideration.

JAPANESE COMPETITION

By
R. F. FOWLER

THE rapid development of the Japanese textile and rayon industry since the War, together with Japan's abandonment of the Gold Standard, has raised again the problem of the competition of industrial countries with a low standard of living. We are told by interested parties that it is the height of folly to trade with such countries and that, if we continue to trade with them, our standard of living will be reduced to their level.

The continued existence of wide disparities in the standard of living all over the world should, at least, prevent us from falling into the grosser forms of error involved in those arguments for Protection which are based on differences in the standard of living of competing countries. It is quite clear, for example, that differences in the standard of living may be offset by differences in efficiency and that the labour cost may be the same.

There will be no dispute about that. If, however, the difference in money wages is greater than the difference in efficiency, the labour cost in the country with lower wages will be lower. If Japanese textile workers are paid much less than English workers, and they can work modern machinery just as efficiently, the result is that Lancashire is undersold in world markets. Is the conclusion valid that this competition is undesirable because it will result in dragging down the standard of living in England to the level in Japan? It is clear that the English textile industry will have to contract. Does it follow that this will involve a reduction in the standard of living of English workers to the Japanese level?

Standards of Living

We shall, perhaps, more clearly see the nature of the problem if we look first at a single country. The first thing we notice is that the standard of living of people in this country varies widely. These differences are the result of, and, in fact, measure, differences in productivity of different people. Competition between workers will ensure that no one will for long obtain more for his work than the value of his contribution to the product, and (which is very important, but usually forgotten) competition between employers will ensure that no worker will for long be paid less than the value of his work. People will sort themselves out into those jobs where their productivity is greatest and where, consequently, they earn more than they could earn anywhere else. The division of labour will result in some people earning more than others, but everyone will prefer to specialise in this way rather than produce everything he consumes himself. A managing director may be able to keep books better than his book-keeper, but if his superiority in managing is greater than his superiority in keeping books, it will pay him to confine himself to managing. The total product will be greater and the lower-paid man must be better off, as well as the manager, since he will have some share in this increased product.

It is clearly desirable that the available "means of production" (including human labour as well as other resources) should be distributed in such a way as to maximise the total product. We tend to forget in times of slump how scarce they really are. No one would think that we should all be better off if horses were killed, on the ground that their standard of living is lower than that of human beings. Of course, those

people who were supplying a means of transport competitive with horses would obviously gain, since transport facilities would become scarcer, but their gain would consist of a larger share of a smaller product. They would in fact gain at the expense of the rest of the community.

So far we have been thinking simply of one country. Foreign trade is merely an extension of the advantages of division of labour. Countries tend to specialise in the production of those things for which their relative advantage is greatest (or their relative disadvantage least) and all countries will gain by the trade. If the managing director finds it pays to confine himself to directing and to engage a lower paid man to drive his car or to keep his garden, it must also pay a country to leave the production of certain commodities to countries where standards of living are lower and to make or do things in exchange for them. It would be impossible for a country with a lower standard than ours to undersell us in everything. It would not pay it to continue to "sell" to us if we gave nothing in exchange.

Competition with Lancashire

But while all this may be accepted, it may still be felt that the loss of the Lancashire textile industry because of Japanese competition would result in a heavy fall in the standard of living in England. If we reflect a moment, however, we shall see that the standard of living of workers in one industry cannot fall below that in another industry in which they could find employment. In Japan the expansion of the textile industry can only come about by attracting workers from other occupations. Employers will have to offer slightly higher wages than the workers could obtain in alternative occupations. There will be a general rise in the standard of living, and incidentally Japan will have to curtail the production of some things in order to produce more textile goods. In England, as the textile industry becomes less profitable for labour and capital relatively to other industries, there will be a movement of labour and capital to other industries.

In the English market the Government could protect the English industry by prohibiting the import of Japanese goods. This would clearly involve a subsidy to be paid by consumers in England. It is doubtful, however, whether they would consent to a subsidy of this kind if they realised that they were thereby refusing to take advantage of a more efficient division of labour in the world and that a tariff or embargo on Japanese goods is no more sensible than the prohibition of the introduction of more efficient methods of production at home.

The lowering of costs by co-operating with Japanese workers (and thereby raising their standard of living) is no different from any other invention. Sectional interests may be injured, but few people would argue that the effects of inventions and new methods should be sterilised. In so far as Japan competes with England in world markets, very little can be done to regulate this competition. Other countries will be anxious to buy in the cheapest market if they have no domestic textile industry to protect.

On purely economic grounds, therefore, there seems no reason for interfering with competition of countries with lower standards of living.

READERS' VIEWS

POLICE BOMBING AND L.N.U. PROTESTS

DEAR SIR,—Professor Gilbert Murray's letter to me in reply to my complaint, as you will have noticed, is concerned solely with the correctness of the view he takes in the bombing controversy, while my complaint is that the L.N.U. officials should take any part in the controversy at all.

It is as if the Bishops of the Church of England should agree among themselves to deliver sermons from the pulpit on frankly Party politics—and then, after the Archbishop himself had preached, let us say, an openly Conservative sermon, he should defend himself in reply to objection by arguing the virtues of the Conservative cause.

In my opinion (and I am not alone) the sin of the L.N.U. Council in adopting a Foreign Policy and entering into the current controversies is exactly similar and quite as heinous, and will certainly be as fatal.

I think you ought to publish my letter and let the whole question be ventilated. I would even like to write an article explaining the whole subject more fully. I am *not* out for personal notoriety, but I am anxious to see the L.N.U. filling the great rôle that it could and should fill rather than the paltry one it has elected to try and fill. It is, if it goes on as it is going, likely to discredit the whole movement and do infinite harm.—Yours faithfully,

G. E. LILLIE.

13, Kingsnorth Gardens, Folkestone.

June 27, 1933.

(A protest from the L.N.U. in regard to a matter which might adversely affect the entire hopes of International Disarmament, and which directly comes within the scope of the League, cannot justly be compared with sermons from the pulpit in furtherance of party political propaganda. Our correspondent seems to suggest that the Union should allow the cause of Disarmament to be obstructed without a demur. Incidentally, the General Council, supported by Sir Austen Chamberlain, has unanimously signified agreement with the views conveyed to Mr. Lillie by Professor Murray—vide p. 127 of our July issue!—ED.)

ANGLO-PERSIAN OIL COMPANY

SIR,—It is interesting to read in *The Times* of July 12 the account of the general meeting of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. We read "Increased Profit and Dividend," "The New Agreement," "A fair and just settlement." The chairman said:—"At one stage a difference arose between His Majesty's Government and the Persian Government, which brought our affairs before the world at the meeting of the League of Nations. Fortunately, through the good offices of the League, in which Mr. Benes, the rapporteur, took a most able and tactful part, a situation was created which enabled the company to resume direct contact with the Persian Government."

The chairman moved, "That a dividend of 7½ per cent., less income tax, be declared on the ordinary stock."

It would be interesting to know if all the staff and all the shareholders are now members of the League of Nations Union and, if not, why not. They must be feeling very grateful to the League of Nations.—Yours, etc.,

J. D. ALLEN.

St. Albans Branch, July 13.

ANOTHER MINORITY PROBLEM?

SIR,—It somewhat surprises me that, whilst Scottish members of the Union almost insistently allude to our Geneva delegates as "British," Welsh members seem to make a point of referring to those same delegates as "English"—*especially when the latter fail to commend themselves entirely to Welsh eyes.*

Can it be that this anomaly is due to some form of Minority Complex, or is it an emanation of the same form of family affection as that which impels Paterfamilias in some cases to reward a window broken in careless play with the indignant cry: "Look, mother! See what *your* son has done now"?

Bayswater, W.2.

M. BUTCHER.

COLLECTING SUBSCRIPTIONS

SIR,—Admiral Allen's letter supplies a number of useful hints as to how an improvement in the matter of collecting subscriptions may be effected. When referring to collectors, he says, "Make it as easy for them as possible"—a suggestion that my experience as a Branch Secretary and Treasurer bears it out in every way. Our Branch has a membership of a little over 500, and for several years past we have been able to collect from 97 to 98 per cent. of our members' subscriptions. Only three of our seven collectors write the receipts for their subscribers, and last year they collected only 33 subscriptions between them. The remaining 470, or so, were collected by the other four collectors, and myself. In order to "make it easy for them" my practice is to supply each of these collectors, at the beginning of every month, with a list of the subscriptions then due to be renewed, and accompanied by the appropriate receipts—in advance. Thus, as the collectors are freed from the bother of writing receipts (in triplicate and often "on the doorstep"), they do the work most cheerfully.

This receipt-writing by the secretary adds to his work, of course, but he is amply compensated for it by the satisfaction of being able to send clearly written duplicates with his monthly remittance to headquarters, which he is not always able to do when the collectors write the receipts—Yours, etc.,

S. MARRABLE.

Parkstone Branch.

APPEAL FOR GERMAN CHILDREN

DEAR SIR,—There is much suffering amongst the children of Germany to-day. The Save the Children Fund is anxious to come to their help now, as in the past, regardless of the race, religion, or politics of the parents. In periods of crisis the sufferings of the children, at any rate, must always be unmerited. Moreover, they threaten lifelong injury not only to physical health but to mind and character, and may operate to the incalculable injury of the world, of which to-morrow the survivors will be the citizens.

For the relief of these German children we are glad to say that we have found means of spending funds to the best advantage in the form of a distribution of food and of boots and clothing purchased locally.

Will readers of HEADWAY enable us once more to help the helpless and despairing by sending us as large a contribution as they possibly can?—Yours faithfully,

H. D. WATSON,

Chairman and Hon. Treasurer.

The Save the Children Fund,
40, Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

"BRITISH INTERESTS"

SIR,—Prominence is given in the last issue of HEADWAY to the "slogan" (forgive the word!) "British interests are world interests." But is that the language of Geneva and the League of Nations, of the "good European" and the "international man"? Should not the terms rather stand in the reverse order—world interests are, or should be, British interests? It is impossible to maintain for instance, that the right to bomb primitive native populations, at the present moment claimed by our Government to be a British interest, is a world interest.—Yours faithfully,

W. H. DAWSON.

Headington, Oxford.

NOTES AND NEWS

Annual Reports Since our last issue, annual reports have been received at Headquarters from Aberdeen (5), Alford, Askrigg, Alvie and Insh, Ballater, Banff, Belper, Blockley, Boharin, Bracknell, Brechin, Buckie, Carrbridge, Cromarty, Cruden, Cullen, Cults, Drumoak, Dunbeath, Eastwood, Elgin, Elstead, Forres, Fraserburgh, Fyvie, Granton-on-Spey, Horsforth, Huntley, Insh, Invergordon, Inverness, Inverurie, Keith, Kintore, Lincoln, Lossiemouth, Luton, Macduff, Matlock, Milford-on-Sea, Monquhiller, Nairn, Newhaven, Newmarket, Old Meldrum, Oyne, Pangbourne, Peterculter, Peterhead, Ross, Tarland, Thurso, Torpins, Turriff, Wick, Woking, Woodhouse.

When **Benington** (Stevenage) Branch was first formed in 1922, Mr. A. H. Bracey and Miss A. H. Parker were appointed Joint Honorary Secretaries. They had both lived all their lives in the same village, but it was the sympathetic association afforded by their mutual work for the L.N.U. that brought them more closely together and finally has united them as man and wife.

The **Croydon** branch has received from a local artist, Mr. R. Dumont Smith, who has been in recent years an exhibitor at the Royal Academy, a charcoal drawing entitled "A Plea for Disarmament." The artist describes it as "an attempt to depict the folly of war," though he acknowledges at the same time that that folly is "too colossal for any human being to describe."

The **Leytonstone** Branch has held a highly successful Anti-Slavery meeting. Sir John Harris was the principal speaker, and horrified his audience by his descriptions of Slavery as it really is. Mrs. M. Cant presided over the large gathering, which was attended by the Mayor and many of the most prominent members of the Corporation.

Passing through **Harpden** on their way to the House of Commons, Dr. E. Leslie Burgin, M.P. (Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade), and Mr. James Blindell, M.P. (Junior Lord of the Treasury) broke their journey in order to say a few words at the branch meeting which was in progress. Dr. Burgin assured his hearers that the Government policy is identical with that of Geneva, and Mr. Blindell emphasised the need to increase the force of public opinion in favour of Disarmament.

At the garden fete organised by the **Torquay** Branch, the chairman introduced to the members their new secretary, Major J. Henderson, late of the India Police.

The **Bognor** Branch has also held a very excellent garden party, which attracted a large attendance. Mrs. Madeline Edwards, the principal speaker, laid special stress on the lesser known activities of the League, and aroused keen interest.

The **Sittingbourne** Branch duly held their annual Youth Demonstration on the football ground on June 30, the concourse being, if anything, larger even than usual. The Adult Schools, the Salvation Army, the Sunday Schools, and Toc H all did their utmost to make the demonstration a success, the chairman and members of the District Urban Council lending splendid support. An excellent address was delivered by Mr. T. C. Archer from Headquarters.

Mrs. Samways easily walked away with a first prize for her clever and attractive fancy dress, depicting the Angel of Peace, at the annual Charity Carnival at **Poole**. Mrs. Samways was robed in silver with silver wings, each huge feather bearing the name of a Nation in the League.

The Rev. John Boon, M.A., gave an arousing address to the Garden Meeting recently organised by the **Sydenham** Branch, in which he emphasised splendidly the need to educate the masses in the ideals and work of the League as a counterblast to the plausible attacks launched against the League by the more accessible sections of the sensational press.

A successful garden meeting and open-air fete has been held by the **Dewsbury** Branch, the organisation arrangements being in the hands of the Youth Group. The Mayor presided, the principal speaker being Mr. Anslow, B.A., of Birmingham. In spite of the inclement weather, which necessitated drastic changes in the arrangements at the last minute, the attendance was highly satisfactory.

The **Havant** Branch had somewhat declined during recent years, but the Committee decided to make a special effort during last month. A successful preliminary open-air meeting in the park served as an excellent method of gingering-up the attendance at the garden meeting, which was held a few days later in the beautiful grounds of Commander and Mrs. du Boulay. Sir Thomas Inskip

presided, and Sir Fabian Ware delivered a stirring address. A delightful Peace Pageant followed the meeting, and there is every reason to predict that this branch, which has latterly been incorporated with the **Emsworth** Branch, will again adopt separate existence in the near future. Special mention is merited by the sporting way in which **Emsworth** members supported the enterprises of the **Havant** section of the branch.

A well-patronised Garden Fete was held by the **Ealing and District** Branch. Dame Margaret Lloyd George, in the course of an address, laid particular stress on the necessity to make the teaching of Peace a definite part of the education of the young of to-day. Excellent entertainments and side-shows went far towards further enlightenment as to the value of the services rendered to humanity by the League.

The **Ross** (Herefordshire) Branch is another that has derived sound pecuniary advantages from an annual flag day. More and more branches are exploiting this productive method of "getting to grips with the man in the street," thus combining personal propaganda with the necessary monetary support.

The **Eastwood** Branch has had a most successful year and was able to announce at its annual meeting that membership has increased by 70 during the past twelve months. Much of this progress is among the ranks of the Youth Group, many attractive social events having also had a most encouraging effect.

The **Southend** Branch has held a well-attended fete in the grounds of St. Hilda's School, Westcliff. A pair of binoculars was presented to Secretary Smith on his retirement, in token of appreciation of his services to the branch and to the cause. Lady Frances Stewart addressed the meeting, and excellent entertainment was provided by local talent, in addition to many amusing side-shows.

An excellent example of the true League spirit has been afforded at **Ripon**. A fete and sale were organised with the object of sending representatives from the School Branch of the Union to the Junior Summer School at Geneva. A sufficient sum to send two girls was raised, the choice of delegates to be left to a ballot among the scholars. Three girls headed the poll, one being a daughter of Alderman and Mrs. Dixon. In order to make it possible for all three girls to go, Ruth Dixon's parents at once volunteered to defray their daughter's expenses.

At the first annual meeting of the new Branch recently formed at **Askrigg**, the secretary was able to announce that the members already number more than 100. The activities forecast for the coming year show that the organisers of this branch are determined to consolidate the successes of the first year and to increase them to the utmost limit.

The **Horsforth** Branch reports the most successful year since its formation, both financially and from the point of view of work accomplished. A prize competition for essays from the elementary schools brought forth nearly 1,000 entries, the standard being surprisingly high. The branch intends to follow up the work of arousing the interest of the children during the coming year.

The **Isle of Wight District Council** held an All-Island meeting on the last Thursday in June in the charming grounds of Spring Hill, East Cowes, by permission of Sir George Sheldon. Most of the island branches were well represented, and the meeting was an outstanding success. Major J. W. Hills, M.P., was the principal speaker, and Mrs. W. Garnett made an eloquent appeal for more members and greater support. A short play entitled "Dividends" was capably performed by the West Wight Youth Group.

The County Campaign which has been organised by **Huntingdonshire Council** during the past month brought forth immediate results. Although that county was already fifth in the national percentage of members, the large number of 504 new members have been secured among the towns and villages attacked. In addition, a new Branch was inaugurated at **Fenstanton**. Dr. Peters, M.P., announced at St. Ives that he will not rest until Huntingdonshire definitely tops the list of the entire country. We venture to hope, however, that other counties will do their utmost to make that ambition as difficult to achieve as they possibly can by entering into strong competition on the subject.

The **Northants Federal Council** struck an enterprising note in the Hospital Carnival held in Northampton recently. In addition to the prize-winning cars which were dealt with in our July issue, a second prize was won by a group of ladies on foot, depicting "Children of 1893," stressing the fact that the juveniles who occupied perambulators in that year became the men whose lives were

sacrificed between 1914 and 1918. The quaint costumes of the "minuties and the weird and wonderful prams of the period caused intense amusement and aptly accentuated the moral of Disarmament.

A Sign of the Times? An inn in North London has been named "The Lord Cecil." So many hotels have in the past been dedicated to illustrious naval or military men that one ventures to hope that this innovation is a forecast of a new tendency to extend tribute to heroes of peace.

The **Chelsea Peace Shop** continues to attract public attention to a degree that surpasses even the most sanguine preliminary hopes of the organisers. This has proved to be a most valuable avenue for the advancement of the League itself and also of the Union, and has set an example which could be followed by other branches with advantage to all concerned.

The Territorial Review.—It was unfortunate that the Hyde Park Review of the Territorial Defences by His Majesty was "rained off" after our July issue had gone to Press. That fact, however, in no sense detracts from the principles which dictated our paragraph.

The German National Flag. The Secretary to the German Embassy informs us that the German National flag now consists of two flags which should be shown together. The one is the black-white-red flag, while the other is the red flag bearing the Swastika emblem.

Council's Vote

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

Hurtwood, Jersey, Snape, Stevenage, Tonbridge.

For 1933:—

Aldwincle, Ambleside, Appleby, Arnside, Bentham, Brackley, Barnack, Bradfield, Bratton, Berkhamsted, Blunham, Brigstock, Brampton, Bristol (Wills' No. 1 Factory), Bedford, Bluntisham, Blisworth, Calne, Carlisle, Chalford, Crewkerne, Coltishall, Chandlers Ford, Corfe Mullen, Cogenhoe, Castletown, Coniston, Caterham, Debenham, Ewhurst, Fakenham, Farthingstone, Godalming, Gresham School, Holt, Hayle, Hoddesdon, Hilton, Haverhill, Hilston, Holt, Holmes Chapel, Hartford, Heversham, King's Lynn, Knebworth, King's Walden, Kingsteinton, Lakenheath, Lowestoft, Little Weldon, Langford, Littleport, Mullion, Montpelier, Methwold, Manley and Ashton, Nettlebed, Needham Market, Okehampton, Olney, Port Isaac, Portishead, Pudsey, Queens and District, Ramds, Rushden, Riseley, Ramsey (Hunts), Sawtry, Sittingbourne, Silverstone, Stoney Stratford, Sudbury (Suffolk), St. Neots, Seaham Harbour, Sherston, Tyne District Council, Woodford Halse, Witham, Worplesdon, Welwyn Garden City, West Cranmore, Yardley-Hastings.

Overseas Notes

A letter of thanks has been received from the headmaster of the Gastgewerbe-und-Hotelfachschule, Marienbad, for the copies of HEADWAY kindly sent to the school by members of the Union during the past scholastic year. The pupils hope that they will continue to receive these copies during the next year and wish by means of this short notice to thank all those members who have sent them HEADWAY so regularly.

Headquarters has received two requests for correspondence exchange—one from an Italian gentleman who is a commercial foreign correspondent, and the other from a German gentleman engaged in public electricity work. Will any member who would like to take up an exchange of letters with either of these gentlemen (who are both of middle age) please communicate with the Overseas Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

Forthcoming Broadcasts

The B.B.C. this autumn is again following the same lines that it did in the winter of 1931-32, when a number of the evening talks were grouped round the theme of "The Changing World."

An interesting development is in connection with the language talks. Senorita Maria de Laguna is continuing her Thursday talks on Spanish and the second series will be on German, which has been suspended for nearly twelve months. This German course is being planned to last two years, and the first talks will be quite elementary. Each of these two courses is to have a special pamphlet, costing 3d. or 4d., post free, which will give fuller details than are possible in the talks programme.

A September visit to Geneva

THE Union is making arrangements for a group of speakers, branch officers and others interested in its work, to visit Geneva during the League Assembly. It is now probable that the Assembly will open on September 25, and in this case a con-

ducted party will leave London on Saturday morning, September 23. The fee of 12½ guineas covers second-class travel with accommodation for one week, with a reduction for those who are prepared to travel third-class. A leaflet giving full particulars of this visit may be obtained from the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

Welsh Notes

The Twelfth Annual Conference of the Welsh Council was held at Aberystwyth on July 7, 8 and 9, and was attended by a large number of Branch representatives from all parts of the Principality.

Mr. Dudley Howe, J.P., C.C., presided over a crowded audience at the main public meeting of the Conference at the Parish Hall on the evening of July 7. Lord Davies and Mr. H. Wickham Steed were the speakers at this meeting.

The morning and afternoon of July 8 were given to the annual meeting of the Welsh Council which was attended by representatives of Branches from all parts of Wales and Monmouthshire. Mr. Thos. E. Purdy, J.P., C.C., presided. A very warm welcome was extended to Lord Davies on the occasion of his first attendance at the Council since his elevation to the Peerage.

Mr. F. Llewellyn Jones, M.P., was elected President for the coming year. Lord Davies was re-elected Chairman of the Executive Committee, and Mr. Dudley Howe as Deputy-Chairman. Lord Merthyr was elected a Trustee of the Council and Mr. Dudley Howe was elected a special Trustee in connection with the proposed "Hall of Nations" at Cardiff. Mr. Daniel Daniel, J.P., was appointed Joint Honorary Treasurer, with Mr. Thos. E. Purdy, J.P., C.C.

Geneva Exhibitions were awarded to the Branch Secretaries at Brynmawr, Coedpoeth and Rogerstone.

The Council unanimously endorsed the resolution of the Executive Committee inviting the General Council of the Union to meet in Wales in 1935.

The Conference was brought to a close with a Welsh public meeting at the Parish Hall on the evening of Sunday, July 9, when Mr. William John, M.P., addressed a large audience under the chairmanship of the Rev. Canon Maurice Jones, D.D.

Legacies for The Union

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

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

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

Membership

RATES OF ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Is Yours a 3½% Income?

UP TO 15% GUARANTEED FOR LIFE BY LEADING ANNUITY COMPANY

If your private income has been, or is to be, reduced, consider the advantages of an Annuity. Instead of 3½ per cent. you could receive up to 15 per cent., according to your age. This greatly increased income would be guaranteed to you for life, however long you live. All your plans for the future could be made with that in mind.

The Sun Life of Canada is the leading Annuity Company. It specialises in Annuities, and its contracts meet the most widely divergent needs. You, for instance, can take the benefits of a larger income, guaranteed for life, and yet take care of the future of your dependents. This is a new phase of Annuity business, another example of Sun Life of Canada leadership.

There are now over 12,000 Sun Life of Canada annuitants in the British Isles. Retired men, widows and others who have suffered serious reduction in income are finding the best solution to their difficulties in Sun Life of Canada Annuities. Here are some examples:

INCOME MORE THAN DOUBLED

Mr. F., aged 54, a retired builder, whose income had fallen to £350, now enjoys a guaranteed yearly income for life of £749.

INCOME NEARLY TREBLED

Mr. B., age 63, a retired solicitor, with income reduced to £245, obtained a Sun Life of Canada Annuity of £651. (£162 15s. to be paid into his Bank by the Company every quarter as long as he lives.)

£408 INSTEAD OF £175. Guaranteed for two lives

Mr. S. (age 67) and his wife (age 69) will receive £204 every half-year as long as either of them lives. This is more than double their former income, and it is absolutely guaranteed.

RETIRED DOCTOR'S INTERESTING ARRANGEMENT

A Doctor in the Midlands, aged 59, NEARLY DOUBLES HIS INCOME (£429 instead of £245), and this larger income is guaranteed for his life. At his death his daughter will receive £3,000. This is also guaranteed.

If your private income is not now sufficient for your needs, or if you have had anxiety about your investments, send this Form or a Letter. You incur no obligation.

The Assets of the Sun Life of Canada exceed £125,000,000. The Company operates in 40 different countries and serves over 1,000,000 policyholders. Government Audit and Supervision completes the security, the Canadian Insurance laws being among the most stringent in the world.

**FILL IN AND
POST TO-DAY
FOR FULL
DETAILS**



To H. O. LEACH (General Manager),
SUN LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY OF CANADA
(Incorporated in Canada in 1865 as a Limited Company)
99, Sun of Canada House, Cockspur Street,
London, S.W.1.

I have £.....invested (or to invest) and shall be glad to know what income this sum would provide.

NAME.....
(Mr., Mrs. or Miss)

ADDRESS.....

EXACT DATE OF BIRTH.....

Headway, August, 1933