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AT THE ALBERT HALL :

LADY V. BONHAM CARTER

See pages 10 & 11

THE GENERAL COUNCIL

MEETING.

See pages 8 & 9

HEADWAY

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A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

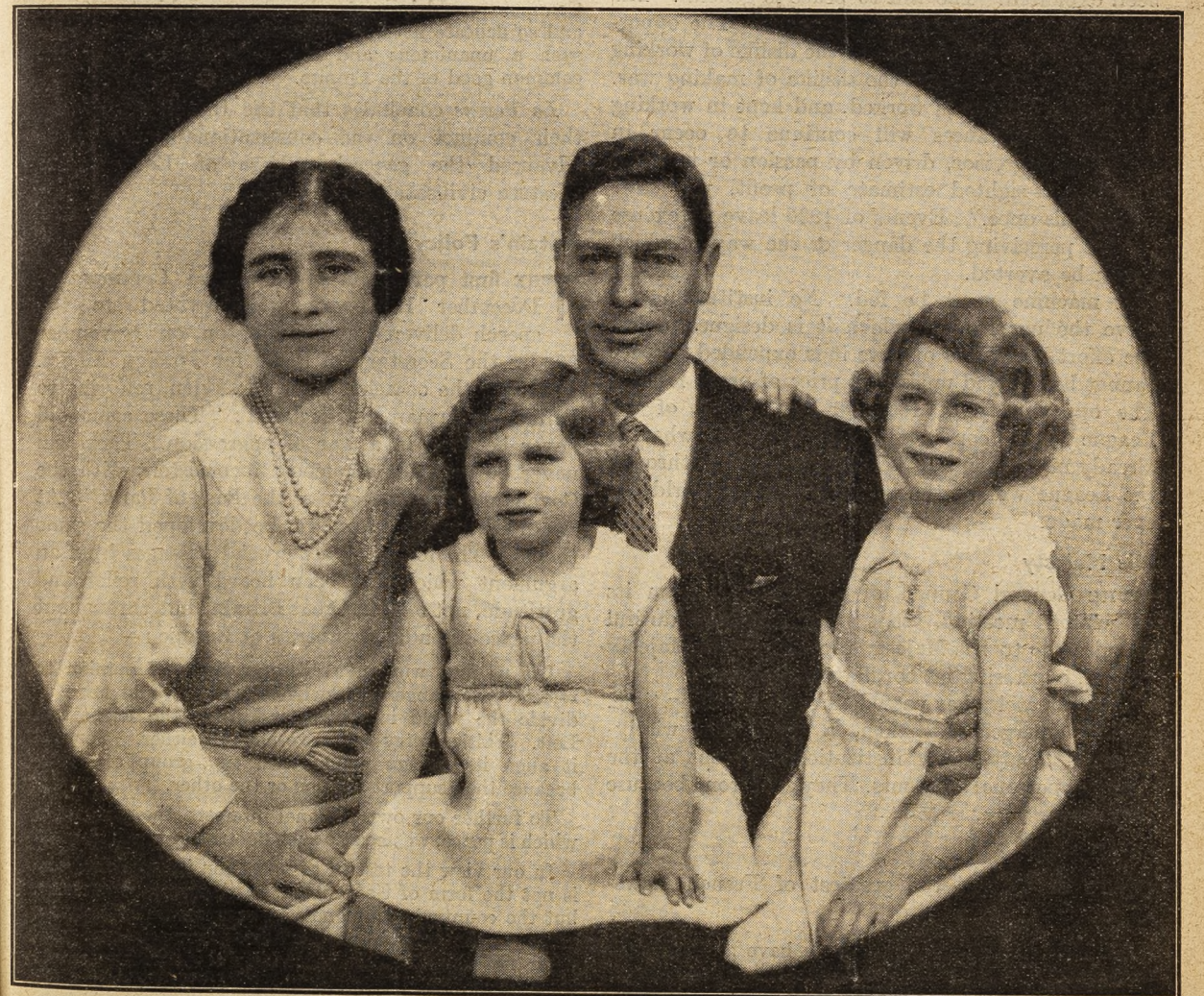
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THE ROYAL FAMILY



Their Majesties King George VI and Queen Elizabeth with T.R.H. the Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret Rose

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NEWS AND COMMENT

1937

HEADWAY wishes all friends of the League of Nations a Happy New Year. The happiness of 1937 depends on themselves. They confront a great opportunity. The nations desire peace, although in some of their rulers the desire is dangerously limited by other ambitions. Had there been a wish for European war one of the many excuses offered during 1936 would have been exploited. The will to peace is general. The means to peace exists in the League. The opportunity of 1937 is by cancelling the dislike of working the League to conform the dislike of making war. Unless the League is worked, and kept in working order, circumstances will continue to occur in which an aggressor, driven by passion or tempted by a short-sighted estimate of profit, will say: "Just this once." Events of 1936 leave no excuse for not perceiving the danger or the way in which it can be averted.

A machine must be fed. No institution will serve the purpose for which it is designed unless the effort needed to operate it is expended. Peace cannot be enjoyed unless the price of peace is paid. The opportunity of 1937 for the friends of the League is to convince public opinion, what it already more than half believes, that peace through the League will be the best bargain the world has ever made.

His Majesty

THE General Council of the L.N.U., from its winter meeting, sent a loyal and dutiful message to His Majesty the King. His Majesty replied, expressing his cordial satisfaction.

The Monarchy has passed through a testing time. It has emerged unshaken, a proof that wisely-planned, firmly-based institutions are not at the mercy of personal accidents. They are strong because they serve.

Mr. Baldwin

SAYS *Le Temps*, the greatest of French newspapers:

Mr. Baldwin, whom some people have accused very wrongly of having wished to force the King's hand, has acted towards him with the most complete loyalty. He has fulfilled the whole of his duty as the responsible Prime Minister with a courage and a firmness which

show him to-day as a great Englishman in the political history of his country.

Foreign observers, detached from the immediate passion of the scene, sometimes speak for posterity. The applauding judgment of *Le Temps*, repeated in varying words in every quarter of the globe, is not restricted to the part played by the Prime Minister. It goes on:

There is, perhaps, no country, no matter what its political system, where the debate in the House of Commons could have developed on a subject so grave and so delicate in such an atmosphere of dignity, with such a unanimous and single-hearted care for the common good of the Empire.

Le Temps concludes that the British people, by their conduct on the constitutional crisis, have advanced the general welfare of Europe and Western civilisation.

Britain's Policy

THE first paragraph of News and Comment in December HEADWAY was devoted to the speech delivered at Leamington, on November 20, by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. That was the occasion when Mr. Eden, referring to Britain's rearmament, declared: "These arms will never be used in a war of aggression. They will never be used for a purpose inconsistent with the Covenant of the League or the Pact of Paris." At Bradford, on December 14, he developed the same theme. The following are crucial passages from an argument which has been heard with relief and gratitude, not only in Great Britain, but throughout the peace-intending countries of Europe:—

Let us first win an ever-larger body of opinion to reject those dangerous doctrines which would have us divide the world into dictatorships of the Right and Left. This country will have none of either. Nor will it align its foreign policy with any group of States because they support the one or the other.

To further our own national interests, the greatest of which is peace, we need no such doctrines and no slogans.

In our view the test of co-operation in foreign affairs is not the form of Government of this or that country, but the country's willingness to co-operate sincerely for peace in the international sphere. Our relations with other nations are thus guided by their willingness to keep peace with their neighbours and to observe the treaties which are framed to keep the peace.

Observance of treaties and willingness to resort to free

negotiation in case of disagreement constitute together the only true basis of international confidence.

We desire, and should cordially welcome, the co-operation of Germany not only in a Western agreement, but in European affairs generally. This country has made that clear many times in these post-War years, not only by words but by deeds. So far are we from wishing to encircle Germany that we seek for her co-operation with other nations in the economic and financial, as well as in the political, sphere. We want neither blocs nor barriers in Europe, nor, we are convinced, were there freedom of thought, of speech, of trade across the frontiers, would there be any.

There are in the world certain vital British interests, and it is a contribution to peace that those should be clearly made known to all. This I sought to do at Leamington, and I have nothing to add to or subtract from the definition there given. Yet if I were to say that Britain's interests in peace are geographically limited, I should be giving a false impression. If our vital interests are situated in certain clearly definable areas, our interest in peace is world-wide and there is a simple reason for this.

The world has now become so small—and every day with the march of science it becomes smaller—that a spark in some sphere comparatively remote from our own interests may become a conflagration sweeping a continent or a hemisphere. We must, therefore, be watchful at all times and in all places. We cannot disinterest ourselves from this or that part of the world in a vague hope that happenings in that area will not affect us.

We must neither mislead others nor be misled ourselves by any of those comfortable doctrines that we can live secure in a Western European glasshouse. It is for this reason that I have again and again insisted that the foreign policy of our country, with its many and comprehensive interests, must work for a comprehensive settlement.

This emphatic insistence that Great Britain, a world Power, must have a world policy, and that to limit British concern to a narrower field must bring trouble upon her, even within its timorous limits, will have an excellent effect. The friends of peace in all countries will draw from it new hope.

Disarmament

MR. Eden had a timely word to say also about the arms race. At the League Assembly last autumn, at the instance of France, agreement was reached that an attempt must be made to breathe at least a first faint return of life into the Disarmament Conference. In some quarters the decision was derided as an idle formality. The Foreign Secretary's reference shows that in the New Year there will be drive behind it. He said:

If the world means to persist in rearmament, it will persist in its own impoverishment. The world would act wisely were it to turn from armaments competition to economic co-operation. That is a change which we wish to see and to which we are prepared to contribute our share.

If a lasting settlement of world difficulties could be reached, including—and this is indispensable—an arms agreement, our help would be willingly, and indeed wholeheartedly, given. But—and this is fundamental

—this country cannot be expected to render help to others either in the economic or in the financial sphere if the only result of such action is to be a further piling up of armaments and a consequent further stress and strain upon the fabric of world peace.

At the meeting of the General Council of the L.N.U., in the Conway Hall, Viscount Cecil warmly approved Mr. Eden's clear enunciation of British policy.

The General Council

THE December meeting of the General Council of the Union is described elsewhere. Attention is concentrated on the debate and resolution on rearmament because that chapter is not closed. Here a general comment must be offered. The attendance was large, the prevailing temper firm and conciliatory. On national policy, on League reform, on pacifism, on the Internal Peace Campaign, on an international air police there was a common resolve to go forward boldly to a strong and effective League in friendly alliance with all who will take the same route to the same goal.

America For Peace

ALL the republics of North and South America are drawing together to banish war from their two continents. That is the meaning of the Pan-American Conference held at Buenos Aires and the treaties there negotiated. More than twenty governments bound themselves to consult together on any war or threat of war anywhere in America. They would try to devise a common course of action. The same obligations would hold if danger to American peace arose from events in other parts of the world. A contemplated form of pressure is a refusal of munition supplies or financial help to belligerents.

In some quarters, with lively zest, the American peace plan is said to be an example to the League of a Covenant without coercion, depending instead for all its authority on consultation and conciliation and peaceful pressure. But in great affairs the position at any moment is less significant than the direction of advance. True, the Buenos Aires agreements fall short of the Covenant. But they go beyond the Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact, in which the United States refuses to include a pledge of consultation. Buenos Aires is a move towards the League model; promising peace, it sets up machinery for keeping peace. However rudimentary and inadequate that machinery may appear when compared with the League, its coming into existence is a mighty encouragement.

Spain

THE League Council has put on record the advice of common-sense on the Spanish tragedy. Non-intervention should be made a reality; there should be mediation, an armistice, a political régime which the Spanish people desire.

HEADWAY

JAN. 1937

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OUR TASK NOW

1936 has been a year of many disappointments and one major disaster. True, it has closed with mankind not yet overtaken by the ruin of a second world war. But it has seen a headlong rivalry in arms rising to an unequalled frenzy. The £2,000,000,000 a year now being spent on war preparations threatens soon to become £3,000,000,000. Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, France, Great Britain, the United States, and many smaller nations are arming as never before. The treaty between Germany and Japan has given a fresh impulse to the rush to the precipice, over whose edge the peoples have plunged at the end of every previous armaments race. The escape from war in 1936 is no promise of a similar escape in 1937.

The major disaster of 1936 has been the failure of the peace-keeping nations to restrain the peace-breaking nation in Abyssinia. A cloud of propagandists are busy to-day pretending that the Abyssinian issue was not, after all, vitally important. Their arguments are as various as their talents; their conclusion is as single as the purpose they serve. Mussolini, they say, has fulfilled a civilising mission and his victory is a universal benefit. Their history is false and their politics are foolish. Mussolini himself declared with characteristic candour that his object was not to civilise the Abyssinians, but to conquer them. He wanted the natural wealth of their country for Italian exploitation, its land for Italian settlement. And in the modern world a resort to war prompted by such a motive is the supreme treason, erecting a new formidable obstacle, where obstacles are already tragically numerous, in the path of the greatest and most desperately urgent of all adventures, an adventure on whose success all the good things of life depend. War must be given up, law must take the place of war. If war be accepted as a still legitimate means of deciding disputes between nations, the evil consequences will utterly eclipse the most exaggerated value which the most extravagant advocate could put on the European ownership of the whole Continent of Africa. For to go on making war is, in the long run, inevitably, not merely to damage civilisation, but to destroy it. The present general alarm, the increasing insecurity, the preparations everywhere at least to die fighting, are evidence of the deadly harm done by Mussolini's recklessness and by the irresolution of those who should have restrained him. Mussolini's deliberate default on his bond in the Covenant has been, indeed, a major world disaster. When the League fails, world peace is shaken. The League's worst failure has been in Abyssinia: the foundations are split.

Compared with the Abyssinian disaster, the disappointments of the year have been small matters. In Danzig the League has feebly allowed, one after another, many encroachments by violence on rights of which it is the guardian. Nothing has been salvaged from the wreck of the Disarmament Conference; even the modest plan for the publication of arms traffic returns has faded into the background of the official mind. Wise and familiar words have been repeated on equal access to raw materials and the removal of trade barriers; action has not advanced beyond its faint, slow initial movements. A modest effort of memory would much extend the list: a modest effort of statesmanship would have made it disappear. Because of Abyssinia, no statesmanship with the confidence to try, was ready in the service of the League.

Did 1936, then, see the death of the League, and is 1937 the year of its funeral? No. The recent past is dark. Necessarily, the near future looks dark also. But there are glimmerings of light ahead. Earlier failures of the League have led to later failures because the reaction against them has not been sufficiently courageous. All reaction, however, has not been lacking. Confronted with the Abyssinian crisis, not a few Governments declared: "We can't afford another Manchuria." They did not admit how ill they could afford half a Manchuria. Things said in the discussion of League reform during the autumn of 1936 permit a hope that henceforth they will honour more vigorously the obligations they continue to accept. Britain, in particular, the latest Ministerial speeches suggest, will not again consider the duty of leadership performed by marking time spiritedly, and when a special example is needed by marking time at the double. Recent declarations by Mr. Eden, at Leamington, in the House of Commons, at Bradford, leave something to be desired. They do, however, answer "Yes"—the only possible reply when the challenge is honestly faced—to Lord Cecil's question in his New Year message in the present issue of HEADWAY. "Is not peace not only the greatest of British interests but absolutely vital to our happiness?" The greatest interest not only of Britain but also of all the world! There is the fact on which the League is built. As soon as it is recognised and its practical consequences are accepted, the League's success, though local difficulties may cause delay, is ultimately assured. Mr. Eden's recognition is coupled with an approach to acceptance. British leadership is taking a step forward and is promising a stride.

The task of 1937 for the British people is simple as well as supremely important. It is the translation into a consistent policy of the clearer understanding, now happily shared by the people and their official spokesmen, that peace is the greatest British interest. The first stage is obvious. Other nations must be helped to understand also. There must be an end of the complaint, in the past too often uttered with justice: "We know the means which Britain possesses; we do not know the ends for which she will use them." Pledges that Britain will never commit an armed aggression, no matter how honestly they are tendered, nor how fully they are believed, miss the point. No one suspects Britain of nursing plans of conquest. What is required is quite a different certainty. "In these cases Britain holds herself bound; here she will make good her bond in one way, these in another way, both to the limit of her power."

THE PRESIDENT'S NEW YEAR MESSAGE TO THE UNION

Is not Peace not only the greatest of British interests but absolutely vital to our happiness?

MAY I begin this message by wishing all my colleagues and collaborators in the League of Nations Union a Happy New Year? Nationally and internationally, the last year has been one of grave anxiety.

The abdication of King Edward filled his people with sadness, and put a sudden strain on the stability of our institutions which in the end served to show how firmly based they are. Abroad, the Abyssinian war carried to its deplorable conclusion, in despite of the almost unanimous condemnation of civilised opinion, shook the League of Nations to its foundation. I believe that here, too, time will show that the international organisation is as full of vitality as our own constitution. Nevertheless, those who regard the League as the only hope for permanent peace must not be idle.

The fact that the League Powers failed to stop the war shows that there is a serious weakness in the League system. What is it? I do not think that the machinery provided by the Covenant is seriously to blame.

Some modifications may be desirable, particularly in the provisions dealing with prevention rather than the cure of aggressive war. But, on the whole, the actual machinery worked well. The Council acted with dignity and impartiality and, when asked to do so, arrived at rapid and reasonable decisions. The fact that outside Italy the policy of that country has now few serious defenders is evidence that the provisions for examining and giving judgment on the dispute were effective.

Failure was due to the fact that the Governments of the leading Powers in the Council were not prepared

to take the necessary practical steps to act on the condemnation of the aggressor.

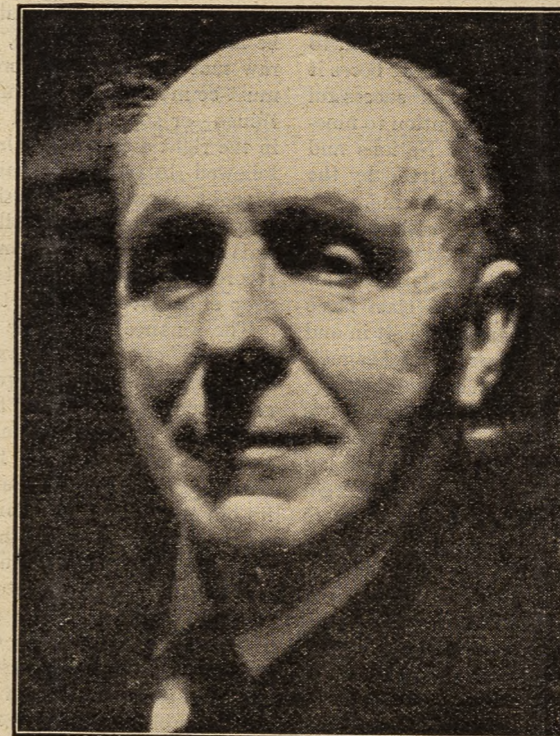
The invasion of Abyssinia could have been stopped, and stopped easily, if France and England had been willing to act. But they were not. Why? Quite simply, because they were afraid that such action might have led to war. Personally, I have little doubt that no such consequence would have followed courageous action by the two Powers. But, of course, it is

possible that the Italian Government might have been driven by internal considerations to have embarked on some reckless proceeding. There was a chance of it—not more than a very small chance—but it was enough to make the League Powers think that action was not worth while. They did not regard the maintenance of the peace system set up by the Covenant as worth even a slight risk of war. To use the language of the old diplomacy, they did not regard it as a vital interest.

If some French or British possession in the wilds of Africa had been threatened, the Governments would, doubtless, have taken quite a different view. When, a generation ago, a French expedition, by occupying an equatorial marsh at Fashoda, were thought to be threatening our interests

in the Sudan, with enthusiastic national approval the British Government almost threatened France with war. Yet no one supposes that the actual value of the territory in dispute was of the slightest importance. Still, it was regarded as a matter of honour and vital interest, and so we were ready to fight.

Compare that with the issues in the Abyssinian question. Certainly our honour was involved. We had given Ethiopia a clear guarantee against aggression,



Viscount Cecil

which we asserted in September of last year with unqualified emphasis. What of our interests? Is not Peace not only the greatest of British interests, but absolutely vital to our happiness? Everyone knows it is; and everyone knows that if we allow the world to drift back into pre-war conditions, war sooner or later is certain. Is it not common knowledge that when it was thought that the League Powers meant business, there was an immense increase of international confidence in Europe? Did not the American Government practically promise its collaboration, at least in economic measures, to enforce peace? And has not the failure in Abyssinia been followed by a continual drift towards war? I have no doubt that the very dangerous menace to peace involved in the Spanish fighting would never have occurred if Italian aggression in Africa had been prevented. Yet distinguished statesmen are for ever telling us that we cannot be expected to fight unless our "vital interests" are

involved, and that therefore we must not threaten the coercion of a peace-breaking State, as such, or even carry out our solemn pledge to prevent aggression.

To me, such talk seems pure folly. If peace is not in itself a vital interest of the British Empire, I do not know what is. Yet it is the failure to recognise and act upon this self-evident fact that has shaken the whole peace system, set up with so much labour and such brilliant promises of success in the first eleven years of the League. Here, then, is a great call for us. We have undertaken to make our fellow-countrymen understand what the League means and why in their own interest and in that of humanity they ought to support it. Let us make it our first duty during the coming year to combat and destroy this false opposition between peace and vital interests in our own country through the League of Nations Union and in other countries through the International Peace Campaign.

Good Work The League is Doing

by GILBERT MURRAY

THE public, to judge by its newspapers, is a curious animal. It can only attend to one thing at a time. What arrests its attention most is a fight; next to that it likes a disaster or an indiscretion. What bores it stiff is an accurate account of serious and successful work. That is why it pays hardly any attention to nine-tenths of the activity of the League of Nations and concentrates on the one-tenth that is paralyzed by the fights, disasters and indiscretions of Governments.

Some governments think war wrong and wish to make it difficult. Others think war "the noblest activity of man" and wish to make it easy. Others do not know what they think. And though the second class have either resigned from the League or remained half in and half out, their existence has sufficed to wreck the League's work for peace, disarmament and mutual confidence.

Let us for the moment forget all the questions we habitually argue about and consider what the League had really been doing last year and what work lay before the Assembly, in September, 1936. Among legal matters, apart from various technical questions, there was a Convention on Nationality, designed to regularise the position of nationals of one country who become naturalised in another. There were also three cases before the International Court, one between Hungary and Yugoslavia, one between Yugoslavia and Switzerland, one between France and Greece. They will all be settled quietly, and will scarcely get a mention in the Press! The work of the Mandates Commission had kept up its high standard, gradually securing, for the first time in human history, some regular assurance of decency in the rule of "lower" by "higher" races, or, in other words, of helpless human beings by masters who had absolute power and, in pre-League times, need give no account of their stewardship. Two special questions before the Mandates Committee were the alleged militarisation of the African subjects of certain Powers, and the demand by Poland that, to check anti-Semitic feeling and relieve the pressure on Poland itself, some effective "National Home" somewhere should be provided for the Jews. The Economic Committee

continued its unflinching propagation of the gospel among the heathen who still rule the world. There must be more freedom of trade, there must be free access to raw materials and no more "closed empires"; there must be more freedom of migration—there *must* be these things—or something will break. The bold step made in the right direction by the Blum Government, timidly followed by Great Britain and the United States, brought about the admission, or partial admission, of Belgium, Switzerland, Holland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Latvia, Turkey, and even of Italy, whose Duce had recorded on marble tablets his oath to "shed the last drop of his blood" rather than do so.

The Finance Committee was concerned with the twin problems of double taxation and tax evasion—fascinating but delusive prospect!—and with the new and exciting science of Statistics, which means the systematic attempt to make statistics really represent the infinite diversity of facts which they purport to record. The Health Committee had been carrying on its old work against malaria, its wonderful intelligence service at Singapore and the like, but had recently taken up the new problems of nutrition, housing, and physical training. Its greatest enterprise at present is the study of rural hygiene. The success of this enterprise in Europe has led to a strong demand from India and China and thirteen states of South America. One sees here great vistas of improved health and happiness for mankind.

The public is not as a rule greatly interested in the Committee on Communications and Transport, yet very remarkable work is being done by it. The problems of rail and road have been studied with good results; here, too, as well as in more purely economic matters, one of the troubles is caused by tariff discrimination. This committee has also made a study of the use of public works as a remedy for unemployment in 40 different countries, and sent a preliminary survey to Governments. Meantime, it is engaged on such problems as the buoyage of dangerous waters, the pollution of the seas by oil, the various obstacles to sea and air navigation. It has even dared to emphasise what everybody

knows to be true and no Government ventures to mention, the vital importance of developing the services of the League Wireless Station, so that a fair and objective account of the world's main doings may be available to as many nations as possible in their own languages.

I hesitate to mention Intellectual Co-operation: Colonel Blimp disapproves of it. But the bare catalogue of its work fills four columns of the League's Monthly Summary. The Opium Committee, however, has made a great advance; from the control of the international trade in 1925, and the limitation of manufacture in 1931, it has now proceeded to attack the real source of the evil, the excessive production of the raw material. The admirable work of Child Welfare continues, the checking of the White Slave Traffic, the progressive abolition of Slavery, and the rest.

Such achievements would have made our fathers rub their eyes: we ignore them and talk only about Armaments, and Fascism and War. And after all, that is not so unreasonable as it seems. As long as the fear of war, and the intention to make war, exists, so long will all efforts to benefit mankind be paralyzed. The Opium traffic was being successfully put down till the Japanese militarists found that by setting up a protected opium trade in North China they could make large sums of

money for their armies and at the same time demoralize the people they intended to conquer. The age-old Slave-trading and raiding in Abyssinia was being put down by the Emperor until the Italians compelled him to concentrate all forces on defence in the north. So the slave raids broke out again, and Mussolini could add some true horrors to his inventive propaganda. The desperate misery of the refugees from various countries has been shamefully neglected by the League; under the fear of war certain nations would not consent to let the League give any comfort to the men and women whom they had themselves driven out. "Let them die" was their response to all appeals; and even the countries which in normal circumstances would like to succour the distressed can spare nothing from their all-absorbing preoccupation of armaments.

I have often wondered why a certain type of politician, known to all of us, who pretends to believe in the League but to fear the rash use of its political machinery, does not show more interest in these "secondary activities." It would save his face so conveniently; and he cannot really object to, say, a diminution of opium smoking or an improvement in Rural Hygiene. But no. It is a matter of instinct with him. He hates the League, and does not want to admit that any part of it is successful.

BRANCHES ARE ASKED TO HELP

By LORD MESTON OF AGRA and DUNNOTTAR, Chairman of the Investigation Committee

THE Committee appointed in accordance with a decision taken by the General Council at Scarborough last year to investigate the income and expenditure of the Union (Head Office, District Councils, Branches, etc.) is at work. The chief object of the investigation is to ascertain if the present allocation of its income is in the best interests of the Union. Much information is already available at the Head Office, and steps have been taken to obtain further information from certain Districts. The task entrusted to the Committee is a heavy one.

I would appeal to all Branches and Districts to help

the Committee by sending to the Secretary of the Union as soon as possible:

- (1) A statement of any views (particularly in regard to the Council's Vote or the division of membership subscriptions between Branches, Districts, and the Head Office) they would like the Committee to consider in the course of their investigation; and
- (2) Copies of their own income and expenditure accounts for 1936.

Every Branch, without exception, is asked to send in its accounts not later than the end of January and, if need be, without waiting for the accounts to be audited.

PRAYER FOR PEACE

Those who believe that world peace is a spiritual as well as a political problem will be glad to hear that an increasing number of people are praying for peace. The Union has for years had its sheet of prayers and two prayer cards, and the demand for these has always been very large. Recently we have had letters from different parts of Great Britain and the Dominions, asking if a League of Prayer could be organised. While naturally the Union welcomed the idea of such a League, it was felt that it was not the special task of the Union to organise it. Such a League has now been started by the Reverend W. H. Elliott, Vicar of St. Michael's, Chester Square, London, whose mid-week broadcast service is so well known. More than 250,000 people have already joined and have promised to say a special prayer at 10 o'clock each evening.

A Junior League with a prayer for younger people

has also been formed. The results of such united effort are incalculable in the spiritual realm. May we hope that it will also lead to increased activity in peace work? One way in which those who pledge themselves to pray in this way could give practical expression to their desire for peace would be by joining the League of Nations Union. Sincere prayer should always lead to some practical action of this kind.

The first obligation of a Church which becomes a corporate member of the Union is to make prayer for the League a regular part of the worship of the Church. It would be a real strength to the peace movement if groups could be formed in Churches for united prayer. Suggestions for the formation of such groups, together with suggested forms of prayer may be had on application to the Secretary, Christian Organisations Committee, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

WHAT THE GENERAL COUNCIL

THE League of Nations Union is very much alive. The meeting of the General Council in the Conway Hall, London, from December 15-17, was only one among many proofs of that most encouraging fact. But it was a specially convincing proof. The General Council changes from year to year; and although the pace is now hurried and now hesitant, the direction is constant. The Council is growing. A friendly observer is tempted to say that the Council is growing up. That does not mean an uncritical acceptance of all its decisions. It is not always well advised; sometimes, perhaps, it is ill-advised; on occasion, certainly, it accepts forms of words which could be amended with advantage. Yet the fact is unmistakable: it sees with increasing clearness the things it wishes to do and the ways by which it thinks they can and should be done.

When the Council was discussing the suggested nation-wide house-to-house canvass for new members, Lord Lytton made a comment which illuminated not only the topic of the moment but also the new character of the Council. Many old supporters, he said, were falling away, but their places in the Union ranks were being taken by new adherents. The enlistments were the results of the patient educational work carried on by the Union for many years. Children brought up to understand the League case and approve the League purpose were now men and women prepared and eager to play their part in League advocacy. They found their natural place as League champions in the L.N.U. The Union is made strong by their accession. At the same time, in a deeper sense than ever before, not in form but in fact, it is made democratic. And the Council faithfully reflects the Union. At the Conway Hall the delegates had come together not to receive guidance but to hold a discussion. Guidance they welcomed.

The old affection for and trust in their tried, familiar leaders they retained to the full. They were conscious, however, that they must say the final word. The responsibility was theirs, as the governing body of the Union, and they did not shrink from carrying it.

The master event was the debate and decision on re-armament. The composite resolution ultimately adopted contained a first paragraph submitted by the Manchester and Bristol District Councils and the Seffle Branch, a second paragraph put forward by the National Youth Committee, and a third contributed by the joint authors of the first. It bore unmistakable signs of its diverse origin and hasty assembly, saying the same thing more than once. Careful scrutiny by anxious critics has detected in it some alarming implications.

Here is a position of grave difficulty. That it should have come about all members of the Union, and, indeed, all supporters of the League, must deeply regret. But, whether all the blame or even most of the blame belongs to the Council's resolution is a matter upon which opinions will assuredly differ. Certainly, the speakers who argued for its acceptance are free from reproach. They abstained from striking an aggressive note. They did not attempt to shut their eyes to the realities of the present-day world, but, hating and fearing a mad race in armaments, and convinced that unless it were

checked it must plunge the whole world into disaster, they saw themselves obliged to say in the clearest terms: "The League vigorously and bravely worked is the one safeguard of the nations against war. Collective security is the only security possible in the world conditions of to-day. Give us a strong League and we shall help you to get whatever armaments you require to give effect to such a policy." Provided the substance for which they contended was gained, they were prepared for every formal compromise.

Miss Judith Corcoran, for the National Youth Committee, and Mr. Croasdell, of Cambridge, for the B.U.L.N.S., both on the same side, achieved a quite admirable blend of moderation and firmness. Representing the young men and women on whom the risks and efforts of any early resort to arms must chiefly fall, they declined to take refuge in an unconstructive pacifism. They admitted freely that youth must play its part in the defence of its country. But that defence, they insisted, must be so understood and so developed as to play an integral part in the building up of a peaceful world order. They were not persuaded that they ought to put the admission of the need for re-armament in the forefront of the resolution they might pass. It did not seem to them to be the essence of their case, nor could they think it the special business of the League of Nations Union.

Neither Miss Corcoran nor Mr. Croasdell suggested for a moment that Mr. Eden was other than an honest servant of a strong League policy. They welcomed his recent speeches. At the same time, they remarked, even in those speeches, some omissions and ambiguities. At Leamington, for example, Mr. Eden's explicit League pledges on behalf of the Government were not to use British arms for any purpose contravening the League Covenant or the Pact of Paris; at Bradford his admirable exposition of Britain's purposes of peace did not once explicitly mention the League.

In their different ways Miss Corcoran and Mr. Croasdell underlined with equal emphasis the distinction between practice and promise. Re-armament was being pressed forward. League policy, on the other hand, was apparently becalmed in a sea of reassuring words and moved at a sluggish pace, if it moved at all, towards the realm of realised fact.

Mr. Croasdell contrasted ironically the great speech delivered in the 1935 League Assembly by Sir Samuel Hoare, then British Foreign Secretary, with the irresolute action, or inaction, of the succeeding months.

The Council was very nearly of one mind; it would have voted with little or no dissent for a strong League policy, assured against failure by strong arms. Unhappily, the chance was missed. The platform did not give the lead which would have rallied nearly all sections of Union opinion on unchallengeable League ground. A vote was taken in which the rank and file carried the day.

In all this was heard, no doubt, the voice of impatient youth. Perhaps, however, youth does well to be impatient; and its impatience may be a service to the world, for in another aspect it is a stimulating refusal to be fobbed off with excuses.

OF THE L.N.U. SAID AND DID

The following are resolutions passed by the General Council; others are printed on page 19

GOVERNMENT AND LEAGUE

The General Council,
Deeply concerned by the shock to public confidence in the League of Nations resulting from the failure to prevent the Italian aggression in Abyssinia;

Believing that this is due not to any defects in the Covenant but to the failure of the Members of the League to carry out their obligations thereunder;

Convinced that the peace and safety of the world depend upon the determination of the Members of the League to uphold the supremacy of law over violence;

Believing that the joint strength of loyal Members of the League is sufficient to deter possible aggression from any quarter;

Notes Mr. Eden's undertaking to the House of Commons on November 5 that Great Britain shall once more take the lead in strengthening the authority of the League; and

Urges H.M. Government to make definite proposals designed to revive and reinforce the League of Nations by aiming particularly at

- (1) Recognition of the Sanctity of Treaty Obligations;
- (2) Establishment within the framework of the League of Nations of effective machinery for remedying international conditions which might lead to war;
- (3) Strengthening the League of Nations for the prevention and stopping of war by the organisation of Collective Security and Mutual Assistance;
- (4) Reduction and limitation of armaments by international agreement.

ABYSSINIA AND THE LEAGUE

The General Council
Notes with satisfaction the recent decision of the Credentials Committee of the 17th Assembly with regard to Abyssinia, and
Urges H.M. Government to take no action implying recognition of Italian sovereignty over Abyssinia.

THE REFORM OF THE LEAGUE

The General Council
Agrees with the statement made by His Majesty's Government that any change in the existing Covenant of the League of Nations should be undertaken with caution;

Sees with satisfaction that almost without exception the proposals made by other Governments aim at strengthening, not relaxing, the power of the League; and

Urges the early adoption of the reforms recommended by the Foreign Secretary in his speech to the 17th Assembly, in reference to the making effective of Articles XI and XIX.

The General Council also
Commends to the study of members of the Union and others the League reforms recommended in THE REFORM AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS and in THE LEAGUE AND THE CRISIS.

REGIONAL PACTS

The General Council of the League of Nations Union,
Believing that regional pacts tend to weaken the obligations of the Covenant since they are limited to States in a special geographical area, and that they expose other States having equal rights under the Covenant but outside that area to increased danger, should an attack be attempted;

Is of opinion that collective security can never be achieved by means of such pacts, and that at best they can only be of value as supplementary to the obligations of the Covenant.

DEVELOPMENT OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY

The General Council of the League of Nations Union,
Believing that everything which has happened since 1935 has strengthened the case for action on the lines of the resolution passed by them at Cambridge in June of that year,

Urges the Executive Committee, in consultation with the New Commonwealth Society to submit to the next meeting of the Council in June, 1937, a further recommendation for the substitution for national air forces of an International Air Police Force.

COLLECTIVE SECURITY AND "PEACE PLEDGES"

The General Council
Recognises the sincere desire to promote peace of those who pledge themselves under no circumstances to take part in any kind of war; but

Records its opinion that the advocacy of peace may be hindered

by attempts to make the personal act of war-resistance into a political instrument for the prevention of war; and

Urges Pacifists not to link their propaganda with attacks upon the collective system of the League of Nations, through which the great majority of their fellow citizens, having renounced war as an instrument of national policy, are seeking to uphold the rule of law by, among other things, the exertion of whatever force may be necessary for the purpose.

RE-ARMAMENT

The General Council
Expresses the view that the Government will not have justified its demand for a large and indeterminate increase in armaments until it has made clear that the purpose for which the Forces of the Crown are maintained is to fulfil our obligations under the Covenant of the League;

Hesitates to commit the Union, and thereby the Youth Groups, whose members would be chiefly affected, to approval of the re-armament and recruiting campaign until full assurance to that effect has been given by the Government;

Urges H.M. Government immediately to initiate consultations with a view to ending the present dangerous competition in national armaments and to making it unmistakably clear that their policy is one of collective security and international disarmament, and to take steps to make this policy clear in connection with any recruiting campaign. (After a count.)

RAW MATERIALS

The General Council
(a) Notes with satisfaction that the Committee of the League Assembly dealing with economic and financial questions, emphasised the importance of a policy tending to restore the free exchange of goods and services as an indispensable corollary of the monetary adjustment. It further welcomes the unanimous acceptance by the Assembly of the Committee's recommendation that the Council should appoint a special Committee to study the question of free commercial access to raw materials with the collaboration of the principal States, whether Members or non-Members of the League, having a special interest in the matter, and

Trusts it will be appointed without delay.

The General Council
(b) Urges His Majesty's Government to take the initiative in establishing an International Fact-Finding Commission to investigate and report upon the position relating to raw materials, surplus population, access to markets and other questions calculated to lead to international unrest, regard being had in such investigations to the position of countries which are not at present Members of the League of Nations, and opportunity being given to those countries to be fully represented on the Commission. In the light of the facts so obtained, countries should have an opportunity of stating what changes (if any) in the status quo they desire to submit to international consideration.

MANUFACTURE AND TRADE IN ARMS

The General Council
Urges H.M. Government to adopt without delay those recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Private Manufacture of and Trading in Arms (1935-36) which, while falling short of the full policy advocated by the League of Nations Union, would establish national and international control of the arms trade and would thus in the opinion of the Council go a long way towards remedying the abuses mentioned in the Report of the Royal Commission.

Urges H.M. Government to take immediate action for the general reduction of the present barriers to international trade.

DISARMAMENT

The General Council
Welcomes the re-appointment by the League Assembly of the Third (Disarmament) Commission and the decision to summon the Bureau of the Disarmament Conference;

Notes that the subjects recommended for immediate discussion are:

- (1) Publicity of Defence Expenditure, and
- (2) Manufacture of and Trade in Arms; and

Urges H. M. Government to support the proposals of the French Government that the question of air disarmament should also be dealt with at an early date.

THERE ISN'T A FREE PEOPLE IN THE WORLD THAT WANTS WAR— AND ONLY A FREE PEOPLE HAS THE POWER TO PREVENT IT

By LADY VIOLET BONHAM CARTER. *A Speech delivered at the meeting held under the auspices of the L.N.U. at the Albert Hall, December 3*

WHAT has brought us here together? Not a great cause alone, but what we feel to be a vital emergency.

Whatever our differences may be, we feel the common need to declare a common faith—to defend that which is the common heritage of us all—the freedom we have won, and mean to keep, in the teeth of every challenge, from within and from without, and peace which alone makes such freedom possible.

There are two kinds of peace, and there are two ways of getting them. You can get peace, of a kind and for a time, by a surrender to violence. That is the peace which is sincerely advocated by non-resisters at home—and as sincerely welcomed by Dictators abroad. Or you can get peace by the resolute enforcement of law, based on justice. That is the peace for which we stand to-night.

You have heard why at this time we feel these things to be imperilled. I am a Liberal; one whose dream and aim has been to break down and sweep away all barriers between nations—great armaments, tariff barriers, the barriers of the mind. After the war I was one of those who thought, who hoped, who believed that force had had its day, that armies and navies and air forces would dwindle away and disappear—discarded like broken toys that Man had outgrown. But to-day—look at the world. To-day we see a world which has put back the clock; a world which is reeling backwards, away from law, away from freedom, back to the blind anarchy of force. Wherever we look we see nations turning into armies before our eyes. The tragedy of Spain, which we watch from hour to hour with helpless horror, is in itself a defeat of civilisation. In this last year we have seen treaties torn up wholesale, solemn pledges dishonoured by great nations, Locarno violated, the Covenant of the League of Nations flouted and set at naught. We have watched the triumph of the aggression of Italy, and the agony of its victim. In that struggle the public opinion of the whole civilised world was solidly ranged against the aggressor. What was the use? Public opinion proved powerless against poison gas.

And I think the lessons we have learned from these tragic events is that it is no good passing judgment unless you are ready to enforce it. It is no good giving a great moral lead if it is to be followed by a rapid physical scuttle. Justice cannot rule this world armed with the scales alone. In her other hand she must hold a sword. Unless we, the free democracies of the world, who are still loyal members of the League, are prepared to stand together and to take the same risks for justice, peace and freedom as others are prepared to take for the fruits of aggression, our cause is lost, and the gangsters will inherit the earth.

But that day is not yet. We have not come here to-day to bewail the past—we have come to meet the challenge of the future. What can we do?

We must be strong, but strength alone is not enough.

To arm in isolation would be lunacy, if it were not fortunately impossible. We cannot isolate ourselves. Even if we wish to leave the world alone, the world will not leave us alone. British rearmament must not be a mere blind throw of the die of force; it must be our contribution to the great collective front against tyranny and aggression—a free man's front, which all who will may join, which none may dare to challenge.

Next we must make it clear to the world without delay, and before immediate peril arises, that on this front we stand. Nobody knows where we stand to-day, or indeed whether we stand anywhere at all, because we do not seem to know ourselves.

We hear on all sides here at home, wails about the failure of recruiting. One of the reasons for it to my mind is quite clear. The youth of this country want to know in what cause they are being asked to risk and give their lives. That is a question free men have a right to ask. Why should youth be thrust back into the shambles and sacrificed to a policy of muddle and fumble and wobble and drift? It is not the courage of youth that has failed, it is the vision of their leaders. "Where there is no vision the people perisheth." If youth were assured that our strength, which is theirs, would only be thrown into the balance in united action in defence of Peace and Freedom, in defence of all that makes our human life worth living, they would come forward in their thousands and play their glorious part as they have always done. And I believe that the greatest single step towards peace in Europe we can take to-day is to make it clear that we stand together with the other free and peace-loving nations of the world, both in the East and in the West, against aggression, one for all and all for one.

Why, wasn't that the way the great Trades Unions in this country won battle after battle for justice for the workers? What is a Trades Union but collective security in action? Let us apply it with the same loyalty and courage in the international field.

Let us remember that in this issue British leadership can do more perhaps than that of any other nation in the world, because with the exception of France we are the only great democracy left in Europe—the only great and powerful nation which has preserved intact its priceless heritage of freedom. There isn't a free people in the world that wants war—and only a free people has the power to prevent it.

Why? Because we don't belong to our Government; our Government belongs to us. It's a poor thing, but our own. If it won't lead, at least it can be made to follow. If it won't follow, if it has ceased to represent our mind, our conscience and our will, we can sweep it away and put in another which will do so better. We have been told by Mr. Baldwin that democracies must be at least two years behind Dictatorships. Is Mr. Baldwin judging our pace by his own? Peoples sometimes think quicker than their Governments. And may I say to our present rulers that from the leaders of its Government, democracy demands the truth. It is

a dangerous thing to try and fool a people for a spell of power, but it is madness, having done so, to boast afterwards to your dupes of your success.

In this country we take our freedom as much for granted as the air we breathe. We can vote as we like, we can think and believe what we like, we can say what we like—in Parliament, at the Albert Hall, or, if we prefer it, at the top of our voices in Hyde Park every Sunday afternoon. And it is on this diversity of thought and its free expression, out of the best that every race and class and creed can give, that we have built up the greatest Empire, the strongest and most stable Constitution that exists in the world to-day.

Can we imagine living in a land in which free thought and speech are treachery to the State; where the human mind is clapped into a strait-jacket like a lunatic; in which one may not criticise a work of art; where books are read to order, written to order, burnt to order; in which to hate to order is a patriotic duty; and Race may be a crime even in a helpless Jewish child—a crime to be expiated in daily suffering, humiliation, degradation?

SAVE THE LEAGUE: SAVE PEACE

IN every country there is talk of war, and in some countries attacks have openly been made upon the League of Nations and the principle of Collective Security.

We, the undersigned, declare that war can be averted and a stable peace permanently maintained if the nations which are Members of the League will now make plain their determination to fulfil their obligations under the Covenant and to take any measures required for the prevention or repression of aggression, including, if necessary, military action. Only so will the peaceful settlement of international disputes become possible.

We affirm that if the Members of the League are united in this policy, their joint strength will be so overwhelming that no intending aggressor will venture to refuse the settlement of disputes or other outstanding questions by peaceful means. We, accordingly, urge that in any reform of the Covenant which may be undertaken, nothing shall be done to weaken its provisions in this respect, but that, on the contrary, the system of the League shall be strengthened for the prevention of war.

We also urge the importance of establishing within the framework of the League of Nations, effective machinery for remedying by peaceful means international conditions which might lead to war.

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL.	D. LLOYD GEORGE.
LYTTON.	ARCHIBALD SINCLAIR.
KATHERINE ATHOLL.	M. CORBETT-ASHBY.
C. R. ATTLEE.	COSMO CANTUAR.
HUGH DALTON.	CECIL.
P. J. NOEL-BAKER.	GILBERT MURRAY.

This is the "European culture and civilisation" which we are told must be protected—with the help of Japan—against the dangers of Communism. Why, what is the difference between them? Both are a denial of human rights. To both alike we say, "They shall not pass here." Racial persecution, class-hatred, the slavery of the mind, these hideous portents have no place amongst us, no place in the life and liberties of this country. And that life—those liberties—we shall defend and hold, not for ourselves alone but as a trust for civilisation.

Let us prove, as prove we can, that democracy, that great army that needs no uniform, is not played out; that we who love peace above all things do not lack the will and the courage to defend it. Let us remember that the great, enduring victories of all times have not been won by mercenaries or slaves, but by free men who could draw the sword of the spirit—free men united as one soul in a great cause.

The cause is here. For some of us it is the one cause still left worth dying for. For all it is worth living for, and winning for to-day.

GIVE THEM HAPPY HOLIDAYS

To the Editor of HEADWAY

SIR,—Will some lovers of children please enable me to reply to a letter which I have received from Miss Essinger, head mistress of the New Herrlingen School, Ottenden, Kent, asking me if I could possibly find some people who would be willing to have a German refugee, boy or girl, for a short time during the Easter holidays.

The New Herrlingen School was brought to this country by Miss Essinger at the beginning of the present regime in Germany, where the school had been in existence for eight years as an internationally-minded and progressive school. The children who are at the school at the present time, cheery, friendly and well-mannered boys and girls of from 10 to 16 years of age, are being educated in this country either because they are not pure Aryan or because their families are suffering persecution for political beliefs. Many of them are unable to go home for the holidays—most of them, indeed, have no home to go to—and unless some kind people will take pity on them they must spend their holidays at the school. I feel sure that among the many readers of HEADWAY there will be some lovers of children who will not turn a deaf ear to this appeal on behalf of children who are cut off from home affections through no fault of their own. Anyone who will help these children by giving them a week, or even longer, of happy family life should write to me, the Viscountess Gladstone, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

Please do not let me appeal in vain!

Yours sincerely,

DOROTHY GLADSTONE.

Chairman, Welcome Committee, L.N.U.

Wise Eating for Painless Living

By VANDELEUR ROBINSON

MAN is born hungry, yet everywhere he eats—neither wisely nor yet too well. After countless ages of unscientific feeding, he is only now discovering his errors in the matter of nutrition; meanwhile, millions of people have died of starvation, with full stomachs.

It is to be presumed that persons who die of actual hunger recognise what is the matter with them. Many millions, however, have suffered from diseases, from bodily or mental pain, from poor physique (preventing them from being of service to Mr. Duff Cooper) and from frail constitutions. They put it down to the caprices of some malevolent spirit, or to the weather, or (of late years) to a mysterious germ; but all the time they were simply not eating the right food.

It was estimated by Sir John Orr that just one-half of the people in the United Kingdom have a diet which falls short of the desirable standard for health. If this is the state of affairs in relatively prosperous Britain, what must it be like in the poverty-stricken countries of Eastern Europe, not to mention the far worse-fed peoples of Asia?

Proper feeding cannot be regarded as the remedy for all the ills of the world—no vitamin has yet been discovered which will endow politicians with supernatural wisdom, and consequently bring in the Golden Age—but an immense amount of ill-health, deformity, stunted growth, rickets, scurvy, bad teeth, anæmia, fatigue and weakness is attributable to malnutrition; and this, in its turn, springs less from insufficiency of the hunger-appeasing or energy-producing foods than from a failure to eat the right commodities; a failure to take into the body the proper quantities of those mysterious substances, the "vitamins," at least nine of which are necessary to healthy living.

The Health Department of the League of Nations, which began by considering definite diseases, and questions of Health Education and Administration, soon found it necessary to turn its attention to problems of nutrition. In 1925 the Sixth Assembly of the League requested the Health Committee to study methods of regulating the manufacture and sale of foods in the interests of public health. From that time onwards, the Health Committee undertook various partial or local studies of matters connected with nutrition.

The great economic crisis caused a sharp accentuation of the problem of malnutrition. People who had just managed to live in reasonable health were forced to economise on their food, and to be satisfied with cheaper and less health-protecting substances. Governments found themselves obliged to make arrangements to supply milk to children, or soup to the unemployed. The question of what foods to provide and how to make them available at low cost to the poor, became urgent for every nation, and for once the League found itself concerned with a constructive piece of human betterment, in which every country wanted to obtain results, and a common need drove political rivals into a common investigation.

From the beginning of the crisis there has been a spate of committees and reports; but the recent labours of

the more important have been gathered together in a work in four volumes, issued in June, 1936, which is authoritative upon the whole problem of nutrition, and which will be succeeded by further publications in 1937. The report only deals, as a beginning, with the countries having (or claiming) Western Civilization.

The first volume has been prepared by a body called the Mixed Committee, presided over by Lord Astor. This Committee surveys the problem at large, and makes a number of recommendations. Briefly, they are as follows: Study nutrition problems further; grade and standardise foods; make statistics more accurate; educate people in wise housekeeping; arrange for the distribution of essential foods to the children and the needy; cheapen the desirable foods; direct agricultural and economic policy to this end. The most essential points are to provide the right foods cheaply, and to educate the consumers in dietetics.

The second volume of the report is the work of a Technical Committee, whose Chairman is Dr. Mellanby. It is very short, and summarises in a few pages the necessities of nutrition, from the physiological point of view. Pages 13 to 27 form a potted text-book on dietetics.

A fat volume on the state of affairs in various countries, compiled by the Health Section of the Secretariat, forms a sort of encyclopædia of current practice; and the International Institute of Agriculture contributes Volume IV, with statistics of the production, consumption and prices of food.

In this field the League of Nations is making a real contribution to the most fundamental needs of human beings. This is therefore a much more encouraging aspect of the League's work than that which forces us to fear an outbreak of horror, and to prepare our counter-horrors in return.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

Just out.

International Trade Statistics, 1935. (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1936. IIA.19.) 370 pages. 10s. \$2.50.

Trade statistics of sixty-five countries for the years 1933-1935, showing imports and exports by years and months, by countries of origin and destination and by articles. A special table gives the available information for two countries classified in accordance with the "Minimum List of Commodities for International Trade Statistics" recently adopted by a number of Governments. In addition, the percentage distribution of the trade of the sixty-five countries by countries of origin and destination is shown in a synoptical table.

To be published about December 20, 1936.

Balances of Payments, 1935. (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1936. IIA.18.) About 200 pages. 6s. \$1.50.

Statements of the balance of international payments of some thirty countries, supplemented as a rule by information regarding their foreign assets and liabilities. A synoptical table shows the balances on account of various international business transactions, in most cases for several years back. An introductory chapter contains a summary of international capital movements and recent tendencies in the capital market, an analysis of interest and dividend payments, emigrants' remittances and tourists' expenditure, with tables.

Agents for the publications of the League of Nations: Messrs. Geo. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 40, Museum Street, W.C.I

A Policy of Promoting Justice as well as Protecting Peace

BY THE

SECRETARY OF THE UNION

THE December meeting of the General Council of the League of Nations Union drew its members to the number of nearly three hundred from all save four of the English counties, from all three divisions of Scotland, from Wales and from Northern Ireland. The meeting is described elsewhere in this issue. Rather more than one session was devoted to the Union's budget, to the new five-year plan for a systematic house-to-house canvass by every Branch of the Union, and to defining the Union's relation to the International Peace Campaign in the terms set out on the last page of the December HEADWAY.

There remained something less than two days for the discussion of world affairs. In the course of that time the General Council considered twenty draft resolutions and a still larger number of amendments. Some of the decisions taken were elaborate in expression and far-reaching in character. Small wonder, then, if so long a record of achievement was marred, here and there, by repetition, or even, in one case, by some appearance of confusion.

In this one instance the intention of a not very large majority of the General Council was far from clear. The aim of the majority may well have been to invite British Ministers to make it plain that the assurances already given on behalf of the Government, and notably by the Foreign Secretary, will in practice be the guiding principle of their re-armament policy; or, in other words, that British armaments will not only never be used for purposes inconsistent with the League's Covenant, but will be used wherever necessary "to protect the covenants of the League." Such a pronouncement would remove the main obstacle to recruiting.

With this one possible exception, the policy advocated by the General Council is plain enough. In its broad lines it is the policy which Mr. Eden commended to the House of Commons on November 5, and which proved to be no less acceptable to the Labour and Liberal Oppositions than to the Government's supporters. It is a policy of promoting justice as well as of protecting peace; of strengthening the League, and using it as an instrument for remedying grievances; of joint defence to prevent aggression, to increase security and to make disarmament less difficult; of removing obstacles to international trade; and perhaps of attaching material (economic) advantages to League membership.

The Union faces the New Year confident that this

is the right policy and determined to use every lawful means to win wholehearted support for it from the largest possible number of British people of all parties and of none.

The first steps towards carrying out this policy are set forth in a manifesto issued by the Executive Committee, and published in the newspapers of December 15. But the question whether the policy will be carried out at all is rather for the Branches than for the Executive: the answer depends on *more members and more money*. There is no better way to help in averting war and promoting justice between nations than by helping to increase the membership and resources of our Union. That is a fact to be borne in mind at all times, and especially perhaps when Branches of the Union join with other local bodies to plan a "Peace Week" or a mass "demonstration."

The rapid expansion of the Union and the strengthening of its influence with His Majesty's Government must evidently be our prime concern if we want to prevent an outbreak of war in the next two or three years. For this purpose the most valuable new members may be those who love peace, but would be shocked to be called "Pacifists." We must not, however, forget that our Royal Charter also provides room in the Union for all those "Pacifists"—including Dr. "Dick" Sheppard, Dr. Maude Royden, and Dr. Henry Carter—who feel able to say that they are in general agreement with the three objects set forth in our Charter. Our Pacifists may not agree with the Union's day-to-day policy laid down by the Executive or the General Council. But they need not, on that account, give up their membership. By remaining in the Union they may hope to rectify whatever they think is wrong in our policy. We may, however, ask them to consider whether, if so many British citizens took the peace pledge that Britain became powerless to join in protecting any victim of aggression, aggression and widespread war would not be nearer even than they are to-day.

RECENT UNION PUBLICATIONS

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BOOK NOTICES

The Spanish Tragedy. By E. Allison Peers. (Methuen.)

The Spanish Front. By Carlos Prieto. (Nelson.)

Spain To-day. By Edward Conz . (Martin Secker and Warburg.)

Reporter in Spain. By Frank Pitcairn. (Lawrence and Wishart.)

ANY attempt to understand the present situation in Spain requires a certain readjustment of ideas. To become acclimatized to the political atmosphere in Spain, to get used to the violent tenor of life, one has to absorb certain elements in the social and economic condition of the Spanish people which are wholly unfamiliar. It is difficult for comfortable, commercial industrial England with its Erastian Church settlement to understand the ignorance and violence produced by centuries of absolute power exercised over a half-starved peasantry. It is this heritage of power which has blocked social and economic progress in Spain since the foundation of the Second Republic; an attack on democracy was launched as the most effectual means of defending their influence.

Professor Allison Peers, in his impartial and well-balanced analysis of the forces at work in the civil war, says "the rebels were fighting for one form or another of the ancient r gime; for the Church, for the nobility, perhaps for the King. Some, no doubt, for a return to 1923 and a Fascist state in a Europe now riddled with Fascism. Others, undoubtedly, for a return to 1931 and a fresh start along the road to reform, but for slow and moderate progress." The loyal troops were fighting "some merely for the inalienable right of the people to a government of its choice; some for the reforms on which the Left had already embarked—for 'that other Republic' to which Caballero had referred at his trial; some for the proletarian revolution, which at last, after five years of Republic, had been thoughtfully precipitated by capitalists and the army; some for the destruction of hated institutions."

The struggle for political supremacy has become more and more clearly defined between Right and Left during the last five years; the brief domination of the Centre Party, sponsored by President Zamora was eclipsed by the growing influence of the C.E.D.A. led by Gil Robles. The electoral victory of the Popular Front in February, 1936, was gained more at the expense of the Centre, which lost 115, than of the Right, which lost only 42, while the Ceda, or Confederation of Right Parties, remained the largest party in the Cortes with 100 members. The Left Republican Government of 1931-1933 had made a sincere and moderately successful attempt to deal with the agrarian problem, the Church in Spain, and regional autonomy according to the terms of the Constitution of 1931. Conservative and Catholic reaction which put the Right Wing government into power in 1933 after the defection of the Radical Party held up these reforms for two years—the most lasting result of the 1931-1933 administration was to give provincial self-government to Catalonia which has remained loyal to the present Government as a result. "If the electors of November 1933 hoped they might get something better than they had had before," says Professor Allison Peers, "the electors of February, 1936, felt sure they could get nothing worse."

Between 1933 and 1935 the Government cancelled wholesale collective agreements by which industrial wages and those of the peasants had been almost doubled, according to Se or Carlos Prieto. "The average daily wage of an industrial worker in the towns," he writes, "before those collective agreements and after their cancellation, was not more than 4 pesetas or less

than 2s." Among agricultural workers a day's wages varied from 2 to 4 pesetas, was raised to 8 to 10 pesetas under Caballero's administration in 1932, and was brought down to 1.25 and 2 pesetas by the Lerroux administration under pressure from the landlords. These last figures are given by Mr. Edward Conz .

The Popular Front programme promised the continuation of the educational and agrarian reforms which had been interrupted in 1933 and during May and June this year the Government worked hard at preparations to give effect to the Agrarian Law and the Law of Confessions and Congregations. The rapid growth of militant fascism, resulting in continual disorders and assassinations and aggravating social unrest, handicapped its work from the beginning. The murder of Calvo Sotelo, in revenge for the Fascist murder of Lieutenant Castillo, was the signal for the outbreak of a revolution carefully planned and organised by military leaders on a nation-wide scale.

Whichever way one looks at it, the conflict resolves itself into one between Spanish Fascism supported by all the forces of tradition in Spain and by the Governments of Germany, Italy and Portugal and Spanish Democracy fighting for life. "Democracy is for us not an end, but a means to go on to the conquest of a new State," says the leader of *Accoin Popular*; "when the moment comes, either Parliament will have to submit, or we shall make it disappear." The rebel forces are immensely strong; the twenty thousand landowners who according to Prieto, own approximately four-fifths of the land, who crush their tenants with feudal dues and fines imposed by their caciques who have everything to lose by the Agrarian Law which would settle peasant families on the land; the Catholic Church, "that great rack-renting, tenant-driving, money-grubbing and money-lending institution," as Prieto alleges, "ever ready to support the side which guarantees its perpetuation."

In no other country is inequality in the distribution of wealth so glaring as in Spain, where nearly 60 per cent. of the population are employed on the land and over 40 per cent. are illiterate. The latifundia, the great landed estates, form 60 per cent. of each province in the south. The Procurator of the Society of Jesus sits on 36 Boards of Directors of electrical companies, transport companies, banks and mines. Peasants starve on about 6s. a week. "It is misery. We have no money and very little food. God knows how we shall live through the winter" was the invariable reply of farm labourers questioned by Prieto in Andalusia in 1935. Large tracts of the country are like desert for want of an irrigation system. "You see," said a young Spaniard, a professional driver, to Frank Pitcairn while he was reporting in Spain in July, "it stands to reason. You have the elections. All right. The people win for the first time. The people want water. All right. If the people's in power it can get the water and cut out all these people who line their pockets with the water money, can't it? All right. Are they going to stand for that? The priests and the big bosses? Of course they aren't. All right, here's this war." And as the Italian bombers and German bombers appeared in increasing numbers, the reporter in Spain "began to grasp that this was no hit-or-miss affair of the generals. International fascism was beginning to show its hand."

These four books, written from such different points of view, produce the same impression of the Spanish character—generous, fatalistic, indifferent to suffering—exemplified, as Prieto suggests, in those "poignant and agonised images of Christ which seem to provide a special joy to Spanish worshippers—images which repel northern Europeans by their insistence upon

blood and suffering." The Spaniard has an aptitude for violent action, which can be seen at the national fiesta, the bull-fight, and a hatred of sustained labour. Havelock Ellis, in "The Soul of Spain," says "in this temperament it is the violence and hardness which lie nearer to the surface, and they fall away at once as soon as human relationships are established."

The anarchists, who are described by Edward Conz  as the decisive factor in Spanish politics, live for "liberty, virtue and dignity," while elsewhere the workers' movement is bent on attaining comfort and security. "The unfettered liberty and the uncrippled growth of the individual is the guiding idea in the anarchist doctrine." State, politicians, and trade union leaders are distrusted alike; direct action is the only weapon recognised in the revolutionary struggle. "Violence is the natural mainspring of all action and reaction," said an anarchist of Zaragoza to Conz ; "the sins of an old and corrupt system can only be washed away by violence and blood." He might have added, "and by superhuman courage." Frank Pitcairn describes an incident during the Fascist drive on the Sierra. Carlos San Martin and 25 others were cut off in Somosierra, with 300 Fascist troops in front of them and 200 behind. "In seven hours' fighting those 25 bare-footed, hungry men sent those 500 soldiers, officered by professionals, scuttling back to positions prepared for them long months before, when Gil Robles was Minister of War, and the Fascists used the annual manoeuvres to lay the foundations of the deeply plotted betrayal of their country."

It is no wonder that the final judgment on Spain should be, in the words of Professor Allison Peers, that "nobody who knows Spain can have the smallest doubt as to the intrinsic greatness of her people," who at present are "taking fantastic risks in hopeless but still necessary effort to even out the difference between a German-manned Junkers' plane with bombs and machine-guns, and a peasant lad with eight days' training, a rifle and a few rounds of ammunition." This is the fighting Spain which its reporter has brought to life for the people of a democratic country

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READERS' VIEWS

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

LEAGUE SUCCESSES

SIR,—Could not all those who speak for the League of Nations mention that its successes (spread over seventeen years and in many different spheres of activity) far outweigh its failures? Surely the period of the League of Nations (1920-1937) compares favourably with any other period of similar length; anyhow, during the last 100 years. How many British casualties (war casualties, I mean) have there been during the period of the League of Nations? How many Balkan casualties? And don't forget Nansen (prisoners of war), nor A. J. Balfour (Austria), etc., etc.

The myriads of items which come under "human welfare" amount to considerable success.

Bournemouth.

R. K. CARDEW.

RULER OF THE LEAGUE

SIR,—With reference to the suggestion made by William A. Brend in the current number of HEADWAY, that the need of the League of Nations is for some figure who could provide the emotional link now lacking, may I suggest that the first "Ruler of the League of Nations" be Prince Edward, Duke of Windsor? By birth and long training he is eminently fitted for the task which would give the creative genius within him full opportunity for expression, and might lead to most interesting developments in world relations. I should like to see Mr. Brend's article printed and broadcast over the world so that if our late King should consent to dedicate himself to this task he may stand truly for the people of every nation.

Leeds. OLIVE MURPHY.

ITS OWN SERVANTS

SIR,—Is not the real weakness of the League that Sanctions are its *only* method of compelling obedience? Compulsion there must be, for men and nations, however well meaning, never all think alike on such important matters as disarmament and economic policies. But to compel *nations* to obey means Sanctions; Sanctions not merely occasionally, but whenever anything important is to be done. As long as the League depends on the obedience of national governments, either every measure will be defeated by a minority, or the majority will have to impose its will at the sword's point.

If the League is ever to succeed it must give up this hopeless attempt. It must get power to carry out its decisions without requiring the help of national governments. Its orders must be given to its own servants. Its laws must bind the ordinary citizen, and so be enforced in the police-court instead of the battlefield. The U.S.A. found this out long ago. The U.S.W. must realise it now.

Horwich, Bolton.

A. H. WALLACE.

STATES GENERAL FOR EUROPE

SIR,—I fear there is truth in Professor Mowatt's criticism on Mr. Lansbury's suggestion for the convening of a general conference of the Powers. My own view is that such efforts are likely to prove ineffectual because they are projected on what may be called *Parliamentary lines*. I fancy there might be a better chance if we set out rather to convene the people on *States General lines*.

Parliament, the people's orderly control of the King's money-bags, has certainly worked well in Britain. But abroad, the various totalitarian movements, including those of Russia as well as of Italy and Germany, are largely in reaction against the former property counting, or the present mere head counting, of the Parliamentary system. In the States General idea—not, of course, in its stunted forms as gatherings of social castes—men are represented for what they are in the Commonwealth—producers, organisers, clerks, investors, consumers, and everything else.

I believe that if the Spanish Republic had set up a States General in 1931 instead of an unworkable parliament, there would have been no civil war. I believe even still that the Spanish combatants on both sides might be inclined to come together again if some of their leaders would offer to accept peace on the strength of all coming together representatively in a National States General.

But also, on the wider European plane, I believe that the League of Nations might suggest the convening of a "States General for Europe." If the League set about to do so it would find that Soviet Russia has worked out some helpful experiments as to the bringing together the real

constituents of a civilisation. But so, too, have Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. And my point is that if there were an outlet of creative energy offered for all activists in a States General for Europe, this would relieve that urge towards barbaric terrorism which is such a dread concomitant of modern totalitarian movements.

In a States General system for a Spain, as I visualise it, there would be room for "several Catalonias" but for only one policing system, which would be under the single political bureau of "All the Spains." In a European States General one could not immediately attempt in this way to Europeanise "lethal force." But there would here be an opening for considering Lord Davies' suggestions for an internationalised military police force. I suggest that the League of Nations Union might set about to study the States General ideal as offering a way towards peace in Europe and elsewhere.

RICHARD DE BARY.

Horton Vicarage, Wimborne.

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A CHURCH SUPPORTS THE L.N.U.

SIR,—A recent effort to disconnect a church from corporate membership of the Union was frustrated, the following arguments being strongly advocated. As the points may be suggestive in other instances, we have pleasure in printing them and recommending their careful consideration.

Every Christian church should stand boldly in opposition to the war spirit, which is doing so much to hinder the progress of true religion.

We recognise in the League of Nations an honest attempt by men of all grades of thought to substitute reasonable methods of settling international disputes for the savage and ferocious system of appealing to war.

We believe that it thus helps to carry out the principles of peace and goodwill taught by our Lord as governing the lives of His followers.

We recognise that the consistent support of those who are banded together for the promotion of a pure national as well as individual life is a duty that no body of Christians may set aside without slight to their heavenly Leader, Who, by word and act, condemned those who stood on the side of evil.

We claim a share in the fulfilment of Christ's promise "Blessed are the peacemakers."

We realise that by standing aloof in the present crisis we give passive approval to the military spirit that is undermining the humanity of the civilised world, and is responsible for the untold cruelties accompanying modern warfare.

London.

BAPTIST.

THIRD-PARTY JUDGMENT

SIR,—On November 25, the following statement was adopted unanimously by the Manchester and Salford Joint Peace Committee:—

Speaking in the House of Commons on November 5, 1936, Mr. Eden said: "This country would be second to none in the defence of its legitimate interests as a nation." (*Times*, November 6, 1936).

This Committee believes that this statement is susceptible of various interpretations, and expresses its profound conviction that the legitimate interests of this country, if they are disputed by another State, cannot be determined by ourselves alone, but only by means of arbitration or other peaceful method, and that in no circumstances should H.M. Government use force or the threat of force, economic or military, in order to make its own conception of the legitimacy of such interests prevail.

Didsbury, Manchester.

LEONARD F. BEHRENS.

FORCE IF NECESSARY

SIR,—I have had sent to me a copy of a leaflet headed "Church and World: The League of Nations." No. xxviii.

The heading across the two inside pages reads: "The League of Nations, under British Leadership, can Save the World from Civil War." I suggest that this is no longer true, and that it would be more accurate to say: "Might Have Saved the World from Civil War."

Undoubtedly, with British support, the League of Nations could have stopped aggression and breaches of the League Covenant, but the Government's repeated ignominious failures to face their responsibilities and their shameful betrayal of their election pledges have reduced the League to impotence.

I believe that "Collective Security" through a League which does work is the best and probably the only means of preserving peace, but it will not work under a Government which does not believe in it.

I should like to know whether the League of Nations Union is in favour of the use of military sanctions in the last resort, as otherwise the League's influence with the cynically aggressive states is just "nil."

Wimbledon Common.

A. H. STEVENSON.

[NOTE.—The L.N.U. recognises that a situation may arise in which military sanctions should be used. At the General Council meeting in London, December 15-16, 1936, a resolution was passed placing this view on record.—ED.]

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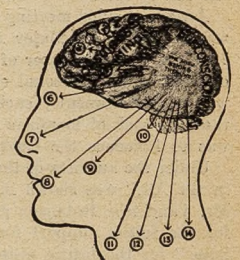
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HERE AND THERE

UNION BRANCHES

Headquarters has received a very encouraging letter and donation of £10 from the Sale Branch in response to Lord Lytton's appeal. At first it was thought that the Branch already had enough obligations of its own, and then it was realised that, if every Branch adopted the same attitude, nothing would be done to help Headquarters. The Secretary, therefore, appealed to League friends—with splendid results.

The Crosthwaite School (**Keswick**) recently gave an admirable performance of "Alice in Blunderland," a play specially written for the League of Nations Union by Eric Shave. This excellent little play is suitable for adults as well as children, and several Branches have already produced it with good effect. Copies of the play (price 1s. 2d. post free, music 1s. per set extra) may be obtained from Mr. Arthur Armitage, 74, Coronation Drive, Great Crosby, who is willing to supply any further information, photos of costumes, etc. A fee of 7s. 6d. is due to Mr. Shave for each production.

Sir Norman Angell, speaking at **Leighton Buzzard**, stressed the need for common action against an aggressor. If that could be made a reality, then force would become an instrument of restraint for the imposition of peace.

The **Worcester** Youth Group organised a successful public meeting at which an address was given by a German journalist from London, Dr. K. H. Abshagen. In dealing with the colonial problem, the speaker tried to put forward the German citizen's point of view.

A very interesting address was given at **Rugby** by Miss Ellen Wilkinson, Labour M.P. for Jarrow. Before we could hope for peace we must tackle some of the deep causes of war. We must deal with the "economic misfits." Miss Wilkinson paid tribute to the League of Nations Union in its "education of public opinion to the fact that somehow there was an alternative to war."

The **Leamington Branch**, which each year organises a series of meetings on different aspects of the League's work, has recently had addresses on several interesting topics, one being "Nutrition and Health." Mrs. Mary Ormerod, in dealing with the question of malnutrition, suggested that, if one great enemy of mankind could be defeated, we might in time defeat the second enemy, war.

Southampton. Lord Halifax has kindly promised to address a meeting in the new Guildhall on February 24. Subject: "The League of Nations and Peace." Those readers living near enough to attend this meeting will wish to make a note of the date so that they may avail themselves of the opportunity of hearing Lord Halifax.

The **Thrybergh** Branch has discovered a novel means for the raising of funds. As the result of a "beetle drive," the Branch has been able to send £3 3s. in response to Headquarters' appeal.

In addressing a mass meeting arranged by the **Blackpool** Branch, Dr. Gilbert Murray made a plea for undiminished faith in the League of Nations. The real trouble was that the people using the instrument of the League did not know how to use it; they did not have the will to use it.

A well-attended meeting arranged by the **Bishop Stortford** Branch, was addressed by Major Anthony Buxton, D.S.O., who for some 12 years was a member of the League Secretariat. Major Buxton emphasised the personal character of the League, composed as it was of governments, each represented by individuals. He felt that the task of members of the Union, an all-party organisation, was to influence the Government of this country.

Under the auspices of the **Crewkerne** Branch, the film, "Thunder in the Air," was shown in a local theatre to a crowded audience. Mr. Vandeleur Robinson gave a short address, in which he asked for the fullest support for the League of Nations as the "only hope" for the future peace of the world.

A very successful meeting arranged by the **Welwyn** Branch was addressed by Lord Lytton. No State could stand alone. We must either have a League of law-breakers or a League of peace-makers. "We have been, in the past," declared Lord Lytton, "content merely with . . . setting up the machinery, with writing the laws. What we have failed to do is to learn how to keep the laws and how to enforce them."

The **Plymouth** Pioneers held a party and sale of toys, books, etc. which they themselves had given, in order to raise funds for Headquarters. As a result of this splendid effort they have been able to send a gift of 15s. 0d.

WELSH NOTES

One of the outstanding features of the work in Wales and Monmouthshire, during the closing weeks of the year 1936, has been the large number of public meetings. The President of the Welsh Council, Mr. Dudley Howe, J.P., C.C., lead the way by accepting

invitations to address a number of meetings in various parts of the Principality. Other speakers, including officers of the most active Branches, have also rendered invaluable service by addressing meetings in their own counties.

New Branches have been formed at a number of centres, and several Branches which had become dormant have been reorganised. Branch work in the industrial areas, in these days of depression, is not easy, but, in spite of difficulties, quite a number of these Branches are plodding at their membership campaigns with a determination which commands the greatest admiration. Varied programmes are carried out, including public meetings, debates, lectures, and social gatherings. The **Ferndale** Branch, in November, organised a first rate "Peace Week," with an excellent programme extending over six days. The **Rhyl** Branch, early in December organised a large "Festival of Youth."

During the week-end, November 21-23, at the kind invitation of the Misses Davies, the Advisory Education Committee of the Welsh Council held its annual meeting at Gregynog Hall. Mr. E. H. Jones, M.A., presided, and the general subject under discussion at the meeting was "The Teaching of World Citizenship in the Field of Adult Education." Mr. C. W. H. Weaver, of the International Labour Office, Geneva, attended the meeting.

The Welsh Council's annual appeal to all the Churches in Wales and Monmouthshire for a donation towards its missionary and educational work, was issued in November, and it is earnestly hoped that the appeal will meet with a widespread and generous response. The Council's funds have never been in greater need of support than at this critical time in its history.

OVERSEAS NOTES

Civil War in Spain.—Resolutions dealing with the Civil War in Spain have been presented to the President of the Council of the League of Nations at its December meeting by the International Federation of League of Nations Societies (on behalf of the League of Nations Union), the French Federation of League of Nations Societies, and the Swiss League of Nations Society.

News From Ceylon.—The League of Nations Society for Ceylon has sustained a serious loss by the departure from Ceylon in October of the son of Sir John Simon, Mr. J. G. Simon, a Vice-President of the Society, which, however, welcomes two new Vice-Presidents: Hon. Sir Sydney Abrahams, Chief Justice of Ceylon, and Miss E. M. Shire.

As a result of a resolution passed by the Executive Committee of the Society, the heads of all the Christian and non-Christian denominations were asked to observe the Sunday nearest to November 11 as Peace Sunday. Messages in support of this were published by the Bishop of Colombo, the Territorial Commander of the Salvation Army, and the Ven. Dr. P. Siri Vajirama Maha Nayake Thera.

Memorial to Bolton C. Waller.—The many friends of the late Bolton Charles Waller have decided to couple a memorial to him with the furtherance of his ideals by raising a fund for the establishment of a lecture to be delivered by an acknowledged authority on such aspect of international affairs as may seem appropriate, which shall be called the Waller Memorial Lecture. It is proposed to leave the organisation of these lectures in the hands of trustees, with power to arrange that they may be delivered in connection with, or under the auspices of the universities, or of one or more of the existing societies which takes a special interest in international affairs.

Subscriptions may be sent to: Hugh A. C. Maude, Belgarde Castle, Clondalkin, Co. Dublin; Rev. Canon J. Tobias, B.D., Rathmines Rectory, Rathmines, Dublin; Professor J. T. Wigham, M.D., Medical School, Trinity College, Dublin.

A Resolution on the New Treaty.—The following resolution was unanimously adopted at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Port Said Group of the League of Nations Union at Port Said on November 5, 1936:—

"This meeting (1) Unreservedly welcomes the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Friendship and Alliance as marking the advent of a new era of close and cordial co-operation between Egypt and Great Britain, and as an important step towards world settlement. (2) Records its deep appreciation of the goodwill and courage and farsightedness of the statesmen concerned, which alone made possible this great achievement. (3) Pledges itself and calls upon the Egyptian people and British residents in Egypt to foster and sustain a spirit of mutual trust, respect and friendship, so that the

Treaty shall find a sure and lasting foundation in the hearts and minds of the citizens of both countries. (4) Contemplates with keen satisfaction the approaching entry of Egypt to the League of Nations, and recommends the formation of an Egyptian League of Nations Society to promote knowledge of and support for the League of Nations among the Egyptian people."

Meeting of the Swiss L.N.S.—An Extraordinary General Meeting of the Swiss League of Nations Society was held at Basle on December 5 and 6, 1936. Dr. Zürcher, of Zürich, was appointed President of the Society in succession to the retiring President, M. Leopold Boissier, of Geneva. The following were elected to serve on the committee:—Dr. Klöti, Zürich, deputy of the Conseil d'Etat; Dr. Max Weber, Secretary of the Swiss Trades Union; and Dr. Rittmeyer, Conseiller National.

COUNCIL'S VOTE

The following Branches completed their Council's Vote payments for 1935:—

Countesthorpe, Scotby.

For 1936:—

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ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL

OTHER RESOLUTIONS AT THE MEETING OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL HELD ON DECEMBER 15, 16 AND 17, 1936

THE L.N.U. AND THE I.P.C.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union, Approving of the four objects of the I.P.C., and believing that it would be best for it to pursue these objects without interfering with the work of the L.N.U. or engaging its responsibility.

Decides that the L.N.U. shall be represented on the British National Committee of the I.P.C. on the same footing as other societies represented thereon.

HOUSE-TO-HOUSE CANVASS

The General Council Urges Branches to make the canvassing of a part, say, not less than one-fifth, of their area, a regular part of each year's work so as to ensure that the whole area will be canvassed in some five years; and

Urges the Executive Committee to see that an adequate supply of printed matter of a popular kind is available for Branches in carrying out the canvass.

SPAIN

The General Council of the League of Nations Union Endorses the following resolutions adopted by the Executive Committee on December 3:

(a) The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union urges

(1) That representatives of Germany and of the United States should be invited to take part in the deliberations of the Council under Article XI, and that the proceedings of the Council shall be held in public.

(2) That a Commission consisting of impartial and authoritative individuals should be appointed to inquire and report on the situation in Spain particularly with regard to the extent to which any and which countries have furnished assistance to the Government or to General Franco.

(3) The Commission should also report without delay what, if anything, can be done to minimise the sufferings of the Spanish people, and to bring the fighting to an end, and to bring about a lasting settlement of the controversy.

(b) Having in view the recommendations of the British Members of Parliament now in Madrid,

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union urges His Majesty's Government to propose to the Council of the League the appointment of a High Commissioner of the League

(a) to bring help to refugees;

(b) to endeavour to mitigate the sufferings of the civilian population;

(c) to consider the possibility of arranging for the safety of prisoners and, if possible, for their exchange.

The General Council further

Asks the Executive Committee to study the following recommendations contained in a motion considered, but not adopted, by the Council:

Recommends His Majesty's Government to propose to the League Council the following procedure:

(1) An invitation to all the interested parties to agree to an armistice, beginning, possibly, on Christmas Day, supervised by an international police force, following the precedent set up in the Saar two years ago.

(2) The setting up of a Neutral Commission on the lines of the Lytton Commission to investigate the dispute and make recommendations for a settlement.

THE LEAGUE AND CIVIL WARS

The General Council of the League of Nations Union, Considering that the intervention of foreign governments in the internal policies of other countries is a manifest danger to international peace, and that the civil war in Spain has furnished tragic examples of such intervention,

Earnestly requests H.M. Government to propose that the Council of the League of Nations should immediately institute an inquiry as to the best means of preventing this evil.

OTHER RESOLUTIONS.

The method of electing the Executive Committee; the place of General Council summer meeting in 1937 (probably Torquay); international co-operation in trade and finance; international currency; advantages of League membership; mineral sanctions; secret diplomacy; Peace Treaty: Article 405 (submission of international labour conventions to the "competent authority"); International Labour Conventions; humane treatment of animals.