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OF POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC SCIENCE

LEAGUE BROADCASTS

By AN EXPERT

See pages 170 and 171

PALESTINE: AN ARAB POINT OF VIEW

By TARIQ ASKERI

See pages 168 and 169

HEADWAY

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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AND TO THINK HOW WE ENCOURAGED THOSE FELLOWS IN 1931

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NEWS AND COMMENT

Is Success A Defence?

ITALY made war upon Abyssinia in betrayal of her bond under the League Covenant. She was condemned by the considered judgment of over 50 nations and sanctions were decreed against her. Though she occupied Abyssinia, and though sanctions were lifted, her condemnation has never been cancelled. Disclosures such as those of General de Bono, the first Italian Commander-in-Chief in East Africa, have proved more clearly than before that she committed a deliberate, unprovoked aggression. An acceptance of Italy's annexation of Abyssinia would be a confession that crime is justified when it succeeds. Nevertheless a movement is on foot to secure such an acceptance from the members of the League. Great Britain's reply ought not to be doubtful.

The Union's Stand

VISCOUNT CECIL, as President, and Dr. Gilbert Murray, as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the L.N.U., have put on record the view of the Union, in a statement which says:—

There have been rumours recently that some action by the Assembly of the League of Nations is contemplated with a view to "regularising" the position of Italy in Abyssinia. May we therefore point out once again that the invasion of Abyssinia and the occupation of a portion of its territory were carried out in clear breach of the Treaty obligations of the members of the League of Nations, including Italy? It is unthinkable that the League should take any action which would recognise or condone what most of its members must regard as an international crime. We have every ground for believing that our Government would not be a party to any such condonation. Lord Baldwin said in May of last year that there "would be no recognition of Italy's conquest and that no monetary loans should be permitted." The Foreign Secretary has, we are informed, recently confirmed this statement.

In view of these assurances the rumours referred to can only be regarded as baseless. In any case, we may be confident that our Government will not be guilty of such a betrayal of international law and justice as has been suggested.

This statement was published in the *Times* on August 24.

No Recognition Meeting

ON September 9, from 10 a.m. to 5.30 p.m., a national conference on Abyssinia, organised by *New Times and Ethiopia News*, will be held in the Central Hall, Westminster. "For International

Justice. No Recognition of Fascist Invasion" say the announcements distributed from 3 Charteris Road, Woodford Green, Essex. Already the response has shown that large sections of public opinion are gravely disturbed.

One Bomb Kills Hundreds

ONE high explosive bomb was dropped from an aeroplane on August 23 at a crowded corner in the Nanking Road, Shanghai's main shopping street. Several hundred persons were killed and more hundreds were injured.

Peace Is Possible

FIFTEEN years ago when Upper Silesia was divided between Poland and Germany in proportions which patently failed to do justice, a convention was entered into by the two countries, at the instance of the League Council, to regulate the economic, social, and political life of the territory ceded to Poland. The League set out in detail the objects which the convention should serve, of which the last was "to ensure the protection of minorities on the basis of an equitable reciprocity." The agreement was to last for fifteen years. All authorities agreed that a dangerous situation must arise in 1937. The date (June 3, 1937) has come and gone, and the world has not remarked it. Neither Germany nor Poland has made any attempt to capture for it the world's attention.

National grievances are what national leaders make them. If the men in control of national policy wish their country to live at peace with its neighbours then even real ill-treatment does not arouse a passionate sense of intolerable injustice which will not be satisfied without either an immediate remedy or a violent upheaval. Plain men and women are content to give reason its chance if their leaders will allow reason to have its chance.

Our Shrinking World

A LETTER from the Post Office. In the same envelope is a leaflet, announcing: "All your letters, letter packets and postcards to the following countries are now sent by air." The ten countries mentioned range from the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan to the Union of South Africa and include

Zanzibar and Mauritius. "Every day is mail day: Do not affix air mail labels: Post in ordinary letter-boxes." "Other classes of correspondence for these countries," the leaflet explains with a hint of condescension, "will continue to be sent by surface transport."

And yet in quiet corners one may still meet earnest folk who declare that man will never fly and should be content to travel by train or steamship as nature intended him to do. And others who are very far from quiet clamour for isolation in a shrinking world where isolation becomes ever more impossible.

Radio Appeal To World

MORE than forty societies in the United States, including the American Association for the League of Nations, have agreed to undertake a campaign for world economic co-operation. The campaign will be launched on September 19 at a great international broadcast. Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, will speak in New York, Mr. Mackenzie King in Ottawa, and political leaders of all the Great Powers have been invited to take part. The broadcast will be at 9.30 on Sunday evening, September 19, on the Columbia Broadcasting Company's network.

Members of the Union are urged to listen to this programme to hear what the American and Canadian peace societies are doing.

Making Friends

ALL over the world there are groups of people believing in the League of Nations and working for its success. In more than forty countries there are League of Nations Unions. Two or three times a year the representatives of these societies come together at the meetings of the World Federation of League of Nations Societies.

In those meetings they learn to understand the difficulties of each of these groups, from those meetings they return encouraged by the knowledge of the work that is being done in other countries. Every branch, every individual member, needs that encouragement. He needs to know how wide is the movement for the support of the League. If every branch of the League of Nations Unions all over the world were in touch with at least one branch in another country, received visits from its members, corresponded with it regularly, surely we should all find additional incentive to continue our work.

This is what the Rouen branch of the French League of Nations Society thought. And so, late in July, a party of fifteen came to London and were entertained by several of the London branches, headed by Chelsea. Their stay was short, in all only two and a half days, but in that space they found time for one meeting, visits to Windsor, Eton and Hampton Court, a tour of London, with lunch at the Guildhall.

The opportunity was not wasted. The Rouennais learnt something of the organisation of the Union and its policy, and the members of the Union who entertained them realised, perhaps for the first time, the extent of support which the French League of Nations Society has in the great provincial towns of France. They heard with deep interest of the action the Rouen Society had taken during the Abyssinian dispute and of the policy which it has been advocating during the Spanish Civil War.

The lunch at the Guildhall, presided over by Alderman Sir Godfrey Collins and given by the City of London Branch, was the occasion for a reaffirmation of Anglo-French friendship.

Effort Must not Die

THOSE who were present at the meetings were convinced that the effort must not die. It is proposed that a return visit be made to Rouen this October, and that there plans be drawn up for a more ambitious programme. Here are suggestions made the last afternoon of the visit:

Next Easter representatives of the branches that have exchanged visits in Rouen and London will pay a visit to Belgium to a branch of the Belgian League of Nations Society; from there they will go on together to Germany on a mission of goodwill and understanding.

These plans are still tentative, but the two groups are determined that out of the discussions in Rouen a new activity of the League of Nations Societies shall be born. Perhaps from this beginning will grow a collaboration between branches of the League of Nations Societies all over the world that may prove of far greater value than we can imagine.

A Service to the World

A SERVICE to the health and happiness of humanity, whose performance depended upon the League's existence and of which the League has been the perfect instrument, is signalled by a most fascinating volume just published. It can be bought from the Union bookshop, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, for 7s. 6d. It is the final Report of the Mixed Committee of the League on the Relation of Nutrition to Health, Agriculture, and Economic Policy. In it are embodied the results of two years' heavy work. The means exist to feed the peoples of the world better, to make them healthier and happier. Science has resources that are not being exploited. There is need for an increased production of protective foods—fruit, vegetables, and dairy products—and also an increased production of cereals for fodder. It can be satisfied if governments will pursue in concert policies, national and international, whose only object is the wellbeing of their subjects. The choice rests with them. If they choose rightly the League is at hand to help.

HEADWAY

SEPT. 1937

EDITORIAL OFFICE:—15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1
Telephone: Sloane 6161.

FOUR QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

ABYSSINIA, China, Spain, Palestine. 1937 draws towards its close in a world full of troubles. Peace is darkly threatened, even in those happier countries where it most stubbornly survives. The first business of the League of Nations is to preserve peace; and yet in circumstances which demand its vigorous and continued activity the League, if operative at all, operates only in the most hesitant and feeblest fashion. Why then spend time, effort, money in keeping the League alive? Because, under the gathering clouds, one fact stands out in sharp outline and lurid colour. So long as the League lives civilisation can still save itself.

About Abyssinia, the Assembly this month may do some good. Or, not to pitch expectation too high, it may refrain from doing much evil. Indeed, it must refrain from doing the particular evil now being proposed to it. An insidious, assiduous campaign is on foot to persuade the Assembly first to declare Abyssinia no longer a League member, and next to recognise Italy's new Abyssinian Empire. Many kinds of argument are employed by many sorts of advocates. "Don't harbour a grudge" say the goodfellows. "Don't persist in an ancient feud." "Peace," the amateur diplomatists explain, "must be won or lost in Europe. Unless Italy is brought in on the right side, the wrong side will triumph." Self-appointed guardians of the British Empire fear an Italy which dominates the highway to Asia and Australia through the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. "Facts must be faced" is the conclusion of practical common sense. "The essential fact is that Italy has conquered Abyssinia." All these specious reasonings are easily answered. The essential fact is that the members of the League are bound together in mutual loyalty by their pledges under the Covenant to build up and maintain a world order of peace and justice, and that any member who resorts, in defiance of those pledges, to armed force for the coercion of a neighbour is thwarting the greatest constructive purpose of the Twentieth Century. Great Britain's main line of communication with the vast Eastern and Southern territories of the Empire is endangered, and, month by month, the whole Empire grows palpably more insecure; the damage, however, was done in the first place and is now being intensified not by strong support of the League, but by feeble abandonment of it. Peace cannot be based on an unstable compromise between Great Powers; its only lasting foundation is the practice of a new method of international relations in which armed force as an instrument of national policy no longer has a place.

Grudge and feud are an untrue description of an

attitude which is not dictated by any hostility to Italy. Assuredly no friend of the League is other than a friend of the Italian people, or lacks sympathy with their legitimate ambitions or would contentedly see them suffer injustice. The issue ranges far wider, reaches much deeper. The right of all peoples to develop unthreatened their human gifts and material resources is in question. The attack upon Abyssinia was a denial of that right. A present pretence that the attack was a regrettable incident, wisely forgotten on the first excuse, with those who provoked it respectfully confirmed in their possession of their booty, would be an invitation to intending aggressors to wage war where and when they wished, provided only they were stronger than their selected victims. The answer to the argument, in every one of its many forms, for a clean slate and a fresh start, while Italy does what she will in Abyssinia, free from any further protest, is convincing. All the same, the need is urgent for its prompt and many times repeated presentation in the clearest, most emphatic terms. The League is little likely to help the Abyssinians now. Perhaps it cannot. But the more influential members of the League and the League supporters everywhere, especially in Great Britain, can prevent the worst happening.

One point against recognition of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia is being most strangely ignored. It should be driven home at every opportunity. It is the parallel with Manchuria. By general admission, bad as was Japan's conduct in Northern China it was not at the start so wholly lacking in all excuse, so flagrantly aggressive as has been Italy's in Abyssinia. Yet the members of the League in 1933 refused to recognise the puppet state set up by Japan in Chinese territory, and in 1937 are persisting in their refusal. In February over four and a-half years ago the League Assembly voted by 42 members to 2 the recommendation of the Committee of Nineteen. "They will," ran their pledge, "continue not to recognise this regime either *de jure* or *de facto*." Japan's repeated efforts to bribe or coerce them into breaking that pledge have failed, with an insignificant exception in Central America. The United States also declines to accept a situation brought about by armed force in defiance of international law. Why cannot the precedent of Eastern Asia be followed in East Africa? The story of Manchuria and of the League's weakness when faced with the first major challenge to the Covenant is a world tragedy whose gloom thickens with each succeeding chapter. A solitary ray of light is kept shining by the League's persistence in its considered, cautious, regretful judgment upon the crime of Japan. In a time of many bad examples a good example is doubly precious. It should be not only remembered but imitated.

China, north and centre, to-day shows the devastating consequences to which bad examples lead when they are often repeated and never resisted. China was bravely attacking the problems of her national life. The area of public order was widening. Public services were becoming more efficient. Japan is smashing down in ruin all the constructive work of the Nanking Government. She is destroying the vast British interests in the great city of Shanghai just as she has already destroyed the lesser British interests in Manchuria.

The League is weak. The world is filled with tragic demonstrations that it most desperately needs the League.

Business For The League Assembly

By FRED A WHITE

THE Eighteenth Assembly agenda is dull. All the old subjects—drugs, traffic in women, intellectual co-operation—absorbing to experts, or to anybody keen enough to study them, but baffling to the casual spectator. One fairly new—nutrition—which is a "best seller." The world is beginning to wake up to the fact that agriculture can produce food for everyone; that science can help everyone to be properly fed; and that these ends are hindered mainly by the economic policy of governments. There are three novelties—raw materials, emigration, and urban and rural housing—all of enormous importance to the welfare of the poorer people in every land.

"Status of women" is a contentious item. The women's organisations will see to it that it provides a lively debate.

If a problem is too controversial it is unlikely to be discussed at all. This applies to "reform of the League." There seems to be no possible reconciliation between those who desire to strengthen sanctions and those who want to abolish them; between the demand for a "serious" League whose members intend to keep their contracts, and a "universal" League, to include States which blithely proclaim that they will break any promise whenever it suits their convenience. The views are poles apart; not even the British capacity for compromise, nor the Greek genius for devising "formulas," can bend them to the meeting-point. Meantime, compromise takes the form of that retreat from the Covenant, so marked in the speeches and policy of British ministers, among others. The League assumes that international affairs should be conducted according to certain standards; if you are not prepared to defend those standards, it is expedient to carry on your business elsewhere.

But the dull Assembly agenda omits one point, "August"—August, the harvest month, when dictators reckon their crops and gaze wistfully at the heavier sheaves of their neighbours; August, the holiday month, when the light over the House of Commons goes out, when Parliaments adjourn, when Foreign Office officials go on leave, when, in the idyllic pre-war days, the British Navy used to disperse up Highland sea-lochs shared with grouse-moors.

Well, some of the Navy is in the nasty Bay of Biscay now; and August has sent various notes to the Secretariat which might all be tagged "Urgent—Trouble." The Mandates Commission sits to examine the 1936 disturbances in Palestine and the partition scheme. The Assembly will discuss its findings; and Palestine has

an extraordinary power of rousing emotion. It is the one mandated area over which the best League Committee has not hitherto preserved impartiality.

The Mandates Commission members divide into a pro-Jew majority, a pro-Arab minority, and a just minority. The same is true of the Assembly, which is even less fitted than the British Parliament to take a fair view of this problem. The able and world-wide Zionist propaganda bears ample fruit at Geneva. Some states value and sympathise with the Jewish genius or their own Jewish communities; such are Czechoslovakia, Argentine, South Africa, Norway. Some, less trustworthy allies are Zionist because they are anti-Semitic; Poland and Roumania among them. The Arabs, poor and unorganised, have never succeeded in getting their case well put in Britain—let alone the world. Their backers

at Geneva will be the Moslem countries. But of those, Iraq, which has protested to the League against the "dismemberment" of Palestine, is not an influential state, and Egypt is a new League member and tied by her alliance with Britain. There is also Italy—if she attends—whose suspected desire is to sustain anti-British feeling in the East. An Assembly in which these mixed motives will be voiced is not well fitted to do justice between Arabs and Jews, whose legal rights under the

Covenant and mandate, and whose moral rights according to modern standards of self-government, are equally valid, and unfortunately irreconcilable.

Then comes Spain. The Powers have disregarded the previous efforts of Spain to make her case before the League. Yet the Assembly remains the only platform on which the Spanish government can protest against the aggression of Germany and Italy. The complexity of the Spanish problem is perfectly understood by the League states; and their sympathies are divided. None the less it remains true that the Non-Intervention committee has been used steadily as a cover for intervention in Spain; and that legally, under Articles XI and XVII, the League has not only that right but the duty to act in such a case. It is equally certain that the Great Powers will not let it act.

The Chinese crisis will suffer the same fate. On the ground that Japan and the United States are not League members, China will be discouraged from mentioning the new Japanese attack. But even if the League is no longer the principle of the policy of Britain and France, it is not because collective security is not needed. Nor can the Assembly states be prevented from mentioning international justice as an ideal.

On Sunday, September 12, the day before the Assembly opens, a United Service of Intercession will be held in Geneva Cathedral, at which Dr. Sidney Berry, Secretary of the Congregational Union and ex-Moderator of the Federal Council of Evangelical Free Churches, will preach. There will be many lovers of peace who will wish to join in prayer for the statesmen gathered at this important meeting, and many clergymen and ministers who will wish to remind their congregations of the fundamental Christian principles upon which the attempt at international co-operation, through the League of Nations, is based. To assist them the League of Nations Union has published special Preachers' Notes, together with a new Prayer paper. These may be had from the League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1, price 3d., post free.

I Am Against Hatred

By FRAU IRENE HARAND
of Vienna

(The founder of a world fellowship of goodwill, which will hold an international conference in Austria next year)

IT was 1930 when I began my work against all hatred and first against anti-Semitism, because I saw that that was the root of all hatred in my country. Many heard me but few would listen.

Why am I fighting anti-Semitism? Because I am a Catholic, and anti-Semitism is a disgrace to Christianity. Because I am a woman, and anti-Semitism is a disgrace to humanity. We shall never resolve our problem so long as this drug has dominion over us. Anti-Semitism is nothing but a drug. When a man is drugged you can cut off a vital part without causing discomfort; and when a people is under the dominion of anti-Semitism you can deprive it of its reason, its freedom and its rights.

I have seen this clearly since 1930. Few would believe me then. When I addressed a meeting, people laughed. They agreed with me that anti-Semitism is a disease of the soul like typhus of the human body. But, they thought, we live in the 20th century, and it is impossible that a party with such ideas could gain power.

It is a pity that I was right. Three years later, in 1933, my country was in great distress and was, moreover, threatened by National Socialism. I saw clearly that the basis of National Socialism is and must be anti-Semitism, and I wrote a small pamphlet against it. On one side of this pamphlet was printed a swastika, on the other a scale. *Hatred or Justice?* This little pamphlet I gave from door to door in Vienna and in many little towns in my country. Sixty thousand copies I gave away. It was a poor little paper and ill-printed, but it brought me many friends. First came seventy good Christian people, who asked me to do more in the cause. I answered them: "I cannot do more. All that I know and all that I feel I have put into this pamphlet." But these people were persistent and would have me hold a meeting. A thousand Christian people came. These thousand proclaimed that hatred against the Jews is not and cannot be in accord with our religion.

And now a weekly letter was called for. I was to write about every anti-Semitic outrage that came to my ears, and to say what I thought should be done about it.

As it happened, in September, 1933, there was a Catholic celebration in Vienna, to which came farmers, peasants, teachers and priests from the whole countryside and from Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, Norway, Sweden, Poland, Hungary and other countries. Many hundreds of thousands of people visited Vienna, and I took this opportunity to start a little newspaper, *Gerechtigkeit (Justice)*. Around the chief church of Vienna there stood boys and girls who sold the newspaper and shouted its name *Justice, Justice*. At the railway station and by the electric tramways it was on sale.

The movement grew, and we were soon seven thousand. Our society had no president and no name. But in January, 1934, we founded a world organisation against race hatred and human misery, called by our members the Harand Movement.

The movement grew further, and we are now 30,000 people in Austria alone; 25,000 are Catholics, for ours is mainly a Catholic country: the others are Protestants and Jews, but the movement has spread abroad, and *Justice* is now read in thirty-eight countries. More than 6,000 copies every week go abroad over the world, besides 8,000 which are bought in Austria and 6,000 which we distribute free.

The great factor in the success of National Socialism in Germany was the conviction of simple people that they had now all knowledge in one book. "Mein Kampf," they believed, contains the key to economics, to religion, to philosophy and to law. All other needs are supplied by a uniform. The man who has "Mein Kampf" and a S.A. uniform is smartly dressed, full of knowledge and the equal of any. Class differences will disappear, excepting only the poor Jews. For them is no knowledge, no class, and no fine clothes!

Yet what do we owe to these poor Jews? The radio, the telephone and X-rays were given us by the Jews—Berliner, Hertz and Lieber. The motor-car was the invention of an Austrian Jew, Siefried Marcus. How could National Socialism be without these things? Why do people listen to all the absurd lies about the Jews? I have learnt the reason. Such lies are a form of flattery of those who listen to them. Truth known generally brings criticism of ourselves!

But the guilt is not only with those who listen. For every wrong, for every wickedness, we are all guilty.

It is not enough to think quietly at home about these things. Each of us should say very quietly to ourselves: "I am against hatred."

No! You must be active: you must speak aloud and often. Always and on every occasion, when you hear a lie against Jews, a lie against any nation or religion, and you know that it is a lie, speak aloud, proclaim the truth.

Our first sin was that we did not speak in a language so easy that everybody could understand. The second sin was that we had not love enough to understand that it is an injustice to let people be hungry. Hungry people listen to lies. There is no such thing as Jewish hunger, English hunger, German or Austrian hunger. There is only one, and hunger is the greatest injustice of all. It is for this reason that our movement demands an existence-minimum as an absolute right for every man, woman and child. I believe that fear of hunger is more horrible and more dangerous even than hunger itself. It is for this reason that our movement cannot concern itself only with hatred and anti-Semitism, but must strike also against hunger, the root of misery. Against this there is only one weapon, and that is brotherly love, which is also the source as it is one of the aims of all religions.

We all know there are good and bad people in every nation, in every country, and also in every religion. I am sure all religions, all nations are good: only some people in them are not good. Let us help each other: let us find each other, and let us struggle for each other and not against each other. Only so shall we build a world in peace and freedom.

GERMANY

By The Secretary of the Union

IF the fighting in Spain can be stopped—perhaps in the manner suggested on the last page of the June HEADWAY—without involving Europe in war, the further preservation of European peace will chiefly depend on Anglo-German relations. If the drift towards war is to be arrested and reversed there must be a change in German foreign policy, and a change in British ideas of what German policy is.

Herr Hitler's aim is to unite the German people—of course, behind himself as their leader. Because of the political disunion of Germany before the age of Bismarck, because in the days of Imperial Germany the people loved their own "land" (Bavaria, Württemberg, or whatever it might be) more than the Empire, because of the bitter party feelings under the Weimar Republic in the nineteen-twenties, and because the Germans need psychological unity to make up for their lack of natural frontiers in the East and West, Herr Hitler has not hesitated to use even the most drastic means of bringing his people together. He has sought to destroy whatever makes for division—e.g., the old loyalties to the different "lands," the clash of parties, the rivalry of newspapers differently interpreting events, the contradictory interpretation of history by school teachers with different party sympathies, even the pulpit utterances of preachers who denounce or criticise the policy of the régime.

On the other hand, Herr Hitler has tried to foster whatever makes for a united Germany. The rich have been forced to give up some of their luxuries in order to help the poor and unemployed. The social classes have been mixed in schools, in summer camps, in labour camps, and in the army. A common pride in Germany has been revived, although the means employed have included several gross breaches of treaty obligations such as the re-arming of the nation and the re-militarising of the Rhineland. A further bond of union has been found in common hates and fears evoked by much talk of Jews and Bolsheviks and encirclement.

The world outside Germany has not been unaffected by all this. As German unity and strength have increased so also has the fear of war in Central Europe. This growing fear has been one of the causes, perhaps the chief cause, of the mad pursuit of an independent economic existence by so many States. One country after another has cut down its imports of this or that foreign product. The foreign producers have consequently had to go short of the goods for which their products were exchanged. The shortage effects all countries, but not equally. In some it has extended to foodstuffs and essential raw materials. In Germany, according to Mr. Alwyn Parker (*Lloyds' Bank Review* for July, 1937) "the shortage of foodstuffs has prevailed in the retail market since 1935." Butter has been rationed, and even so "is beyond the purchasing power of the labouring classes." The net import of cereals in 1936 was less than 5 per cent. of the net import in 1928. In July, 1937, the bread in the best hotels contained a mixture of rye and rice with the wheaten flour.

In order to distract attention from their economic hardships, Herr Hitler provides the German people with entertainments at home (*Kraft durch Freude*) and sensations abroad. Until their poverty is replaced by plenty, his foreign policy must remain adventurous. No rigid system is laid down in *Mein Kampf*, but fluid enough to use whatever openings chance may provide for new sensations. Such a policy is a danger to peace. But it might be altered and war averted if Herr Hitler saw the chance of a new deal which would end Germany's economic distress, restore her political "equality" and provide a process of peaceful change, whereby German unity and German greatness might be fostered with due regard to the independence and the legitimate aspirations of other peoples.

There is nothing inherently impossible about such a new deal. But it must be a general settlement between Germany and the rest of Europe, a settlement in which the U.S.A. should be invited to join, so that German unity may become part of a larger unity, tending to become world-wide. It must provide for Germany's return to the League of Nations, for her co-operation in making a reality of collective security no less than in removing national grievances by peaceful change, and for the reduction of her armaments equally with those of other nations to however low a level will suffice for the uses sanctioned by the League's Covenant. And, since Herr Hitler is convinced that England alone can give him what he regards as essential, the new deal must be reached through a preliminary understanding between Britain and Germany.

When once Herr Hitler is assured that Britain is prepared for some such developments as renewed financial assistance to Germany, freer markets for German (among other) goods, and greater equality of opportunity for Germans (among others) in non-self-governing colonies, as well as the separation of the Covenant from the Treaty of Versailles already advocated by the Imperial Conference, he will cease to assume that international discussions on these topics will lead nowhere. The way will then be open to the creation and setting to work of the fact finding commissions recommended in the Manifesto of the League of Nations Union.

Lest, however, war should break out while the new general settlement is still under discussion, Britain's preliminary understanding with Germany should cover the probable consequences of certain new breaches of the old treaty before the new one is ready to take its place. Herr Hitler should be warned, for example, that were he to send a military force into Czechoslovakia during the progress of the negotiation, the result would not be confined to delaying or endangering the new settlement but would almost certainly involve his country in war with Britain; not merely because the Covenant is still in force, but for the further reason that a German attack on Czechoslovakia would probably be resisted by France and, in that case, must inevitably bring in Britain also.

Palestine: The Arab View of Partition

By TARIQ ASKERI

Tariq Askeri is the eldest son of the late General Jafaar Pasha al Askeri, a distinguished soldier who fought for the Allies in the Great War and was for some years Iraqi Minister in London.

To reply in full to the various statements, criticisms, and recommendations of the Royal Commission's report, it would be necessary to write a tome as impressive as the Report itself. For the present purpose, however, it will suffice just to mention a few facts which the writer does not believe have hitherto appeared in print.

One of the very first statements made by the commissioners is that the Arabs have put themselves in the wrong by using force as a means of bringing their grievances to the notice of the powers that be. The British press has been equally hostile in its comments on the same matter. The obvious reply to this criticism is to question the Mandatory's right to be a judge of right and wrong in such a case for, let it be remembered, the presence of Great Britain and the Jews in that part of Arabia is dependent solely on the maintenance of a British garrison in Palestine. Every action of the British Government is backed by force. The statement of the British Government on its future policy in Palestine contains ample proof of the truth of this statement.

In recommending Partition as being the only possible solution, the commissioners realised, and openly stated, that the scheme would be unpalatable to both parties. The commissioners are right. Thereupon the Colonial Secretary appealed to both Jews and Arabs to think it over and to realise the advantages which the said scheme offered. Arabs, as well as Jews, were begged to sacrifice something and to effect a compromise to the extent recommended in the Report. Of what are these sacrifices to consist? The Jews are asked to be a little more moderate in their desires, to forgive Great Britain for not fulfilling the promises made as they were understood by the Zionists; the Arabs, under compulsion, are ordered to give their benediction to the dismemberment of their country, to surrender their land, their homes, their sea-board, even the Holy Places of which they have been the faithful guardians for untold centuries!

Great Britain, who stated when she arrived in Palestine that her mission was to liberate the country, now orders a whole race to give up its life to satisfy the ambitions and the appetite of a certain number of Jews. Surely the Colonial Secretary and the worthy commissioners have enough common sense and logic to realise that there is no comparison between the two sacrifices that they put before the Arabs and the Jews. Can the world be asked to believe that being denied something one desires is similar to being forced to give up what one holds?

As yet we have heard no reason why there should be a national home in Palestine. Many British Administrations, and even the Royal Commission, cite certain historical facts connecting the Jews with Palestine. This is no justification for evicting a nation from its home and handing over the country to an alien people. No matter

who enters or leaves Palestine, it is, and has ever been, an Arab country in the heart of Arabia. This is undeniable.

As to the actual plan of Partition, in spite of what has been already said by many competent observers, there are some who still believe it to be feasible. But, as Lord Samuel said in the House of Lords, all the dangerous experiments which were tried in Europe for frontier settlement—such as the Saar, Dantzig, corridors, etc.—are to be repeated on an extensive scale in Palestine. Apparently a few more powder magazines will not make much difference when it comes to shattering the will-o'-the-wisp, world peace.

In addition to the danger of the existence of the proposed institutions, there are some recommendations which cannot be possibly carried out. We have yet to hear, for instance, how the eviction—for it is nothing less—of the 225,000 Arabs in Galilee is to be carried out. Perhaps it has been forgotten that all the inhabitants of this area are attached to the land by the strongest ties. The landowners have mostly inherited their estates, which have provided them with their livelihood, their tradition, and their culture. They have business connections and ties of friendship with other landowners and townspeople of Nazareth, Safad, Acre and Tiberias; to the farmers and peasants no other world exists but Galilee. It is doubtful whether many of the 225,000 expelled Arabs will leave Galilee alive.

The three Holy Cities, as was expected, are to be entirely in the hands of the Mandatory Power. The world is asked to believe that the Arabs, whether Moslems or Christians, are not fit to be in charge of these shrines. That the cities have been under the protection of the Arabs for so many centuries makes no impression on the Royal Commissioners. On the contrary, it is strongly advised to put the cities directly under a British regime in spite of the chaos and confusion into which the country has been thrown for the past 17 years. Perhaps it is intended to "improve" the Holy Cities? The backward Arab cannot possibly provide for the "civilised" pilgrims. Bearing in mind the "improvements" that have been carried out in certain towns by the alien immigrants, it is easy to foresee the spate of cinemas, dance halls, mixed bathing pools, chain stores, and other attractions that will invade the scene when the ancient places are turned into "civilised" towns.

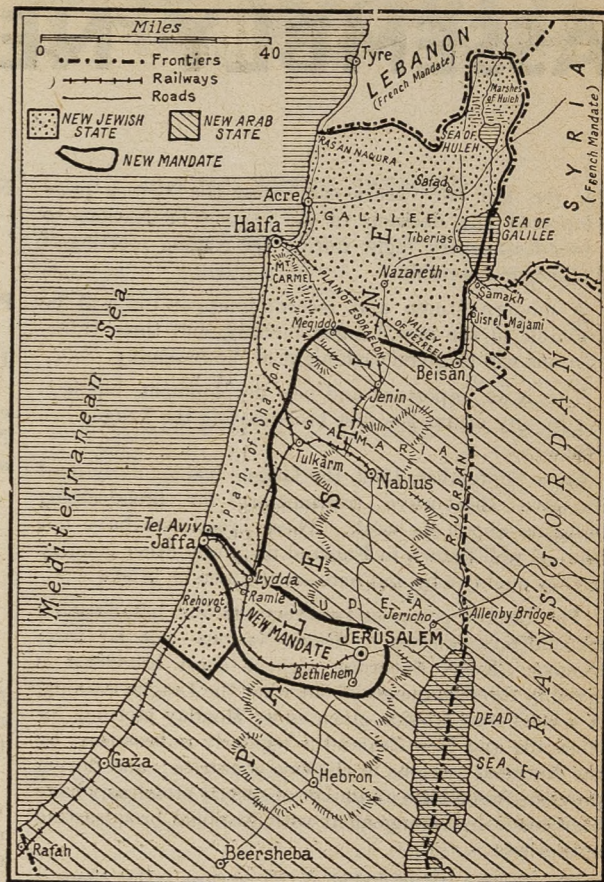
Again, it is necessary to remind the reader that no town of any size is to be in the proposed Arab State. It is true that Jaffa will be a port which the Arabs can use, but the city will be inside the British Mandated area, and on the north and south of it will be the Jewish State. The chance of any Arab business men surviving in Jaffa, or in any other town, whether under British or Jewish administration, is very remote. As for the port of Haifa,

which is to be temporarily under British administration, the Arabs realise that they will have lost the one commercial town of any note in the country. The British Admiralty has certainly not said the last word on that subject.

As for any advantages that partition can offer, the writer can see none. It is true that some persons will benefit materially at the expense of the country; it is an open secret as to who is to be the sovereign of the proposed Arab State. This will but constitute another addition to the number of potentates already existing in abundance in this tragic country. Some, not perhaps really aware of what constitutes the ideals and the aims of the Arab, have gone so far as to name the first Prime Minister of the new puppet State! Let it be clearly understood that no Arab, conscious of his duties towards his land and race, true to the traditions and the honour of his forefathers, anxious over the future of his home and the destiny of his children, can brook such insinuations. The press has committed a sad mistake in ever insulting with mockery and misrepresentations the struggle of a nation.

It has been mentioned in the Royal Commission's Report that the proposed Arab State should receive £2,000,000 as an indemnity to the Arabs for the loss of their country. The writer can think of very few Arabs who would open their hands to receive such a bribe. All the gold of Shylock will not buy the Holy Land.

It is not the intention of the writer to seek for "an alternative solution." Such an attempt would be a pure waste of time. The facts must be known. It is easy, in this instance, to be wise *before* the event, but at the time of writing it is not easy to say whether wiser counsels will prevail. Let us hope that the Colonial Secretary will at last realise the gravity of the situation; his handling of his task has been hitherto amateurish, to say the least of it.



Partition as proposed by the Royal Commission on Palestine

REPORT OF LEAGUE MANDATES COMMISSION

The Secretariat of the League of Nations has published a summary of the report to the Council by the Permanent Mandates Commission on the proposals for Palestine of the British Royal Commission.

The proposal to withdraw the Holy Places from the domination of Arabs and Jews and place them under a special régime is described as a step which could not but be of advantage to general peace, provided that the new régime was based on Article XXVIII of the present Mandate [safeguarding in perpetuity the rights of the various religions].

If the partition scheme should be applied the Commission thinks its success would depend more on its effect on the relations between Arabs and Jews than on the territorial solution adopted. Any delimitation of new frontiers, with whatever wisdom and justice, will come into conflict with the same contradictory aspirations and will involve individual sufferings. But it should be remembered that the collective sufferings of Arabs and Jews are not comparable, because vast spaces in the Near East are open to the former, whereas the world is increasingly being closed to settlement by the latter.

While declaring itself favourable in principle to an examination of a solution involving the partition of

Palestine, the Commission does not thereby endorse the idea of the immediate creation of two new independent States.

Such States, it says, could hardly meet at the outset the requirements for the termination of a Mandatory régime laid down by the Commission and approved by the Council in 1931, demanding settled government, the maintenance of territorial integrity, public peace, equal and regular justice to all, adequate financial resources, and so forth.

The Commission therefore considers that a prolongation of the period of political apprenticeship constituted by the Mandate would be absolutely essential both to the new Arab State and to the new Jewish State. This apprenticeship might be carried on in one of two forms:—

(1) A provisional "cantonisation," whereby the two States, while enjoying a wide measure of internal autonomy and full power to regulate immigration, might be united under the Mandatory Power for matters of defence, foreign affairs, Customs, and so forth; or

(2) A separate Mandate for each until such time as each had given proof of its ability to govern itself (which would not necessarily be the same time for both States).

ASSEMBLY NEWS WILL BE BROADCAST TO THE WORLD

RADIO-NATIONS PROGRAM EXPLAINED BY AN EXPERT

IN the last two weeks of August the British press reported the decision of the League of Nations to broadcast every night during the coming meeting of the League Assembly.

A modern studio and recording apparatus will be available in the new League building and three transmissions will be given each night of the Assembly.

This is an important and new development, but it is not by any means the first broadcasting the League has done.

Since September, 1932, the League has regularly used its own short-wave transmitters for broadcasting bulletins about its work. These broadcasts have not been so well known in England or in any other country as they ought to be, but here are the facts in brief:

The League possesses two very efficient broadcasting transmitters—known as Radio-Nations—not far from Geneva. Every Saturday night a short broadcast is given in three languages about what the League is doing. A special transmission given every Monday morning for Australia and New Zealand is regularly re-broadcast by the National stations in the two countries; and during previous Assemblies a number of special broadcasts have been made by arrangement with National broadcasting authorities.

That is the cheerful side of the picture. But there is another that is less hopeful. The League's transmitters, however efficient, are for short-waves only, and most people (in Europe at any rate) have sets which cannot receive short waves. The regular Saturday night transmissions are at an hour (11.30 p.m.) that is too late for listeners in Europe and too early for listeners in America. Most important of all, very few of the people who might listen know anything about the broadcasts.

The Problem of Short Waves

These are serious difficulties, but they are not insuperable. First of all, there's this difficulty of using only short waves. In England, people often say that the League's transmissions will never be any good until they are done on wavelengths that everybody's set can receive. But short-wave broadcasting isn't such an outlandish thing. Broadly speaking, the short waves (say, under 100 metres) are used for long-distance communications; the B.B.C. uses them for its Empire service. It's true that many people have sets that can only get the long waves (like the B.B.C. National) and the medium waves (like the B.B.C. Regional); and England is particularly backward in the use of sets that can get the short waves as well. But there is no doubt that they are very much on the increase; most manufacturers are now making "all-wave" sets at prices very little above those of the old "long and medium only." Anybody who buys a new set would do well to make sure that it can get the wavelengths between 14 and 100 metres (short) as well as those in the hundreds (medium) and thousands (long) of metres to which he is accustomed. Then he'll be able to listen not only to Radio-

Nations, but to America and many excellent programmes—specially from distant countries—that can only be got "on the short waves."

People Do Listen

Besides, people do listen to Radio-Nations, for the League gets their letters. There are people in England—many of them not people that would be called well-educated—who take the trouble to turn to Radio-Nations every Saturday night at half-past eleven to hear a ten-minute talk about what the League is doing.

"Many thanks for the enjoyable talk given by Dr. Mackenzie of the Health Section at Geneva. First of all, I had always thought that only arguments were dealt with, but now I know what splendid talks are given I shall be all ears on Saturday so long as my shifts allow."

That is part of a letter written by a man in Glasgow, referring to a talk which had been given as one of the regular transmissions, dealing with the subject as remote from Glasgow as "Rural Hygiene in the Far East."

There are short-wave sets in England, and anyone who was really determined to hear Radio-Nations would be unlucky if he couldn't find one among his friends. If there are only a few sets there must be many listeners to

L.N.U. SUGGESTIONS

As soon as the 1937 Assembly of the League has elected its President, there will be submitted the resolutions adopted by the International Federation of League of Nations Societies at its plenary Congress at Bratislava in June and July. One resolution, which was passed at the instance of the L.N.U.,

Requests the Assembly

- (a) To vote the credits necessary for equipping Radio-Nations with a long-wave transmitter capable of ensuring the reception of its broadcast talks by ordinary listeners in all countries and to broadcast regularly its resolutions and decisions, as well as phonographic records of some of its proceedings, in as many languages as possible and especially in languages understood in several countries;
- (b) To direct that radio-telegraphic communications in English, French, and Spanish, now transmitted weekly by Radio-Nations, shall be transmitted daily in these languages and in other languages understood in several countries;
- (c) To direct that Radio-Nations begin in 1938 a service of educational broadcasts for schools (both in the form of direct broadcasts and of suitable records made available to education departments and broadcasting stations) on matters relating to the work of the League.

each. Couldn't branches have meetings round somebody's short-wave set?

The Special Assembly Broadcasts—An Experiment

Eleven-thirty on Saturday night is admittedly a very awkward time. Eight o'clock surely would be more convenient. And eight o'clock is the time that has been chosen for the special broadcasts every night except Sunday during the coming meeting of the Assembly.

Every night during the Assembly's meeting—that is, for three weeks or so—the League will give three broadcast talks about what is happening. They have chosen hours which will be convenient for the different parts of the world they are covering. Some people have been asking why the League are using only English and Spanish; but if you would look at a map of the world you would see that those are the only two languages that cover by themselves enormous tracts of the globe. Short-wave transmitters are not really suitable for European reception, and just imagine trying to broadcast in every European language. Since, however, French is a language that is widely understood, special broadcasts will also be made in that language.

The first account of the day's proceedings will be given at eight o'clock (British summer time) on 26.31 metres. That's for the British Isles and South Africa, which will also be able to listen. Three and a-half hours later—at half-past one in the morning—another transmission will be given for North America; and half-an-hour after that—two o'clock—a third one—in Spanish—will be given for South and Central America.

On many days the transmitters will start again at early hours of the morning for Australia and New Zealand. India will have to be dealt with in the early afternoon.

The Talks and the Speakers

The talks will be given by people who have actually attended the day's meetings, who have seen and perhaps talked with the principal delegates, who have watched the progress of the meetings, and who have a pretty good idea (because they have done this sort of thing before) what it is that will interest the public. If you're expecting propaganda you'll be disappointed. There won't be any. All the League is setting out to do is to tell people what is going on—to tell it objectively and frankly, and to tell it entertainingly.

The principal speeches will be recorded and, whenever they are suitable, extracts from them will be included in the broadcasts; so listeners will have a very good chance of hearing the voices of most of the chief statesmen who attend the Assembly.

That's what the League is doing. But the listeners are almost more important.

Where the L.N.U. Comes In

Whatever broadcasts the League does, their value

8 o'clock EVERY EVENING

Time G.M.T.	Call-sign	Wavelength	Language	
19.00—19.15 (8 p.m. British Summer Time)	HBO	26.31 metres 11.40 mcs.	English	For reception in the British Isles, South Africa, and Northern Europe, Daily except Sunday.
24.30—24.45 (1.30 a.m. British Summer Time)	HBL	32.10 metres 9.34 mcs.	English	For reception in the United States, Canada and the West Indies, Daily except Saturday.
01.00—01.15 (2 a.m. British Summer Time)	HBL	32.10 metres 9.34 mcs.	Spanish	For reception in South America and Central America, Daily except Saturday.

depends entirely on whether people listen to them. The International Federation of League of Nations Societies (to judge from its resolutions at Bratislava) believes that broadcasting may be one of the most important methods of getting people interested in the League.

If they're going to listen, they must know when the broadcasts are coming off, the wavelength, and so on. Publicity is important. Can't L.N.U. members listen to these broadcasts, talk about them, and get them known?

The regular nightly broadcasts during the Assembly are a considerable extension of what the League has done before. If they're a success, the League may repeat them. But more than that. If this three weeks' experiment shows that people in England and elsewhere think it worth while taking the trouble to hear about Geneva directly from Geneva, then the fuller programmes which started as an experiment during the Assembly may perhaps become a regular all-the-year-round feature.

Is There Anything In it?

What chance is there of overcoming the many obstacles and making broadcasting the important means it ought to be of telling people about the League of Nations, about the successes that are so much more real than anybody knows, and of the failures which at least leave a valuable lesson behind them?

The answer to that question lies with you—the reader. If you'll listen, and get other people to listen, then the League may be persuaded to go on broadcasting more and more.

The future rests with the listener. Before very long, every member of the L.N.U. ought to regard himself as a "Professional Listener to Radio-Nations."

A JOURNALIST'S VIEW OF PEACE PROPAGANDA

By CLIFFORD B. REES

THE assumption often made by peace propagandists that journalists do not care for news and views about peace subjects is unfounded. Fleet Street is just as intelligent as any body of League of Nations supporters assembled together to declare loyalty to Geneva. The trouble is that journalists have a dual capacity, and what they write for their papers is often not what they think as private individuals.

My own view of peace propaganda is that it is, as a rule, too timid and too dull and too respectable. Therefore it is not "news" to the journalist. After all, virtue does not sell papers half as effectively as vice. Peace is what we all want and is, therefore, not very exciting. It is when it is threatened that it begins to exist—journalistically.

There is difficulty in giving news value to the statement that "no intelligent person wants war." The statement that "Mr. Chamberlain" (or Hitler or Mussolini) "wants war," would knock almost all other news off the front page. The same thing is true of other subjects. Blum on marriage is more interesting to the news editor than Blum on mandates. If Sir John Simon began to play darts, more space would be given to that fact than to his cleverest defence of tariffs from the standpoint of a National Liberal and former Free Trader.

Peace, like happiness, is praised—inferentially—only when it is absent, or nearly so. The League of Nations comes to life in the Press at the moment when all it stands for appears to be dead or dying. Once the difference between "news value" and real values—a necessary difference—is realised, a better perspective is possible on the question of peace publicity and propaganda.

But let me say, as a journalist, that the propaganda ought to be more lively and controversial than it is. I admit the difficulties, but newspapers want "stories," not a discussion of principles; personalities, not ideals; a rise in circulation rather than a spread of ethics. And there is a suspicion also that active peace propaganda is too much in the hands of politicians who have other axes to grind. I know many journalists and others who are annoyed by much of the peace advocacy they encounter because it is associated with strong Left views, sometimes with Communism, sometimes with radical economic doctrine. It is no good saying that this is a very stupid prejudice. It may be. But it exists. It is only the Left wings of the dove of Peace that many people can hear flapping.

League of Nations and League of Nations Union theses are always difficult to "put over" to the public through the Press because in normal times such propaganda is like fire brigade propaganda in suburbs when there is no fire even in the grates; and in troubled times like the present, when the nation, right or wrong, is committed heavily to extensive rearmament, statistics

about disarmament appear to be irrelevant. When the nations are scrapping, diplomatically, it is not calculated to arouse enthusiasm or conviction to say they must come together. A tract on sanity will not cure a lunatic.

Most of the propaganda that I see as a journalist, that comes to my desk for publication or the wastepaper basket, is clever, informed, scrupulous, detailed, syllogistic, statistical—and worthless. It is not merely a case of getting the stuff to the public. It means getting past the "goalkeepers of Truth" in Fleet Street; it means deceiving them in order, if you like, to undeceive the public. We are susceptible—in the first paragraph. Not in the tenth. We never get as far!

You must play the Fleet Street game, you serious-minded, excellent advocates of sanity and civilisation. The Press is really with you all the time. But you must sensationalise your sermons, put a propaganda howitzer in your pulpits. Despite much of our journalism, we are intelligent persons. Many journalists know war. They fought in the last one. Journalists lost their lives. Not all the editorial chairs are filled by the office boys of the new generation, even though the kindergartens may have been denuded for a few of the responsible positions. The new world which dictators and politicians have postponed indefinitely, is still inhabited by many journalists in imagination, and if the shape of things to come looks oddly awry in the last edition on Tuesday night it is for your propaganda, to pummel it into a semblance of credibility and value by Wednesday morning, even a Wednesday in the next decade!

After all, on the evolutionary and astronomical time-scale, man is less than ten minutes old, and the obstetric surgeon has only just left the bedside of the squawking, red-faced journalist.

There is no need to be too pessimistic. There are forces at work outside the Press as well as inside that should encourage those engaged in the task of making the world a little more intelligent and a little more tolerant. It is, perhaps, the fault of the journalist to think in terms of the spectacular. He has to. He prefers peace propaganda to be spectacular, but it is obviously impossible that it should always be so. That is why the idealist in public life so frequently finds the press disappointing. But its sins are due to "technical" conditioning rather than evil intent. Of course, there are papers which regard all peace publicity as "subversive," just as there are politicians and generals and business men who look upon enthusiasts for the League of Nations as cranks. There is no need to worry much about them. They are not half so powerful or so dangerous as the stupid people whose intentions are good, the people who have never had an unconventional idea in their lives, the people who think that "goodness" is enough to change society.

I am afraid that there is not much constructive guidance that I can give to propagandists, except to urge them to be audacious and uncompromising, to meet journalism on its own ground, and to make their stories about "good things" into "good stories." You have only to meet journalists in private to discover that, perhaps more than most sections of society, they are undeceived by the obligations of their daily tasks and do not mix their citizenship or their views about the world with their professional duty to produce lively and readable papers.

The League of Nations, all the forces working for international appeasement need, in this country, more and better organs of *their* opinion, not daily or weekly newspapers (that is impossible) but weekly journals and magazines of the kind for which this article is being written. I would spend more money on print and less on talk, not that I ignore the value of good talk, or its widely permeating influence.

U.S. BELIEVES IN CO-OPERATIVE EFFORT

STATEMENT ON WORLD POLICY BY MR. CORDELL HULL

Mr. Cordell Hull, the United States Secretary of State, made a statement to the world on July 16, on American policy. It was summarised in the British Press, and its importance only imperfectly understood. HEADWAY now reprints it in full. Thirty-eight governments have replied to Mr. Hull during the past month. They have all welcomed the American declaration; many of them have added a commentary setting out their special needs and points of view. Hungary and Bulgaria insist that injustices arising out of the peace treaties must be redressed. South Africa, with no grievance of her own, advances the same argument. Great Britain says, "the objectives of the United States are shared in common by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom." Russia utters the warning that "the present international situation, full of threats to the general peace now in one Continent, now in another, demands... the most energetic counter activity on the part of all nations." Germany, Italy, Japan, Spain and China have not yet replied.

I HAVE been receiving from many sources inquiries and suggestions arising out of disturbed situations in various parts of the world.

Unquestionably there are in a number of regions tensions and strains which on their face involve only countries that are near neighbours but which in ultimate analysis are of inevitable concern to the whole world.

Any situation in which armed hostilities are in progress or are threatened is a situation wherein rights and interests of all nations either are or may be seriously affected. There can be no serious hostilities anywhere in the world which will not one way or another affect interests or rights or obligations of this country.

I, therefore, feel warranted in making—in fact, I feel it a duty to make—a statement of this Government's position in regard to international problems and situations with respect to which this country feels deep concern.

This country constantly and consistently advocates maintenance of peace. We advocate national and international self-restraint. We advocate abstinence by all nations from use of force in pursuit of policy and from interference in the internal affairs of other nations. We advocate adjustment of problems in international relations by processes of peaceful negotiation and agreement.

We advocate faithful observance of international agreements. Upholding the principle of the sanctity of treaties, we believe in modification of provisions of treaties, when need therefor arises, by orderly processes carried out in a spirit of mutual helpfulness and accommodation.

We believe in respect by all nations for the rights of others and performance by all nations of established obligations. We stand for revitalising and strengthening of international law.

There is no need to "create" the public for this. It exists. Indeed, that is one of the difficulties of preachers of a gospel which is, passively at least, accepted by the majority and acknowledged to be not only sound but the only saving gospel. Nobody gets excited about the self-evident. Excitement has to be generated. It is, in short, on the *technique* of propaganda, not on its substance, that energy and ability should be concentrated. Where there is such general agreement about the folly of war and the need for peace, conviction is hard to work up to dramatic tensions. None the less, that is the task: to make the average man the ardent disciple and fighter for what his intelligence tells him is so simple as to be scarcely worth mentioning, so necessary as to sound banal, and yet in so much danger, as the condition of Europe tells him, that neglect of it may end his civilisation and destroy his life. The thing can be done. Success depends simply upon our finding the right means of doing it.

We advocate steps toward promotion of economic security and stability the world over.

We advocate lowering or removing of excessive barriers in international trade. We seek effective equality of commercial opportunity, and we urge upon all nations application of the principle of equality of treatment.

We believe in limitation and reduction of armament. Realising the necessity for maintaining armed forces adequate for national security, we are prepared to reduce or to increase our own armed forces in proportion to reductions or increases made by other countries.

We avoid entering into alliances or entangling commitments, but we believe in co-operative efforts by peaceful and practicable means in support of the principles herein-after stated.

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Europe's Most Defenceless Minority

By Dr. REUT-NICOLUSSI

(former Deputy of South Tyrol to the Italian Parliament, and now Professor at Innsbruck University)

SOUTH TYROL is a relatively small mountainous country—its area is not much more than half that of Wales—whose importance in European politics has always been out of all proportion to its size. Together with North Tyrol it constituted a political and cultural unit for nearly 700 years and from 1363 formed part of the Austrian Empire. Originally colonised by German settlers, its population, with the exception of the 12 Latin Communes, remained entirely German-speaking.

By the Treaty of St. Germain the century-old unity of the land was destroyed, and the southern part as far as the Brenner was ceded to Italy in fulfilment of Article 4 of the Treaty of London—the price of Italian intervention on the side of the Allies. Thus a quarter of a million German-speaking Tyrolese passed against their will under Italian rule. This flagrant violation of the right of self-determination was later recognised as such by President Wilson, and, as we read in the memoirs of his private secretary, bitterly regretted by him.

The annexation was effected despite a vigorous joint protest signed by each of the South Tyrolese Communes and was carried out after Italy had given the most solemn promises of liberal treatment. Senator Tittone, Italian representative at the Peace Conference, affirmed that "All thought of oppression and denationalisation is utterly alien to us," and promised to respect the language, customs, and institutions of South Tyrol. His assurances were repeated by the King, Minister-President Giolitte, Minister-President Bonomi, and other statesmen.

These promises of fair treatment have, however, never been honoured. All local autonomy in South Tyrol has been abolished, and "podestás" from Southern Italy appointed by the Government to the Communes instead of their democratically elected "Bürgermeister." The German language has been banned from the law courts, administration, and business. Place names and family names have been ruthlessly Italianised; even the use of the term "Tyrol" has been forbidden. Monuments of Tyrolese heroes have been removed from the streets. What is still more serious, not only have all Tyrolese social and cultural institutions been dissolved, but also no word of German—their mother-tongue—is permitted to be taught to the children at school nor even in un-

official instruction at home. Fines and imprisonments are the fate of those who dare to give the children private instruction in German.

Efforts to Italianise South Tyrol proving inadequate, the Government is now aiming at squeezing out the Tyrolese through economic pressure and replacing them by Italians. New industrial zones have been created in the fertile fruit-producing valleys, and factory hands from the Old Provinces sent by the Government to settle in the land. Tyrolese farms are burdened with taxes, and when in financial difficulties are bought up by a semi-official bank created for that purpose and handed over to new Italian tenants at very favourable terms. Last February this bank was further authorised simply to expropriate whatever properties it desired in the Tre Venezie (the provinces at the new frontiers of Italy where the national minorities live). Against the decisions of this bank there is no appeal, and so the Tyrolese are faced with the threat of being summarily ejected from their farms, which will then of course be occupied by Italians.

What hope of redress for its grievances can South Tyrol expect? Italy signed no such minority clauses in the Peace Treaties as those which subject other countries to the well-known procedure before the Council of the League of Nations, and thus South Tyrol is in an inferior position to the minorities whose rights are guaranteed in the treaties signed by other Succession States. But Fascist Italy has herself twice admitted in the Assembly of the League that she is *morally* bound to treat her minorities at least as well as the treaty obligations compel other States to treat theirs. Nor can it be over-emphasised that South Tyrol was handed over to Italy with the express assurance given not only by her but by the Allied and Associated Powers to the Austrian delegation at St. Germain that:

"The Italian Government intends to pursue towards its new subjects in respect of their language, institutions and economic interests a large and liberal policy."—(Note of September 2, 1919.)

So long as Italy disregards her promises of fair treatment and persists in a policy of oppression, not only her honour but that of the Great Powers who delivered us to Italy is at stake.

THINGS THAT ARE NECESSARY

By WILLIAM ROBERTSON

HADWAY quotes Sir Norman Angell as saying: "Collective Security is the *sine qua non* of any effective redress of grievances whatever." It might be said with equal force: "Redress of grievances is the *sine qua non* of collective security."

Perhaps Sir Norman means that they should go forward *pari passu*, but there has been a strong tendency to push redress of grievances into the rear—into the problematical, and much of the malaise of to-day is due thereto.

In an American book entitled "A Fool's Errand," which was published 60 years ago, I find this statement: "The confession of error is the hardest part of repentance whether in man or a nation. It is there the Devil always makes his strongest fight. After that he has to come down out of the

mountain and fight in the valley. He is wounded, crippled, and easily put to rout."

It is not now customary to bring his Imperial Satanic Majesty into the picture. The truth proclaimed by the American writer (who was thinking most of the Civil War between the Northern and Southern States and the rise of the Ku Klux Klan) will stand without a reference to the said potentate.

And has it not a very direct reference to all the disturbing deeds from 1919 onwards for which France and Great Britain have a share of responsibility? Would it not greatly help the world if there was a general confession of error—not each one waiting until the other fellow confessed?

AFTER BRUSSELS: THE NEXT STAGE

London's October Congress of the I.P.C.

ON October 22-24 the British section of the International Peace Campaign will hold its first National Congress in London. It is expected that at least 1,000 delegates will be present at the first plenary session in the Great Hall at University College. They will have been sent as delegates by the organisations, whether they be peace organisations or not, which support the Four Points of the I.P.C. From Rotary clubs, from Youth organisations, from Trade Unions, Co-operatives and Churches, from L.N.U. branches and Peace Councils, delegates will come to plan the means whereby they can get the Four Points understood, accepted and acted upon by the people of Great Britain.

The agenda of the Congress is very simple. Since it is essentially a congress for the working men and women, the work will be crowded into a Saturday and a Sunday. On Friday night, October 22, at the Central Hall, Westminster, a public meeting presided over by Viscount Cecil will be held both to welcome the delegates and to explain to the general public the purposes of the congress. On Saturday morning, at 10 a.m., the first plenary session of the congress will take place in the Great Hall at University College. At this session proposals for the future work of the I.P.C. will be brought before the delegates. In the afternoon the congress will divide up into professional commissions which will have nearly four hours in which to do their work. In the evening, when a large reception will be held, the delegates will have a well-earned rest. On the Sunday an inter-denominational peace service is arranged for the morning, and the commissions will have an opportunity to prepare their reports for the final plenary session, which takes place at 3 p.m. By 6 p.m. the congress will be over and the delegates will be on their way home, prepared to make real the decisions which they have just taken.

Certain features make the congress of special interest to members of the L.N.U. They will be meeting many delegates (perhaps even a majority of those assembled at the congress) who are not members of the L.N.U. or any other peace organisation. It is probable that they will hear from all sides the wish that a co-ordinated drive should be made in support of the Four Points in order that the peace organisations, and in particular the L.N.U., may benefit therefrom by a rapid increase in members. Many delegates will have heard with pride of the great popular activity which has been carried out on the continent during the past year. They no doubt will feel that, in this country, backed by the long experience of the L.N.U., we can go one better and can set a pace in popular support of the League and Collective Security which it will be difficult for the less organised movements on the continent to follow.

This feeling will be expressed by the congress in its main resolution on the future work of the I.P.C., which

will be circulated to delegates before the congress opens, will be put before the first plenary session, and will be open to amendment by any delegate subject to the endorsement of a resolutions committee elected from the congress, and to final ratification by the congress itself.

The contents of the main resolution is a matter for the congress to decide; but it is likely to be simple. Probably it will lay down a general plan for a campaign to win popular support for the Four Points and an increased membership for the peace organisations working with the I.P.C. Such a plan, when once approved by the executive committees of all the organisations concerned, would be carried out by them. It is to be hoped that amongst other useful work the congress will remove once and for all the fear that a new peace organisation has been, or is about to be, born. The only function of the I.P.C. in such a campaign as is projected is that of co-ordination.

Another interesting feature of the congress to L.N.U. delegates will be the manifest anxiety of the different professional sections to play their part in a constructive peace movement. They will find that the doctors, the lawyers, the artists, or the Trade Unionists do not look upon professional commissions as some new stunt, but as a means whereby they can work out in detail the practical contribution they are able to bring from their specialised knowledge or ability to the organised peace movement. How far these commissions can reach immediately practical decisions will depend largely on the work done before the congress opens. Already professional groups are discussing the agenda to be put before each commission and the short memorandum to serve as a basis for discussion and to be issued to each delegate, according to his commission, a fortnight before the congress opens.

As a further proof of the active interest of professional groupings, delegates to the congress will see at the Public Meeting on Friday night, October 22, reproductions of some of the work done by the Artists' International Association for the Peace Pavilion at the Paris Exhibition. They will find at University College an exhibition of publicity material prepared specially for the delegates so that they may use new methods of presenting their peace propaganda. And on the Saturday night, it is hoped, they will hear and see well-known artists of the theatrical, film, and musical professions who are willing not only to associate themselves with the peace movement, but also to use their talent to attract the more unresponsive sections of the public within the range of peace organisations.

The First National Congress will be a worthy successor to the Brussels Congress of last year; to be really effective, it needs the strongest delegations possible from L.N.U. Branches.

READERS' VIEWS

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

PARTISAN SPEECHES

SIR,—Are not your comments on the Prime Minister's letter to Lord Cecil rather too complacent? You ignore the essential condition which Mr. Chamberlain attached to his acceptance of the honorary presidency of the L.N.U. In that letter he reminded Lord Cecil that the non-political character of the L.N.U. was essential to its usefulness. But he added that there was abundant evidence that this "fundamental fact," as he called it, had not been generally accepted by local branches and members of the rank and file of the Union, and that "there has been a tendency at meetings held under its auspices to take the opportunity for strong attacks on the policy of the Government." And the Prime Minister clearly intimated that a continuance of such practices would make it necessary for him to leave the L.N.U.

The *Times*, commenting on the Prime Minister's letter, said: "It is an undoubted fact that this body (the L.N.U.) has ceased to be a comfortable spiritual home for supporters of the Government . . . and some of them have had the unpleasant experience of hearing the Government violently attacked from platforms organised by the Union."

Unfortunately, such criticism of the L.N.U. is only too well founded. I, for one, have heard at a so-called "Armistice" meeting organised by the local L.N.U. a bitter attack on the National Government and an appeal for new members in order to strengthen the L.N.U.'s opposition to the Government's foreign policy! And, apparently, such frank partisanship was regarded by the organisers of the meeting as no more than proper to the occasion, for they made no public protest against, or repudiation of, that speech. Indeed, utterances of this kind are by no means exceptional at L.N.U. meetings. Evidently it is opponents of the National Government who are finding all the comforts of a spiritual "home from home" within the hospitable habitations of the L.N.U.

You speak of "the enemies" of the League and the Union as if they were identical.

If, in fact, there be any positive enmity to the League in this country, may not such hostility have been created and stimulated by the partisan activities of the L.N.U. itself?

Plymouth.

WM. MUNDAY.

[NOTE.—An article by Sir William Munday, making positive suggestions for the future conduct of the Union, will appear in the next number of HEADWAY. Here it may be added (1) that Sir William seems to deny the existence of those newspapers of vast circulations who attack the League at every opportunity and are hostile to the Union because they see that to kill the Union would be to wound the League—perhaps fatally. Or, possibly, he means only that they are not taken seriously by any of their millions of readers; and (2) that the Union makes every effort to prevent the partisan misuse of its platforms, but cannot always succeed unless each transgression is reported promptly and in full detail. Experience has shown that extreme partisans sometimes take for granted the indiscretion of a well-known spokesman of a rival party, whose speech they have not heard and who has in fact behaved irreproachably.—ED.]

THE LEAGUE AND SPAIN

SIR,—In the article "Questions the Assembly will Discuss," in August HEADWAY, your correspondent says: "At the outset of the (Spanish) war Britain and France decided to forget the Covenant and to keep the Spanish dispute from the due processes of international law." In the July number your notes took much the same view.

I have been studying the original Covenant and also the Protocol of 1924, and as far as I can see the conditions that have to be met in Spain are not in view in either set of articles. The Covenant (Article 15, paragraph 8) excepts disputes which one or both parties claim to be within its domestic jurisdiction, though it may refer the dispute to the Assembly and "the dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute." The Protocol (Article 5)—Domestic Jurisdiction—confirms the above and goes on that a decision by either the Council or the International Court that it is a matter of domestic jurisdiction

shall not prevent consideration by either the Council or the Assembly under Article 11 of the Covenant.

It would appear then that the League may take account of a "dispute" of this kind, but is not bound to do so. That is, if the words "domestic jurisdiction" cover civil war. In Spain there is a bitter civil war (apparently entirely outside League purview unless it were asked to arbitrate), plus the entry of large numbers of "volunteers" belonging to States members of the League and non-members, without the official support of their Governments.

In these difficult and tragic circumstances, is it not wiser for our Government and that of the French to get these states together (however partially, and unhelpfully) outside League procedure, than not at all? The aim is that of the League even if the methods have been modified.

Overstrand, Cromer.

D. LYTTTELTON.

YOUTH IN L.N.U.

SIR,—I apologise to Mr. Wallis-Jones for criticising his article. It was good B.Y.P.A. propaganda. But perhaps I may be forgiven for confusing 15A with 15 Grosvenor Crescent! As a full-blooded supporter of the L.N.U., I, of course, expect good L.N.U. propaganda from the latter premises. In future, I shall assume always that 15A Grosvenor Crescent deals, as Mr. Wallis-Jones claims truly for his article, with the B.Y.P.A. and not with the L.N.U. Youth Groups and their troubles. "No connection with the firm next door!"

Tolerance and co-operation between organisations must not go to the extent of forsaking principles. If it were suggested that they should, in order to get the odd 11,000,000 supporters of the Peace Ballot into a nebulous "Peace Movement," then the suggestion surely cannot have L.N.U. support. If the Ballot supporters are willing to join such a movement, corporately, but not the L.N.U., either corporately or individually, then they must differ fundamentally from the L.N.U. in peace principles.

The proposed methods for getting lasting peace are numerous. To enrol the supporters of all these methods into a "Peace Movement" is of no avail to the League. It diffuses energy. The acceptance of a number of "points" by the constituent units of the B.Y.P.A., or similar organisation, is a temporary expedient and, consequently, possibly dangerous. Let us remember the withdrawing from the L.N.U. of conscientious supporters of the P.P.U. policy when sanctions were proposed.

The L.N.U. stands wholeheartedly for getting peace through the League. It knows its liabilities from the beginning to the end of the road to peace. Its objectives are definite.

The need to-day is to canalize public peace opinion to the support of League methods. It calls for each and every member of the L.N.U. to be an active propagandist focusing unwaveringly on L.N.U. objectives; the concentration on achieving increased L.N.U. membership by every modern method of propagation.

I suggest the establishment of a Propaganda Department by the Union.

102 Beaufort Mansions, S.W.3.

VICTOR J. NADHAR.

LONDON EXPERIENCE

SIR,—In your last two issues there have been several letters about what Youth is accomplishing for Peace. Mr. Nadhar's letter, in the July issue, singles out the London Youth Groups for blame which rests on the whole Union membership, and not even on Youth Groups in particular, and certainly, not on London Youth Groups only.

The 1932 call for speakers, which London Youth Groups failed to respond to, according to Mr. Nadhar, was a scheme inaugurated by London Youth Groups themselves as an

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(G. D. 407.)

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experiment in propaganda. About 12 people originally volunteered, which number dwindled to about 6, after the first summer's work. After 5 years' work this has fallen further to 4. It should be remembered, however, that membership of the Group or "Ginger Squad" as it was called, entailed giving up three or four evenings every week from June to September, travelling to all parts of London, usually at one's own expense, to speak at the open air meetings arranged. There are scores of youth groupers tremendously keen but quite unable to undertake work in the "Ginger Squad" owing to the heavy work entailed in running their respective groups. True, the response has been disappointing, and great credit is due to the four stalwarts who have carried on so magnificently, but to suggest they are the only four propagandists among London groups is ridiculous.

Dare I suggest that on the same basis—i.e., 4 from a membership of 2,000 London branches should have provided 30 times the number, or 120 from its 60,000 members, for this particular piece of work, or the Union as a whole, 800 people ready to speak three or four nights every week from June to September? This would be on the very poor basis of the humbler London Youth Groups' experiment which Mr. Nadhar so severely criticises.

This brings me to a point which I feel is of great importance, and that is the great need for the provision of adequate training in public speaking. Effective public speaking is an art which needs much study and tuition for its mastery, just as does any other art. I know of no comprehensive attempt by the Union to provide adequate training for prospective speakers. The Union could use thousands more speakers, particularly those suitable to speak at the thousands of small meetings, church, literary societies, clubs, mothers' unions, political organisations, etc., where an evening in the annual programme is ours for the asking.

Might I suggest that, as an experiment, headquarters should take the initiative in arranging in 10 of the large provincial centres a class for say, 20 people, led by a competent authority, to learn public speaking. If these classes could be held this winter it should indicate what chance there is of getting the hundreds of new speakers it is essential to have for the propaganda campaign Mr. Nadhar suggests.

JOHN L. GREER.

Hon. Sec. London Youth Groups Regional Council.

INSTEAD OF THE COVENANT

SIR,—You pride yourself, I believe, on allowing both sides of a question to be heard. If so, will none of your readers take advantage of your permission and write to the *Daily Telegraph* to challenge the description of the League's futility expressed in my letter in that journal of July 22? Or do most of them inwardly agree with my criticism of the League as at present constituted?

(Lieut.-Gen. Sir) ALEXANDER GORDON.

[*An extract from my letter might be useful, if you can find room for it.—A. G.]

* Sir Alexander Gordon's letter appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* on July 22. In it the writer says: "The prestige of the League has recently diminished notwithstanding innumerable proposals to strengthen it, including modifications in its too-stringent Covenant. . . . So long as the League remains as at present constituted and follows the lines laid down in its Covenant, it will be very many years before it reaches its ideal. Would it not, therefore, be possible to substitute for the League some general conference in which nations could 'be brought together (to quote Dr. Butler) in permanent institutions of consultation and mutual . . . It would not be necessary to prepare another Covenant. Only a few general principles need be laid down on which the proceedings of the conference would be based."

HERE AND THERE

CONFERENCE AT JORDAN'S HOSTEL.

L.N.U. members are well acquainted with the Collective Security thesis that if it is well known in advance that aggression anywhere will be resisted by overwhelming force, that force will never have to be used. The London Speakers' Group is arranging its annual week-end conference at Old Jordan's Hostel, Bucks., on October 16-18, when the case for and against the threat of military sanctions will be stated. Such advanced thinkers as Canon Charles Raven and Dr. L. P. Jacks, who believe that security should be sought along other lines, will take part, whilst among other speakers will be Geoffrey L. M. Mander, M.P., and (it is hoped) Miss K. D. Courtney.

The outcome that is desired of the conference is not only a clearing-up, with frank and free discussion, of difficult points, but also a fuller realisation of the very considerable amount of agreement which actually exists between Sanctionists and Pacifists, and of the many extremely important lines on which they are each already working, and can co-operate, for Peace.

The fee for the week-end is 21s. Others besides speakers will be very welcome.—Apply to Miss P. Smith, Hon. Secretary Speakers' Group, L.N.U., 43, Russell Square, W.C.1.

At **Mere** (Wilts.) a well-attended and most successful one-day conference on international affairs was held recently. Two stimulating lectures on "The Danger of War" and "The Preservation of Peace" were given by A. E. Douglas, Esq., M.A. Both lectures provoked interesting and lively discussion, and were very much appreciated.

Thanks to the hard work of the ladies of the **Earlsdon** Branch, a sum of nearly £20 was raised by means of a highly successful American tea. The branch has, therefore, been able to send a generous donation of £5 to headquarters, in addition to a special contribution of £10 previously promised.

The father of the famous **Brandon** "quads" is the secretary of the local branch of the Union.

Last month we drew attention to the plans which the **West Wickham** and **Beckenham** branches had made for the entertainment of parties of French and German guests. The whole scheme has been a great success, and the local Press has reported freely on the different items in the fortnight's programme. Other branches, too, have made similar efforts. The **Chelsea** branch's arrangements for the entertainment of guests from Rouen are described elsewhere in **HEADWAY**. **Luton** has been responsible for yet another venture. Here the branch organised a visit to Luton and Whipsnade Park for thirty young Austrian students who are making a tour of this country. The visitors were greeted on arrival at the station by a group of young Luton people. In the afternoon they were shown round the Zoo, and afterwards entertained to tea. The same night a special social for the guests was held at "Peace House."

"The League of Nations Union gives the opportunity for every single person to take some part in strengthening the League of Nations and bringing about world peace, and if people like to work and put their backs into it they can do it." This was the challenge made by Admiral J. D. Allen in an optimistic address delivered at **Wisbech**. The only people in the world who were never disappointed were those who never tried to do anything difficult. The League idea of co-operation needed a bigger backing from the peoples of the world. Admiral Allen pointed to the need for increased membership and interest in the Union—for which we had to rely on the individual efforts of present members.

Keswick branch has just secured the services of three new collectors, and one of them is a famous fell walker who holds the record for the district. The more remote parts should be well served now. Perhaps we may hope for another record in the matter of subscriptions.

COUNCIL'S VOTE.

The following Branches have completed their Council's Vote payments for 1936:—

Amptill, Kington.

For 1937:—

Amble, Ashington, Blackheath, Surrey; Bewdley, Brownhills, Bourton-on-the-Water, Chalford, Chertsey, Cobham, Cradley, Coleford, Compton, Cosham, Crewkerne, Chippenham, Deerness Valley, Esholt, Fishponds, Gateshead, Hunstanton, Heckfield, Hythe, Kinver, Kirby Muxloe, Kingswood, Nailsea, Nutfield, Ockley, Ousby and Melmerby, Pocklington, Paulton, Pilton, Portishead, Ringwood, St. James (Newcastle), St. Mawes, Swaffham, Shawbury, Shepshe, Shirley, Southampton, Sherston, Stamford, Tunstall, Uley, Wetheral, Whittington, Wills No. 4.

WELSH NOTES.

At the National Eisteddfod of Wales, at Machynlleth in August, in perfect weather and in ideal surroundings, the small pavilion of the Welsh Council of the League of Nations Union was the scene of much activity throughout the week. The exhibits included an illuminated map of the world showing the League's activities, made by the Treherbert Boys' Club, some delightful exhibits illustrating the World Wireless Message of the Children of Wales, made by pupils of the Machynlleth and Welshpool County Schools, part of the "Geneva at Ealing" Exhibition, and a special section on "Sanctions" and an "International Air Police Force." There was a constant stream of visitors to the stall, including members of the Senior L.N.U. Pioneer Camp then at Welshpool, the members of the New Commonwealth Camp at Llandinam, and members of the Manchester and Birmingham L.N.U. branches.

On the Thursday of the Eisteddfod Week, a reception to overseas visitors to the National Eisteddfod was given and over 300 visitors from thirty different countries were entertained to tea by Sir Ernest Bennett, M.P., and Lady Bennett, on behalf of the Welsh Council of the League of Nations Union. Sir Ernest Bennett, in welcoming the visitors, made an appeal to Welshmen in all parts of the world to co-operate with Wales in its great work for peace. The Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph, President of the Welsh Council, who also extended a welcome to the visitors, said that Wales was anxious to further the good work which was the goal of their dreams and prayers, and paid tribute to the great service for peace rendered by the Rt. Hon. Lord Davies. The responses of representatives of various countries to the welcome were delivered in several languages. The Rt. Hon. Lord Davies, in proposing a vote of thanks to Sir Ernest and Lady Bennett, referred to the measure of autonomy which the Welsh Council of the Union possessed and to the progressive nature of the Council's programme. The membership of the Union in Wales was increasing, in spite of the fact that the stock of the League had become rather depressed in recent years. His Lordship said that peace could not be maintained except on the basis of equity and justice, and he suggested that the League should be strengthened not only by creating public opinion in every country in support of it, but also by developing its machinery. Lord Davies appealed to Welshmen everywhere to link up with the Welsh Council of the Union and to work hard for peace so that a Welsh contribution of great value could be made to the cause of peace. The overseas visitors were presented with copies of the annual report of the Council, and a leaflet concerning the World Message of the Children of Wales and the reception terminated with the singing of the Welsh National Anthem.

OVERSEAS NOTES.

CANADA.

Mrs. R. B. Thomson, of 586, Spadina Avenue, Toronto, wishes to thank those members of the Union who are sending her their copies of **HEADWAY**, which she puts to very good use. She would be glad to receive still more copies.

CHINA.

The following telegram, dated July 21, 1937, has been received by the Secretariat of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies from the Chinese League of Nations Society:—

By its military manœuvres at Loukoukia, zone prohibited by its Treaty of 1901, and by its night attack on the town of Wanping, junction on the Peiping-Hankow railway, the Japanese army on the 7th inst. provoked violent resistance on the part of the Chinese garrison. Instead of making reparation Japan mobilised numerous troops to blockade Peiping, ancient capital of China for seven centuries. Constant flights of Japanese aeroplanes over Chinese towns, bombardment of Peiping-Hankow trains, censorship of Chinese post, military occupation of Tientsin stations—all these acts of insolence have made it absolutely necessary for the Chinese Government and people to defend themselves. Please bring these unjust acts of violence on the part of Japan to attention of all constituent societies and international press and seek effective means of maintaining justice and world peace threatened by Japan.

President and members of the Chinese L.N. Society,
CHU CHIA HUA, HUSHIH, etc.

EGYPT.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the Committee of the Port Said branch of the League of Nations Union on June 8, 1936:—

This committee (1) Records its deep satisfaction that Egypt, by her unanimous election to membership of the League of Nations, has taken her rightful place in the community of free peoples; (2) Expresses its confidence that the delegates of Egypt to the League will always strive wholeheartedly to the end that the League of Nations shall become an effective instrument of international justice and collaboration; and (3) Trusts that Egypt in the near future, and in common with other States-Members of the League, will possess a national League of Nations Society for promoting understanding of and support for the League among the people of this country.

LEAGUE PUBLICATION

Prosperity and Depression: A Theoretical Analysis of Cyclical Movements. By Dr. Gottfried van Haberler. (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1936. II.A.24). XV.—363 pages, bound in cloth. 7s. 6d. (2.00 dols.).

This book is the first stage in an inquiry by the Economic Intelligence Service of the League into this problem. Its objects are to analyse existing theories of the business cycle and consider how far they are self-consistent, to find out what grounds they have in common and where they are incompatible, to eliminate certain hypotheses which are untenable, to show where further research is needed to clear up obscure points. The analysis of these theories shows that a much greater harmony on certain important points between writers of different schools of thought exists than the superficial observer might believe—the natural tendency being for writers to emphasise differences rather than stress points of agreement. Having thus cleared the ground, the author is in a position to attempt a synthesis and development of the existing theories in so far as they can be synthesised, at the same time indicating points where it is not yet possible to formulate definite explanations. The next stage in the investigation of the Economic Intelligence Service will be the application, as far as possible, of quantitative tests to the various hypotheses and explanations which have been put forward.

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* In Wales and Monmouthshire the minimum subscription for Registered Members is 5s. Particulars of the work can be had from The Secretary, Welsh National Council, League of Nations Union, 10, Museum Place, Cardiff.

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Short Story Writing

Some of the leading writers of the day have contributed to the New and Enlarged Course in Short Story Writing conducted by the Regent Institute, the well-known correspondence school.

Readers of HEADWAY can obtain a free lesson of this fascinating Course by applying to The Regent Institute (Dept. 219R), Regent House, Palace Gate, London, W.8.

In the following article a well-known novelist and short story writer describes the remarkable opportunities in fiction writing.

Comparatively few people know that a large proportion of the short stories they read in the magazines, periodicals and newspapers are the work, not of professional authors, but of people who write as a hobby.

Editors find it very difficult to get enough suitable stories. That is why competitions for new writers are held from time to time.

The daily, weekly and monthly demand for short stories is enormous. In addition there are many annuals of all kinds that have to be filled.

The scope for the fiction writer ranges between stories for popular newspapers and periodicals and literary stories for the big reviews.

Payment varies between one guinea and five guineas a thousand words (short stories are from 1,000 to 7,000 words long), all types of story are wanted, and the work of the unknown writer is carefully considered.

Everyone has a story in his or her own life. No matter how humdrum that life has been, it contains at least one complete episode which would, properly handled by a writer, entertain readers.

But there are more fictional possibilities in one's life than that. The trained story writer—the man or woman who has learnt how to

find plots and how to construct them—realises that almost every day's experiences holds material from which plots can be built.

If you have literary aptitude you can be trained to work ideas into plots and make stories of them which editors would be glad to buy.

Story writing demands an ability to write, imagination and a knowledge of the rules of construction. And a great number of people who do not write have the ability to do so (their entertaining letters are witness to that) and the imagination which, if used correctly, could seize on the myriads of ideas that everyday life provides and make plots of them.

As a spare-time occupation, story writing is the most delightful of all hobbies, and it is probably the most profitable.

There is a short cut to successful story writing—the Regent way.

In a fascinating Course, conducted by correspondence, the literary aspirant is shown what a short story really is; how to get plots (the Regent Plot Finder, an inimitable production, taps dozens of sources of material), how to construct them, how to write dialogue, how to characterise and gain atmosphere, how to prepare MSS. for the

market, and HOW TO SELL THEM for the best prices.

The instructors are short story writers who combine successful experience (they have sold hundreds of stories to the Press) with the ability to teach.

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If you are interested in writing as a means of earning a second income in your spare time, you should send for a free copy of "How to Succeed as a Writer," issued by the Regent Institute.

This engrossing booklet is the best-known guide for new writers. It explains how the essential technique of subject and plot finding, treatment and "marketing" can be learnt, and shows the profitable possibilities of literary work.

There are many people who, as a result of sending for this booklet, are now earning considerable sums in their leisure hours.

Send for the free booklet and specimen lesson now. Don't miss this valuable opportunity.

Cut out this coupon and post it in an unsealed envelope (½d. stamp), or write a simple request for the specimen lesson and the booklet, addressed to The Regent Institute (Dept. 219R), Regent House, Palace Gate, London, W.8.

THE REGENT INSTITUTE

(Dept. 219 R),

Regent House, Palace Gate, London, W.8

Please send me a free specimen lesson of your **Short Story Course**, together with a copy of your prospectus, "How to Succeed as a Writer."

NAME

(Block Letters)

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