

# OUR FIRST PRESIDENT

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# HEADWAY

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

To few seekers after peace have been accorded so many and so widespread marks of high respect as to Viscount Grey of Falldon, our Honorary President. It would be unfitting that the first issue of HEADWAY to appear since he passed, should contain no editorial reference to the severance of an association that dates back to the foundation of the Union. Though of recent years failing health precluded Lord Grey from taking much active part in our work—the last time that he appeared upon a Headquarters platform after the Central Hall Manchurian meeting in December, 1931, was at the second Manchurian meeting on March 7, 1932—nevertheless he was always accessible to us and his wealth of experience and knowledge was freely put at our disposal. Our loss is great, and with Moschus in his epitaph on Bion we can echo:

... . θρηνηί σε κλυτή πόλις, ἄστεα πάντα

### The Thinker and the World

FROM the lips of the distinguished Presidents of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, each year there fall words which are of importance and sometimes of encouragement, to believers in the international idea; 1933 has been

no exception. Sir Frederick Gowland Hopkins, of Cambridge University, reminded his audience of Sir Alfred Ewing's words last year when he said that "Science had given man a command over Nature before he knows how to command himself." Sir Gowland, like so many other front rank thinkers, has favourably considered the possibility of planning, the principal point, indeed, that was made by Mr. Harold Butler, the Director of the I.L.O., in his Report to the Conference this year. But the President was thinking not only of work but of leisure. Some of the other ideas which he expressed fit the real object of Intellectual Co-operation extremely well. "When civilisation," he asked, "is in danger and society in transition, might there not be a House recruited from the best intellects in the country? . . . A House devoid of politics, concerned rather with synthesizing existing knowledge, with a sustained appraisal of the progress of knowledge, and continuous concern with its bearing upon social readjustments." This surely is the ultimate goal which the members of the I.C.I.C., albeit imperfectly, feel should be their aim. The League in its generation perhaps has been able to be wiser than long-established national institutions.

### A Dangerous Policy

THAT Great Britain, France and Italy should have allowed Austria to raise a short-service army is dangerous. The world's needs, including the neighbours of Germany, are less and not more armaments. It is a moot point whether the raising of such an army, even if it does not exceed the limits of numbers set by the St. Germain Treaty, is not in effect a transgression of its terms. There is no doubt that in the very near future Germany will claim that what is sauce for the Austrian gander should also be sauce for the German goose. In anxiety for the safety of their loans, the three Great European Powers, like Canute, are trying to stem the rising tide of Austrian Nazi-ism. We repeat, rearmament in any form is dangerous.

### A Splendid Training

IN time for the opening of the Assembly, there will return to Geneva the twenty-five new members of the Spanish Diplomatic Service who are undergoing a novel course of training in order that they shall understand the world as it is, rather than the world as it was. Under the new scheme, first of all a visit was made to Geneva in July to learn the workings of the Secretariat. Thereafter members of the group went round the principal capitals of Europe. Finally, they will go back to Geneva in time for the Assembly so as to see the use which statesmen make of the international machine. It is much to be desired that other countries will follow Spain's example, for, incredible though it may seem, many of the younger members of the Diplomatic Service in all countries are as vague about the League of Nations as they are of the Hyksos period in Egyptian history.

### A Black List

As the international conscience on drugs grows and becomes more sensitive, so do the Opium Committee's reports become more outspoken. The most notable feature of the latest report, that on the work of the 16th Session, is the publication of the names of certain prominent smugglers.

"The Eliopoulos brothers," says the report, "Gourievidis, Del Gracio, Polakiewitz (with many aliases), Zahar Roman and a number of others have been brought out of the obscurity in which they delighted, while many well-known figures, such as Joseph Raskin, Leonoff Goldstein, Paul Mechelaere, Eli Abouissak, are still found fitting hither and thither on the European stage. Unfortunately, as the law stands at present in most European countries, it has so far been found impossible to bring many of the worst of these criminals to justice, and they are still at large enjoying the fruits of their labours and apparently, in some cases, without much indication of social or popular disapproval."

It is admirable to note that the sources of drug supply in Western Europe appear to be rapidly drying up. Production has been reduced to a figure which corresponds approximately to the world's

legitimate medical and scientific requirements. The energetic action of the Turkish Government is worthy of the highest praise, and the situation in Bulgaria is rapidly getting better. But the League will have to reckon with the existence of dope factories in other parts of the world. It is known that at Chungking, which is more than 1,300 miles as the crow flies from the mouth of the Yangtse, crude native morphine is being produced and is being seized in increasing quantities in the river ports. Other factories are believed to exist in Shanghai and at Dairen, a port for which the Japanese are responsible.

### An International Menace

THE Minutes of the 23rd Session of the Mandates Commission contain the record of an interesting discussion on that item of the agenda paper entitled "The Influence of the Cinematograph on Native Populations." Mr. Merlin, of France, remarked that at Dakar, to give, if necessary, one example, the exhibition of certain films had been followed by a regular epidemic of burglaries. Count de Penha Garcia, of Portugal, said that it was a recognised fact that the cinematograph had often helped to increase criminality to a greater extent amongst natives than amongst civilised races. The Commission came to the conclusion that this problem should receive the closest attention of the Mandatory Powers. It based its opinion on the evidence that such races are greatly attracted by cinematograph displays. If of the right kind, these can have a very useful educative influence; but if unsuitable may constitute an international menace. The Council is requested to ask the Mandatory Powers to communicate any data which have come to their knowledge and which might be of value to the inquiry undertaken by the Rome Cinema Institute. Reference is made to the first results in its "International Review of Educational Cinematography" for July.

### Cheque Law

SINCE her resignation, Japan has displayed no inclination to cut herself off from the League's work of the promotion of international co-operation, even if she fights shy of the political. Like Italy, she has sent to Geneva her ratification of the three Cheque Conventions concluded in 1931. One of these, namely, that on *Stamp Laws in connection with Cheques* has now received the necessary number of ratifications and will come into force on the 29th November this year. The Conference for the Unification of Laws on Bills of Exchange, Promissory Notes and Cheques is a good example of the way in which the League is building up a code of international law. It is interesting to note that Unification of Cheque Law was envisaged by the Second Hague Conference in 1912 which, however, confined itself to recommending certain regulations on the subject. These the League took up and pushed a stage further.

### Pull Devil, Pull Baker

THOSE few newspapers which do not present their news as a series of isolated and startling events have, during the past few weeks, given ample food for thought. On one page, for instance, there might be discovered a considered special article on Disarmament or a news item on the hope of agreement about Disarmament between Britain and France at the recent Paris meetings. On other pages there was intelligence on the way in which the Japanese General Staff, pursuing its own sweet way, without envisaging the possible successful outcome of the Disarmament Conference, is "preparing plans for an increase in the army in view of Japan's responsibilities under the Manchukuo Protocol": or the British "for the delivery of 14 new torpedo bombers ordered nine months ago for the Fleet Air Arm." Then follows the comment, "If the aircraft-carrier is ultimately to be abandoned, the question of having accommodation for this class of aeroplane in sufficient numbers with the fleet may be difficult of solution." Space forbids the chronicling of the activities of other national General Staffs. The inference is that in all administrations, a tussle is going on between internationalist and nationalist officials. More power to the former!

### Britain and the Dockers' Convention

RATIFICATION of International Labour Conventions is not such a simple matter as it sounds. A Convention is in the nature of a Treaty on Industrial Conditions. Approval and signature of such a Treaty by a National Parliament is tantamount to an undertaking to enforce the conditions laid down by means of its own national legislation which may possibly have to be altered for that purpose. In order, for instance, that this country may be able to ratify the draft International Convention relating to the Prevention of Accidents at Docks, the Home Secretary has announced his intention of revising the regulations dealing with the loading and unloading of ships. Examination of the first Convention which was drafted, it will be remembered, at the 12th Conference at Geneva in 1929, showed that although it followed closely the lines of British regulations, there were such serious differences as to render ratification impossible without upsetting long-established working methods. These points having been brought to the notice of the Conference in 1931, a revised Convention was unanimously adopted, to which the country now intends to accede.

### The Personal Touch

THE value of direct personal contact is shown by the outburst of enthusiasm in South America for ratifying International Labour Conventions. This zeal is a direct outcome of the visit paid to South America in 1930 by M. Albert Thomas, the late Director of the International Labour Office.

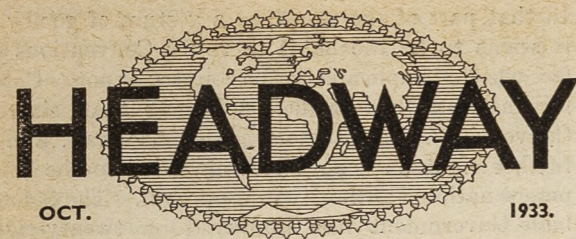
In that part of the world, as a gesture of goodwill, it seems to be the habit to ratify Conventions *en bloc* whether applicable to the country or not. Cuba, for instance, has ratified no fewer than sixteen Conventions. Three more are on the way, and a further eight have been recommended to the competent national authority for approval. The Colombian Government has approved of twenty-eight Conventions. Uruguay has formally registered no fewer than thirty! thus being a co-equal with Spain as the country with the most ratifications to her credit on the chart produced by the International Labour Office. Chile, with thirteen ratifications to her credit, will soon have another six. Less vigorous, but still useful, action has been taken by the Argentine, Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Paraguay, and Venezuela.

### The Pacific Relations Conference

EVERY two years there meets the Institute of Pacific Relations which is a private, non-official, but influential, international organisation for the scientific study of affairs in that part of the world where relationships are probably most critical. This year the session took place at Banff in the Canadian Rockies. They were not cheerful meetings. The prevailing note of fatalism was struck in his closing speech by Mr. Downie Stewart, former Finance Minister of New Zealand. He said that war was inevitable unless immediate steps were taken to create peace machinery. If this machinery is to be created the way can only be prepared by means of Conferences such as this at which even now Chinese and Japanese can sit down cheek by jowl and discuss the most burning questions without acrimony. As a movement in the great international machine, regional conferences are very useful. Even though unofficial they can achieve big results.

### A New Peace Stamp

ARISING out of a competition in which the Secretary-General of the Dutch League of Nations Society acted as one of the judges, the Post and Telegraph Department of Holland has converted one of the winning designs into a 12½ cent postage stamp so that it can be used on letters to foreign countries. The sales of the Peace Stamp commenced on May 18, which is generally recognised in Holland as League of Nations Day, since on that date in 1899 the first Peace Conference was opened at The Hague. The first two letters bearing the Peace Stamp were sent to the Secretary-General of the League and to the President of the Disarmament Conference. Holland has done what the Union asked the British Government to do in 1931, when it suggested a special issue of the blue 2½d. stamps during the Disarmament Conference. The Swiss, on the other hand, produced the well-known Dove and Olive Branch Disarmament Conference stamps.



## A HOMILY

NINETY per cent. or more of the League of Nations Union's work is pure education. That it should be so should occasion no surprise. "Educate and Organise" was the message given to us many years ago by our President, Lord Cecil, and nothing has happened since to disprove the need for continued effort along these lines.

Not all the nation is on the same level of knowledge about the principles for which the Union stands—nor ever will be. There will inevitably be some whose interest in and practical experience of world affairs is greater than that of other people. Upon them naturally rests the heaviest burden of responsibility, since theirs is the greatest opportunity. It is their privilege not only to learn, but also to teach others from their store of knowledge so acquired.

In the months that lie immediately ahead of us, the greatest need will be to maintain a proper sense of perspective and reality in keeping first things first, which is the same thing as saying by remembering the great principles upon which the Covenant of the League is founded. *Magna est veritas, et prevalebit!*

Needless to say, the Far East and Disarmament are the two most necessary matters on which the world needs to be reminded of its principles.

There is a tendency in many quarters to speak of the Japanese occupation of Manchuria and the erection of the puppet State of Manchukuo as if it were a *fait accompli* in which the nations would be well advised to acquiesce as a matter of expediency. We believe that this is a totally wrong attitude to adopt. Indeed, we would go so far as to say that it is fundamentally inexpedient thus to sacrifice League principles. Nothing but harm would result. Through the lowering of faith the setback that would be given to the cause of Disarmament is immeasurable. It is stupid to aver that nothing can be done, as is shown in Dr. Maxwell Garnett's article, in which he proves that by means of a trade embargo, Japan could probably be brought to see reason without difficulty and without bloodshed.

As to Disarmament, even those who are most bitterly opposed to the idea are not unaware of its importance. Their frantic efforts to prevent it reaching the stage at which it will be possible to sign and ratify a complete treaty are being redoubled. Though few in numbers their influence is great. United world opinion must prove to Governments that the arguments of the devil's brigade for armaments, and yet more armaments, are

of less importance than the public's wishes. British opinion will have its chance on October 13 at the Queen's Hall meeting of Christian Witness, with the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Chair. The meeting will receive the resolutions from the countless thousands who will not be able to be present in person.

World opinion will make itself known at the Geneva meeting two days later, the day before the meetings of the Disarmament Conference recommence. Here will be broadcast not only the united resolutions from Britain but also those from the United States of America, France, Belgium and many other countries where whirlwind Disarmament campaigns have taken place during these last two months.

That the British Government is inclined to accept the Union's view is evident from Sir John Simon's speech at Cupar, the first he made after his return from his rest cure. He said that the Government is convinced that "it is only by international co-operation for the reduction of armaments that we can hope to secure the best prospect for the future peace of the world." How matters stand exactly we have attempted to show by the back page of this number and by Mr. Woodward's article, which, we are inclined to believe takes too gloomy a view of the situation, though it indicates the difficulties.

Such are the two points on which we believe that effort should be concentrated by the well informed. There remains, however, the great apathetic mass of opinion to whom the League of Nations is but a name.

In the minds of that multitude there is no understanding of the means whereby the League can be brought to perfection. In fact, its attitude, assiduously fostered by the Yellow Press, is largely one of complacent cynicism. Here lies one great field for missionary effort. As Mr. Stainton explains in his article on branch organisation, membership to the outside world is the criterion of the Union's effectiveness, and is best increased by the house-to-house canvass. In the article entitled *A Call to Youth*, which appeared in these pages last month, we gave some indication of the way in which the Head Office was prepared to assist to bring such an effort to its fullest possible success. In the course of such a canvass the branch member has his best chance—save that of consistent personal appeal to his circle of friends—of assisting in the education of opinion.

Thinking along these lines of argument and persuasion has another effect. It serves to clear the individual's mind. Last month we discussed in some detail the problem of conflicting loyalties to world and country. It is of importance that we should face up to the difficulty, towards the solution of which the Edinburgh resolution was the first step. Mr. Porter Goff's new book, *The Christian and the Next War*, which Dr. Percy Dearmer reviews elsewhere in this issue, is another admirable effort to clarify the situation.

For a little hard thinking on this matter of personal philosophy we should all be the better. It would make our adherence to the League ideal by so much the more tenacious. It would help us to realise the need for the exercise of continued pressure on the subjects of the Far East and Disarmament.

# OUR FIRST PRESIDENT

THE world is full of obituaries of Edward Grey; yet he remains to those who did not know him something of a mystery. The papers speak of his integrity and sense of honour, and call him "an English gentleman of the best traditions." But after all there are many such. Some speak also of his coolness and sagacity in times of danger. But those, too, are fairly common, though precious, English characteristics. They do not explain the extraordinary love and reverence which Grey inspired in those who knew him well.

His policy was the obvious policy for any enlightened and conscientious man: in the 'nineties France and Russia had been our chief enemies; Grey carried on the Salisbury policy of settling, one by one, all the points of difference with these two Powers, till a good understanding was established with France, and, within limits at least, begun with Russia. Meantime, Grey always insisted "there was nothing exclusive in these friendships," and tried persistently both to reconcile Germany and France and to establish the same "good understanding" with Germany. Not original or specially brilliant, but simply right. And his methods were just the same: no brilliance or subtlety, only perfect straightness and firmness. "Be perfectly frank with them," he once said of the French; "never try to be clever with them, and beware of letting them talk you round."

He would never sign a secret treaty. Twice in the long attempt to remove German grievances this question emerged. He agreed to German proposals about the Bagdad Railway, but the Germans insisted that the agreement must be a secret from France. (They intended, no doubt, to let France discover the secret afterwards and so break the Entente.) Again, they wanted Great Britain to declare herself "disinterested" in the Portuguese colonies, which Germany wished to acquire; but the declaration was to be secret from Portugal. Grey had no objection whatever to Germany's acquiring the colonies provided she had the consent of Portugal. The secrecy was refused in both cases, and the treaties fell through.

Did Grey's sense of honour and conscience sometimes verge on the Quixotic, or was it really the highest wisdom? Viviani complained to a friend of mine at the beginning of the war: "Grey will not be open with me. I tell him what France wants to gain by the war, and I ask him what he wants to gain, and he keeps answering, 'I only hope we shall not annex a single yard of territory.'"

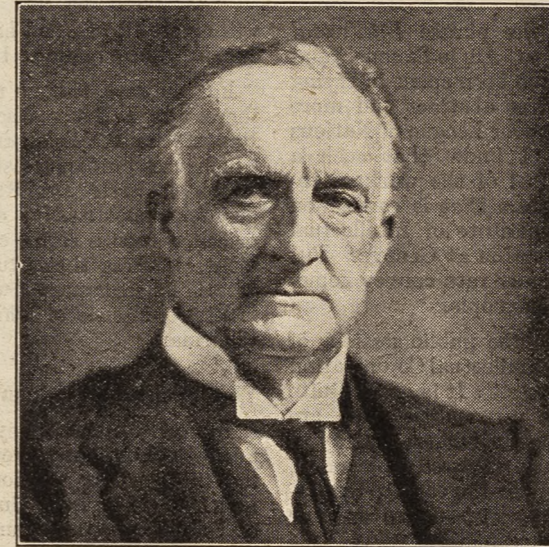
He has been blamed for not carrying on an active intrigue to induce other countries to join us. He once said to me in private: "I will never take the initiative in trying to drag any more nations into this abyss of misery." If they decided on their own account to come in he was of course ready to negotiate—as he had

to do with Italy. And, of course, treaties made in war time have to be secret.

In August, 1914, before war began, it was known that two German warships were in the Mediterranean, the *Goeben* and the *Breslau*. One of Grey's colleagues was eager that we should seize them by surprise before declaring war. Grey refused. At a later time a man turned up in London explaining that Ferdinand of Bulgaria intended to draw his country into the war against us and that he was ready, for a reasonable consideration, to get Ferdinand assassinated. The proposal, of course, was not contemplated for a moment. Once, just to see what he would say, I put the point to him: "What would you say if someone argued that it would have been a great advantage to us, and indeed to the world, if you had agreed to both those lawless proposals?" "One can only say," he answered with a smile, "that there are nations which do that sort of thing, and they never come to a good end."

It seems to me that Grey's character had about it a sort of radiance, which made him different from ordinary sincere and simple people, and also conferred on him one power which is generally the special prerogative of the artist: a direct and unhesitating knowledge of what he cared about and what he did not care about. Is it fanciful to say that it led him three times to what religious people call a "conversion"?

As a youth he was the best type of public school boy, respected and liked by all, good at his work but especially devoted to all open-air sports. He loved wild birds, and, like most conventional young Englishmen, showed his love by shooting them. But, unlike most, he *really* loved



[Photo: Elliott and Fry.]

birds. So he gave up shooting them, and the birds at Falldon knew it, and would sit on his shoulder and eat out of his hand.

Again, when he came to Oxford he found that he did not want to go on longer working at books. He did not care for books. Then a year or two afterwards he came across Wordsworth, and found in him the expression of just that love of nature for which he himself had never found words. He became a devoted student of Wordsworth, and through Wordsworth, of poetry and good literature in general. I say "good" literature, for his taste in books was as severe as it was in men. If a book was at all false or showy he immediately lost interest. He was not, I think, very widely read, but he seemed to me to know an astonishing lot of the best things by heart and to keep them always alive inside him. His English style shows the effect of this. It has an effortless and classic simplicity which makes ordinary "brilliant" writing seem journalese.

The third conversion we all know. After the declaration of war, he once told me, for three weeks he hardly slept, but lay awake night after night going over every despatch he had written, every interview he had held, trying to see what he could have done differently so as

to prevent the war. As a result, I suppose, of that reflection he saw, what very few saw then, and not many see even now, that the whole system of diplomacy based on the sovereign independent state was out of date and bound to lead to disaster. There must be a new sovereignty, a Society of Nations. Our Foreign Office was working on the idea as early, I believe, as 1916.

Before the League of Nations' Union existed, when there were two private bodies, not entirely in harmony, working for a League of Nations, and both were not only miserably small but suspected of treason and watched by that egregious body, "MI5," I went to Grey and asked him if, supposing we could get the two bodies to join, he would be our President. Without a moment's hesitation, he agreed; and I began

## THE SAVANTS' SESSION

By OLIVER BELL

**O**F course one knows that the phrase *Intellectual Co-operation* is repulsive to Anglo-Saxons, and many are the hours that have been spent in trying to devise some term which is less abstract and more concrete. For myself, I would favour League of Nations Education Committee, though I know that such a title would not cover a great deal of the work of co-ordination in science, art or letters that is carried on by the League's hardworking Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris and the Section at Geneva. But Education Committee would at any rate convey something definite to English-speaking people.

It may be for this reason that the public sessions of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation are not played to very "full houses." It is odd. Quite apart from the interest in the personalities who are gathered around the table—Professor Gilbert Murray in the chair, Madame Curie, Professor Shotwell of America, Professor Tanakadate of Japan, Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan from Calcutta, and the rest—there are the things they talk about.

At this year's meetings the ball was set rolling by Professor Shotwell. He laid stress on the fact that the Committee is very weak in its representation of the social and political sciences. The effect of the proposal was to cause a general debate as to the rôle which the various philosophies and sciences have to play in the moulding of the future world. As might have been forecast, it was decided that the organisation of Intellectual Co-operation shall get the social and political scientists to collaborate as widely as possible in its work. And this is a decision of the utmost importance. For who can be more useful to planning the ideal future programme of the League than exponents of such sciences?

### The Anti-Austrian Broadcasts

In view of the recent anti-Austrian broadcasts from German stations, the final resolution on broadcasting was of some interest. During the coming year there is to be drafted a text of agreement (by a stroke of irony the model is a Polish-German Broadcasting Treaty) which shall promote broadcasts in the interests of peace. Though there can be no precise sanctions save moral suasion, it is hoped to prevent any station, and especially those near the frontiers, from putting out stuff which

to hope that the first step was won. There would be a League of Nations.

He understood the need of the League and he saw, as few English statesmen have seen, the necessary results that follow from a League policy. People have called him stiff, inflexible, lacking in nimbleness of mind. But by the light of his own sincerity, by his determination to see the truth and not be led away by unrealities, he saw clearly the great change the world needed.

His life was shot through by tragedies; the sudden deaths of those he loved; the wreck of his political hopes: the sudden blow of blindness at a time when he was needed most. But nothing broke his courage or drove his thoughts in upon himself.

Gilbert Murray.

will create ill-will and hatred; and on the positive side efforts will be made to better mutual understanding.

For the rest, though many topics were broached and there was a lively discussion about the well-known Report\* on the Reorganisation of Education in China which was prepared last year by a visiting Mission of which the late Dr. Karl Becker was chairman, the principal constructive effort which emerged from the meetings was a series of proposals on Moral Disarmament. During the autumn these will come before the Moral Disarmament Sub-Committee of the Disarmament Conference of which Mrs. Corbett Ashby is now Chairman.

### The Anglo-American Angle

In Anglo-American eyes the new proposals with but five articles are far more likely of acceptance by governments than the previous detailed draft of *twenty-six* articles. Even now, since there had to be a good deal of compromise, some unnecessary details are included. Mention is made by name, for instance, of text-book revision and of the need of causing international affairs "to be included in the list of subjects prescribed for the entrance examinations to the more important official careers and in particular such careers as may entail relations with other governments." Admirable! But such points of detail are covered by the general principle of recommendation "to the competent authorities that education at every stage be so conceived as to develop good understanding and mutual respect between peoples and to emphasise the importance of international co-operation."

A useful new feature of the proposals is the introduction of a scheme for governments to contribute a sum of not less than 2½ per cent. of their annual contribution to the budget of the League towards the national work for the promotion of international intellectual co-operation. Given the wherewithal to endow the thinkers, not only the League but humanity as a whole will benefit and be saved many painful experiences due to lack of forethought and forevision. It is to be hoped that hardhearted treasury officials at the Disarmament Conference will take the long view.

\* The Reorganisation of Education in China. Allen & Unwin. 5/-

## ROUMANIAN PUBLIC OPINION

By  
GEORGES OPRESCU

Professor at the University of Bucarest



Mr. Titulesco

**E**LEVEN years ago the friend who put my name forward as the nominee for the post in the Section of Intellectual Co-operation at Geneva for which Sir Eric Drummond had asked for a Roumanian, told me quite seriously (even though he had been an Assembly delegate for two consecutive years) that I shouldn't have very much work to do: "Just to get to know people and be on good terms with them, don't you know?" He was not even sure if I should have to live permanently at Geneva.

If this was the extent of the knowledge of a "expert," was it to be wondered at that the Roumanian press and Roumanian public opinion were slow to be convinced of the importance of the debates in the Council and at the Assembly?

It was not until the Optants Question was brought before the Council that our press learnt of the methods used by the League in such problems and the legal and moral importance of its decisions. Owing to the personal attention that Mr. Titulesco gave to it and the efforts he made to convince the Council of the justice of our cause, the man in the Roumanian street woke up for the first time to the fact that the League of Nations was much more powerful than he believed—but misguided because it mixed itself up with things that, according to his ideas, were not its business.

The distribution of land to the peasants and the expropriation which resulted from it had been a great sacrifice for all sections of the Roumanian nation. Hospitals, churches, Roumanian Academy, schools, and even the most ancient families who had held large estates for four centuries, were each left with only 200 hectares. For this reason nobody in Roumania understood the Council's attitude. They were amazed to see a democratic institution considering reconfiscation of land given to the peasants—Roumanian as well as Hungarian—in order to give it to a few Hungarian counts and nobles who had not been worse treated than the Roumanians themselves.

### The League in Roumanian Eyes

The contradictory attitude of the Council, its twistings and turnings, its continual attempts at conciliation, its capitulation to the one who cried the loudest—now Count Apponyi, now Titulesco—did not increase the League's prestige. Nor did the fact that what we proposed at Geneva—what we asked the Council to accept and which it refused to do—had been considered reasonable at the World Court. So there grew up a strong conviction in Roumania that, at Geneva, only politics counted and that the League was at the mercy of the Great Powers who had permanent seats on the Council.

The fact of there being a gentlemen's agreement by which there was a representative of the Little Entente on the Council, was a poor consolation. It was considered rather as a sort of safeguard which rendered the League less actively harmful than as a real advantage.

It is true that Geneva was also the guardian of the Treaties, but very influential members of the Council spoke publicly of their modification. More still, Geneva could do nothing for us—not even the little that was our due if we, as a Member of the League of Nations, had been attacked by Russia, which at that time we considered as highly probable.

Then came the present crisis. We had tried in vain to better our economic and financial condition through

the League. We were too late. After a lot of talk which lasted for months and months, during which I know the Roumanian Government was not exempt from all reproach (it had to manage a public opinion which was very ticklish on the question of its national pride), we had arrived at an agreement. To the man in the street, it seemed that the League was going to give us nothing beyond platonic advice of which we had no need. It was to nominate controllers of our finances, to pay for whom we were to incur exorbitant taxes. These controllers came to compel us to do what we could have done for ourselves without humiliation, that is, to balance the budget by terrific economies often representing a paralysis of the machine of government.

Such was the state of opinion up till just about a year ago. As for the League's health work or its work for intellectual co-operation, only those very much in the swim knew anything about it. The ordinary people neither knew nor cared.

### Recognition at Last

At the present moment the situation seems to me to have changed considerably. If the friends of the League know how to profit by it the general outlook can be greatly bettered. In the general political and economic upset of Europe where the idea of Treaty Revision cropped up brutally and in a haphazard way, the Roumanian man in the street said to himself: "We fought for a united Roumania. We had a frightful war. Almost a million of us were killed on the field of battle. We have been decimated by illness. Is that all to be useless, shall we have to start again by another war more terrible than the last? They want to take from us our due. Is the territory inhabited by Roumanians to be filched from us to satisfy the policies of the Great Powers, Italy and, above all, Germany? This is an impossible situation. To speak of frontier rectification without knowing exactly what it means, without fixing on a method acceptable to both sides, means re-establishment of the reign of anarchy, of force, of a balance of power and of the secret diplomacy that we knew before 1914. This can only lead to a new war."

Public opinion is only now beginning to see how useful was the League of Nations to a new Europe, how its methods are wise and prudent by their very slowness, by the fact that the holders of the most opposing points of view can be brought face to face, can argue with one another and perhaps be brought into agreement.

To-day the man in the street and our political head, Mr. Titulesco, have in fact the same end in view. Both wish to entrust to the League the difficult task of Treaty Revision by using the Covenant. For the first time the League of Nations appears to the man in the street as an admirable instrument for Peace.

Such is the unexpected but most important consequence of the signature of the Four Power Pact between Russia, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and ourselves.

## Some Pointers for Branches & Members

### ACTIVE SERVICE

By H. H. Stainton

Regional Representative for the Midlands.

**I**N a town of ten thousand population, the Union Branch was a failure. It was run by officers who had held office for nine years. Their enthusiasm was without question. They had made considerable personal sacrifices in their efforts to ensure the success of their work. But the paid-up membership had dwindled to ninety. The Branch "cut no ice" in the town.

Of course, the prevailing international, political and economic situation was blamed, but in my view when I went there to see what could be done, the real weakness was superficial and more open to remedy.

The work of the Branch began, continued, and ended with four meetings a year! The speakers, having received no previous guidance from the Hon. Secretary, gave only speeches of a general character and so, in the course of time, merely tended to paraphrase their predecessors—and weary their audiences.

#### Need for Organisation

At all the meetings, the arrangements for enrolling new members were of the most casual character. Even the collection of subscriptions (in a scattered area) was left to the unhappy secretary!

Clearly the failure of the Branch was due to lack of organisation, unimaginative leadership, and a quite genuine disbelief in the value of membership. That was a particular, but not untypical, case.

The first stage in the cure was a frictionless change of officers, a strengthened Committee, and the adoption of a simple system of organisation which experience in many Branches had proved effective.

The Branch being virtually without funds, the next need was to raise money and to create fresh interest. This was successfully achieved by means of an "International Garden Party" and a good speaker. A further step was to draw up a programme for the Autumn and Winter embracing a special series of Branch Meetings with a different topic for each. As the Branch cannot afford to get all its speakers from afar, some of the subjects are being worked up by local speakers. They obtain their information in books from the Headquarters' Library, from memoranda specially prepared by the Information Section and from the Union's various periodicals and publications.

#### Brighter Meetings

At some of the non-public meetings, there will be no Chairman and no Votes of Thanks. Formality will be eschewed. In a "club-able" atmosphere the speaker will give a friendly, informal talk, packed full of interest and information (they hope!) and over coffee and smokes as many members as possible will join in asking questions and making their comments. An unwritten "Five Minutes" rule is to be loyally observed.

They appreciate that one of the advantages of these regular Branch Meetings is to build up a fine *esprit de corps*, which produces among other things, many willing workers for other Branch activities, e.g., collecting renewal subscriptions, membership and special campaigns, speakers' class, study circle, wireless discussion groups, drawing-room meetings, poster display, distribution and sale of L.N.U. literature, election work, press publicity, etc.

Brighter Public Meetings, it is realised, are just as necessary. For sheer dullness, some L.N.U. meetings

are unbeatable. It is at this type of meeting that newcomers inevitably gain a bad impression which does harm to the whole movement. Meetings which are needlessly held in dismal, badly-lighted, stuffy or draughty halls, entered through gloomy, obscure porches, deserve to fail.

A group of Branches in one Midland County, within their means, proposes to make full use of the mechanism of publicity—knowing from experience that a successful meeting pays for itself while a "dud" meeting is a liability.

Having ensured a "full house" by booking the right speaker and subject, by proper advertising and the individual efforts of members, floodlights are turned on the strikingly decorated hall-entrance. Within cheery orchestral items and community singing entertain and stimulate the assembling audience for half-an-hour, and the meeting starts promptly at the advertised time.

The enrolment of new members is the test of any meeting's success. This, of course, immediately follows the principal speech. It is futile to try and catch people on their way out. A public meeting which fails to produce a goodly number of new members has largely missed its object.

#### Other Wrinkles

One Herefordshire Branch I know has effective *Sub-Branches* or Groups in all the surrounding villages capable of maintaining them. An effort to persuade members to get new members has been particularly well organised in a town famous for its boots. Each individual is being helped by literature, posters and special advice.

Other Midland Branches have resolved to form *Youth Groups* (for members between 16 and 30) for no side of the Union's work shows greater promise and there are now many successful groups.

It is unnecessary to urge the incomparable value of school Junior Branches, but I find many Branches have not yet tumbled to the usefulness of *geographical Junior Branches*. With proper arrangements for the transfer, both types of Junior Branch produce well-informed recruits for the senior body.

#### The Keynote of Success

No other single activity is so fruitful as the *House-to-house Canvass* if the ground is suitably prepared by meetings, the distribution of literature and through the Press. Any Branch *Press Secretary* will have an easier task than that of a Staffordshire Branch who has to get publicity for the Branch in a local newspaper which belongs to a Diehard anti-League group, and does it, too! In creating interest and "atmosphere" the Union's *Poster Board* is proving well worth its cost.

All these efforts get new members, and membership of the L.N.U. is the only measurable indication of British support for the League. Individually, Membership is the only convincing test of belief in the League principle. Membership is the key to reliable information about the facts.

NOTE.—Full information about any point in this article can be obtained from the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

## A Handbook of Peace

Reviewed by  
Dr. PERCY DEARMER

**T**HIS is a book which many have long been wanting. It is small, concise, accurate, and singularly cheap—in these days when so many books are published at prohibitive prices. In 118 pages Mr. Porter Goff gives the main facts that everyone ought to know, well selected and balanced, and presented in a manner that is definite and ineluctable. Every layman who takes his religion seriously ought to spend half-a-crown upon it, and, when he has read it for himself, to lend it to his friends. Every preacher, every parson, should possess it, and use it frequently, so that he may convey, not once but many times, the facts and arguments here given, avoiding the temptation to let insufficient knowledge lead to those vague and sentimental exhortations which may do more harm than good in the pulpit.

It is time for Christians to adopt everywhere a policy of sharp-edged aggression; and it is from this country and from the United States that the leadership must come that alone can save the world. It can come from Great Britain and from the English-speaking peoples that share our religion and the principles of our Common Law, because religion here is free and unclericalised and therefore has a moral power in the nation at large such as it does not possess in many other countries.

We remember this year that our forefathers were aware of the fact exactly a hundred years ago. When slavery was abolished in 1833, a moral revolution was accomplished which was not less immense than the change which is needed in order to abolish war. Till then that hideous evil had defied the powers of Christianity—or rather, those powers had never been systematically arrayed against it, until organised by Wilberforce, Clarkson and their friends. It was the Christian conscience of Great Britain that led the way; and within a few years the other countries of Europe, largely through the continual pressure of Palmerston, had followed our example. To-day slaves are only found in non-Christian countries—some ten million still; but as Mr. Goff reminds us, the League of Nations is busy at the remaining work of emancipation. Few things are more significant than the fact that Abyssinia had to undertake the abolition of slavery before she was admitted to the League of Nations.

#### The Force of Moral Power

It is then possible to destroy a moral evil that has endured throughout the centuries. The abolition of slavery was done against the grain, because great profits had to be sacrificed, and it cost Parliament £20,000,000, and that at a time of acute financial depression. The abolition of war on the other hand, will be to the interest of everybody, except the armament manufacturers. It should be easy! It should be quite easy, if only we have enough moral power. That power we can have only if we are religious enough.

I believe that the abolition of war will follow the same lines as the abolition of slavery. (And it is worth remembering that the first step, the abolition of private warfare in the duel began a hundred years ago, also in this country and through the same religious influences.) First, an intensive and increasing religious pressure upon the conscience of the nation; then definite, conscious national action; then the joining up of one nation after another in similar definite action. This is not a forecast of some distant future; the process has already begun. A fine example is the statement reprinted by Mr. Goff on pp. 67-69 of his book, which was presented to the present Prime Minister by a deputation of all the Churches, headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

How excellent is that uncompromising statement! and how characteristically English—and Christian—is the Prime Minister's reply, that he hoped the Church would go on "pressing and pressing and pressing" the Government "to do the broad, just, fundamental, and eternal thing!"

Now for us to do this needs two things, religious enthusiasm and exact knowledge. Mr. Porter Goff has given us just the weapon we need. After a simple introductory chapter, he details some of the well-known facts about the gassing of women and children which will be the first effort of the New Chivalry, if we have another war. Chapter III explains why pacifist schemes like the proposed "Peace Army" must fail. Next, the League is described; and this is followed by an explanation of the Obligations of the Covenant. Chapter VI deals with the vexed problems of Security and of Disarmament. Chapter VII summarises the economic Warfare at present destroying the welfare of the world. After a description of the other good works of the League in dealing with the drug traffic and the traffic in human life, Mr. Goff describes the admirable method of prayer which has been already widely circulated in card form. Perhaps Mr. Goff might have said a little more about the moral teaching of Christ, for ignorance of elementary New Testament criticism is so universal that something is really needed. I notice, for instance, that in Mr. Beverley Nichols' *Cry Havoc* the incident of Christ and the Money Changers is accepted as a real difficulty for the pacifist. Yet what the Fourth Gospel actually says is that Christ used the whip of cords—not to drive out the money-changers—but the *cattle* (much the kindest way of getting cattle on the move)—"He made a scourge of cords, and cast all out of the temple, both the sheep and oxen"; and the Synoptists (Mark, Luke, Matthew), to whom scholars go for more exact data than the late Gospel called after St. John, say nothing about any use of cords at all.

**The Christian and The Next War.** By E. N. Porter Goff. (Philip Allen. 2s. 6d.)

#### QUEEN'S HALL MEETING

The re-opening of the Disarmament Conference at Geneva on October 16 will be heralded by a Demonstration of Christian Witness at the Queen's Hall, London, on Friday, October 13, at 8 p.m.

The Archbishop of Canterbury will preside, the principal speakers being Canon W. Thompson Elliott (Vicar of Leeds), Sir Norman Angell, and the Rev. F. Luke Wiseman (President of the Methodist Church).

It is hoped that all who are in a position to attend at this gathering will do so. It is specially desired that any Resolutions on the subject of Disarmament that branch organisations may have passed, will be sent to Headquarters so that they may be made known at this meeting.

Tickets are available at 10s. 6d., 5s., and 2s. 6d., and there is a limited number of free-seats. Early application is desirable.

# THE LEAGUE AND MINORITIES

**T**HE recent small civil war (it is best to call it by its real name) in Iraq has given birth to the usual crop of mutual recriminations. For the purposes of the present article, let it be admitted freely that everyone who has been blamed was, in fact, at fault; that the Assyrians have been high-stomached and provoking; the Kurds barbarous; the Iraqis have been trying to weaken two troublesome minorities by setting them to slaughter one another, like the Kilkenny cats.

Such incidents are always likely to arise in the contained areas of the Near and Middle East. When they do arise, it is important to apportion the blame and punish the wrong-doers, but it is even more important to prevent them from recurring; and as the protection of the Iraq minorities is under the guarantee of the League, which has for that purpose required of Iraq to make a Minorities Declaration before the Council, it is pertinent to ask whether that guarantee is likely to be effective.

The procedure by which the League exercises its guarantee of the Minority Treaties is admittedly imperfect. (The League of Nations Union has many times pointed out its defects and urged the adoption of reforms.) It is, however, capable of working speedily and effectively if certain opportunities for delay and obstruction are removed, and in the present instance it will probably prove well adapted for forcing observance of the Iraq Declaration. The deeper question, however, arises here—perhaps more plainly than in any other minorities case which has come before the League—whether these provisions are themselves adequate, or suitable to the conditions with which they have to deal.

## The Minority System

The whole League system of minority protection is an organic, historical growth, which had its roots in certain particular circumstances. It was founded in part on the precedents of the Treaty of Berlin, which was designed to ensure religious tolerance in the Balkans; but it was principally designed to meet the special case of the Polish Jews.

All subsequent Minorities Treaties follow very closely the pattern of the first of their number to be drafted. That was, as it happened, the Polish Treaty, and the only minority which had at the same time interests in Poland and influence at the Peace Conference

## The Union's Assyrian Policy

- (1) As an immediate measure the maintenance of the refugee camp for the survivors of the massacre.
- (2) The appointment of a League Commission of Inquiry before which the Patriarch and eye-witnesses should be allowed to appear.
- (3) The transference of the bulk of the Assyrians to Cyprus or Syria, and their settlement by the Nansen Refugee Office.
- (4) That in view of her moral obligation Great Britain should contribute most of the funds needed for this purpose.



By  
C. A.  
Macartney

was the Jewish. The Jewish organisations actually contributed the first draft of the Treaty, and were frequently consulted during the later negotiations.

Now, the position of the Jewish Minority in Poland was peculiar. The Jews were a "dispersed" minority, which had suffered in the past principally from adverse discrimination. A party among them desired separate "national rights," but most were bitterly opposed to any such claim. They wanted freedom for their religious practice, but for the rest, they desired to merge as fully as possible in the general, social, economic and political life of the country; nor did they object to a certain amount of centralisation and uniformity, which the Poles also desired to introduce, as it was perfectly practicable for them to do.

But even in Europe, this point of view was not shared by all minorities. In many districts of mixed population it has been found, both before and since the War, that only a much greater degree of decentralisation could solve satisfactorily some minorities problems. The idea that the unity of the State could be furthered by a forced unification has proved utterly mistaken. On the contrary, it has only given rise to prolonged and dismal struggles which have done more than anything else to destroy any real unity.

## Factors of Common Interest

If this is true of Europe, it is far more certainly true of the Middle East. The further east one goes, the greater are the differences between the various nationalities which live together, in geographical proximity, but are spiritually often poles apart. Centuries of common history have imparted a superficial resemblance to all inhabitants, say, of the United Kingdom or of France, and the special interests which a national minority in one of these countries might claim for itself are comparatively few. But beyond the Adriatic, certainly beyond the Aegean and the Black Sea, the factors of common interest grow ever fewer, the importance of the peculiar national characteristics ever greater; and more and more independence with respect to those characteristics has to be allowed, if political unity is to be preserved.

The millet system, under which the old Ottoman Empire was governed, recognised this fact. The system was, in fact, admirably adapted to local conditions. It allowed the different nationalities almost complete self-Government in their internal affairs, and its value may be measured by the fact that by its help the Ottoman Empire survived for centuries in spite of the fact that the Turkish Government was, in its own admin-

istration, perhaps the most corrupt, inefficient and brutal in the world. It was saved solely by the excellence of the system.

Surely, then, it may be asked whether a serious error is not being made in encouraging the Government of Iraq to apply to its territories standards and methods which might be sound enough in France or Italy; and whether safeguards originally devised for Polish Jews have any real value to Assyrians or Yezidis?

The leader of the Assyrians, the Mar Shimun, has been demanding self-Government, temporal as well as spiritual, for his community on the old "millet" lines. The Iraq Government, encouraged by the British authorities, has steadfastly resisted this demand, and the representatives of the Western nations who sit in judgment at Geneva seem to have been agreed as to its unreasonable nature. When the petitions for autonomy were being discussed at the Mandates' Commission, the representatives of the British Colonial office explained plaintively that: "the real difficulty lay in the fact that the Assyrians seemed to desire to live now as they had lived in the past." Some of them were

"reluctant to face the fact that they were now living in a country governed by modern conditions where they would become citizens of a progressive State."

The Mandates' Commission was quite agreed. It put on record that the desire of the Assyrians "could not find any encouragement" on the ground that it would "imperil the unity of the Iraqi State and could not but perpetuate the antipathy with which the Assyrians believe themselves to be viewed by the other elements of the nation in the midst of which they are destined to live."

It is permissible, in view of what happened less than a year after that meeting at Geneva, to wonder whether the desire of the Assyrians to live as they had always lived was quite so unreasonable as it seemed; to wonder whether a paper Constitution and a few top hats have really made of the immemorial East a country governed under modern conditions, and whether the unity of the Iraqi State would not be more easily preserved by adhering to the system which permitted the Ottoman Empire to exist and even, in its way, to flourish, in spite of the notorious defects in its administration.

# TREATY PROSPECTS By DAVID WOODWARD

**O**n October 16th, the General Commission of the Disarmament Conference will begin the second reading of the Draft Convention presented by the British government in March, and subsequently adopted by the Conference as the basis of the treaty which it is seeking to draw up.

During the first reading, concluded at the beginning of June, the debates to which it gave rise showed wide discrepancies of view between the principal delegations. Mr. Arthur Henderson, the president of the Conference, decided that no useful purpose could be served by beginning the second and final reading of the treaty until a measure of agreement had been reached. In order to achieve this agreement, Mr. Henderson has been carrying on, during the recess, a series of negotiations in the various capitals of Europe. As a result it has become possible to forecast, with a reasonable probability of accuracy, the lines along which the next phase of the Conference will develop.

Owing largely to the consequences of the accession of the Nazis to power in Germany it would appear that even optimistic Mr. Henderson has lost hope of any considerable measure of disarmament being accomplished. It is now understood that he is returning to Geneva with the intention of pressing for a treaty which will include an armaments truce, and provisions for the control of armaments and their manufacture.

Though the details of this plan have still to be worked out, it is believed that it will have the support of the British, French and American governments.

The French will be content because they are assured that armaments will be stabilised at their present levels for a period of years; and that there will be a vigilant commission of control to guard against Germany's secret re-armament—the fulfilment of a long cherished dream! France has also been in the forefront of those demanding control of private manufacture, a measure for which intelligent public opinion in Britain and the United States has also long pressed.

Britain and America alike have recognised that the measure of disarmament embodied in the Draft Convention is unlikely to be secured at present. The greatest part of that reduction would have to be carried out by France, the great power which would be most desperately threatened if the warlike talk of Germany's new leaders be ever put into application.

Germany is opposed both to an arrangement which would leave armaments at their present level for the next four years, and also to arrangements for the investigation of her alleged infractions of the armaments clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, nor is there yet any sign that she will acquiesce in any such treaty.

If the German demand for the reduction of armaments to the level imposed on her by the Treaty of Versailles within five years be not adopted, there can be little doubt that she will claim a right to rearm.

*This point of Mr. Woodward's shows the wisdom of the Union's Disarmament programme.—ED.*

A year ago, when Germany last made this demand, every effort was aimed at compromise which would give legitimate satisfaction to her requirements. Such a compromise was achieved and subsequently accepted by General von Schleicher's short-lived government. It is, unhappily, likely to be disowned by the demands of Hitler.

The concessions which were made to Germany in the Draft Convention concentrated on the lowering of the levels of the armaments of the rest of the world, rather than with the increase of those of Germany. The only exception to this (the reorganisation and doubling of the numerical strength of the Reichswehr) was bitterly opposed in its details by Germany. If the British scheme for the transformation of continental European armies to a militia basis goes by the board, then it would appear difficult to make out a case for the process being applied to Germany. On this condition *only* was it proposed to permit of an increase in the German army.

If the armaments truce is all that the Conference can be got to accept, there can be little doubt that Germany will file a long list of rearmament demands which will be bitterly opposed by the other countries. The demands would include possession of tanks and heavy guns, submarines, fighting aircraft and the introduction of a mixed long service and conscript army.

The crux of the disarmament problem, therefore, will be the attitude of Germany, and this will hinge upon that of Italy. If the latter throws in her lot with Britain, America, and France, Germany may find her isolation unbearable, and, albeit with bad grace, give way. In any case, negotiations are likely to be very protracted, rendering the signing of a disarmament treaty very unlikely until well into the New Year.

# PUT ON THE EMBARGO!

SAYS MAXWELL GARNETT

To carry out the Union's plan of action designed to liquidate the dangerous situation in the Far East, it is essential that America should give a favourable answer to two questions, namely:—

Would the United States of America be prepared to join with the League in recommending to both parties in the dispute the procedure of settlement outlined in Chapter 10 of the Lytton Report?

If China accepted and Japan refused an invitation to participate in such a procedure of settlement would the United States of America join with the League in putting concerted pressure upon Japan?

A favourable answer from America to these would make it much easier for the League to take effective action.\*

An encouraging fact is that throughout the whole course of the Manchurian affair the United States has shown a disposition to follow a resolute policy and to co-operate most fully with the League.

Nothing could have been sounder than the Stimson declarations to the effect that the United States will, for the future, co-operate with the League under Article 11 of the Covenant; and any war or threat of war is henceforth a matter of concern to America as well as to the whole League.

Indeed, the general impression on a large section of American opinion is that the United States *has gone ahead of League action* in the attempted restraint of Japan, and that American efforts to that end have secured only tardy and hesitating response. In any case, the record of the immediate past in American policy gives no justification for supposing that America would adopt a *non-possumus* attitude in this matter. Her co-operation in the application of economic pressure to Japan would almost certainly be decisive.

The States which have most to lose in any quarrel with Japan are Great Britain and the United States of America, but they are also in a position to exercise the strongest economic pressure. It is obvious, therefore, that the lead must come from them and there is no doubt that any action jointly recommended by these two countries would be accepted by all other States.

### Pressure by Few Countries

Effective economic pressure need be exercised by a very few countries! Japan supports a population of sixty-five and a-half millions largely through her industry and commerce. She is short of raw materials, especially foodstuffs, coal, oil, metals and cotton. She is already a debtor country; and she cannot for the present increase her indebtedness abroad; she is, therefore, obliged to pay for these raw materials in cash derived from her exports of manufactured goods.

The British Empire, the United States and China take 68.3 per cent. of Japan's export trade.† France, Germany, and the Netherlands take a further 8.6 per cent., making a total of 76.9 per cent. among these six nations.

Japan must achieve a balance of exports over imports to enable her to pay her debts. In the last three years that balance has dropped from 15 per cent. to 7 per

\* In order strictly to comply with international law, the technical method which the League would have to employ in exercising anything more than moral pressure upon Japan for the purpose of securing her acceptance of the League's Recommendations—e.g., her participation in the procedure of settlement outlined in Chapter 10 of the Lytton Report—would consist in saying that, under Article 10 of the Covenant Japan must withdraw from all the Chinese territory outside the railway zone which she has occupied and thus restore the territorial integrity and political independence of China.

† Japan's principal customer is the United States of America, which takes 31.6 per cent. of her exports, including almost all her silk. Next comes British India which takes 13.6 per cent. of Japan's exports, principally in the form of cotton goods. Then comes China which now takes 11 per cent. of the exports of Japan, but before the boycott took more than British India.

cent. If, therefore, the British Empire and the United States, in addition to China, were to refuse to take imports from Japan, Japan would be prevented from buying most of her raw materials; and the effect would be a little greater still if France, Germany and the Netherlands followed the Anglo-American lead.

The difficulties of such a refusal to accept imports are by no means technically insuperable as has been proved by the recent British embargo against goods from Soviet Russia.

### Risks Less Than Those of an Armaments Race

It has been said that if Great Britain were to unite in excluding imports from Japan, the Japanese Government, in its present frame of mind, might attack Hong Kong or even Singapore. There is, however, nothing in recent Japanese history to suggest that Japan would be guilty of a policy so utterly suicidal as an attack upon the British Empire plus the world at large. The diplomatic situation which would be created if America co-operated, or even acquiesced in, the League policy above outlined would be such as to deprive Japan in fact of any possibility of any effective military, political, economic or financial assistance.

There are, of course, some risks‡ involved in the policy of world coercion of Japan. They are nevertheless infinitely less than the risks involved in the weakening of the whole League system. A reversion to competition in armaments (and military alliances) and to a state of utter international anarchy would definitely jeopardise the security not only of the British Empire, but of the whole world.

‡ These have already been dealt with in a memorandum (S.G.4903) which was submitted to the Executive Committee of the Union on February 11, 1932, and which read as follows:—

“The destruction of the collective peace in the East and submission to the military dictatorship of Japan must have disastrous repercussions in India and would cause the gravest anxieties in Australia and Canada. Moreover, if we do not now do all in our power to secure joint action with other countries in honouring our common engagements and employing the system of pooled security—the defence of each by the strength of all—at a time when we may have the co-operation of practically the whole world to restrain Japanese aggression, we must not hope to benefit from this system in a case where British Imperial interests were directly threatened; for example, if Japan demanded a free entry for Japanese colonists into Australia.”

## THE PEACE POSTERS

Entries for Sir Norman Angell's Peace Poster Prize should be received at 15, Grosvenor Crescent not later than December 31. The size of the sketches can be anything between that of a postcard and the ordinary "double-crown" size which the Union normally uses. *It is your ideas we want!*

To remind readers of the type of "Argument by Poster" that Sir Norman Angell has in mind, here are a few excerpts from the "Angles of Argument" in Sir Norman Angell's article in the September HEADWAY:

Defence under the old method meant arming the litigants instead of arming the law. Under that system armies were not police; police forces are not created for the purpose of arresting each other.

The problem of maintaining conditions of peace and prosperity is analogous to that of keeping the traffic clear and safe on the highways.

The cost of the League bears the same relation to the total national income that three shillings a year does to a man having £3,000 a year.

Further particulars can be had on application to the Head Office.

# The Writer's World

No. 23

October, 1933

For New Writers

## Free Lessons for New Writers

An Interesting Offer to Readers

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

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

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

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

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

## “I Now Sell Everything I Write”

Thousands of Success Reports from Regent Students

REMARKABLE RESULTS

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

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

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

**471 Acceptances**  
“My accepted MSS. now number 471.”

**In Print Every Month**  
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## BOOK NOTICES

**The Bloody Traffic.** By A. Fenner Brockway. (Gollancz. 3s. 6d.)

Sensational! Sickening! Revolting even! This book justifies all these adjectives. Mr. Fenner Brockway's revelations amply bear out the truth of the 1921 League Report on the evils attendant on permitting the manufacture of armaments to remain in private hands.

He shows how armament firms supply both sides in any war; how they practise bribery and corruption; how they manipulate the Press; how they use the banks to increase sales; and how they hinder disarmament conferences. He exposes the way in which in Britain there is but one armaments trust. Immensely powerful, of course.

Vickers-Armstrong has international links—and there is a very useful little chart to show it. There are associated companies in Canada, Ireland, Spain, Italy, Rumania, New Zealand, India, Holland, Poland, Japan (part of the Mitsui Combine) and France (part of Schneider-Creusot). Through the Mitsui Combine it is associated with Curtiss-Wright in America, and through Schneider-Creusot with Skoda in Czechoslovakia. In fact, that armaments industry is the only true international!

My own righteous indignation was rather dashed by a commercial relative who read the book and exclaimed: "But those are only ordinary business methods!" "Perhaps so," I should have replied. "But as in the case of dangerous drugs, there are some manufactures economic aspects of which must be subordinated to superior humanitarian and moral considerations. And the armaments industry is one!"

Read this book!

O. B.

**The Intelligent Man's Review of Europe To-day.** By G. D. H. and M. I. Cole. (Gollancz. 6s.)

Far from wondering at the size of this 864-page work, the marvel is that so much information and clever deduction could have been compressed into so small a space. Part I consists of 135 pages, which are devoted to a lucid analysis of European history from the time of Charlemagne to the Great War, without which many of the points raised and answered in the main book would not easily be followed by the casual student.

The extraordinary scope covered by the authors may be gathered from the fact that every aspect of modern Europe is dealt with, including such diverse interests as post-war debts, currencies, tariffs, quotas, wages, unemployment, Trades Unions, Communism, Fascism, Nazism, and concluding with detailed discussions on the League of Nations, Disarmament and the International Labour Office. The authors frankly avow their adherence to Socialism of the non-revolutionary type, but they have refrained from any tendency to spoil their clever work by utilising it for propaganda. There is also a generous allowance of explanatory maps and charts.

**War Unless—** By Sisley Huddleston. (Gollancz. 5s.)

"It is time to tell the bitter and brutal truth," declares Mr. Huddleston as, with a heavy brush, he proceeds to lay on all the dark colours at his disposal. From end to end of Europe, he paints a picture of unmitigated gloom. Of the author's sincerity there can be not the slightest doubt, but he over-states his case. The whole book, too, is distorted by his intolerance towards all who are sincerely working for peace in ways which clash with his own pet schemes.

Mr. Huddleston, in fact, has never recovered from an early obsession that the League of Nations was starting on wrong lines. The Assembly should be "nothing more and nothing less than a conscience for the world." Its *personnel* should be "men and women entirely detached from their Governments"—"almost any group of intelligent men without a diplomatic bias" would do. In some mysterious way, his League would be entirely separate and distinct from its Member-States, but he fails to explain how exactly it would work.

In essence, the argument is that there will be war unless the Peace Treaties are revised and unless the United States can come to an understanding with Great Britain.

L. R. A.

**The Science of Peace.** By Lord Raglan. (Methuen. 3s. 6d.)

The best part of this book is its Tweedledum and Tweedledee dust wrapper. In the letterpress section Lord Raglan, a dilettante anthropologist with a store of erudition, delivers himself of some quite admirable sentiments.

In the small amount of space which he devotes to the subject, he shows that he

has misunderstood the whole nature of the League of Nations:—

"Not only is the whole theoretical basis of the League thoroughly pernicious, but its practical policy is equally so: for while in theory all nations—that is to say all groups organised for war—are equal, in practice the League has found itself totally unable to control the strong, and has therefore devoted itself to the easier task of trying to intimidate the weak, though even in this it has not always succeeded."

As a result of his somewhat tortuous reasoning, his assumptions and assertions, Lord Raglan arrives at conclusions most of which the thoroughgoing member of the Union can wholeheartedly support.

**The Brown Book of the Hitler Terror.** Prepared by an International Commission. (Gollancz. 5s.)

It is regrettable that the crude and pitiless exposure of the Nazi persecutions contained in this book have been leavened by a tendency to dwell upon Communist propaganda to a degree that detracts somewhat from the effect that would have been obtained by a less biased concentration on the facts which merit consideration on their demerits alone. Any reader of this book will obtain such harrowing details of persecutions and horrors as, without any question of partisanship, should build up resolution that a similar ghastly state of affairs shall never be permitted to obtain in this country.

Not the least valuable ingredient is the documentary and photographic weight of evidence put forward with regard to the burning of the Reichstag which is occupying the world's close attention as we go to press.

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The Fabian Society  
Kingsway Hall LECTURES

Autumn, 1933

THE Autumn course of lectures will be held this year in the Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, Holborn, on six successive Thursday evenings, beginning on Thursday, October 19, at 8.30. The general title of the course will be "The Remaking of England, 1883—1933—1983." The dates, subjects and lectures arranged are as follows:—

1. Thursday, October 19. "CHANGES AND ANTICIPATIONS IN POLITICAL STRUCTURE."  
Chairman: THE RT. HON. G. LANSBURY, M.P.  
Lecturer: Mr. G. D. H. COLE.

2. Thursday, October 26. "THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM AT THE CROSS ROADS."  
Chairman: PROFESSOR R. H. TAWNEY.  
Lecturer: MRS. BARBARA WOOTTON.

3. Thursday, November 2. "CHANGING SOCIAL STANDARDS."  
Chairman: MR. WALTER M. CITRINE.  
Lecturer: PROFESSOR C. DELISLE BURNS.

4. Thursday, November 9. "THE MAKING OF PUBLIC OPINION."  
Chairman: PROFESSOR H. J. LASKI.  
Lecturer: MR. KINGSLEY MARTIN.

5. Thursday, November 16. "THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AND WORLD AFFAIRS."  
Chairman: THE LORD SNELL.  
Lecturer: MR. PHILIP NOEL BAKER.

6. Thursday, November 23. "THE POLITICS OF UNPOLITICAL ANIMALS."  
Chairman: MRS. SIDNEY WEBB.  
Lecturer: MR. BERNARD SHAW.

Admission will be by ticket for the course, which can be applied for at once, or for each lecture separately. As the accommodation is limited, preference will be given to applicants for tickets for the whole course. Applications for single tickets will therefore be reserved until October 9, 1933, after which the remaining seats will be allotted according to priority of application.

The price of tickets for numbered and reserved stalls and front rows of gallery is one guinea for the course of six, or five shillings for a single lecture; for numbered back stalls and gallery seats, twelve shillings for the course, or three shillings for a single lecture; for numbered upper gallery and back rows of stalls, six shillings for the course, or one shilling and sixpence for a single lecture.

Applications for tickets should be sent to the Fabian Society, 11 Dartmouth Street, Westminster, S.W.1.

**No. 1—Organising Peace.** How the League Works and What It Has Done. By Maxwell Garnett. 3d. (New Union Publication.)

Organising Peace is too well known to need commendation. Here is a new edition in brand new dress, for the cover has been designed by the well-known artist Mr. McKnight Kauffer. Within is much that is new, especially about Disarmament, Treaty Revision and the Far East. Some of it will be recognised by readers as having been treated of in HEADWAY, but it will be new to many people. It is to be hoped that in the hands of keen Branch workers this edition will serve as useful a missionary purpose as the last, and will bring in many new converts to membership of the Union.

**The League in Our Time.** By Kathleen Gibberd, M.A. (Oxon.). Basil Blackwell. 3s. 6d.

Miss Gibberd, M.A. (Oxon.), writes for the younger generation of whom she is evidently a member. Hers is a splendid and romantic wrath that nobody seems to see the drama of the League's achievements. To her, as she says in the introduction:—

"The League is not the dull affair that so much indifference would suggest, but a most absorbing drama. In preparing to write this book I have talked to many people engaged in League work, watched the deliberations of Assembly, Council and Commissions, and read volumes of reports and minutes. The further I went the more absorbing this experiment in international co-operation became and my deep concern was how adequately to write of this drama."

The ten chapters are really ten Union pamphlets. Could praise be higher? We hope that some day Miss Gibberd will go on from the Palais des Nations to the International Labour Office. It is not a long walk. There is much drama there which should make a good complement to the present volume.

**The Political Madhouse in America and Nearer Home.** By Bernard Shaw. Constable. 2s.

Mr. Shaw is like Cleopatra. Age cannot wither nor custom stale his infinite variety. He is always witty. He usually has his tongue in his cheek. He knows that the public secretly likes to have its leg pulled. Probably after having seen "about three generations of human beings," he even begins to think he is absolutely sincere. This little book is really a reprint of a speech which he made in the Metropolitan Opera House, New York, during his recent American tour. It is good reading, if not very profound. The introduction which has something to say about the World Economic Conference, is irritating, but beneath the cynicism is a substratum of real wisdom. One day before he shuffles off this mortal coil, it is to be hoped that Mr. Shaw will write a serious essay, perhaps entitled: "Sans Blague."

**His Excellency the Spectre.** By Joachim von Kureberg, translated by R. O. Lorimer. (Constable 8s. 6d.)

**Broadcasting.** By Hilda Matheson. (Home Univ. Library. 2s. 6d.)

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## READERS' VIEWS

## HITLERISM

SIR.—The article on "The Challenge of Hitlerism" in your September issue, is a presentment of the Nazi point of view, itself challenging criticism. Since it is contributed to HEADWAY by invitation, and is by the Head of the Anglo-German Bureau in London I am sorry that it is unaccompanied by editorial comment.

I would therefore like to note a few of the mis-statements and suppressions of facts in Dr. Deissmann's article which struck me personally.

In the first place we are bidden to admire the new social and ethical attitude of young Germany. But we are not told to what extent this has been attained by violently silencing everybody whose system of ethics includes liberty of speech and toleration.

The next point is very important. Dr. Deissmann alludes to a revival of religious interest, and the longing for the new and actually living Church. Is not that worth our consideration, he asks? It is, indeed, and it is deplorable that Dr. Deissmann does not tell us more about the way that longing is being stimulated by the German Government. For example, why was the day's issue confiscated of the only German newspaper that reported the threat of the Head of the New German Church to send dissident clergy to concentration camps?

The article next mentions the new and constructive ideas of international co-operation that we shall be surprised to discover in the young Nazi leaders. Again, no examples are given, and we are left wondering whether the broadcasts from Munich inciting Austrian subjects to rebellion are supposed to be constructive or only new.

The Jewish question, Dr. Deissmann admits, constitutes the "Real Challenge of Hitlerism" which gives the article its title. That being so, it is odd that he thinks British interest in the persecution of German Jews quite out of proportion. He meets it by two of the most time-worn assertions of the anti-Semitic propaganda. The figures disproving the tale about the "tremendous influx" of Jews into Germany after the War have often been given, but I quote them again. They are from the latest German Government census, reported at greater length in the *Times* of March 23, 1933: "The number of Jews in Germany per 1,000 of the population in 1925 was 9, as against 9.3 in 1910."

So much for that legend. Now for the assertion that *Hitlerism is challenging the Jews as the strongest spiritual and material exponents of these forces* (i.e., of the self-contradictory principles of International High Finance and Marxism).

It is, of course, plain to the British mind that the Nazis cannot have it both ways. If they want to try to identify Jewry, as such, with either Capitalism or Bolshevism they must choose which, and set out to prove it. It will take them some time, for the truth is that German Jews belonged in the past to all political parties, except those with an anti-Semitic programme. At the last Election some of them voted for the Centre (Catholic) Party, but the majority supported the Socialists, as the principal safeguard for their liberties. Further facts are to be found in an article on "The Jews in Germany" in the *QUARTERLY REVIEW* of July, 1933.

Most important of all for us is a consideration which your German contributor refrains from mentioning: namely, that persecution of a racial or religious minority is contrary to the letter of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and utterly abhorrent to its spirit.

Roland Gardens, S.W.7.

BLANCHE E. C. DUGDALE.

SIR.—I have read the somewhat laboured apology for Hitlerism put forward by Dr. Deissmann in your September issue. Dr. Deissmann takes foreign critics to task for not having "taken the trouble to make themselves acquainted with the spirit manifesting itself in the masses of Hitler's most enthusiastic followers." The manifestations of that spirit, so far as they are visible to foreign observers, are concentration camps crowded with Pacifists, Socialists, and Jews or anyone whose opinions do not coincide with those of the present Government. Other manifestations are scenes of mediæval barbarism, such as the girl exhibited in the public streets with her head shaved and old men driven along the road to prison at Nuremberg. Dr. Deissmann alleges that a religious revival has taken place in Germany; it may be so, but these are strange expressions of

religious spirit. The words of the Archbishop of Canterbury, speaking at the Queen's Hall protest meeting, seem more suited to what has actually happened. "Let it be remembered that a Church in political chains is incapable of giving the effect of its inspiration and its power to any political movement." A creed based on hatred and intolerance, on worship of violence and brute force can hardly put forward a claim to be called a religion.

Dr. Deissmann attempts to excuse the Jewish persecution by flourishing the bogeys of High Finance and Marxism. As for High Finance, its most recent efforts have been directed to repairing war damage and the blame for the failure of economic reconstruction must be laid at the doors of the politicians rather than the financiers. In any case, the part played by Jews nowadays in international finance is extremely small; Norman, Young, Dawes, Morgan—none of these are Jews. As for Bolshevism, the high proportion of professional men, doctors, lawyers, etc., among the Jewish exiles from Germany offers no evidence that the German Jewish community includes many Bolsheviks in its ranks.

Finally, in contrast to Dr. Deissmann's attempt to portray the Jews as embodying in themselves all that he regards as evil in modern German life, the words of Lord Buckmaster in a recent speech may be recalled:

"It is the genius of Jews that in music, in science, in philosophy and in medicine has helped to lift the German nation to the very highest peak of intellectual eminence."

But then Lord Buckmaster is a foreign critic, and foreign critics, as Dr. Deissmann says, have not taken the trouble to understand!

38, Weymouth Street, W.1.

LEONARD G. MONTEFIORE.

We have received a very large number of other letters on this subject. The official attitude of the Union is to be found in the following extract from Minute No. 540 of the Edinburgh General Council Meeting: "That it (the Union) is gravely concerned at the continuance of oppressive discrimination against German citizens on grounds of race, religion and opinion, and believes that this discrimination is contrary to the principles of the League of Nations."—ED.]

## COLLECTING SUBSCRIPTIONS

SIR.—Mr. G. E. Lillie's letter in the September HEADWAY brings up once more a matter of grave concern to loyal members of the Union. We are faced with the lamentable fact that it is making little or no progress, its effective membership being well under 400,000, a figure which in all probability represents but a ludicrously small proportion of the number of our countrymen who believe in the League. The Union is, in fact, unpopular, and the fact should be faced. The stagnation in numbers cannot be due only to defective machinery in the collection of subscriptions.

What Mr. Lillie has said need not be repeated. I will only add my conviction that thousands of possible supporters are kept back by the constant appeals from the centre to express approval of pressing on the Government this or that programme of immediate action; whereas the same people would cordially support a resolution (e.g., on Disarmament) pledging them to back up the Government in going as far as they find it possible to go. At present the Union, at least till it comes to represent a far larger body of opinion, simply cannot afford to tack this kind of work on to its primary business, that of educating opinion in League principles.

It is sometimes urged that without the putting forward of these provocative "policies" it would be difficult to keep interest alive. But those who think otherwise have no wish to quench discussion of controversial matters, as to which the more open debate there is the better.

ARTHUR F. HORT.

Andover.

Other letters on this subject unavoidably held over.

## LOYALTIES

SIR.—The Editorial in September's HEADWAY says:—"Just as it is possible (however difficult) to conceive that Great Britain might engage in a war which the other States Members of the League declare to be illegal, so we can (in theory at least) imagine circumstances in which a State be justified or even bound, to disobey the ruling of all the other Members of the League: perhaps because loyalty to Man comes second to loyalty to God."

May I beg the Editor to eat these astonishing words? Does he seriously maintain that a State would be justified in "engaging in war" against "the ruling of all the other Members of the League, out of 'loyalty to God'?"

W. ARNOLD FORSTER.

St. Ives.

The sentence quoted by Mr. Arnold Forster was described in the article from which it comes as an explanatory note. We regret that the phrase "disobey the ruling" was misleading. We should have explained more fully, that:

- (1) Every State must live up to its treaty obligations.
- (2) Where there are no treaty obligations, a State still does well to be influenced in its action by the opinion of the other States as to what is best for the common good.
- (3) Where a State fails to live up to its obligations, as interpreted by the other States, it may believe itself to be justified in the eyes of God; but the chance that it would be right and all the others wrong is so exceedingly small that for practical purposes this possibility must be ignored; and the other States must not hesitate to fulfil their obligations "to protect the covenants of the League."

## THIS IS URGENT!

SIR.—The International Consultative Group in Geneva is busy with the preparations for a great Disarmament Meeting to be held in the Batiment Electoral on Sunday, October 15, the eve of the re-opening of the Disarmament Conference. A resolution will, it is hoped, be passed by the meeting, demanding the conclusion of a Convention recognising equality of status and embodying at least the following points: (1) The abolition within a specified period of "aggressive" weapons, including the air weapon; (2) Limitation of expenditure; (3) A permanent organisation to exercise a strict supervision of existing armaments, including their sale, and to prevent re-armament by any State; (4) Security for all nations against aggression.

The meeting will lose its effect unless it is supported by peace societies all over the world. All such societies are therefore urged to hold meetings and send their resolutions to national H.Q. to be forwarded to me. These resolutions will be handed to the chairman, M. Motta.—Yours, etc.

ADELAIDE LIVINGSTONE,  
Director.

## A CHANCE MISSED

SIR.—While in The Hague a few weeks ago among a big Cosmopolitan party, I was shown round the Peace Palace by a very efficient tri-lingual guide. But we were shown round as if the Palace were just a museum. We heard all about the carpets, fountains, stained glass windows, and door handles which have been presented by various nations. Hardly anything was said about what exactly goes on in the Peace Palace!

Might it not be possible for the Palace authorities to draw up a little printed slip explaining the work of the Palace—the Permanent Court, the Arbitration Court, the School of International Law, the Library, the Parliamentary Union—which could be given to visitors? Alongside the Palace is the delightful new building of the Hague School of International Law. The course was on with young lawyers from thirty nations present. I discovered it all quite accidentally with the aid of a polite Dutchman. The guide had merely told us to have a walk round the garden as it was "designed by an Englishman!"

Cecil Northcott.

Darwen, Lancs.

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The testimony of the American poet, expressed in this striking verse, does not stand alone, and many a man has made the discovery, soon or late, that the Bible is the great store-house of wisdom wherein is to be found all that is good, pure and beautiful.

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ANNOUNCEMENT  
OF  
REGENT  
INSTITUTE  
ON  
PAGE 201

**Film Notes**

It is not generally realised that it is easily possible for Film Societies on a subscription basis to arrange local showings of films which would specially appeal to them. Many such Film Societies have already formed themselves into a Federation for mutual assistance, with an excellent journal, *The Cinema Quarterly*. Their subscriptions vary from 10s. 6d. to £2 2s. per season, but, of course, the greater the number of prospective members, the lower will be the individual rate. As a rule, performances have to be held on Sunday afternoons or evenings to avoid interference with normal programmes of the cinemas used.

There is a scheme whereby talkie apparatus and operators can be provided for an ordinary hall if the length of the hall and the type of electric supply (A.C. or D.C.) be stated. This scheme provides for one or several performances, and an inclusive charge can be quoted also to cover the hire of the entire programmes of films, if the films desired be stated.

The legal aspect must not, of course, be overlooked. Permission of the local licensing authority may, or may not, be necessary, and the requirements of the Entertainment Tax have to be fully understood and satisfied.

Any current film can be hired if there is a copy in the country. The older they are, the cheaper is their hire, and silent pictures (of which a surprisingly large number have been found to be still available) can be had at an extremely moderate cost.

Branches of the Union which show their appreciation of the international potentialities of the cinema by appointing a Film Secretary should apply to the Head Office of the League of Nations Union for further details of these schemes. Certain almost indispensable books, catalogues and periodicals can be recommended to him or her.

Headquarters is in constant touch with developments in the cinema world and is often able to assist Branches materially in these activities.

**Special Note**

A recent issue of the *Gaumont Mirror* contained a two-minute illustrated talk by Mr. Vernon Bartlett, the well-known broadcaster on world affairs. Copies are being acquired by the Union for the use of Branches for trailer purposes at a charge of 6s. per week. The closing title makes it clear that it has been shown by the League of Nations Union. D. F. R.

**OFFICIAL LEAGUE PUBLICATIONS**

**World Economic Survey, 1932-33.** (Series L.o.N.P., 1933. II.A.16.) 348 pages. Wrappers, 6s.; cloth, 7s. 6d. **Just Out.**

The Survey for 1932-33 begins with a description of the revival of economic activity in the autumn of 1932 after the Lausanne Conference and covers the period up till the end of July, 1933.

The American banking crisis, the movement towards reduction of hours, the situation regarding international indebtedness, the magnitude of agricultural stocks compared with current production, the decline in international trade, the recent rise in prices and recovery of production, are among the subjects of topical interest surveyed in this volume.

**World Production and Prices, 1925-32.** (Series L.o.N.P., 1933. II.A.12.) 155 pages. 4s.

This volume contains an analysis of the changes in the world output and stocks of raw materials and foodstuffs, in the world's industrial activity and, finally, of price movements and relationships.

The chapters on production cover the years 1925-1932, and, where possible, the first quarter of 1933. The discussion of price movements has, where figures were available, been brought up to May, 1933.



**POISON :**

"Personally, I should like to tell the whole lot of these damned Pacifists to go to hell!"—*Viscount Lynton, M.P. for Basingstoke.*

**ANTIDOTE :**

So the proper place for the whole lot of these holy and blessed Militarists must be among the archangels!

**POISON :**

"The system which permits British armament firms to supply possible enemies with offensive weapons constitutes a definite defensive measure for ourselves, for what could be better for us than that our enemies' sources of warlike material could be cut off automatically on the outbreak of hostilities?"—*Review of "Cry Havoc" in the "Army, Navy and Air Force Gazette."*

**ANTIDOTE :**

By the same logic, the wealthy could render themselves immune from burglars by engineering a monopoly in the supply of housebreaking tools.

**POISON :**

"If you destroyed every implement used for fighting and prohibited the manufacture of more, men would still have their fists and stones, and women their claws."—*A correspondent to the "Daily Sketch."*

**ANTIDOTE :**

But would any cancer-patient refuse to be cured for fear of a cold in the nose?

**POISON :**

Great Britain is only fifth in the Armaments Competition, and must therefore build up more and more reserves of Armaments until she is stronger than any other nation in the world. Only thus can Security be achieved.—*Innumerable advocates of Armaments and opponents of the League in the Press.*

**ANTIDOTE :**

If our leaders accepted such an inane policy, the fact that other nations would be doing the same would leave us as far from Security as ever, though appreciably nearer to national bankruptcy. C. C. T.

**Supplementary Agenda of the 14th Session of the Assembly** 1933. I. (2). 6d.

**International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.** Report of the 15th Session. 1933. XILA.1. 2s. 6d.

This includes a letter from Prof. Gilbert Murray on "Moral Disarmament," and also a proposal by the Government of the United Kingdom with regard to the creation of an International Committee of Architects under the auspices of the League of Nations.

**International Labour Review.** (September.) 2s. 6d.

This issue of the "International Labour Review" contains three articles of more than ordinary interest: One on the 17th Session of the Conference last June; a second on "Wage Changes in the U.S.A. between 1929 and 1933"; a third on "Wages and Hours in the Coal Mining Industry in 1931."

Complete catalogue of official publications sent free on application to George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., League of Nations Publications Department, 40, Museum Street, London, W.C.1.

**NOTES AND NEWS**

The **Cleethorpes** Branch has followed the example held out by the Northants Federal Council in our July issue by entering a tableau "The League of Nations has Stopped Four Wars" in the August Carnival Parade. In addition to obtaining the First Prize, it was witnessed by many thousands of visitors from all over the country who were spending their holiday at Cleethorpes.

Illness has unfortunately robbed the **Carlisle** Branch of the active help of the Mayor (Mr. Atkinson) who is one of its keenest supporters. His enforced idleness, however, from which he is rapidly recovering, has not prevented him from extending his absent support to the League of Nations which, he has publicly announced, in his considered opinion, is "the most important movement working in the world to-day."

The **Leicester** Branch reports a year of consolidation during which, although the rush of 1,860 new members in 1931 as a result of replies to Beaverbrook attacks was not paralleled, over 200 new members were obtained, the majority of whom were enrolled by Church secretaries.

The **Scottish National Council** has arranged an attractive programme for the Autumn School, which will be held at the Dunblane Hydro from October 13 to 16. The principal speakers will be Mme. Van Bosse (of Holland), the Brazilian Consul at Glasgow, Miss Mina MacDonald, Lord Polwarth, the Duchess of Hamilton and Brandon, the Chairman of the Glasgow Branch, and the Earl of Home.

Many hundreds of adults, in addition to the boys and girls from the principal schools in the neighbourhood attended the Rally organised by the **Lancaster** Branch at Quermore Park. Viscount Cecil, who was, of course, the principal speaker, was impressed by the standard of the response of 120 essays and 100 posters sent in by children at the elementary schools in competition.

An excellent article in the September number of the "Bourneville Works Magazine," entitled "Green Hats," by Mr. W. H. Monk, the hon. secretary of the Branch at Bourneville Works, fully describes the visit of **Isle of Wight** scholars to Geneva. The account of the Boeke Annual International Conference also appears in the same issue.

Mr. David B. Young, who has been compelled by ill-health to resign, has found a keen and capable successor as Secretary of the **Stoke Newington** Branch, L.N.U., in Mrs. Stone. Lady Gladstone will open the winter campaign on October 18 at the Library Hall, with the Mayor (Sir Herbert Ormond) in the chair. Eight local places of worship are arranging to hold meetings during the "season," with the support of the Branch.

The **Worcester Youth Group** has sent to the citizens of Worcester, Mass., U.S.A., a model of the new Worcester Bridge in plaster of paris which has been worked by Mr. F. M. Gertner, A.R.C.A., of the Worcester Royal Porcelain Works. It is designed as a message of goodwill to the citizens of the sister-city in America who sent representatives to the opening ceremony last October. It is regretted that pressure of space does not permit inclusion of a photograph of the model.

The Lord Bishop of Chelmsford has promised to take the chair on behalf of the **West Ham** Branch when Viscount Cecil speaks at Stratford Town Hall on Tuesday, November 7. Several local members and ministers have promised to support this meeting.

The Editor acknowledges with thanks the receipt from an anonymous correspondent of two suggestions for publicity for the Poster Competition and also one shilling in stamps "towards the League Funds."

**Council's Vote**

The following Branches have completed their Council's Vote payments for 1933:—  
Albury, Bures, Cromer, Dulverton, Fishponds, Girlington C.C., Bradford, Godstone, Halesworth, Hawkshead, Hemel Hempstead, Hunstanton, Huntingdon, Inkberrow, Kirkby Lonsdale, Kimpton, Lingfield, New Milton, Pangbourne, Paulton, St. Ives (Cornwall), Takeley, Thirsk, Wangford, Yarm.

**Forthcoming Broadcasts**

In addition to Vernon Bartlett's weekly talks (which are being moved from Thursday nights to Mondays at 9.20 p.m.) and the new series of uncensored political talks by our political leaders which are to be given on each Thursday from October 12, at 9.20 p.m., Arthur Bryant will broadcast on Mondays at 7.30 on such subjects as "The Mingling of the Races" and "Climate and Character."

**A Useful New Peace Play**

A welcome addition to the plays available for Peace propaganda has come to hand in the shape of "Ashes of Victory," by Frederic Evans and Walter McLeod. This play, which is in three short acts, possesses the inestimable advantage that, in addition to being definite Peace propaganda, it is so logical and so soundly dramatised that it will appeal also to those who are not already converted to our views, for it is definitely interesting as a play.

The first act is laid in a normal home in Carthage during the 4th Century, B.C. A mother is protesting against the projected sacrifice of her splendid young son to Moloch as an offering "to appease the gods and save Carthage." Uncles and other relations chide the mother on her lack of patriotism. The sacrifice is carried out, however, and the family is rewarded by a tablet of commemoration which does not console the mother.

In the second act, which is in London during June, 1914, a son of another typical family has dug up the tablet during his excavations as an archaeologist, and it is placed by the mantelshelf beside the English youth's portrait. The dialogue describes the utter failure of the sacrifice to save Carthage.

The last act is the same scene in May, 1918, and depicts the arrival of a commemoration parchment in praise of the English son who has similarly been sacrificed in his mother's eyes. The moral of the analogy is obvious.

There are seven speaking parts, two of which can be "doubled" if required. Setting is cheap and easily contrived, while production would not severely tax anybody with experience.

"Ashes of Victory" was first produced by the **Erith** Branch and resulted in a marked increase of membership.

Copies, price 10d., post free, can be obtained through the Union's Book Shop. The fee for each performance, for which permission must first be obtained from the Beverley Press, Beverley House, Bexley Heath, Kent, is 10s. 6d.

**WELSH NOTES**

The Monmouthshire County Committee arranged a highly successful County Rally and Demonstration in September, on a large scale, including a procession, a pageant specially compiled for the occasion and a fine demonstration.

At the recent well-known Agricultural Show at Monmouth, the League of Nations Stand, arranged by the Monmouth Branch, was a centre of considerable attraction.

The Flintshire County Committee arranged a most successful One-day Conference at Shotton. The East Denbighshire Committee organised an Autumn School, lasting three days, at Wrexham, Rhos, and Coedpoeth; and Aberkenfig Branch organised an excellent Children's demonstration.

**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: *Freenat, 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."

# Where do we stand on Disarmament?

## THE BRITISH DRAFT

Before its June adjournment the Conference had for the first time the advantage of working on the definite British Draft Disarmament Treaty. The Draft contains figures and provides a reconciliation of three principles: (1) All-round limitation of armaments by agreement; (2) Equality of rights; (3) Collective security, and so provides an alternative to uncontrolled competition in armaments.

## AGREED PRINCIPLES

At this first reading, though it must be clearly realised that the first reading committed no Government, agreement can be said to have been reached:

1. *For More Collective Security*, since (a) the U.S.A. will confer with the League in a threat of war, and if she agrees with verdict will not interfere with any corporate action against aggressor; (b) a permanent Disarmament Commission is to be set up to see this Treaty is carried out, and make plans for next steps. (France and U.S.A. and Germany wish to give Commission far-reaching automatic, regular right of armament inspection. Great Britain is as yet non-committal. Control of armaments must logically also include control of the traffic in arms. See Union Programme.)
2. *On Land Disarmament* through (a) Standardisation of European armies, to something like militia basis; (b) Limitation in size of heavy mobile guns and tanks. (Germany's agreement to the former depends on the abolition of "aggressive weapons.")
3. *On Naval Disarmament* by the Stabilisation of provisions of Washington and London Naval Treaties till 1935. (But France and Italy do not wish to be tied by the London Naval Treaty.)
4. *On Air Disarmament* by the Prohibition in principle of air bombing (Britain, supported by Iraq, Holland and Japan, would retain "police bombing"). The others, led by Italy, the United States, France and Spain, propose complete abolition of naval and military air force; but this depends on a plan for control of civil aviation.

## OCTOBER PREPARATIONS

Since last June, Mr. Arthur Henderson, the President of the Disarmament Conference, has discussed directly with the chief Governments:

1. A possible agreement not to have recourse to force (applied universally);
2. A definition of aggression (on lines of Treaties already signed between Russia and its neighbours);
3. The supervision of the Treaty and the penalties for infraction;
4. The reduction of effectives;
5. The control of budget armaments expenditure through publicity;
6. The international control of the trade in and private manufacture of arms;
7. The duration of the Convention;
8. The actual methods of reduction of offensive weapons, when and how: to be destroyed or handed to the League?
9. How far naval disarmament can be dealt with immediately.

Mr. Henderson, in interviews, declared that agreement was possible on the first six. But there was persistent divergence of opinion on the remaining three.

## THE UNION'S SIX-POINT DISARMAMENT PROGRAMME

It is hoped that all Branches will pass resolutions based on this programme. The resolutions should be communicated in each case to the local Member of Parliament. Copies should also be sent to the Headquarters of the Union.

1. Abolition by every country within a limited period of all weapons (including military aeroplanes) forbidden to Germany.
2. No re-armament by any country.
3. Increase of security by re-affirmation of the principle of the strength of all for the defence of each.
4. Limitation of expenditure on armaments.
5. Effective international supervision of (a) existing armaments; (b) manufacture of and trade in arms; and (c) civil aviation.
6. Economic sanctions against any State failing to carry out its obligations to reduce or limit armaments.

Resolutions on these lines will be presented first to the National Meeting at the Queen's Hall on October 13th, and then to the International Meeting at Geneva on October 15th.