

CORONATION

See pages 84 and 100

BRITISH IMPERIAL PROBLEMS

See pages 89-91

HEADWAY

BRITISH LIBRARY
11 MAY 1937
OF POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC SCIENCE

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

5108

Vol. XIX. No. 5

The Journal of the
[League of Nations Union]

MAY, 1937.

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

IF WE DO NOT SAVE THE LEAGUE



After a century of progress . . . darkness From Nebelspalter, Zurich.

CONTENTS

	Page		Page
News and Comment	82	Britain Is The World Power. By Professor C. B. Fawcett	90
Throne and Empire (Editorial)	84	Imperial Problems Which Must Be Solved. By Professor A. Berriedale Keith	91
Health and Happiness For All is a League Service. From Our Own Correspondent	85	Peace Week in Manchester. By C. E. Clift	92
I.L.O. Breaks New Ground. By a Visitor to Washington	86	Youth in Congress. By William F. Pardoe	93
Public Opinion Can Defeat Press and Radio. By John Brown	87	Devon Gives a Lead in League Teaching. By A. Roland Chaput	94
Buying and Selling Children in a British Colony. By Lieut.-Commander H. L. Haslewood, R.N.	88	Townswomen's Guilds and the L.N.U.	95
Colonies are a Sacred Trust: Do We Mean it? By Vandeleur Robinson	89	Readers' Views	96
		Here and There	98
		Coronation. By the Secretary of the Union	100

NEWS AND COMMENT

Why Think of War?

THE League's purpose is peace. Then why not a League busy only with peace, with mediation, conciliation, the remedy of grievances, the friendly settlement of disputes? What has a peace League to do with war?

This line of argument is being developed and these questions are being asked with increasing insistence by an increasing number of persons. They are not new. When the United States refused to be a member of the League, President Harding made them familiar to the world at large. Later, they were half-forgotten. Now the League's failures have been followed by their vigorous revival. A group of distinguished pacifists, ex-diplomats, and other public men have written to *The Times*, saying "take sanctions out of the Covenant." They have had a good Press; and a multitude of correspondents have rushed to declare how right they are.

Obviously here is the debate of the immediate future. The League's supporters must prepare themselves to put their excellent case in a simple convincing form.

The Answer

VISCOUNT CECIL, the Earl of Lytton, Lord Allen, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Mr. Arthur Henderson have all promptly challenged the assumptions of the critics and have pointed out where they have gone astray. And the critics have gone very badly astray indeed, with a surprising approach to unanimity, on two matters of crucial importance. In existing circumstances, they say, a League such as the present should not attempt to enforce its judgments by military action. The League is unable to effect peaceful change. It doesn't and it is: that one short answer meets both accusations.

If an elaboration is required, this is sufficient: (1) Peaceful change is in the Covenant, and the failure to effect peaceful change is not due to any incompetence of the League system, but to the failure of League members to honour their bond; (2) The Covenant does not threaten the enforcement of League judgments by military action, but only common resistance to an aggressor who chooses violence instead of friendly settlement.

Peace Stands on Justice

LORD ALLEN reaches the heart of the problem in his letter to *The Times*, when he writes:—

We need to be more courageous in attempting to negotiate a revised peace settlement, removing grievances, if they are valid, and promoting economic co-operation. But meantime we should leave the Covenant as it is, so far as the use of collective force is concerned, knowing that once the law is just the will to protect it will be unmistakably revealed. I believe it will prove true that a collective system is the only means of promoting justice and organising security in the modern world.

So the League of Nations Union has never ceased to declare. Whatever is true, nothing could be more false than a charge that the L.N.U. is indifferent to justice. Justice, it has always seen, is the basis of peace.

No Resort to Force

EXACTLY that charge is often made. Both the Union and the League are accused, the one without excuse, the other with very little. Union and League, the critics assert, think and talk too much of war, too little of peace; in the words of a *Times* correspondent, they have "a constant preoccupation with the presupposition of offence." In a letter printed elsewhere in the present number of HEADWAY a Union member presses the same case. He asks: "Has not the League only failed when it has tried to use force?" and adds, "Neither Abyssinia, China, nor Spain could possibly be worse off to-day if they had tried non-violent resistance."

Such arguments follow up misunderstanding of the Covenant with bad history. In fact, the League's failures have occurred when it has attempted to settle a dispute by conciliation without being prepared to use force if need be for the defeat of an aggressor. The League has never used or tried to use force. In Manchuria it employed every means at its disposal, except sanctions, either economic or military, to bring about a settlement. It multiplied its appeals to the goodwill of the aggressor. It sent a highly authoritative commission to the spot, it ascertained the truth, it suggested a compromise. The aggressor rebuffed all its efforts, preferring his

booty to peace. The Chaco story is a close parallel. In Abyssinia the League long delayed action, hoping that peace would be saved by direct negotiation between the parties. Then it encouraged neutral mediation. Later it appointed a committee of its own to devise terms. Those terms when formulated demanded heavy sacrifices from the prospective victim and offered large concessions to the intending aggressor. Not until war had begun with the invasion of Abyssinia were sanctions decreed by the League, and even then they were restricted to economic measures to which Italy did not very much object.

Among the League's many mistakes, that of resorting to force, either early or late, is not numbered.

Freer Trade

As the building of a peaceful world order goes on, and despite every disappointment it does go, the range and diversity of the task came always more clearly into view. To-day there is happily an awakening realisation in official quarters in many countries of how much can be done and ought to be done to free world trade from its many obstacles and to increase its volume. A prosperous world is a world inclined to peace.

The Scandinavian Governments are working steadily to translate their announcements of common aims in the Oslo Convention into business practice. Mr. Sandler, the Swedish Foreign Minister, has summed up the latest negotiations in the words: "We are moving towards free trade." At the request of Great Britain and France, the Belgian Premier (M. Van Zeeland) is conducting a confidential systematic inquiry in Britain, France, the United States, and other countries into present practical possibilities.

Mr. Eden in Brussels

THE British Foreign Secretary (Mr. Anthony Eden) who has been paying a visit to Brussels, spoke on peace and trade at a banquet given in his honour by Belgian Ministers, on April 26. In the course of his speech he said:—

... Yet when all this is said and done the broad lesson remains clearly written for the world to read, that by active co-operation the nations can realise for each and all a prosperity infinitely greater than they can hope to attain by individual methods.

If these are methods of peace they will achieve little in isolated endeavour, if they are methods of war they will destroy author and victim alike. If, as seems possible, all nations are coming to appreciate this basic truth, then there is no reason why the peoples of the world should not move forward to a prosperity far greater than they have ever known.

If we can finally eliminate war, the merciless begetter of poverty, and can harness the manifold discoveries of science in the service of the art of peace, there is no limit to the benefits which future generations can enjoy. . . .

Britain is more willing to help than some recent Ministerial pronouncements had given the world cause to fear.

Firm For League

MR. EDEN was accompanied by a special correspondent of *The Times*. Summing up the visit, that privileged observer wrote:—

One fact that has emerged most clearly during the past two days is the absolute determination of the Belgian Government to stand firmly by their membership of the League. This has been put beyond all doubt as of great importance.

N. U. Support

MANY times the Union has pointed out how gravely the peace of the world is threatened by trade depression and economic nationalism. Therefore it has been quick to welcome the promise of a more liberal policy. A resolution passed on April 22 runs:—

The Executive Committee,

Deeply impressed with the special importance at this time of a renewed effort in conjunction with other countries, especially in the first instance, the U.S.A., France and the countries which recently met at Oslo, to extend the range of international trade by the removal or reduction of the obstructions which now impede it;

Welcomes the appeal, made by Mr. Cordell Hull in his speech of April 5, to the countries of the world to give up the present armaments race and join "in a concerted effort to rebuild international, political and economic relationships upon a basis of friendliness and co-operation"; and

Urges H.M. Government to seize every opportunity of co-operating with the United States in the interests of world peace, and, in particular, to make a prompt and practical reply to this latest American initiative;

Is convinced that all countries which are to participate in such an effort must make that contribution by modifications in their own policy;

Feels that the contribution which this country could properly be expected to make in such an effort should not be understated nor the relative responsibility of other countries for the present situation be overstated;

Trusts that the consideration of detailed proposals will take full account not only of the immediate benefits, political and economic, of an agreement, but also of the long term consequences;

Trusts therefore that the instructions which are given to those engaged in detailed negotiations will be based upon a broad consideration by the Government of general policy as a whole, both economic and political.

Weekly Luncheons

DURING the greater part of the year the League of Nations Union holds weekly luncheons at Pinoli's Restaurant in Wardour Street. The time is 1 o'clock on Tuesday; the cost is 2s. 6d. On each occasion a half-hour address is given on a world topic of the moment by a recognised authority. Many famous men and women have been amongst the speakers. Afterwards questions are invited and answered. All members of the L.N.U. are welcome.



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

The Throne, The Empire, The World

MAY, 1937, is destined to be long remembered in British history. The completion of a century which has seen the world transformed invites a thoughtful glance backward over the past and inspires sober hopes for the future. A hundred years ago, Queen Victoria came to the Throne. This month her great grandson, George VI and his Consort, Queen Elizabeth, are about to be crowned.

In the interval the British Empire has emerged from its incoherent beginnings and become an international Commonwealth, embracing vast territories in all the continents. Some of them are colonies and possessions of the ancient kind governed from London; some, free sister nations. Two, India and Burma, have ceased to be dependencies and are halfway to Dominion status. Others are administered under mandate, subject to supervision from Geneva and embodying the principle of responsibility towards the world community; these begin to suggest the shape of things to come.

During the same period, the British Monarchy has undergone a not less radical change. In 1837 emperors and kings ruled over much the greater part of Europe. Their power was not challenged. Seemingly they had emerged strengthened from the struggle with Napoleonic and Republican France. To all appearances the shakiest throne was that of Britain. King George III and his sons, King George IV and King William IV, by their misfortunes, weaknesses and faults had left their subjects little inclined to respect their successors and far from convinced that a long continued succession ought to be desired. Queen Victoria, King Edward VII, King George V have since proved, first to a Britain not quickly or easily persuaded, and since to all the world, that a queen or a king can be the first servant of the nation as devotedly as a President. And perhaps even more helpful.

How deeply those three lives of service have entered into the British scheme of things, how intimately they are knit into its fabric, we are little apt to notice in the daily comings and goings of our ordinary lives. Even in the thoughtful mood of the present Coronation month, we are surprised when we have recalled to us the simple significant fact that Sir Walter Scott thought his young sovereign ought to change her name. "Victoria" would never do. It was utterly un-English. To-day it has been given to a great State, two great cities, countless towns and villages, islands, rivers, mountains, universities, cathedrals, schools, squares,

streets, flowers, and plants. The frequent recourse of the English-speaking peoples to "Victoria" when they are in search of a designation of honour is no trivial, unmeaning circumstance. It testifies to a profound and lasting impression made upon the popular mind and spirit. Other evidence also there is in plenty.

To-day kingship has almost vanished from Europe. Those thrones which remain standing are all of them copied more or less closely from the British model; and the closer the copy the more likely it is to survive. Elsewhere anxious peoples enjoy the advantages of republicanism, uneasily aware that its foundations are, perhaps, unstable, or dictatorship which trumpets victory and boasts of permanence to conceal its haggard expediency. In a time of rapid and radical transition, to assert that any institution is unaging would be foolish. But this much may be said with confidence. Because of its proved usefulness, the British throne will stand when more pretentious structures have fallen into forgotten ruins.

King George and Queen Elizabeth enter upon a splendid opportunity and take up a heavy burden. The circumstances of His Majesty's accession confront him with special difficulties such as none of his predecessors had to conquer. He has not claimed, but is entitled to receive, and assuredly will not be denied, a very special sympathy from all his subjects. Other sympathies are not untimely. At this moment it is just to recall that his brother, whose place he takes, played his essential part in an entirely characteristic way in the reinforcement and enrichment of the British royal tradition and its deeper rooting in popular affection. The exercise of remarkable gifts over many crowded and dangerous years by the Prince of Wales helped to make the true legend of George V the inspiration it was during a quarter of a century and the source of strength it is destined to be during the new reign.

In the new reign Great Britain has a new role to play. Or, rather, it is her old traditional role adapted to meet changed conditions. Britain and the British Commonwealth can no more survive than the monarchy could have done by withdrawing alarmed into a narrowly exclusive concern with selfish affairs and allowing the rest of the world to rattle to ruin. For empire as well as kingship use is the law of life; and true usefulness means an alert sense of unfamiliar needs and a readiness to satisfy them. At the end of the hundred years from 1837 to 1937, the world is a better place for the great mass of mankind because the British Commonwealth has come into existence and has resisted the attempts to destroy or dissolve it. But what was good in the mid-Nineteenth century may be less good in the mid-Twentieth. The reasonable requirements of present-day nations cannot be fobbed off with an assurance that Britain is not ashamed of her Imperial past. The monarchy has strengthened its powers and won guarantees for its future by the performance of duties previously unattempted: the Empire must do the same. The monarchy has learnt to be loyal to all its peoples of the Empire: the Empire must be loyal to all the peoples of the world. Otherwise they will not long be persuaded to think its continuance tolerable.

As the Power which in a fuller sense than any other is a World Power, Great Britain is under an imperative obligation to translate her privileges into effective leadership.

Health and Happiness for All Is a League Service

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

Geneva, April 24.

HALF the people of England are not properly fed. Of the total population, 10 per cent. simply have not enough food to eat, and 40 per cent. more, through poverty, or through ignorance of the right foods to buy, exist in what has been called a "dreary state of sub-health"—which means that they are weaker physically and ill more often than they need be, and that their children are in the same plight. Of course they die sooner than their more prosperous fellow citizens.

Included in the 10 per cent. of those without enough food to eat are between 20 and 25 per cent. of all the children in the country.

These terrible facts have only become known to even the most intelligent and best-read sections of the general public within the last few years; that they have been made known at all is due to two extraordinarily different sets of circumstances. One has been the research work carried out by the League of Nations into Nutrition questions—work which has for the first time brought to the attention of the British public the conclusions already reached by British experts. The other circumstance has been the shortage of recruits for the British Army and the discovery of the shockingly high proportion of would-be recruits who are refused because of their bad physical condition.

When these facts became known, the public conscience was stirred to demand what could be done about them. Expert opinion, both in the international and national sphere was as near unanimity as expert opinion can be in replying that a wholesale shake-up of existing conditions was essential. In the international sphere, to give a few examples, it would be necessary to ensure that countries producing—and in many cases at present over-producing—the needed foodstuffs should be able to sell them in the countries where they are required. This at present is out of the question in a good many cases, and in other cases high tariffs on foods make it impossible for the people who most need those foods to buy them in adequate quantities or qualities.

The difficulties of doing away with the present world-wide protectionist system are admittedly tremendous, but some such revolutionary effort is certainly necessary if the feeding of the people of the world is to be put upon a rational, healthy basis.

In the opinion of many, too, the changes which are necessary in the purely national sphere are almost as revolutionary.

Free meals for school children, free milk, and the rest of the measures recommended by League and other experts are obviously only stop-gaps, measures that should be taken until it is possible to assure, as a matter of course, that everybody is properly fed. But to a great many critics they seem things that would shatter

the national scheme of existence. And, naturally, those who do not want to do these things have thought up excellent reasons why they should not be done.

The favourite thought of these critics at the present time is that it is not lack of food that is responsible for malnutrition, but simply ignorance—the undernourished are just supposed not to know what is good for them, and the expenditure proposed for supplying them with proper food is quite unnecessary. All that they need is to be told what they ought to eat, and *ipso facto* they will be able to go out and get it. How this viewpoint can be described as anything but wicked nonsense it is difficult to see. Admittedly, people should know more about food, and admittedly in some cases it would be possible to substitute some cheaper and more nutritious food in family diets for the more expensive and less beneficial foods at present employed. But those adjustments would take care of very few of the 50 per cent. of England's population who at present are underfed or badly fed. There is an immense disparity between the comparatively trifling savings that might be effected by giving everybody a perfect knowledge of nutrition and the increase in wages and decrease in prices which are necessary before adequate quantities of nourishing food are brought within the reach of all.

The situation may be briefly put by stating that in Britain experts have decided that the minimum sum necessary for proper feeding—with the best knowledge in the world—is nine shillings per head per week. Only half the people of England are able to spend this much money.

Included in the underfed section of the population there are stated to be "the mass of working class families with two or more dependent children," and in this connection the proposal just made by Mr. Seebohm Rowntree that families with three or more children should have special grants of five shillings a week per child has everything in the world to be said for it. If this measure is not taken, then the next generation, like the present will be stunted and sickly. With the best will in the world all we can do is to improve slightly the state of health of adults. But we can do a great deal for the children of to-day, and almost everything for the children of to-morrow, provided we look after their mothers now.

In this enormous and vitally necessary programme, proposals for physical training schemes can be of little use if they stand alone. Until all people are physically fit for physical training, drill will be useless or harmful to the people it is supposed to help.

That is the problem; the League has investigated and recommended. It has opened the gate and pointed out the path. Action must be left to the various Governments, advised by the national committees which are to be created.

I.L.O. BREAKS NEW GROUND

By A VISITOR TO WASHINGTON

Washington was the official birthplace of the International Labour Organisation. Eighteen years later, it is now the scene of another new departure. During April an I.L.O. Conference on the Textile Industry has been held in the American Capital. While its business has been restricted to one industry, this Conference has set a precedent in its comprehensive survey of matters affecting that industry. Its purpose has been "to consider how the work already undertaken in connection with the improvement of conditions in the Textile Industry can best be advanced, and to take into account all those aspects of the Textile Industry which, directly or indirectly, may have a bearing on the improvement of social conditions in that industry."

New York, April 16

It was almost a surprise to the L.N.U. party visiting the U.S.A., to find that an I.L.O. Conference—the Technical Tripartite Conference on the Textile Industry—was being held in Washington. That fact, and the facts that the President of the U.S.A. had sent a message to the Conference, that the Secretaries of Labour and Commerce had represented him at its opening, that the American Delegation was the largest and notably strong in Employers' representation and that a reception had been held at the White House—these facts amongst others seemed to disprove the view, still held in some sections in Great Britain, that the U.S.A. is imperfectly aware of its own membership of the I.L.O.

The Conference had completed its initial stage, of general discussion, and had resolved itself into three committees—a small committee to examine the statistical and other information available about the textile industry and to suggest how it could be completed and improved; and full-size committees (in fact, the Conference itself, more or less analogous to the House of Commons going into Committee) on the economic and social problems respectively. It was too soon to learn much about the progress made or expected by the committees.

As regards the general discussion, the general impression seemed to be—as regards the British activities—first, that the British Government had played a singularly small part. This was surprising, in view of the importance of textiles to Great Britain and of Great Britain in the textile world. One would have expected to find that the opportunity was being taken to press the Asiatic countries to raise their standards, even if as a preliminary it was necessary to agree that there might be a link between labour standards and various trade restrictions—a hint thrown out by the French Government and not unfavourably received, so it was said, by the Americans and Japanese. But the British Government was layin' low and sayin' nuffin: Colonel Muirhead's speech was regarded as admirable in form and manner but deserving only of the summary made of it by Mr. Bell, one of the British workers: "Oh, be careful."

The British Employers on the other hand had been prominent in the debate; six of them had spoken and it was agreed that they had put their point of view clearly. But they had all been negative; and even six negatives do not make one positive. All had emphasised that further social progress in Great Britain, above all a reduction of hours of work, was impossible in the face of competition. Their team ended with an appeal to

backward nations to raise their standards, and this had produced a good deal of speculation in Conference circles as to whether the British Employers were likely to try to influence their Government. It seemed generally felt that if they were not, if they merely folded their hands and said that the Government must take the lead and anyway the things which they desired *could* not be brought about, then the sincerity of their speeches was open to question.

Nor was the criticism absent that the British Employers' representatives were not themselves employers of labour; and that it was a tremendous pity that there was not among them a big industrialist capable of giving a lead to his fellow-employers. The American and Japanese employers were, in that respect, on a different plane to the British; and indeed the speech which seemed to have made the most impression was that of Mr. Gardiner, a prominent figure in American politics as well as the textile industry who was present as one of the American Employers' advisers.

The British Workers naturally had opposed the employers' thesis. They had contended that a reduction of hours was possible and necessary, and that in Great Britain even the Collective Agreements to which the employers had so proudly referred, were not universally operative; cases were indeed cited of considerable excess of hours beyond the "standard" 48. It should be added that Mr. Arthur Shaw, the Workers' Delegate, had more or less taken the lead in appealing to Japan to alter her ways.

It was never intended that the Conference should be more than preparatory. It was not meant to formulate Conventions or Agreements. It was to be the first attempt to discuss *all* the problems of the industry on the lines advocated at Geneva, in 1936, by the British Minister of Labour (a fact which the British Delegation was thought to have forgotten). It was, at the time of our visit, thought to be making a real contribution; certainly the desire to find agreement was there, and certainly also the American Government saw that it had a wider political significance. It even seemed that a plan might be evolved for some kind of economic body which might set a precedent for the treatment of other industries than textiles. The fact that neither Japan nor U.S.A. were members of the League seemed to necessitate the creation of a special body; and it seemed plain that the limitation of membership and Government representatives would mean stagnation. American opinion in fact seemed impressed by the value of the provision of the I.L.O.'s constitution for the association of employers and workers in the discussion of problems once regarded as the exclusive province of Government.

PUBLIC OPINION CAN DEFEAT PRESS AND RADIO

How President Roosevelt Won in Spite of 80 per cent. Newspaper Hostility

By JOHN BROWN

Washington, March.

IN 1935 one of Mussolini's Ministers said to me in Rome, "Public opinion? We create public opinion!"

A cynical believer in the Duce's epigram, "The capacity of modern man to believe is—unbelievable," he must have been surprised at President Roosevelt's re-election.

In face of a continual and intensifying storm of attack and criticism, the President received a second mandate by an enormous majority. Such a result was a contradiction of all recent European experiences, which indicate the ease with which mass opinion can be swayed by Press and Radio pressure.

I was anxious to discover the reasons for this result, and in interviews with leaders of all parties, and dozens of talks with press men, public officials, workers, farmers and relief drawers in a dozen States I found them. The 1936 Presidential Election was a struggle between real public opinion and manufactured propaganda, and it is a tribute to American democracy that public opinion triumphed.

Roosevelt, who combines an experimental approach to economic and social problems with considerable talents for showmanship—very necessary these days—had won over millions of the lower-paid workers to his cause during his first term. The enormous public works schemes, the support of collective bargaining in industry, the farm relief policy, the savings of the banks and the spectacular work of the finance and home mortgage corporations had opened a new chapter in American politics.

The nine defeats of the New Deal in eleven major engagements with the Supreme Court had only brought into glaring relief the leadership of Roosevelt in the struggle against vested interests. So strong was the public feeling for large-scale social and economic legislation that even Governor Landon was always careful to give qualified support to such measures. With the initiative in the hands of the President, this placed Landon at a disadvantage, for the new Social Security Act, which introduces old age pensions and a national health scheme, was proposed by Roosevelt, as was the new unemployment aid scheme. Unemployed relief affects nine million workers in the United States, according to figures given me by President Green, of the A.F. of L.

Roosevelt's physical disability has won him a large measure of subconscious sympathy, and his pleasant voice and well-written speeches have had considerable effect on the general public. His sense of the dramatic has also been of great effect in stealing the thunder of opponents, and there is no more astute politician in the country.

After four years of Rooseveltism the task of "creating a personality" for Landon—to use the phrase of a Republican Congressman—was no easy one.

The other candidates were of small importance, and can be disregarded. Landon did not lend himself to dramatization. Afraid to attack the new social legislation, he was too honest to indulge in "below the belt" tactics which have characterised earlier Elections. He lacked the pyrotechnics of Huey Long and Father Coughlin, and had no sensational programme like Dr. Townsend. There seemed little definite in his programme save conservation, alignment with the Constitution, and general economies.

The majority of publishers and radio sponsors, bitterly opposed to Roosevelt, fell back on "colouring" the news and policy presentation, and it is safe to say that about 80 per cent. of final "advices" to readers and listeners favoured Landon. But the conflicting charges that Roosevelt was leading America towards Fascism or Communism cancelled each other out to a large extent. Then Americans have grown suspicious of Press attacks. Accustomed to the flamboyancy of film technique and news presentation, they are partly proof against sudden sensations. The universal linking of big business with radio is no secret, but is proclaimed four times an hour on every programme in America, and the recent inclusion of advertising matter in the "build-up" of items has made every opinion suspect.

A minor, but not unimportant factor, was that many journalists and commentators were pro-Roosevelt. Obeying the orders of their employers, they plumped for Republicanism, but subtly injected into their matter a large amount of Democratic material. Confidentially I was told by some men who did this that they selected the most striking statements of the President for criticism—using material which could hardly be criticised on logical lives. So long as they attacked the statements the publishers were satisfied. This was also done by commentators, who excused themselves by saying "we believe in giving both sides a fair deal," and came down on Landon's side in exceedingly ambiguous terms. Some of the arguments used for Landon were, in fact, of a kind likely to antagonise the fifteen to twenty-five dollar a week workers!

Another lesson of Roosevelt's re-election, by a record majority, is the increasing part played by the personalities of national leaders in elections. William Jennings Bryan, despite 600 speeches made during his last Presidential campaign, was not able to reach one-tenth of the audiences gained by Landon and Roosevelt, who expended much less energy than the "silver-tongued spell-binder."

Nearly every American with whom I discussed the election agreed that it was not fought on the ordinary political issues. Democracy was satisfied with its 1932 choice, and even if the 1937 inauguration was colourless, compared to Fascist pageants, I found no sign of regret among the workers that they had disregarded their self-appointed advisers and demanded a return of the New Deal.

Buying and Selling Children in a British Colony

By Lieut.-Commander H. L. HASLEWOOD, R.N. (Rtd.)

By the Covenant, League Members are pledged "to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control." The League Assembly in 1926 approved an International Convention for the Suppression of Slavery. A Permanent Advisory Committee has been watching progress since 1934. In the British Colony of Hong Kong there has long existed a system of child adoption, known as Mui Tsai, which is a form of modified slavery. A British Official Commission has now concluded an inquiry and presented majority and minority reports. Lieut.-Commander Haslewood, who explains these reports to HEADWAY readers, has played a foremost part in the struggle against a hideous evil.

It is already fairly generally known that the Mui Tsai Commission presents a majority and minority report with widely divergent views as to the methods which should be employed to end a system of buying and selling girls and girl children which has been condemned by successive Governments of whatever political outlook.

The majority report is signed by Sir Wilfrid Woods, K.C.M.G., late financial secretary in the Government of Ceylon; and Mr. C. A. Willis, C.B.E., late of the Soudan Political Service.

The minority report is signed by Miss E. Picton-Turbervill, O.B.E., and it is important to note that it embodies a proposed Ordinance by Sir George Maxwell, K.B.E., C.M.G., formerly Chief Secretary of the Federated Malay States and now a member of the League of Nations Advisory Committee of Experts on Slavery.

The following facts are established without doubt and appear in both the majority and minority reports and in the evidence:—

(1) There is a known number of registered mui tsai still known as mui tsai whose welfare is regulated by a special Ordinance.

Note.—For a better understanding of the general position a mui tsai in the Hong Kong Ordinance is described thus:

"Every female domestic servant whose employer for the time being shall have made, directly or indirectly, within or without the Colony, any payment to any person for the purpose of securing the services of such female as a domestic servant."

(2) There is an unknown number of actual mui tsai who remained unregistered when registration took place.

(3) There is an unknown number of girls living with families or individuals who have obtained them generally in return for a valuable consideration, who, if discovered, would be classified as mui tsai or quasi-adopted daughters although their possessors might describe them as bona-fide adopted daughters or bona-fide prospective daughters-in-law, or relations.

(4) There is an unknown number of girls in all the above categories entering the Colony, principally from the mainland of China.

The majority report appears to have decided against the evidence of those who insist that the numbers of the above-mentioned girls are great and to have accepted the evidence of those who say that the numbers are comparatively small.

Accordingly the majority report, broadly speaking, recommends the strengthening of some details of existing laws and procedure and hopes that girls living under the conditions of a mui tsai and at present unregistered will be detected by the appointment of two additional inspectors or inspectresses especially detailed for this purpose.

The minority report proposes, broadly speaking, that every girl living in a family apart from her

parents, who is under the age of 12, or was under the age of 12 when she left her parents, and is not a near relation, becomes notifiable to Government Authority and is afforded protection in some form or other according to the category in which she may be placed.

It makes no difference as to whether there has been a valuable consideration or not when the transfer took place. Various other proposals are designed to ensure her freedom and general protection from exploitation.

To carry this into effect Miss Picton-Turbervill supports, with a few qualifications, a proposed new ordinance outlined by Sir George Maxwell.

The majority report criticises this ordinance adversely, but Miss Picton-Turbervill makes it quite clear that she intends the new ordinance (at present in "outline" form only) to implement her proposals. So if the present wording does not do so exactly, or conflicts in technical details with other laws, there would appear to be no difficulty in making any adjustments when finally drafted by legal experts.

The majority report considers also that any such extended notification with consequent control is impracticable from a legislative point of view and politically inadvisable.

The question of the political undesirability of further steps seems to be the far more important consideration. But it must be pointed out that it is Chinese residents themselves, as plainly shown in the evidence produced, who have suggested and pressed for these comprehensive measures, and it has to be decided whether the will of the more enlightened and progressive Chinese opinion (which incidentally conforms with new Chinese law), is to be followed, or preference given to the more backward elements which still cling to "Chinese customs," amongst which are the mui tsai and kindred systems.

Nor is it unreasonable to insist that those who voluntarily elect to live in a British Colony should conform with the general principles of British law.

To sum up. In this as in other matters the general public have their duty to examine the whole position and to press for action to be taken which will abolish the mui tsai and kindred systems and thus ensure that every girl in these British areas (whether the number be large or small) is free in fact as well as in law, that full protection is afforded her and that no girl shall be the object of sale and purchase. They will have to decide whether some strengthening of the existing laws as suggested in the majority report will achieve this purpose, which has certainly not been achieved yet, or whether, as proposed in the minority report, far more comprehensive measures must be taken.

It is difficult to see how the proposals of the majority report can be effective when the number, names and whereabouts of those requiring protection remain an absolutely unknown quantity.

COLONIES ARE A SACRED TRUST: DO WE MEAN IT?

By VANDELEUR ROBINSON

GERMANY is still a dissatisfied nation; and her dissatisfaction is keeping the whole world in a state of anxiety. The question dividing her from, in particular, Great Britain, is the fate of the former German colonies. These are now held under Mandates from the League of Nations, several of them being administered by Great Britain.

The German claim encounters difficulties which seem to be insuperable. If it were granted, she would be in the same position in regard to the present Mandated Territories as are the Colonial Powers in relation to their own colonies. She would make what administrative arrangements she liked; she might adopt a policy of tariffs and quotas designed to keep the trade of these colonies entirely to herself. In a word, she could treat her own colonies as a private estate, as we have done with ours, in applying to them the terms of the Ottawa agreements.

The changes suggested by Germany arouse opposition from imperialists and idealists alike. Those who think in terms of power, prestige and possessiveness would hate to substitute German for British administration and ownership. Idealists, including all those of us who attach any value to the conception of backward peoples as a "sacred trust of civilisation," deplore the possibility of withdrawing from the natives such protection as is afforded by the Mandates System. What is wanted is to put *more* colonial territories under mandation; not to withdraw those which are already mandated.

The Germans have another basis for their claim, and as this is of an economic nature, it attracts some sympathy. The Germans suffer, like other nations (but more severely than some) from economic difficulties. They think that the ownership of colonies, where they could establish a monopoly of trade, would relieve their difficulties. But is it the proper remedy for economic ills, to corner a larger share of the earth's surface and then treat it as your private estate? If so, the argument is equally valid for many other non-colonial Powers in straitened circumstances; each one, as it feels the pinch, will claim the same remedy, and the available territory will have continually to be redistributed. That way lies confusion and ruin, for Africa and for Europe.

In point of fact, the remedy is not to be found along those lines at all, but in the better sharing of the opportunities that are available; hence the "Raw Materials Conference." There is needed a wider application of the system of the "Open Door"; more general acceptance of the principle that the welfare of the natives is a "sacred trust of civilisation"; probably also, the gradual creation of opportunities for well-qualified, carefully selected individuals, citizens of countries which have no colonies or mandates, to participate in actual colonial administration. In this manner, by firm yet steady stages, the world would proceed to a more equitable sharing of "The White Man's Burden." The natives in the various territories would find their development planned along more scientific and better-concerted lines. The wide territories of Africa and elsewhere would be thrown open to the

energy and to the manufactured goods of the whole civilised world.

The remedy for economic difficulty which is here suggested consists in extending the Mandates System, and the principles on which it is based. This method also meets the other requirements of the situation—namely, the claims of national prestige. It is very honourable to a nation to bear a large share in carrying out the "sacred trust"; indeed, it is *more* honourable than miserly to withhold part of its possessions from the effective operation of the trust. Germany cannot now be fully satisfied, since she wants things that cannot be given; but the Powers which say they cannot satisfy her should justify their refusal by taking all possible steps to meet well-founded grievances. Let them apply mandatory principles to their own colonies, as well as to those that once were Germany's, and turn them into model administrations, open to inspection, and held before all the world under conditions of real trusteeship.

In so far as our own colonies are already perfectly administered, we can help the world by co-operating with the Mandates Commission, so as to spread the benefits of our experience. If there are anywhere any shortcomings, it is best for everybody that they should be brought to the light of day, and remedied. The problem of the backward peoples would be brought nearer a correct solution if we and other Powers would support an extension of mandatory conditions, whether or no the name of the juridical status of Mandated Territories were applied to the colonies concerned.

World peace is the vital interest of Europeans; it is also the greatest real interest of the backward peoples, who reap nothing but misery from the quarrels of their white masters. If there should occur an opportunity to make a new peace settlement, introducing an era of appeasement and international co-operation, then almost any sacrifice would be worth making to bring about such a consummation. For so high an object we should no doubt consider concessions or policies that would be in other circumstances quite unacceptable. But without the prospect of a real pacification, it is useless to yield to threats and blackmail, to weaken our imperial position and to do injustice to the natives, and then (since blackmailers are never satisfied) have to fight in the end, on less favourable terms.

Meanwhile, with no millennium in sight, the best we can do is to put ourselves absolutely above the reproach of selfish imperialism, and try to induce other well-disposed nations to accompany us on our course. We can welcome the participation of other States in our Colonial trade, and perhaps in administration. We can co-operate fully with the Mandates Commission in regard to suitable British colonies. We can show fully by our deeds, as we have frequently done in our official declarations, that, for Britain, the backward peoples are really a "sacred trust"; we can join in exercising this trust on behalf of the whole civilised community of nations, for the benefit of those who are "not yet able to stand alone in the strenuous conditions of the modern world."

Britain is The World Power

The Coronation has brought together the statesmen of the British Empire. The opportunity will be taken to hold an Imperial Conference. A natural mood of rejoicing on such an occasion may help a belief that all is well. The Empire has great problems to solve and great burdens to bear.

By Professor C. B. FAWCETT, London University,
a leader in the modern study of political geography

THE most distinctive geographical character of the British Empire is the discontinuity of its lands.

Many other empires have dependent territories which are far from their metropolitan lands; indeed, the possession of colonies separated from the homeland by the ocean has been a characteristic feature of the expansion of the West European States since the Age of Discovery. But in our case several of these overseas colonies, those in the temperate zones, have grown into Dominions which are in fact independent States; while those which lie mainly in intertropical lands remain Dependencies. An empire which consists of a group of independent States, widely separated by the oceans and bound together only by a common allegiance and their will to remain united, is a new thing in political organisation. The British Empire is not comparable with any other empire, past or present, and the historic precedents set by past empires cannot safely be applied to it. In fact, it is not an empire in the historic sense of that word; and we use that term only from habit and the lack of a better. Its independent States may well be called the British Commonwealth.

The British Empire is a World Power; more so than any other Power. It includes some territory in every continent, and some beside every ocean. The largest region in which it has no part is the vast "Heartland" of Eurasia, most of which is occupied by the U.S.S.R. and territories claimed by China. But even here the maritime interests of the Empire border the region; and the North-West Frontier of India makes an important strategic and political contact with Central Asia. The Empire includes nearly half the area of the outlying land masses round Eurasia, in Australia, North America, Africa, and South America, with least territory in the last-named.

This distribution and the character of its growth makes the British Empire essentially a maritime Power. The vital connections between its lands are over the seas. And only in North America does it come into direct contact with the home territory of another Great Power across a land boundary. Of its great seaways the "inland sea route" from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, via Gibraltar, Suez and Aden, is most often discussed. It can be replaced by the "open sea route" round Africa. In peace the saving of distance by the inland sea-route is of considerable importance. In war that route may be exposed to many risks. But it is not a vital link, and for its defence the Empire needs to be able to prevent enemies from using that route rather than to keep it open. The Suez Canal is more of a

liability than an asset in the military geography of the Empire.

Except in South America the thinly-peopled habitable lands of the temperate zones are almost all British. Here, in Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and South Africa, are the areas most attractive to would-be emigrants from the crowded temperate lands of Europe and the Far East. And these Dominions are all very thinly peopled; even New Zealand, with 15 inhabitants per square mile, has a density little more than one-third of the average for the inhabited lands of the world; while Canada and Australia are the most thinly peopled of the important habitable lands of the globe. These empty lands are a temptation to all the land-hungry Powers, and to the peoples who can react vigorously to the problems of overcrowded lands. To hold them and keep them empty is a challenge to aggression. But they are self-governing Dominions and their peoples determine their immigration policy.

The intertropical lands of the Empire offer less temptation to immigrants. They are generally more densely peopled. The empty territory of Northern Australia is perhaps the poorest in natural resources of all intertropical lands which are not quite desert; it offers no attraction to settlers who know its capacities. The problem of the empty habitable lands of the Empire is primarily that of the Dominions in relation to many of the populous lands of the world. In it the influence of Great Britain is indirect.

The check to growth of population caused by the fall of the birth rate in all the civilised lands of the world has a twofold reaction on the immediate problems of the Empire. It is reducing the power of the British to fill their own lands; and it will probably reduce their numbers in the near future. On the other hand, it is also reducing the pressure of population in other States, and markedly in those which may be suspected of aggressive designs; and so it may lessen both the desire and the power of would-be aggressors.

In its relations to the problems of World Peace the Empire differs from any other Great Power. It has no strong central government. In a war of defence its several States may be counted on to use their strength for their common defence. But it is difficult to imagine that any government in the Empire could count on the others to aid it in a war of aggression. By virtue of its present constitution the British Empire is far stronger for defence than it is for aggression. And its world-wide distribution ensures that it is widely open to attack and has much to lose. Hence it is in the present stage of its development essentially a Pacific Power.

IMPERIAL PROBLEMS WHICH MUST BE SOLVED

By Professor A. BERRIEDALE KEITH, Edinburgh University, a high authority on the constitutional history and law of the British Empire

THERE is an obvious tendency at the present day to treat the Constitutional problems of the British Commonwealth as already solved, and to assume that the issues which are to be raised at the Imperial Conference are of minor importance. But this is to look at the issues from a British point of view, and to ignore the fact that questions which in our eyes seem of no real importance have a vital interest for certain of the Dominions. It is, moreover, a common British error to treat the Dominions as a unit of like members, and to apply to them all the principles which apply to Australia and New Zealand. But, while it is true that in the main these Dominions accept as satisfactory their constitutional position, and have not so far troubled to obtain the advantages offered by the Statute of Westminster, the position is very different as regards the other three Dominions and India. For them all there remain real problems, though stress is laid on different aspects.

For the Irish Free State and the Union of South Africa the question of international status is vital. It was significant that in the grave crisis of the abdication these Dominions alone saw the opportunity to assert their doctrine of the divisibility of the Crown. The Union of South Africa, to achieve this end, accepted the legally untenable doctrine that the Royal instrument of abdication took effect from the date of signature, December 10, 1936; the Irish Free State, with strict adherence to its law, fixed the date at December 12, while in the rest of the Commonwealth it became operative on December 11. Needless to say, there were strong motives behind these acts. Both Dominions knew that by their action they proclaimed that they were sovereign independent States, not even united by the possession of a common Crown.

More, however, is required, for formal recognition by the world of their status is necessary, and with it the right to remain neutral in British wars, and to secede at pleasure, without even notice in General Hertzog's view, from the rest of the Commonwealth. Here real difficulties arise for the Imperial Conference, for Britain has rights in defence matters under the Irish Treaty of 1921, which, as Mr. de Valera frankly admits, would preclude the Free State from demanding under international law the right of respect for her neutrality. General Hertzog, with greater naïvete, holds that the agreement of 1921 for the defence of the naval base at Simonstown by the aid of Union forces could be implemented by the Union without breach of neutral duty. It suffices to observe that the doctrine has no more respectable authority than a plea by Canning in 1826, and that the development of the law of neutrality since then renders it wholly untenable. But General Hertzog is pledged to his doctrine, and though the representation of the Free State is to be denied at the Conference, the issue cannot be evaded wholly when the question of international status is discussed. It carries with it, of course, that of secession, which General Hertzog has asserted for nearly 20 years with complete conviction, and which no British Government seems willing formally to challenge. The National Congress in India, moreover, claims secession as inherent

in the Dominion status, which has been held out as the goal of Indian progress, and any concession on that head or of neutrality must perforce be accepted as involved in that goal.

The Union also seeks to obtain the imprimatur of the Conference for the doctrine that there is no double nationality, and that Union nationals shall not be British nationals, just as in the Irish Free State Irish nationals are not British nationals, and British nationals are aliens in law. The issue is utterly confused; the state of the Irish law is obscure; but there must be great reluctance to admit that birth on Dominion territory should no longer confer British nationality and subjecthood. The question, however, is as vital as it is difficult.

Canada has a constitutional problem of her own, for which she can expect no aid from without her limits. The latest judgments of the Privy Council have invalidated essential parts of the claims advanced by the Federal Government to legislate on social and economic issues, and the Canadian Government now has to face the fact that it has ratified Labour conventions which it lacks the power to implement, giving therefore just cause of grievance to other contracting Powers. Moreover, while Canada has rejected the hopeless policy of neutrality in all cases, her attitude from the first has resented the sanction clauses of the League Covenant, and opinion is uneasy regarding possible risks of war from adherence to those obligations. Still more, however, is Canada perturbed regarding the possibility of war arising from British implication in the affairs of Europe. She cannot contemplate being involved in any war automatically. Her Parliament at least, perhaps her people, must be formally consulted and given freedom of decision as to any action. But how far is this consistent with the common allegiance, on the one hand, and international law, on the other?

India, for her part, presents an immediate and quite unsolved problem. The grant of responsible government to the provinces, as a preliminary to further developments at the centre, was intended by the British Government to be real. But responsible government and executive safeguards, to be applied by the Governor, have never proved practicable in the Empire, and the National Congress, by refusing to accept office in those provinces where it clearly represents the will of the electorate, has posed a very difficult problem for which no solution seems to be in sight. There is much that can be said on either side of the question; but Indian opinion regards with certainly excessive suspicion the plan of safeguards in the constitution, and, with much greater justice, objects to the federal portion of the Constitution of 1935 as an effort to mobilise autocracy as practised in the Indian States against democratic ideals in India. Frankly, no solution of a practical character has yet emerged, and one serious obstacle to progress is that, as in the case of Irish Free State and the Union, British opinion fails to realise the strong attraction for many minds of republican status and independence.

PEACE WEEK IN MANCHESTER

By C. E. CLIFT, Secretary L.N.U., Manchester District Council

ON the initiative of the Executive of the Manchester District of the Union, a Provisional Committee, consisting of members of branch committees and representatives of other peace societies, was formed in January to consider how best to promote the objects of the Four Points in the two cities. (Let it not be forgotten that Salford is a city with a population of nearly a quarter of a million and that it is rightly jealous of its municipal independence, even though Manchester is three times as big.) After careful preparation, including letters to the Press, signed by the Lord Mayor and other prominent citizens, the Provisional Committee called a conference in Manchester on Saturday afternoon, March 6, at which there were present 300 delegates, representing 114 organisations, including 38 branches of the Union; churches of all denominations; teachers' associations; the University; trades unions; Co-operative guilds; peace societies; and social and educational associations of many kinds. None of the political parties was invited.

Mr. Leonard F. Behrens, honorary secretary of the Manchester District, presided, and the delegates were welcomed by the Lord Mayor of Manchester, who was supported on the platform by the mayors of two adjoining towns. The chairman explained that there would be no discussion about the Four Points, but made it quite clear that the co-operation of organisations that might have reservations on any of the points would be welcomed, on the understanding that they would refrain from opposing during the period of their co-operation in any joint activities. After an hour of most harmonious discussion, in which all the speakers were brief and to the point, the Conference unanimously decided to hold a Peace Week in the two cities and to set up a Council consisting of one representative of each of the co-operating bodies.

This very representative council, comprising 80 persons, met on Saturday afternoon, April 10, and fixed the date for its big undertaking: Sunday, July 4 to Sunday, July 11, both inclusive. There was a general consensus of opinion that a Peace Week should begin and end on a Sunday, not only to mark its broadly religious aim, but also to offer to individual churches alternative days for their active participation. The council divided its members into six functional committees, whose titles will indicate the particular activities each has undertaken to organise—viz., Churches; Education; Women; Meetings; Publicity; Drama, Films and Exhibitions. Each of these committees is largely autonomous, with its own chairman and secretary and with power to co-opt others at its own discretion; but in order to maintain central control, particularly as regards finance, the council wisely decided to set up a Co-ordinating Executive Committee comprising two representatives of each of the six functional committees, together with the honorary officers. It so happens that the chairman, honorary secretary and honorary treasurer of the Co-ordinating Executive

Committee, duly elected by the Council, are all officers or members of committees of the League of Nations Union. The Joint Presidents of the Peace Week are the Lord Mayor of Manchester and the Mayor of Salford, and both will take a prominent part in its activities.

Following the Council meeting, it was interesting and encouraging to observe how quickly all this rather elaborate machinery began to work. The 80 members of the council, at the conclusion of its business, immediately sorted themselves into their respective committees, and each of the six committees decided to meet within six days.

The Churches' Committee, of which the President of the Manchester and Salford Free Church Council is the chairman and a Canon of the Manchester Cathedral is the honorary secretary, have already communicated with the clergy and ministers of all the 500 or more churches in the two cities. It is their intention to open the week with street processions and mass demonstrations in the public parks, which will no doubt be largely attended by the congregations of the churches; for the times will be fixed to avoid any possibility of clashing with Church Services.

The Women's Committee have arranged that the Wednesday of the Peace Week shall be a "Women's Day," when the better half of the community will demonstrate as effectively as they usually do what they think on any matter that affects them most vitally. The Education Committee, comprising representatives of teachers' associations and of the University, together with persons who have great experience of the work of local education authorities, are carefully considering what educational activities can best be undertaken during the Peace Week; and the Drama, Films and Exhibitions Committee, whose work is, of course, closely allied, are making most interesting suggestions which, though perfectly fit, are not yet ready for publication.

On the general plans, all that can be said at present is that every day there will be midday meetings at works' gates and elsewhere, and evening meetings in the open air; that there will be Saturday and Sunday processions; and that the week will end with a Free Trade Hall meeting, at which Sir Norman Angell has promised to speak. Everybody concerned realises the magnitude of the task of doing anything in two great cities on a scale big enough to strike the imagination and capture the interest of a million people. Everybody concerned will work hard to make the Peace Week a success; but for the present, nobody in Manchester and Salford would wish this article to do more than just to tell the world how the job has been started, in the hope that it may help a little in other centres, large and small. To parody the old tag, with less danger of offence than there may be in the original (though really we are not at all bumptious when you know us well!): "What Manchester is going to do to-morrow the rest of the country can hardly expect to be told about to-day."

Youth in Conference

By WILLIAM F. PARDOE

OVER 150 young people, representing Youth Groups from all the Midland Counties, met at Hereford Training College to discuss "Action for Peace." This was the sixth annual conference organised by the Midland Youth Groups' Regional Council. Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P.; Mr. Garner Evans, ex-President of the Cambridge Union; Dr. Sylvia Eltz, of Brno; Mr. Felix Sheldon, Indian Delegate to the World Youth Congress; and Mr. Alec Wilson, of L.N.U. Headquarters staff, gave the Youth Group members much useful material on which to base their subsequent discussions.

Dealing with the economic problems of the Arms race Mr. Garner Evans showed how "the road from Ottawa led to Adowa." He commented: "The burden for all the folly of re-armament will fall on us, the Youth of Britain, within the next 30 years." One immediate by-product was the loss of toleration and good humour. Even in Britain the strain grew daily more apparent, as was shown in the recent case of the Leeds student. A resolution was passed that "The Conference, while not agreeing with the motive of the young student recently convicted of incitement to disaffection at Leeds, expresses its concern at the unreasonably severe sentence, and calls on the Home Secretary to reconsider the case."

Germany's claim to colonies were dealt with by Mr. Alec Wilson. Transference of colonial possessions would not meet the situation. Some definite stand should be taken to make it clear that there was no further hope of aggrandisement by aggression. The only possible solution was in some system of international government.

Miss Eleanor Rathbone discussed "A Revitalised League." We must open a bold offensive to make a reality of collective security. Peace has its risks. Defence of Abyssinia might have led to war; the alternatives to collective security involved the greater risks. Absolute pacifism would react in favour of the aggressive intentions of certain nations. Armed isolation would tend to play into aggressor's hands. Limited commitments to Western Europe, strongly approved in the House of Commons, were highly dangerous to the future of democracy in Eastern and Central European States. Already Jugoslavia and Roumania are edging themselves towards Germany and Italy because they cannot be sure of the security of the League. The future of democracy is bound up with the future of the League.

Miss Rathbone's audience thought: "It is all very well to work for Peace, but of what value is Peace to us if Liberty has been driven from Europe?"

Plays, arranged parties, rambles, concerts, and dances combined grave with gay. This is an important feature of Youth Group work, as it gives young people an added enthusiasm for the more serious work.

The Midland Regional Council regard their Easter conference as the source and origin of Youth Group activity, rather than the culminating point. In the past the conferences have restored energy and given Group members new ideas and courage. The success of Hereford will be measured by the zest and enthusiasm which the delegates put into their Youth Group work.

Make
a
Coronation
Offering



Help Crippled Girls

When you buy your rose on Queen Alexandra's Rose Day you see an example of the work done by the 320 crippled girls at JOHN GROOM'S CRIPPLEAGE AND FLOWER GIRLS' MISSION.

John Groom's Crippleage was founded over 70 years ago by the Great Earl of Shaftesbury and John A. Groom to help crippled girls to become partially self-supporting by training them to make artificial flowers of all kinds. The cost of maintenance and training is heavy and is dependent upon VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS. Funds are urgently needed NOW. LEGACIES are a Godsend.

There is always a long waiting list of deserving cases. Must we, through lack of funds, turn a deaf ear to their appeal?

JOHN GROOM'S CRIPPLEAGE
AND FLOWER GIRLS' MISSION
(INC.)

Please send a contribution—now. If preferred, come to the Crippleage at Edgware (any day except Saturday) and see the fascinating work—or write for a copy of latest report to:—

John Groom's Crippleage, 37 Sekforde Street,
Clerkenwell, London, E.C.1.

THE BIBLE SOCIETY HAS PLEASURE IN ANNOUNCING ITS CORONATION EDITIONS OF THE SCRIPTURES

	Price
BIBLES. With Coronation Design in Gold.	
No. C 10 Ruby 32mo, leather cloth, red edges ..	2/6d.
No. C 20 Minion 16mo, Central References, leather cloth yapp, art-gilt edges ..	4/0d.
NEW TESTAMENT. With Coronation Design in Gold.	
No. C 30 Nonpareil 16mo, leather cloth, gilt edges	1/3d.
NEW TESTAMENT. With Coronation Design in Silver.	
No. C 35 Minion 32mo, leather cloth, coloured edges ..	6d.
GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN. With Coronation Design in Gold.	
No. C 40 Long Primer 24mo, printed in paragraphs, boards ..	6d.

These editions, which may be had in either blue or red bindings, are specially recommended for distribution in Day and Sunday Schools and other Youth Organisations.

They may be ordered through any bookseller.

**THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
BIBLE SOCIETY,**

146, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C.4.

Devon Gives a Lead in League Teaching

By ROLLAND A. CHAPUT, Lecturer on International Affairs in the University College of the South-West, Exeter

UNTIL two years ago the only opportunities for the study of international affairs offered to adults in the South-West of England were the usual extension courses of the University College of Exeter and the terminal courses of the Workers' Educational Association on the one hand, and the activities of the branches of the League of Nations Union on the other. There was little, if any, relation between the two. The Rural Extension Scheme of the University College therefore decided to extend its activities in this field and to offer its help in co-ordinating the work that was being done by the different organisations.

The Rural Extension Scheme is an outgrowth and extension of the regular extra-mural department of the College. Its aim is to bring the facilities of the College to all the rural communities of Devon and eventually of the South-West. Its work is based upon the principle that the University College should be the intellectual centre of the area it serves, co-ordinating the educational activities of all voluntary organisations and providing adequate staff to advise on these activities. Under this scheme I was appointed honorary lecturer in international relations and given wide liberty to do all I could to co-ordinate and further the growing interest in international problems manifesting itself in all parts of the country.

As one lecturer could not possibly meet all the demands for classes, we attempted to devise means of training local tutors and leaders of discussion groups. The first effort in this direction was the organisation of study-circles or groups smaller and more flexible than permitted by the grant-earning requirements of the Board of Education Adult Classes Regulations, in which people specially interested might undertake a course of intensive study in the hope that they might later lead small groups of their own. In organising these study-circles contacts were made with all voluntary organisations in Devon concerned with international affairs.

It was in this connection that we approached the Regional Representative of the League of Nations Union, Mr. Vandeleur Robinson. With him began a collaboration which has proved most fruitful both to the College and to the L.N.U. Mr. Ivor Popham, succeeding Mr. Robinson, has continued this collaboration, giving us his whole-hearted support, without which much of the work which has been accomplished would have remained undone.

Three study-circles were held in co-operation with the L.N.U. last year—one in Barnstaple, one in Kingswear, and one in Exeter—meeting with me and basing their study on a pamphlet on British Foreign Policy which I wrote for the purpose. This pamphlet was supplied to other branches of the L.N.U. undertaking to study alone. Study without leadership, however, has not often proved satisfactory, and the chief difficulty, so far, has been to find men and women with the time and capacities to direct study groups. The study circles for leaders have not as yet done much to solve this problem, but the

experiment of study-circles has resulted in renewed interest in the organised study of international affairs as part of the activities of L.N.U. branches. This interest has led to the formation of many new adult classes in international affairs held in conjunction with the W.E.A. There were nearly 30 such classes in Cornwall and Devon last year, many of which were started by, or with the help of, L.N.U. branches.

In order to put on a regular footing the informal co-operation which had thus grown up between the R.E.S. and the L.N.U. in the South-West Region, the various regional councils invited the R.E.S. to appoint a member of its staff as Honorary Educational Adviser to the L.N.U. in the South-West. I was appointed to this post. Mr. Popham and I are soon to visit branches and consult with them on their educational activities in view of the need for planning courses and lectures in such a way as to furnish members of the L.N.U. with a consecutive and progressive programme for study of international problems.

Last year we felt that there ought to be some sort of conference or short school to bring together the people in the South-West particularly interested in the study of international affairs. We therefore planned and held a conference at Easter in one of the halls of residence of the University College under the joint auspices of the L.N.U. and R.E.S. This conference was small, but so successful that we decided to institute it as a yearly event. The Easter conference of this year was a progressive step from the last, and even more successful. Members increased from 25 to 40 and we feel confident that numbers will increase proportionately next Easter.

These short schools, though they have given us a nucleus of interested people, are not sufficient to train tutors and leaders. The demand for classes continues to be so insistent and the need for local tutors so immediate that we have decided to hold in the College this summer a two-weeks' school for all persons interested in international affairs, with special provisions for teachers and speakers desiring intensive training. This school will be held under the auspices of the R.E.S., the L.N.U. and the B.U.L.N.S. at the University College, in Exeter, from July 3 to 17.

This Summer School will give people who have neither the time nor the money to attend one of the Geneva Summer Schools the unique opportunity of combining serious study of international relations with a very pleasant holiday. Exeter is a beautiful city, rich in historical associations, situated in the middle of one of the most attractive counties in England, within a short distance of sea and moors. During the sessions arrangements will be made for excursions to all parts of Devon. Bathing is available within half-an-hour of Exeter and there are tennis courts close by the hall of residence.

Applications to this school are invited from all who may be interested. They should be sent to me as soon as possible at the University College of the South-West, Exeter.

TOWNSWOMEN'S GUILDS AND THE L.N.U.

The Townswomen's Guilds have as their objects:—

- (1) To encourage the education of women to enable them as citizens to make their best contribution towards the common good;
- (2) To serve as a common meeting ground for women irrespective of creed and party for their wider education including social intercourse.

In order to preserve a completely detached attitude it is recommended that Guilds should not definitely affiliate with any organisation which has for its purpose the promotion of a particular programme of reform or plan of action.

Amongst such organisations is included the League of Nations Union which though non-party and non-sectarian exists to advocate a definite policy on peace and how to secure it.

It is felt that so long as Townswomen's Guilds remain detached and neutral they are more likely to attract into their ranks members with a diversity of opinions on such subjects, and, in this way, the open platform provided by Townswomen's Guilds gives to League of Nations Union speakers a good opportunity of addressing—and converting—those who are indifferent or hostile to the League.

An Open Letter from Viscount Cecil

on

FORCE BEHIND THE LAW

ONE PENNY

also

"WHAT THE LEAGUE HAS DONE,"

1920-37

By Maurice Fanshawe and C. A. Macartney

ONE SHILLING

From The Bookstall, League of Nations Union, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1

LEAGUE OF NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

Just Out.

The League from Year to Year, 1936. 256 pages. 1s. (0.25 dols.) Gives events clearly and concisely, yet with sufficient detail to facilitate a careful study of the political, legal and technical work of the League's various organs.

The principal chapters are as follows: Legal and Constitutional, Political, the Free City of Danzig, Mandates, Economic and Financial Questions, Communications and Transit, Health Organisation, Intellectual Co-operation, Opium, Social Questions, etc. A chapter is also devoted to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

A new feature is found at the end of the volume; a chronological table of noteworthy events of last year so far as concerns the League. Here will be found, against the relevant dates, a mention of the meetings of the Assembly, Council and commissions or committees of the League, with their principal decisions, as well as the chief world political events that have had a bearing on its work.

Essential Facts About the League of Nations. Eighth Edition (Revised). 336 pages. Pocket size. 1s. (0.25 dols.)

Written in a clear and concise style, this compendium will appeal, not only to diplomats, politicians and publicists, familiar, owing to their calling, with the vocabulary of international law, but also to the general public and to anyone desiring to obtain information on any aspect of the activities carried on by the League in virtue of the Covenant in the 17 years of its existence.

The volume contains the full text of the Covenant of the League of Nations and numerous maps relating to the principal events of world politics.

Obtainable in English, French, German, Italian and Spanish. Authorised agents for the publications of the League of Nations: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 40, Museum Street, London, W.C.1.

GREY STEEL

A STUDY OF GENERAL SMUTS

By H. C. Armstrong

(Illustrated)

9/-

(Net.)

"... vivid and arresting book."

—TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

"The average reader is advised to lose no haste in getting hold of it."

—COMPTON MACKENZIE

ARTHUR BARKER LTD.

21, Garrick Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2.

The Great Demand for SHORT STORIES

There is an immense demand for short stories, and editors are looking for new writers of talent.

If you have literary aptitude—often revealed by the ability to write interesting letters—you are strongly advised to take advantage of the valuable offer made by the Regent Institute to readers of *Headway* in their announcement on page 97. You can obtain free of charge a specimen lesson of the Institute's well-known Course in Short Story Writing.

CADBURYS

MILK CHOCOLATE 2^{OZ.} 2^{D.}

What's in that fragrant, wreathing pipe?
TOM LONG Tobacco, rich and ripe.

READERS' VIEWS

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

THE TWO NEEDS

SIR,—In your April issue, under the heading "Wanted—a Handshake," you publish a letter from Mr. Howard Diamond in which he accuses some Union speakers of "driving out of the Union the pacifists who are the backbone of any drive for peace." As I am the only speaker mentioned by name in his letter, perhaps you will allow me to answer some of the points raised by Mr. Diamond. I am not concerned in this letter to answer personal criticism levelled at myself, but it seems to me important to correct the impression that Union speakers insist upon the strengthening of machinery for embalming the *status quo* and neglect the development of machinery for peaceful change. In my experience this is far from being the case.

The paragraph in which Mr. Diamond urges the Union to consider what he calls a "third alternative"—namely, the peaceful adjustment of such problems as the German demand for colonies—is, in substance, a quotation from the speech I made at Beckenham to which Mr. Diamond takes exception. I am, however, unable to agree that an international legislature is an alternative to a system of collective security—the two are complementary; and those who hope to build a durable international civilisation on a foundation which neglects either one or the other are, I fear, bound for disappointment and probably destruction.

E. M. PRICE HOLMES.
The Temple.

G.P.O. FILM

SIR,—I should like to bring to the notice of your readers the G.P.O. film "Message from Geneva." I saw this recently at a private view and can heartily recommend it to branch secretaries for exhibition. It can probably be borrowed from the G.P.O. It opens with the speech of King Edward VIII to the House of Commons, shows excellent snaps of the League buildings and I.L.O., as well as the French delegation headed by M. Blum. It shows how broadcasts are arranged from Geneva by the B.B.C. and deals with the League's wireless station. It emphasises in the commentary the importance of international co-operation. This is no amateur production. The work of the G.P.O. Film Unit has an international reputation.

M. KLIMAN, President, Wembley Branch.

FIND AN IMPELLING MOTIVE

SIR,—Seventeen years ago it was easy for the Union to secure large audiences, and frequently nearly everyone left the hall as a member. That is not so now; then the horror was fresh and vivid, and everyone was ready to "vow that, so far as in him lay, never again should such a crime deface God's earth." To-day, the horror is but a dim memory, the old superstitions have risen again, and apathy reigns, whether from lapse of time, or from cynicism, or from disillusionment of hopes set too high. It remains to find an impelling motive as strong. It should be easy if people can be made to realise what is facing us: a very present horror which makes the old one merely trivial. If an English Government can deliberately propose to prepare for gas warfare, without calling together all its co-signatories to the instrument which was to abolish poison gas, the bottom is knocked out of civilisation. They have *ipso facto* declared that Government pledges are worthless, that war

is coming; that it will be an indiscriminate slaughter of innocent people; and that the soldier who fights to "defend our women and children" is himself to murder women and children.

It is difficult to realise that we have come to this in the Twentieth Century of nominally Christian civilisation; one cannot wonder that it is not realised in its full blackness. It is not that we have merely slipped back into the old foul slough; we have sunk lower than the lowest stage known in the development of man. It is idle to pretend that any humane religion can survive the legalisation by governments of wholesale murder; but that peoples are so tamely accepting, even jesting on, the gas preparations, is a frightfully sinister omen.

Before it dies, let warfare serve at least one useful purpose and supply us with a sound axiom of strategy; attack is the best defence. The League has nothing to defend; it is acknowledged by its enemies to have the highest end; indeed, the common complaint is that it aims too high. That calls for the support of every right-minded man.

But the men who should have supported it do need to defend themselves. *The Daily Express*, and *hoc genus omne*, would resent being told that they are destroying religion and working to enthroned evil more strongly than ever. But we know that is a fact; we know that there can be but one hope for humanity—viz., the co-operation, in some form, of nations; and that they have so far succeeded in hampering that to-day we are using science as

the means to a barbarism more base and savage than has previously existed at any stage in the evolution of mankind.

If the cynics, the reversionists to obsolete type, the apathetics, are forced to be on the defence, their case is lost. Their only chance is carping criticism of defects which are due to their own apathy or hostility. They jeer at the fiasco in China or in Abyssinia. But it is we who have the case for the prosecution. They should incessantly be called on to explain why they left both countries in the lurch in defiance of their signature to the Covenant; why they have dishonoured their pledges, and in doing so dishonoured their country, and involved us in their own disgrace.

That attitude persistently maintained would soon fill meetings, and as all the argument is on our side, it would bring in new members who could not but see that indifference has been the great obstacle to the League functioning; that to stand aloof is really a crime against humanity. What is more, the new members who realise this would be under the influence of an enthusiasm which would burn with a steady glow; for once it is seen

"that highest vision

Poisons all meaner thought for evermore."

Sydenham.

B. G. M. BASKETT,

LEAD BACK TO SANITY

SIR,—You say "Arms are needed—the need will long continue. While great nations are dominated by men and parties who glorify war . . . who see in killing and being killed the crowning virtue of humanity . . . a refusal to arm the law means the surrender of civilisation to crime."

Waiving the point that to arm the successful Imperialist

A Free Lesson in 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.

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

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

It is significant that of short stories entered for competitions many that do not win prizes are nevertheless bought at high rates by the editors concerned; this is indicative not only of the dearth of suitable MSS., but of how new writers are encouraged to meet editorial needs.

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.

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.

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 of ten lessons, 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 for story-writers), 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 ability to teach.

Write for Your Free Lesson NOW

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

THE REGENT INSTITUTE (Dept. 219T)
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)

Address

.....

Powers is not exactly the same as arming the law, we can all agree that the need to arm will long continue: the nations that are beaten in the next war will doubtless set to work to gain their lost prestige, while "the law," represented by the winner, will again be forced to arm to protect its winnings.

The only way to vanquish those who believe in the glory of war is to refuse to play their game. Whence would come their glory if their potential opponents showed by refusing to arm that they recognised war for the mad thing it is, and behaved so justly and generously that the prestige of force began to look old-fashioned? Fortunately all nations consist in the main not of Hitlers and Mussolinis, but of ordinary human beings who do not want war.

The greatest of Imperialist Powers is the one best fitted to lead the world back to sanity and kindness.

As a policeman, the League has cut a sorry figure; let it try its hand at peace-making.

M. A. PRATT.

Kingsbury, N.W.9.

NO VISITS TO ITALY

SIR,—The appeal to the League of the Emperor Haile Selassie moves one to suggest a practical way of bringing home to Italy the abhorrence we British people feel at her barbarous methods in Abyssinia.

Let no British subject visit Italy for the next two years for purposes of travel and enjoyment. Surely we could give up our own pleasure in travelling for sight-seeing, whether artistic or archaeological, to emphasise the verbal expression of disapproval of Italy's breaches of all humane laws and customs.

At least we should seem to be more in earnest than by merely expressing our views in writing, or even by a Commission of Inquiry, as Italy snaps her fingers at such mild and legal and Christian methods of control.

Patterdale Rectory,

MARY H. BAILY (Mrs.)

Penrith, Cumberland.

GIVE PACIFICATION A TRIAL

SIR,—I feel that I voice the opinion of a certain section of old members of the Union who are being driven out by violent and untruthful attacks on the pacifists. Has not the League only failed when it has tried to use force, and since pacifists will support all efforts of the League except sanctions, do we not need their aid?

Must we throw all our disarmament ideals to the winds and support an arms race, for we can no more get disarmament by rearming than we can become eventual teetotallers by drinking more alcohol. If we wage a collective war, the epitaph of our world will be: "They made a waste and called it peace."

The way to peace is by immediate and impartial conferences on armaments, colonies, emigration, tariffs, and raw materials. Is not this pacifist policy more likely to lead to peace than cowardly participation in another arms race? Yet Viscount Cecil has described the pacifist policy as lying down and being jumped on! Once, I believe, League idealists supported such conciliatory policies.

Is it not better to give pacification a trial before signing the mutual suicide pact? Mr. Lansbury is doing more to get a peace based on friendship, than those who advocate that an aggressive nation should be gassed or starved into submission. Our crucified Saviour shows us which is the Christian way.

Finally, neither Abyssinia, China, nor Spain could possibly be worse off to-day if they had tried non-violent resistance.

RONALD S. MALLONI, B.A.

(Leader of the Goldsmiths' College Peace Society, Committee member of the Goldsmiths' College, League of Nations Union.)

NOTE.—A comment on this letter appears on page 82 of the present issue of HEADWAY.

HERE AND THERE

A very successful Peace Week was held in **Nottingham** during the period April 4-10. It included a United Christian Service in the leading Anglican Church, a Youth Rally, an Exhibition of Peace Cartoons by Low, and of posters, which was opened by Dame Sybil Thorndike, a display of books in the Central Library and window displays in shops. An open-air concert meeting was also held at which an address was given by Dr. V. Benes, and a concert was rendered by the City Transport Military Prize Band. The Peace Week was organised by the Union on behalf of a representative committee and received considerable support.

"The Italian would sooner make a fortune by selling ice cream at Blackpool than colonise in Eritrea," said Sir John Harris in speaking on the colonial problem at a meeting held during the **Nottingham** Peace Week. One of the problems of emigration was the willingness or otherwise of the emigrant to go out.

Congratulations to the **Brentwood** and District Branch! It has more than doubled its membership by means of a house to house canvass.

At the annual meeting of the **Petersfield** Branch, the secretary stressed the value and importance of the distribution of the monthly News Sheet, which he thought greatly helped membership work. He considered the periodical specially useful in a rural district, for it made the country people feel they were not being neglected.

The **Weymouth** Branch has suffered a great loss in the resignation of Mr. Fraser from the honorary treasurership. Mr. Fraser, who is now 90 years of age, has held that office and given most active service since the Branch was started.

At a recent meeting of the **County Hall** (London) Branch, the resolution: "That, in the opinion of this Branch, the foreign policy of His Majesty's Government and the Arms Loan are designed for the support of the League of Nations and of Collective Security, and are the best means to that end," was proposed by Mr. John Corfield, of the Conservative and Unionist Association. Mr. H. N. Brailsford opposed, and Mr. O. Vojtisek, Secretary of the International Peace Campaign (Czechoslovakian section) and member of the League of Nations Society in Czechoslovakia, took part in the debate. The resolution was lost by 5 votes to 53.

All the members of the **Burnham-on-Crouch** Branch, except only one, have renewed their subscriptions during the past year. This healthy state of affairs is largely due to the untiring efforts of the secretary, who made a personal canvass.

During the past year the **Egerton** Branch has increased its membership by 50 per cent. This has been due to the excellent work done in connection with the national canvass.

Under the title "From Manchuria to Spain," Miss K. D. Courtney gave a most interesting survey of international affairs at a crowded meeting arranged by the **St. Ives** Branch. Mr. Arnold Forster presided. It was the speaker's firm conviction that had there been no Manchuria there would have been no Abyssinia and, consequently, there would not have been the disturbances in Palestine or the war in Spain. The whole of these events hung together.

In the opinion of Major-General A. C. Temperley, Great Britain's rearmament was the factor most likely to save the peace of the world. General Temperley, who was formerly Deputy-Director of Military Operations and Intelligence at the War Office, was addressing a large audience at **Beaconsfield**. "If," he said, "there is a strong Power determined to see justice done, I think it is possible that peace may be kept."

The headmaster of Saltash County School, in his address at the annual meeting of the **Liskeard** Branch, drew attention to the valuable non-political activities of the League, its work for health and public welfare. These efforts often passed unnoticed. Unfortunately one good murder in Cornwall would get more publicity than years and years of good work for the League.

The members of the **Oldham** Branch were privileged to hear a Czechoslovakian view of international affairs when Dr. Benes, nephew of the President of Czechoslovakia, addressed their meeting. Democracy and liberty were combined, and the speaker declared that, in order to protect those principles, his people were prepared for all sacrifices.

WELSH NOTES

The Welsh National Temple of Peace and Health.—On Thursday, April 8, before an impressive assembly of guests, representatives of the public life of Wales and Monmouthshire, the Rt. Hon. Viscount Halifax, the Lord Privy Seal, laid the Foundation Stone of the Welsh National Temple of Peace and Health in Cathays Park, **Cardiff**.

The ceremony was presided over by the Rt. Hon. Lord Davies (Chairman of the Welsh National Council of the League of Nations Union and President of the King Edward VII Welsh National Memorial Association) through whose great generosity the erection of the building has been made possible—a gift from Lord Davies practically covers the whole of the cost.

The Temple of Peace and Health will include office accommodation for the headquarters of the Welsh National Council of the League of Nations Union and for the Welsh National Memorial Association (the Welsh National Institution for the prevention, treatment and eradication of Tuberculosis) and is the first edifice to be erected in Great Britain specifically intended to serve as a symbol of our determination to co-operate with other nations, through the Covenant of the League of Nations, for the promotion of Justice and the safeguarding of Peace.

The Temple will occupy the centre section of the building and in its aisles spaces will be reserved for busts and statues of famous men who have worked for the cause of Peace. There will be statues symbolic of Justice and of Peace, with Altars on either side for the Lamp of Remembrance and the Covenant of the League of Nations. On the Altar in the Crypt will repose the Book of Remembrance.

The site for the Temple of Peace and Health was presented to the trustees by the Cardiff City Council. The architect is Mr. Percy Thomas, O.B.E., of Cardiff, President of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

After the ceremony, the invited guests were entertained to luncheon at the City Hall by the Lord Mayor of Cardiff (Alderman Herbert Hiles, M.B.E., J.P.) on behalf of the City Council.

In addition to the addresses given by Lord Halifax, Lord Davies, and the Lord Mayor of Cardiff, the following took part in the proceedings: Mr. Dudley Howe, J.P., C.C. (President of the Welsh Council of the Union and a trustee of the Temple), the Rev. Gwilym Davies, M.A. (Vice-President), the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Llandaff, Mr. Ernest Evans, K.C., M.P.; Mr. Will John, M.P.; Sir H. Mather Jackson, Bart.; Alderman Sir Charles Bird, C.B.E.; and Alderman E. A. Cross, M.B.E.

A photograph of the Temple will appear next month.

The Annual Conference of the Welsh National Council of the Union will be held at **Carmarthen** on Friday and Saturday, June 4 and 5, and there are prospects of a record gathering of representatives from all parts of the Principality. The first day will be occupied with meetings of the Executive Committee and the Council, a reception, and a large public meeting; and on the second day, after the second session of the Council and certain committee meetings, the Conference will be brought to a close with a Festival of Youth. For the Festival of Youth, Mr. O. Picton Davies, J.P., with his usual generosity, is kindly granting the use of the grounds at Castell Pygyn, near Carmarthen, and entertaining those present to tea.

Children's Message.—Preparations are nearly complete for the sixteenth annual broadcast of the Welsh Children's Message on "Goodwill Day," May 18. It will be transmitted at various times during the day by the principal radio systems of the world. In addition to a special programme during the Children's Hour from the Western and Welsh station, the B.B.C. will broadcast the text of the Message from its Empire station and in the First News.

Communications are reaching the Rev. Gwilym Davies daily from the Dominions and from many countries in the five continents asking for particulars of the transmission.

OVERSEAS NOTES

Headquarters would be glad to have the names and addresses of members who are willing to send their copies of HEADWAY, after reading them, to interested persons overseas.

Twenty-first Plenary Congress of the I.F.L.N.S.—The Twenty-first Plenary Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies will be held in **Bratislava**, on the invitation of the Czechoslovak League of Nations Society, from June 28 to July 3, 1937.

A Deputation to the Foreign Minister of Spain.—On March 24 the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Yvon Delbos, received a delegation headed by M. Paul Boncour, President of the French League of Nations Association, and composed of some 12 delegates representing those organisations who support the I.P.C. The delegation laid particular stress on the seriousness of events in Spain and on the need for addressing an urgent appeal to the League of Nations, so that international law and the obligations of States Members of the League be respected.

The Private Manufacture of Arms.—On January 30, 1937, the seven organisations represented on the committee for the Furtherance of the Work for Peace in **Denmark**, sent an address to the Danish Government in which the attention of the Government is drawn to the dishonest methods used in the private manufacture of arms and trade in arms and munitions throughout the world. The address urges the Danish Government to nationalise the armaments trade and cites France as an example of how this may be effected. The societies stress Denmark's unity in the desire for the establishment of peace and understanding among the nations of the world and consider that the Danish Government owes it to the Danish people to see that Denmark is among the first of the States to carry out this arrangement.

The I.P.C. and the Hungarian L.N.S.—The Hungarian League of Nations Association and two of the largest women's organisations have decided to collaborate with the International Peace Campaign.

Holiday Centres.—As for several years past, holiday centres for young people of 18 years of age upwards will be held under the auspices of the Association de la Paix par le Droit at St. Gervais-les-Bains, St. Malo-en-Lande and Pau. In addition, new centres will be organised at Grenoble and Vienne, by Madame Marinette Lalache. All particulars may be had from Madame Prudhommeaux, 8, rue Jacques Boyceau, Versailles, France.

COUNCIL'S VOTE

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

Brixham, Bedworth, Biggleswade, Byfleet and Pyrford, Desford, Eccleshill, Hathern, Kendal, Letchworth, Lewes, Leominster, Lancing, Melbourne, Stockton-on-Tees, St. Margarets-at-Cliffe, Tonbridge.

For 1937:—
Heckfield.

UNION MEMBERSHIP

Terms of Subscription

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

Foundation Membership is the financial backbone of the Union. All who are able and willing are besought to become Foundation Members; any subscription above the absolute minimum helps both local and national funds more than is generally realised.

Corporate Membership (for Churches, Societies, Guilds, Clubs and Industrial Organisations) costs £1 a year, in return for which a nominee is entitled to receive, for the use of the Organisation, HEADWAY and such other publications as are supplied to Foundation Members. (Corporate Membership does not apply to Wales or Monmouthshire.)

In many households several persons are members of the Union. Where one copy of each Union publication is sufficient for the family the Head Office will be glad to receive an intimation.

Inquiries and application for membership should be addressed to a local Branch, District or County Secretary; or to Head Office, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. Telegraphic address: Frenat, Knights, London. Telephone number: SLOane 6161.

FOUNDATION MEMBERS: £1 a year (minimum). (To include HEADWAY, the journal of the Union, monthly, by post, and specimen copies of the pamphlets and similar literature issued by the Union.)

REGISTERED MEMBERS: 5s. or more a year. (To include HEADWAY, or, if preferred, one of the subsidiary journals of the Union, by post, and occasional important notices.)

* 3s. 6d. or more a year. (To include HEADWAY, or, if preferred, one of the subsidiary journals of the Union, by post.)

ORDINARY MEMBERS: 1s. a year minimum.

LIFE MEMBERS: £25.

* 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.*



THE
COS RAY
BAND
USED AS
A
BRACELET

Banish RHEUMATISM,
SCIATICA, NEURITIS
with the "Miracle"

COS RAY BAND

Amazing Tributes from Sufferers.

Read this:

"I feel that I must write to let you know what extraordinary results I have obtained from your Cos Ray Band, which I received from you about a month ago. For over two months I suffered with Rheumatism, deep-seated in the muscles in the region of my right shoulder-blade. Nothing I tried seemed to do any good. After wearing the Cos Ray Band on my right arm for only a few days the pain eased off and at the end of a week was completely gone. Like many, I was at first rather sceptical, but now I am quite convinced that your Cos Ray Band possesses unique curative properties, and I have already recommended it to others who are equally amazed at the results."

Major H. C. Fitzgerald.

The Cos Ray Band is a new discovery of an age-old curative principle, endorsed by competent scientific authority... substantiated by many of former sufferers. You simply wear the Cos Ray Band on wrist, ankle or wherever else convenient, and the secret copper alloy starts to draw out the poisons through the skin, at the same time inducing beneficial ray action in the entire system.

No Drugs. No Fees. No Pain. No Worry.

GET THE FULL STORY

about this wonderful curative Band. Send postcard for descriptive leaflet to: Dept. 10

COS RAY RESEARCH CO., LTD.,

215, First Avenue House, High Holborn, London, W.C.1

Cos Ray Bands obtainable from all Chemists and Stores, including Ascott's Pharmacies, Harrods, Selfridges, Timothy Whites and Taylors. (Wholesale distributors: May Roberts & Co., Ltd.)

CORONATION

By
THE SECRETARY OF THE UNION

WHEN King George VI is crowned on May 12, his Coronation Oath will mention by name not only Great Britain and Ireland, but also Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand and India. This innovation is to be made "in view of the constitutional changes which have taken place since the Coronation of King George V." The chief British colonies of a quarter of a century ago have now grown up into Dominions, equal in status to Great Britain herself. The Irish Free State, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand and India, as well as Great Britain, are separately Members of the League of Nations. International treaties affecting any of these seven partners in the British Commonwealth of Nations must now be signed by His Majesty's Government in each of those parts. The first treaty signed by representatives of the Dominions and India began with the Covenant of the League.

No wonder, then, that the League of Nations has, from the beginning, made a special appeal to citizens of the British Commonwealth who had so much to do with its creation! That appeal has become more powerful since Dominion statesmen discovered that the League of Nations provides the whole British Empire, for the first time, with a common foreign policy. Only by supporting the League and serving the world as a whole, can the seven members of the British Commonwealth serve the special interests of the Commonwealth or of themselves. If they try to serve their own local interests, or even to serve the Empire apart from the world as a whole, they may be injuring the world; and then the Empire that is so large a part of the world is sure to suffer also.

Now that the League has been weakened by its failure to protect peace in Manchuria and Abyssinia and to promote justice by a process of peaceful change in Central Europe, are the British peoples going to abandon this new experiment to which they have contributed, and owe so much? That is not our way. We do not easily accept defeat when victory seems difficult. Many of us believe, with the Foreign Secretary in Great Britain, that this League endeavour is the only alternative to catastrophe and chaos. If the law of the bully is to be allowed to prevail in Europe and in the world generally, then British democracy may disappear under the horrors of dictatorship. The British nations must therefore take the lead in establishing a world order, a world authority for the collective defence of peace. But there can be no permanent peace without justice. Thus the League of Nations as the world authority needs to be equipped with effective machinery for promoting justice as well as for protecting peace.

Germany or Italy or Japan would then feel able to come to the League and get justice—what the world would recognise as justice—in all such matters as access to raw materials, the opening of markets for trade, colonial questions, movements of populations, and even territorial readjustments. In return, Germany (and the other Powers having unresolved differences with the

League) would have to resume wholehearted co-operation with Geneva and agree to reduce their armaments along with those of the League's loyal Members to however low a limit will suffice for the uses sanctioned by the Covenant. A new comprehensive settlement on these lines would save the world from war and give added security to the British Empire. And the Empire's evolution would continue towards an ever more glorious future of leadership and service in a world bound together by those very ideals that already unite the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Meanwhile, the Coronation of King George VI reminds us that the process of peaceful change can be made to work by united but independent nations in a quarter of the world from which they exclude the use of force. Thus it has a special significance for those of the King's subjects who believe that, even as Britain (in Pitt's famous phrase) once saved Europe by her example, so the world may now be saved by the example of the British Commonwealth. To that end World Loyalty, or for the time being, loyalty to the League of Nations must be cultivated in all States Members of the League, until that sentiment becomes as powerful as national patriotisms are to-day. For us, in the British Empire, our common loyalty to King George VI is the link between our national patriotism and our sentiment for the world as a whole.

That link might be strengthened if our King saw fit to include in his Royal Arms, as in his Coronation Oath, all the seven parts of his Dominions that are already Members of the League. This might be done, for example, as in the drawing reproduced below. After all, the Arms of the King of England have seen many changes since Richard I chose his three lions (or leopards). The Royal Arms have included at different times the emblems of France (Edward III to George III), Spain (Mary I), Nassau (William III) and Hanover (George I to William IV) as well as of England, Scotland and Ireland.

