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**THE REFUGEE CONFERENCE
AT EVIAN**

See Pages 150 & 151

**DEFENCE AND JUSTICE
BY THE AGA KHAN**

See Pages 148 & 149

HEADWAY

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

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AUGUST, 1938

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At Evian the delegates of thirty civilised governments have been discussing the rescue of millions of innocent victims from pagan race tyranny

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NEWS AND COMMENTS

Dr. Maxwell Garnett

DR. MAXWELL GARNETT, C.B.E., D.Sc., has resigned the secretaryship of the League of Nations Union. For 18 years he has served the Union with great ability, with tireless energy, with complete devotion. The Union will always bear his impress on its organisation and its activities. The story of his life for nearly two decades is the history of the Union. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that because of his work for the Union he has his place in British history and in something wider. He carries into his retirement the admiration, the affection, and the good wishes of the Union's members and of his fellow workers on the staff.

Dr. Garnett's resignation was due to a decision of the Executive Committee, taken by a small majority, that a change in the secretaryship was desired. In September HEADWAY a considered tribute to Dr. Garnett by the Earl of Lytton will appear. The delays of the holiday time post have prevented its publication this month.

To the Editor of HEADWAY

Not Good Bye

SIR,—It is a matter of great personal regret to us that Dr. Garnett's term of office as Secretary has come to an end. He has so many admirable qualities both of head and heart that his resignation comes as a personal loss to each of us. Nor can we forget the immense service which he has rendered to the Union and the cause of Peace during the last eighteen years—services which we earnestly hope are by no means finished.

It is a satisfaction to us to know that his resignation was not desired by any member of the Committee on any ground of personal enmity or political opinion, and even those who criticised him paid a tribute to his many great qualities and his long service. Some indeed felt that this very length of service constituted a reason why some other position should now be found in which Dr. Garnett's experience and ability could be utilised for the causes

for which the League of Nations Union exists. We hope that although he has ceased to be its Secretary, Dr. Garnett will not sever his connection with the Union. A secretary can only carry out a policy which others have settled. As a member of the Executive Committee, which we hope he soon will be, we may hope for Dr. Garnett's full assistance in formulating that policy.

The end of any chapter in human affairs must always be sad. It is a consolation to know that this we may hope to be not only an end but a beginning. May we be allowed then to say to Dr. Garnett, not Goodbye, but Au Revoir?

CECIL,
Joint President.

15 Grosvenor Crescent,
London, S.W.1

GILBERT MURRAY,
Joint President.

LYTTON,
Chairman, Executive Committee.

Iron Practicability.

RECENTLY, the always current and always false allegations that the L.N.U. is a political party organisation serving party ends, has been given a revived currency. Usually the party whose interests are thus promoted is said to be Labour; sometimes the allegation is reversed, and the beneficiaries become the Conservatives. A still more common charge is that the Union, a wholly doctrinaire society, has nothing to say which is worth the hearing of a practical man. Both arguments were effectually refuted in his recent speech at Sheffield by Mr. Winston Churchill, who is both a working statesman vastly experienced in great affairs, and a Conservative. These were his words:

"Some people think that the League of Nations Union is a feckless and up in the air body with a policy wholly designed to forward the claims of the League at all costs. That is not my opinion. As I see it, the policy of the League of Nations Union is one of iron practicability, and the Union is to be commended on its honourable endeavours."

The simple truth could not be more plainly stated that the Union busies itself neither with dogmas nor with parties, but with policies.

Larger Hopes of Mankind

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL has sent a message to Mr. Booth, of the Wanstead Branch of the L.N.U., which is being circulated as a printed leaflet with great effect. Mr. Churchill says:

By adhering to the Covenant of the League we secure the goodwill of all the nations of the world who do not seek to profit by acts of wrongful and violent aggression. We secure a measure of unity at home among all classes and in all parties, which is indispensable to the efficiency of our foreign policy as well as to the progress of our defensive preparations. We consecrate and legitimise every alliance and regional pact which may be formed for mutual protection. Strict adherence to the Covenant of the League and to the Kellogg Pact will win for us a very great measure of sympathy in the United States. That sympathy may have an effect upon the interpretation put upon the laws of neutrality which, in certain circumstances, might be of enormous practical consequences to us. Can we be sure that even in the dictator countries these principles do not find an echo in many hearts? Can we be sure that even the dictators themselves may not, from one reason or another, respond to some extent to them? Nothing could be more improvident or more imprudent than for the Western democracies to strip themselves of this great addition to their means of self-preservation, or to blot out from the eyes of their peoples ideals which embody the larger hopes of mankind.

Defence and Justice.

CONTRIBUTING to the City of London Vacation Course in Education, whose subject was "The Good Community," Sir Norman Angell presented again the case for collective security with the crystal clearness of which he alone has the secret. He said:—

We organised a police force and said to the bandit, "Touch one citizen and you touch all." Force can have no deterrent effect unless the criminal knows he will have to meet it and that his crime will call for punishment.

Force as an instrument of law which will defend all can only be effectual if the law which it defends is itself just and offers to the other side the same rights which we claim for ourselves. That is something we have to make clear in any international arrangement we make.

We should say to the totalitarian States, which are also the have-not States, "You have grievances and economic difficulties. Will you come into a fact-finding commission with us to establish the truth of these things?" We might make it a condition that when the commission sat Germany should give an undertaking that the facts arrived at should be made known to her own people.

Refugee Policy

DURING Bank Holiday week, four anonymous spokesmen of the army of refugees haunted Downing Street. One of them told the *Manchester Guardian*:—

We appreciate the difficulties of other Governments when Hitler says to them, "You take our Jews and we will keep their money," but there are three things that we would ask.

First, that the democratic governments should use their influence in order that Jews may be permitted to bring their money and goods out of Austria.

Secondly, that a home should be found for us in some continent other than Europe.

Thirdly, that European countries should give temporary refuge to the 20,000 Jews who have been ordered to leave Austria within a certain period, with the alternative of going into concentration camps until a national home has been found for them.

Federation Congress

IT cannot be denied that it lends lustre to debates when they are listened to by a Foreign Secretary and a sense of responsibility when a Government is officially represented by the Minister of War. This was the pleasant fate of the last Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, which was held at the beginning of July in Copenhagen. It is somehow a very great relief when an international conference can be cooled by sea breezes in the month of July. It has a most pleasantly restraining effect on tempers. Thanks to this good climate and to the magnificent organisation of the Danish League of Nations Society, the Copenhagen Congress was able to accomplish a great deal of valuable work with singularly little loss of nervous energy.

Armistice in Spain

IT generally happens that resolutions submitted by national societies are changed beyond recognition as a result of the debates. Not always is the change an improvement, but the resolution that the Plenary Congress adopted on Spain must almost certainly be considered clearer and more logical than that which the General Council of the Union adopted a month earlier and on which the discussions at Copenhagen were based. But in substance there was very little change.

The Late Lord Salisbury's Forecast

SPEAKING at the Lord Mayor's banquet on November 9, 1897, the Marquis of Salisbury, then Prime Minister, said:

Remember this—that the federation of Europe is the only possible structure of Europe which can save civilisation from the desolating effects of a disastrous war. You notice that on all sides the instruments of destruction, the piling up of arms are becoming larger and larger, the powers of concentration are becoming greater, the instruments of death more active and more numerous and are improved with every year, and each nation is bound for its own safety's sake to take part in this competition.

These are the things which are done, so to speak, on the side of war. The one hope that we have to prevent this competition from ending in a terrible effort of mutual destruction which will be fatal to Christian civilisation, the one hope we have is that the Powers may be gradually brought together to act together in a friendly spirit on all questions of difference which may arise until at last they shall be welded in some international constitution which shall give to the world as a result of their great strength a long spell of unfettered and prosperous trade and continued peace.

Lord Salisbury was referring to the "Concert of Europe," a forerunner of the League of Nations: 1914 showed that he was right. Only by supporting the League can we make sure that the disaster which he foresaw does not happen.



HEADWAY

AUG. 1938

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The Peoples Desire Peace

AUGUST has not brought war. Rather has it brought an easing of tension. The blackest predictions have not been fulfilled; current predictions, even amongst the gloomiest prophets, are much brighter than were those of only three months ago. At least a breathing space has been gained. Perhaps more. There are signs that Europe is turning its face towards a peaceful future, though it may not yet have taken a decisive step on that hopeful road.

Peace saved for one year may be war averted for ten. And if war can be averted for ten, peace can be saved indefinitely. Ten years will give time in which willing abstention from violence or the threat of violence can begin to grow into a habit. In ten years the alternative method of the peaceful settlement of all disputes between peoples by judicial process, by arbitration, by conciliation can be shown to work. The twenty years from 1918 to 1938 have been a period of exhaustion, recovery, readjustment. Their passage without a major war is, therefore, not a proof of a reasoned turning away from war. Ten years' active and constructive peace-keeping and peace-building will have a very different significance. It will mean that the peoples have chosen peace. They will have adopted it, not merely as a temporary expedient, but as a permanent policy.

The peoples wish for peace. The evidence is decisive. In Japan, where the official regimentation of the popular mind is far more thorough than anything Europe can show, the attack upon China had to be justified as an enforced measure of defence against unprovoked aggression; and with the passage of each weary, futile month murmurs of suspicion and hostility rise louder from countryside, city, and camp. In Italy the general dislike of the Fascist intervention in Spain thrusts itself upon the least observant tourist. In Germany, Herr Hitler's countless followers give him their loyalty above all because they believe that he has saved peace. Austria is for them the latest and convincing demonstration. Bloodshed threatened, but the Leader was on guard; he acted, and war was prevented. Their view may be mistaken; it is certainly sincere. In the democratic countries, the popular passion for peace is at least as strong; free speech, a free press, free Parliament, leave no doubt on that point.

The peoples wish for peace. The fact is everywhere recognised. But the decisive influence it must exercise is often missed. The war plots of politicians, if such there be, count for little against the pacifism of the

populace. No political system could stand the shock of a wanton resort to war on a large scale. Or of any major war except one wantonly provoked by the enemy. "You can't fool all the people all the time," says a familiar American maxim. The absurdities and successes, the success not least when the absurdity has been greatest, of present-day propaganda have persuaded some critics to challenge the assertion. But no one has yet "put across" the pretence that mid-Twentieth Century war, with its Hell of air bombs and poison gas and high explosives, is really a form of peace and that the politician who has produced it is fulfilling his promise to preserve peace. Such things are noticed. There are differences which would show even the least politically-minded people that a great and tragic mistake had been made. And especially to dictators great and tragic mistakes are inevitably fatal, for dictators live on the representation that they are not only all powerful but also all wise. As one of the commandments of Fascist Italy says, Mussolini is always right. To-day the wish of the peoples for peace is the strongest influence against war. In a sudden crisis, when national passion was excited and was assiduously blown into flame by elaborate propaganda, it might not prove sufficient, but even then it would not be easily overridden. After ten years of continuous friendly work for the betterment of the living conditions of ordinary men and women in all countries, it will have become so powerful that to defeat will be nearly impossible.

Time is a factor of crucial importance. Therefore almost any price is worth paying to gain time. More time for the building of more planes and ships and tanks may make one people more safe or it may put all peoples in greater danger. More time for the building of peace, however, cannot fail to make all peoples safer. This is the reason why all supporters of the League, all members of the Union, if they retain a firm and conscious hold of the truth upon which their case is founded, must be ready to go to the farthest limits of caution and even to overstep them so that wisdom may have yet another opportunity to restrain folly.

Risks are now being taken by the British Government in their dealings with all the major problems of world affairs. In some, such as the trade negotiations with the United States, they would seem not to be venturing enough. In others, perhaps they are venturing too much, sacrificing it may be the basis of safety for the mere appearance of a postponement. In all, they stand the attacks of alarmed and indignant critics. In all, however, they plead that they are making sacrifices to gain time and that to gain time is to strengthen peace.

Even in the matter of Transatlantic trade, supposing their efforts are sufficiently serious, their plea is sound. Though some British sectional interests will dislike any lowering of tariffs, the increase of world prosperity which must come with an increase of buying and selling, will assuredly make a desperate outbreak anywhere, due to deepening poverty, less likely. The same plea should win tolerance, at least, for attempts to promote an armistice in Spain and a settlement in Czechoslovakia. The method may not be the best. Nevertheless, peace kept through August and September, experience suggests, is a year gained.

STOCKTAKING AT GENEVA

By Our Geneva Correspondent

GENEVA, July 28, 1938.

WITH the League Assembly only seven weeks ahead, it may be well to attempt a brief stock-taking of the international results of the re-orientation last February. As the French would say, "Where are we of it?"

The main answer must be that after four months the League, as a political institution, is as near dead as makes no matter. In Europe, Switzerland has contracted out of all her political obligations. Sweden and the Scandinavian countries are seriously considering action on the same lines. Poland is a member of the League only in name. Austria has ceased to exist. Roumania, Yugoslavia and Greece are, naturally enough, more anxious to conciliate one or other of the Great Powers than to subscribe to the risks of an institution to which many Governments have publicly proclaimed their indifference.

Overseas, the situation is perhaps more serious. On the British Dominions the effect of the flight from the Covenant has been to reinforce all the influences that make for isolationism. Within the British Empire this trend is the more serious because it makes not only for a repudiation of the principles of the Covenant, but for the weakening and possible disruption of the British Empire itself. In no country have the forces of isolationism been so heavily encouraged by recent events as in Canada, which is looking more and more to the United States and to the New World for its political orientation.

It may perhaps be said that the United States, by its increasing interest in the International Labour Office, and by the prominent part it took in the recent inter-Governmental Committee at Evian on German and Austrian Refugees, shows no overt signs of isolationism. To take such a view is seriously to mistake the position. That increasing interest which the United States is manifesting in the Labour Office is manifested at the expense of the League of Nations. In this initiative the United States lead is being carefully watched and to a large extent followed by the States of Central and South America.

Some months ago I predicted that the effects of the new policy on the relation between Latin America and the League would be disastrous. With the utmost sorrow I have to state that that prediction is coming true. Of the twenty States of Central and South America, nine have already left the League of Nations, and there are indications that a tenth, Colombia, may leave in the very near future. When one reflects that Colombia has been in the past among the most determined supporters of the ideals of the Covenant, the significance of the landslide may be grasped. The chances of a Pan-American League emerging from the forthcoming Pan-American Conference at Lima have immeasurably increased in the past four months.

The Evian Committee is discussed in detail elsewhere in HEADWAY. But I could not help remarking at Evian that, of all the nineteen Latin-American States represented, only two—Bolivia and Mexico—made any reference to the work of the League of Nations for Refugees, or to the possibility of collaboration with the League on this question.

It is true that most of the Latin-American States will probably continue their collaboration with the Labour Organisation and with the Technical Organisations of the League. Such a development only throws into higher relief the political bankruptcy of the League, as organised, or at any rate permitted, by Downing Street. The Labour Office, once the Cinderella of the international institutions, has been kissed by Prince Charming from over the Atlantic, but the cost of the marriage settlement has been, in international opinion, vastly too high.

Such, then, is the situation after four months. But what of the reverse side of the picture? Surely such sacrifices of the international ideal must be balanced by compensatory advantages. The new policy has disabled the League of Nations as a political institution in the higher interests of world peace. A good internationalist must agree that, for the attainment of such an ideal as world pacification, the sacrifice of fifty Covenants would be well worth while. But where is this world peace to which the Geneva institution has been immolated? What concrete results can the new policy show? War rages in the Far East and in Spain, and has not died down in devastated and abandoned Abyssinia. There are rumours of war throughout Europe, and the nations stand uneasily to arms. What has the new policy to show? One unratified bi-lateral agreement, and Italy and Britain's remaining powerful friend in Europe on snarling terms. A pretty balance-sheet, truly.

The plain fact is—and every event of the last four months has confirmed it—that the only possible result of a flight from the Covenant is war. We abandoned the League in February in the great name of Peace. After four months is there a mother who sleeps safer for this abandonment? In some such spirit we face the jejune and truncated agenda of next September's Assembly.

It was suggested to me the other day that this policy of abandonment of the Covenant was not deliberate, but only "by the way." "You mean, then," I replied, "that we have acted in sheer absence of mind"; and I reminded my colleague of the words of the late G. K. Chesterton about a pre-War British statesman:

"Until one day—and men unborn shall rue it
The Constitution bored him, and he slew it."

For "Constitution" read "Covenant."

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THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE WATCHING WORLD EVENTS

By **D. F. FLEMING** Professor of Political Science, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee,
(author of "The United States and World Organisation, 1920/33" and other works on the American Attitude to the League)

WHAT is the present international outlook in the United States?

No one, I take it, could in short compass do more than suggest some current American attitudes. The first of these, it may be said with safety, is a very keen interest in what seems to most people the steady drift of the world towards another great war. It is taken for granted that at some point the democracies of Western Europe will be compelled to fight, but it is felt that the dictatorships have already been allowed to run so far that nothing short of a world war will stop their aggressions. Indeed, when leading citizens return from Europe with the prediction that there will be no general war for a year or two the news is strongly featured.

Faced with the imminence of another world catastrophe there is naturally no great opposition to renewed armament on a big scale, though an encouraging number of people deplore it as a huge expenditure which will bring no economic return.

On the issue as to what the American people shall do, there is, of course, a strong desire to return to isolation, to take part in no more world wars, unless directly invaded. Yet there is by no means the same confidence that "neutrality" can be preserved again. When expressing the opinion that war is not far ahead, people frequently add—"and we will soon be in it."

It seems reasonably probable that the height of the movement to keep the United States neutral at all costs has passed. The neutrality laws have been so little applied in the Sino-Japanese war that it should be even more difficult to apply them when and if the issue of freedom under law *versus* the right of conquest is put clearly and decisively.

It is true that the idea of going to war to make the world safe for democracy is very widely scoffed at—by those who have put nothing into the effort to avert another world disaster. Those who have worked incessantly to make democracy a reality, internationally as well as at home, never supposed that Woodrow Wilson would be able in one supreme effort to remove for ever the greatest danger which confronts humanity. They knew that many years of unremitting labour would be necessary to achieve reasonably secure order on a world scale.

It is not possible to believe, either, that the thinking of the American people has made no advance since 1914. Then, those who knew anything about world politics were few indeed. Now, for 20 years the study of

foreign affairs has gone forward steadily in every part of the country. It has required a huge book merely to list and describe briefly, in small print, the American organisations and agencies which are engaged in the study of international questions. It goes without saying that the consideration of these matters in thousands of groups has not been very deep. But nevertheless the American people approach another world crisis immeasurably better informed about the issues at stake than they were in 1914.

As to whether we shall again permit short-sightedness and partisan politics to turn us aside for decades from the task of establishing a strong League of Nations, only time can tell. But one recent sign seems to me significant. One of our largest woman's magazines lately conducted an extensive poll of attitudes

among women towards the next war. The results were strongly isolationist. Only 28 per cent. of those interviewed recorded a belief that the League of Nations and World Court could ever succeed. Yet as compared to 1914 this represents a very great advance. Then nobody, practically speaking, had even thought of a League of Nations. If now, after all the indignities which the League has suffered at the hands of the Governments, one-quarter of our people still believe

in international government, it cannot be said that we never learn anything.

May I be permitted to add the confident belief that a sincere rally of the Western democracies to the defence of peace through the League would have a very great effect on American opinion. In both the Manchurian and Ethiopian crises the desire among us that the rule of law should be vindicated was intense and almost universal. And our disappointment at the failure of the chief members of the League to defend its law was profound. Since then the sacrifice of Spain has destroyed the belief of many others in the will of the Governments to defend either free institutions or the common peace.

It is therefore our prevailing view, as nearly as I can gauge it, that there will be nothing worth fighting for in the next war. We sincerely believed that the last war was a war to end war. Then first our own leaders and afterwards those of the other democracies, refused to defend the peace which had been so hardly won. Now majority opinion is sharply on guard against taking part in a new world war which will only lead into still another, with nothing ever settled and the right of would-be aggressors to make war in any way they may choose, with or without notice, fully preserved.

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AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND NEED THE LEAGUE

Dominions' Faith in Collective System Has Influenced British Attitude.

By **DONALD COWIE**, Author of "New Zealand From Within."

THAT Australia and New Zealand have recently begun to make their weight felt in the councils of the British Commonwealth of Nations will have been apparent to most observers of the current situation. But it is not generally appreciated that the Antipodean Dominions, in their contributions to Imperial Policy, have for very good reasons of their own constantly affirmed their belief in the League system of collective security, a disposition that has appreciably influenced the Mother Country's attitude towards Geneva at a vital time.

Thirty years ago neither Australia nor New Zealand had international minds of their own. They had such confidence in the protective strength and prestige of Great Britain that they did not consider it necessary to bother about the outside world. But the Great War altered all that. Dominion statesmen contributed to the deliberations of Whitehall and Versailles, and returned to their distant, half-empty homes with a new awareness. They sent back representatives to Geneva in ensuing years, and were proud that their membership of the League was also recognition of their status as independent nations under the Imperial Crown. They had helped to make the League, and in the same act they had made themselves.

Then came the Abyssinian scare. Previous troubles, such as the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, had been accepted as warnings in Australia and New Zealand; but the Italian aggression with its threat to Imperial communications was accepted as positive proof that implicit reliance could no longer be placed upon British strength and British diplomacy. Finally, the mounting political and economic belligerency of Japan, culminating in the renewed invasion of China and ruthless abrogation of treaty rights, confirmed Australians and New Zealanders in the opinion that only the existence of a world system of collective security could guarantee them against similar aggression in the future.

Since they possessed neither the man-power, the industrial resources, nor the money, Australia and New Zealand would not be able to defend themselves in the event of war; since the Royal Navy would have its hands filled in European waters in such an event, help could not be expected from that quarter. Japan was the dominant Power in the Pacific basin.

Publicists of every complexion were united in this opinion. Emphasising that "New Zealand was the weakest link in the Imperial chain of defence," an influential militarist in the Dominion stated last year that "New Zealand's position in case of trouble in Europe which prevented the arrival of aid from England would be hopeless." Discussing a suggestion that the British Commonwealth should formulate its own Monroe Doctrine, a Conservative newspaper in New Zealand was even more definite:—

"Let us by all means be strong; let us strive for a *rapprochement* with the United States; but let us have done with day-dreams of an invulnerable

Empire. The choice is not between collective security and unilateral security but between collective security and no security."

So the Conservative Prime Minister of Australia and the Labour Prime Minister of New Zealand went to the Imperial Conference of 1937 with the same ideas. Mr. J. A. Lyons outdistanced his colleague in suggesting that the League system should be extended specifically to the Pacific area; but it is common knowledge that Mr. M. J. Savage's personal clash with Mr. Eden on the subject of League recognition of Abyssinia dissuaded the British Government from pursuing its intentions in that direction; and the New Zealand proposals for reform of the League Covenant, favouring the establishment of an International Equity Tribunal and an International Police Force, have been recognised as the most sensible if not the most practicable that were put forward.

The fact is that as a result of the worsening of the world situation, the successive diplomatic defeats of Great Britain and the growing consciousness of their extreme vulnerability, Australia and New Zealand have developed what has been described as the "League temperament." Their attitude to international politics is directly akin to that of the other small, militaristically weak nations that simply cannot afford to take part in the dangerous game of the Balance of Power.

And this attitude has prevailed despite the rearmament programme of Great Britain, because Australians and New Zealanders do see so clearly that even if the British Commonwealth were able to prevail in a world war, the smaller countries involved would suffer irreparable damage. Australia and New Zealand are convinced, in other words, that there must not be war.

Since, however, Australia and New Zealand have greatly increased their trade with the Mother Country in recent years, and their representatives have acquired the confidence to speak plainly and forcefully at Imperial gatherings and Geneva, the views of these Dominions have directly influenced British statesmen in their attitude towards the League of Nations. Let us hope that theirs will be a lasting contribution to the cause of peace.

L.N.U. LECTURES ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE DAY

OCTOBER 26th.

R. B. Mowat, M.A., D.Litt.: World Diplomacy, 1918-1937.

NOVEMBER 23rd.

D. Graham Hutton: The Colonial Problem.

DECEMBER 14th.

Air-Commodore L. E. O. Charlton, C.B., C.M.G.: Japan and Her Neighbours.

JANUARY 25th.

Dr. G. P. Gooch, D.Litt.: The Rome-Berlin Axis.

FEBRUARY 22nd.

H. Hamilton Fyfe: Looking Ahead.

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Security and Defence Against War and a Recognised Fount of Justice

Speech of H.H. The Aga Khan, many times delegate of India to the League Assembly, and President of the Assembly in 1937, at the Peace Pavilion of the Glasgow Exhibition

THE world situation to-day has struck such blows at the prestige and hopes which in the early years attached to the League of Nations that many supporters of the institution have lost heart and confidence as to its future. It will be appropriate, therefore, in this Peace Pavilion and at an Exhibition so illustrative of the arts of peace as pursued in Scotland, to bring forward some considerations which may encourage us to go forward with the task of upholding the League and the ideals and conceptions of which it is the expression.

The first and most cheering of these considerations is that these ideals and conceptions are themselves imperishable. They are as ancient as the search of man for God. All the great religions of the world have taught the brotherhood of man, and peace and goodwill to all men. Mohammed, indeed, went further and sought to establish a human brotherhood world-state. Great philosophers down the ages have never allowed these ideals and generous impulses to be forgotten. For many years prior to the War there were international discussions on the limitation of armaments, and the reign of law instead of force, and a number of successful endeavours to apply the principle of arbitration to international disputes. The Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague was planned in pre-War days, and has to its credit the settlement of some international differences. The two Hague Conferences were early efforts to form a League of Nations.

Indispensable to Human Progress

The next consideration is that of the indispensability to human progress of the conceptions on which the League is based. The War threw a lurid light, not yet quenched, on the insecurity from which the most civilised nations of the world have suffered in their relations to each other. Nothing was writ larger on the history of the struggle than the fact that the immense havoc it wrought would be utterly vain unless international life was reorganised on a basis of justice, equality and public law in replacement of the law of brute force. Without such reorganisation there was the prospect of recurring wars, each more devastating than the last, on account of the resources of science being increasingly available for both offensive and defensive conflict. The end of such recurrent wars must be the collapse not only of our modern civilisation but perhaps even organised society.

Thus the provision of a League of Nations became a necessity. It had to be met in haste, and from the beginning there were certain factors which were a heavy handicap to success. Though President Wilson had done so much to shape the Covenant, the United States—the strongest individual sovereign Power in the world and possessing vast resources—refused its co-operation. Further, the attachment of the Covenant to the Peace Treaty led to the German feeling, so fully exploited later, that the new institution was in essence a victor's League against the vanquished. But the statesmanship of Stresemann brought Germany into the League later on, and in its early years it handled with success a number of difficult problems some at least of which would most probably have led to War in pre-League days. These problems included the Upper Silesia and Saar settlements, the regularisation of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus passages, the German and Austrian War Debt adjustments, and the admission into the League of Egypt, Afghanistan, Turkey and—last but by no means least—of Russia.

Unfortunately, however, the outlook changed before the League succeeded in changing the mentality of the generations brought up under the old power politics or to educate sufficiently the rising generation (which had little or no personal recollection of 1914-18) before other voices and ideologies clamoured for hearing and demanded acceptance. In the Far East, in Northern Africa and on the Continent of Europe there were disavowals of the authority of the League, and three great Powers forsook its ranks.

Emphatic Negative to Isolation

These events led men to question whether the League was endowed with sufficient strength to save mankind from the disaster of another general war. There were in this country Isolationists and men wedded to the old Imperialistic ideas only too ready to exploit these doubts. It was suggested that, having failed in the main objectives, the League might limit its activities to the many secondary purposes it has so well served for two decades—those relating to labour, health, social and economic advance, and the suppression of the drug and white-slave traffics.

To such suggestions of abandonment of the primary purpose of the League an emphatic negative must be returned by all believers in human progress. Whatever may be the weaknesses the years have revealed in the structure of the League, whatever desertions there may

have been from its ranks, our task is to preserve this instrument, saving the world with loving and pious care. There are chapters in human history which show that later generations have derived enormous benefits from the maintenance of great movements and institutions during phases in which they have been incapable of effecting the good for which they were designed. It is a law of life that men should labour and endure to uphold ideals and institutions, and that other men should enter into their labours. If this is our lot we may take encouragement from glancing at a period of English history of a not unsimilar kind. During the reign of the Tudors such representative institutions as had existed became merely nominal assenting bodies for registering the will of the Sovereign. Yet all the outward forms of their implied authority were maintained. Later, when the Stuarts were on the throne, the internal development of the nation had gone far enough to make the maintenance of such autocracy an impossibility. The institutions themselves were infused with new life and stage by stage their power grew during generations into the effective sovereignty of Parliament, and thus the ultimate purpose of their establishment was achieved. There can be no doubt that even the formal maintenance of those institutions in the days of autocracy prevented a general decay of the ideas of which they were the symbol.

Similarly to-day the League must not be allowed to renounce the great ideal of being the Parliament of Nations, the supreme authority to ordain peace instead of war throughout the world. Let us carefully preserve those ideals and keep them as a living hope in the hearts of men. The League must be not only a security and defence against war but a recognised fount of justice which will bring about a new spirit among nations by reducing trade barriers, by bringing to the needs of all mankind the resources of vast untapped areas in South America, Africa and elsewhere.

Temptations to War Greatly Narrowed

In this way the temptations to international dispute would be greatly narrowed and aggressive nations would find themselves unable to reap the fruits of their aggression. We might go back to the ideas of Briand and Stresemann to form a United States of Europe, if she could be grouped into an economic power unit. Then indeed it would be possible for the nations of Europe to promote the use of the undeveloped parts of the world, bringing in America and such Asiatic countries as were advanced enough to take a hand in this work of making the world a garden for the enjoyment of all races and all nations. This programme would provide an incentive for the pursuits of the victories of peace, and would bring to undeveloped regions the resources of water power, electricity, and other forms of scientific invention. This would promote both increased consumption and production, instead of the competition of economic nationalism with its efforts to keep monopolies and to sell to other nations without buying from them.

A necessary alteration in the fundamental constitution of the League would be to allow the inhabitants of a portion of a country—if sufficiently numerous—to have a referendum under League direction. By this they could, through a substantial majority, be able to leave that State and either remain independent members or join some other country.

Of course, it would be necessary that the unit to which this would apply should be comparable, in population or area, to those of the smallest States that exist to-day, so as not to be merely a cantonal position.

But, if my main contention has been properly understood, the material motive and incentive to such changes would disappear, and all that would remain would be the desire for cultural and linguistic affinities.

United States of Europe

If once more the principles of Briand and Stresemann triumph, if the continent of Europe outside Russia becomes a real "United States" with economic union, and if the Great World Powers co-operate on a basis of no privilege for the development of the backward areas—then indeed nine-tenths of the dangers to civilisation would disappear, and what would be left could easily be handled by the central governing body of mankind.

Science has placed at the disposal of man in this generation many forces of destruction and death dealing. But man, by spiritual progress, can be civilised enough to become the master of such forces and to use them not for destructive but for economic, physical and cultural development. By this term I do not mean religious development alone, but all those things of the spirit and of culture to which insufficient attention is paid when men's thoughts are so insistently turned as they are to-day to the menace of war. We have to learn afresh the value of life of the spirit and that it can flourish among the peoples only to the extent to which it overcomes by collective action hatred, ill-will and other fruits of selfish ambition in men and nations, building up that single super-State where all races, civilisations and states can feel that they are equal parts of a Holy Whole.

Peaceful Evolution and Security Against Aggression

In the present world situation there is urgent need for (1) the clear formulation of a British world policy, (2) the systematic and continuous exposition of that policy to the British people and their enlistment in its support, (3) the bringing together on a common platform of all those sections of public opinion which are agreed about the fundamental principles of such a policy.

The new "Headway" will afford the desired platform. The policy on which the paper will be conducted is the co-operation of all civilised nations in defence of freedom and peace. Its purpose will be to strengthen every British effort to seek out and pursue a foreign policy at all times resting on these principles, including as they must the effort to achieve for all nations a peaceful and prosperous evolution and security against aggression.

EXODUS:

Pagan Tyranny Riding Triumphant Over A Great Part Of The World Brings Thirty Governments Together To Try To Save Its Victims

"BY the waters of Evian we sat down and wept" is an apt description of the atmosphere in which the Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees began its discussions. Not only did the condition of Zion call for tears, but the condition of Christendom. Here in the 20th century of Christianity is pagan tyranny riding triumphant over a great part of the world. And how slow are the rulers of the rest to withstand the tyranny or save its victims! How ready are honourable delegates to find in self-justification excuses for doing nothing; how unwilling to offend the potent persecutor! Thirty governments meeting together without any definite project to discuss would not at any time be an edifying spectacle. At Evian it seemed at first to be tragi-comic.

In the end the undoubted sincerity of Mr. Myron C. Taylor, the spokesman of President Roosevelt, helped to no small extent by the practical and experienced contribution of the hard-worked British delegation, and reinforced by the insistence of the voluntary organisations for the aid of refugees, who were there in force, brought out of chaos a modest but valuable result.

Gaunt Horror Compels Action

There is no motive so potent as the sense of a great injustice; and realisation of the gaunt horror of the German persecution impelled to action. There were those at Evian who had known Dachau from within, the humiliation of helpless people, the incessant floggings, the grinding toil of sick men, the poor wooden coffins for which the prisoners' families must pay. There were those who had seen in Vienna so many men and women, boys and girls, reduced with deliberate cruelty to suicidal despair, that the tears welled to their eyes as they looked out upon the peaceful beauty of lake and mountains. There was evidence enough of the rumbling of anti-Semitic thunder in all Central and Eastern Europe; the poverty of the crowded Jewish communities of Poland and Roumania; the stirring of hate which everywhere accompanies the extension of Nazi influence. These facts and these motives, dwarfing to insignificance the plight, hard as it is, of the fugitives from Germany and Austria already living in other countries, produced before the Inter-governmental Committee was many days old a certain unity of purpose, a certain programme of positive action, which we should do ill to depreciate.

In what does that consist? There is to be a permanent Inter-governmental Committee on the migration of political refugees. It will consist of the United States and Brazil as well as some thirty States Members of the League of Nations. There will be a "Bureau" of five persons, an American, an Englishman, a Frenchman, a South American and a Scandinavian. It will have a director and an office in London, where the full committee will resume its sessions in August.

Yet another committee? The British delegation at Evian drew attention, as the League of Nations Union had suggested, to the steps taken at long last by the League to set up a single international organisation to

protect all the refugees recognised as such, and to the unwisdom of duplicating machinery for that purpose. But, upon consideration, it was agreed that some international authority might usefully supplement the work of the League's High Commissioner. A memorandum presented to the Conference on the Union's behalf, at the time when the issues were very confused, defined the purposes of this authority as follows, and this definition now seems to hold the field:

- To provide a bridge for the collaboration of the U.S.A. and Brazil with the League for this specific purpose.
- To negotiate with the Reich concerning the conditions under which the victims of race-discrimination and of the policy of unification may emigrate. (The refugee services of the League deal only with persons who are already refugees.)
- To co-operate with the League's High Commissioner in finding places of final settlement for the exiles and potential exiles.
- To furnish those who are permitted to leave the Reich, but who are denied German passports, with travel documents.
- To administer any resources which may be made available to finance migration.

It will be seen that the whole object of this new endeavour, which President Roosevelt has set on foot, is to prevent the victims of intolerance in Europe from becoming refugees and to ensure that they shall be emigrants, leaving their old homes and establishing themselves in new homes as part of an orderly and humane system. This is the only alternative—sad as it is to admit the impossibility of reversing German internal policies—to a chaotic increase and exasperation of the present refugees problem. Planned migration, if it works satisfactorily for those who are constrained for racial, religious and political reasons to leave Germany and Austria, might be extended to relieve the congestion of population in Central and Eastern Europe as a whole. Such a programme is consistent with a policy of international appeasement.

Will Germany Allow It?

Will the German Government make this possible? At present the Jews and many "non-Aryan" Christians are being systematically robbed of their property; over 600,000 human beings are thus marked down for plunder; and no emigrant is allowed to take more than a few marks in his pocket. If that Government imagines that other States will tolerate the dumping of German subjects, destitute and disfranchised, within their frontiers, it is quite mistaken. The frontiers are virtually closed except for a dribble of fugitives, and closed they are likely to remain, atrocities and blackmail notwithstanding. Only if the Nazis allow those whom they persecute to bring out their property or contribute adequately to a migration fund will any considerable movement of population be possible.

By JOHN EPPSTEIN, Assistant Secretary L.N.U.,

one of the experts who attended the Evian Conference on Refugees

There are some grounds for believing that a deal may be done with Berlin on these lines.

To begin with, the noisy protestation of the *Völkischer Beobachter* to the effect that the Jews' property can on no account be exported from the Reich, looks like the first stage of oriental bargaining. And how are we to explain Nazi tactics at Evian? Thither they sent distinguished representatives of the Jewish *Kultur-gemeinschaft* in Austria and in Berlin; a Viennese Catholic business man with an emigration scheme; also (*sub rosa*) a couple of Gestapo spies, a personal henchman of Herr Ribbentrop and another of Herr Himmler. These gentry tried to look like journalists.

Two Policies In Nazi Party

There appear to be two separate policies or tendencies within the Nazi party—one, as defiant as it is ignorant of the outer world, believes in the publicity value of frightfulness: let the Jews recount to the benighted democrats the torments which they are enduring, and they will promptly be welcomed by the latter without a penny. The other policy, commonly associated with General Goering, contemplates a steady but orderly process of elimination from the Reich, and Vienna in particular, of those human elements which, according to the original programme of the National Socialists and the Nuremberg Laws, form no part of the German *Volk*. If the latter policy prevails, it is possible to do business with the German authorities, on the basis of an agreement to differ. As Lord Winterton said, "refugees have often enriched the life and contributed to the prosperity of the British people"; and the same is true of many other countries, notably the United States, beginning with the Pilgrim Fathers. Actually, the German emigration comes very near to be an "exodus of all the talents." The Society for the Protection of Science and Learning alone has placed nearly 900 German scholars, scientists and technicians. Dr. Brüning's lectures are a gain to the intellectual life of Oxford. Some three hundred new industries founded by German exiles employ more British working folk than the total number of German refugees in this country. The centre of the fur trade has moved from Leipzig to London, and the production of Jaffa oranges is a tribute to the heroic labour and ingenuity of Jewish colonists in Palestine. There are many countries who stand to gain by the absorption both of the so-called non-Aryans of Germany and of those who, because of their stand for Christian principles or political independence, are marked men in their own country. The sole condition of an organised migration of those sections of the population is, that they shall be allowed to bring with them their own means of livelihood, or that the Government which has sequestered their property or (more often) allowed it to be seized by its own irresponsible supporters, shall contribute sufficient money or goods to a general settlement fund. President Roosevelt's inter-governmental machinery, the League's High Commissioner and private charity, must do the rest.

The chief gain of the Evian meeting is the emergence for the first time of a determination to deal firmly with the Reich on this subject; the next is the close unity in counsel and in action of the three great democratic Powers—America, Britain and France. No better investigator into the possible conditions of emigration from Germany and Austria could be found than Mr. Brandt, chief immigration expert of the U.S.A., who will be visiting Vienna, Berlin, Breslau and other cities of the Reich before the resumption of the Inter-governmental Committee. These are real assets to be set against the manifest disadvantages of such a committee.

Thus a long-range programme of planned migration is at last in process of evolution. In the meantime every effort must be made to carry into effect simultaneously in many countries the constructive proposals of Lord Winterton's speech—which received scant justice in the London Press. They are as follows:

- (1) The prompt ratification of the Convention of February 10, 1938, on the legal protection of refugees from Germany and its extension to Austrian refugees.
- (2) The decision of "countries of first refuge . . . to absorb so far as they can in their economic, industrial and social systems the refugees from Germany and Austria who have already been admitted to their territories."
- (3) The admission by Colonial Powers of refugees to their colonies and overseas territories so far as economic, political and climatic conditions permit.
- (4) The provision by European countries of facilities for the technical training of young persons with a view to their emigration overseas.

Internationally Organised Migration

The simultaneous application of these measures is essential unless private charity is to be squandered upon day to day relief instead of being available for co-operation in constructive settlement schemes.

"The Refugees Problem" is in process of transformation into a system of internationally organised migration which may have consequences of the greatest importance to world economy. President Roosevelt's leadership has lifted the whole question into the forefront of the international scene. All the accumulated experience and information of the International Labour Organisation and of the League are needed in this hard undertaking. The High Commissioner for Refugees from Germany is to assist at all meetings of the Inter-governmental Committee, and Judge Hansson, President of the Nansen Office, is Chairman of its Technical Sub-Committee. Thus, in a world full of political madness and its cruel consequences, we are at the beginning of a great work of mercy and a great experiment in the distribution of population, undertaken by the sane co-operation of the United States of America and the League of Nations. Such an enterprise must not be allowed to fail.

COLLECTIVE SECURITY IS VITAL TO A.R.P.

By **STUART FRIEDENSON**

The well-known writer on problems of the air

IT is a platitude among supporters of the League of Nations to say that our real defence against air attack is the prevention of war by adherence to a policy of collective security. In a secondary sense, also, collective security is vital to the protection of the civilian population.

Advances in military aviation have made it impossible to organise a comprehensive plan of air raid protection within national boundaries. Especially is this true of Britain, with the most vulnerable capital in the world.

Time is essential for the defence. If the greater part of our air raid precautions plans are not to be nullified, civilians must have adequate warning of attacks, and the active defenders must have time to prepare for action.

An argument against providing bomb-proof shelters for all is that there would not be time for people to reach them without panic and confusion.

Short warning will also increase the difficulties of active defence.

Action against bombers should take place as far away from a city as possible, for casualties can be caused by anti-aircraft shells as well as by bombs. After warning has been received, interceptor aeroplanes must climb to fighting heights, while both balloon-barrages and anti-aircraft guns may require to be rapidly moved into the most effective positions.

The defence relies mainly on detecting bombers by the sound of their engines and by the electro-magnetic effects set up by their engines' rotation. Under average conditions, the distance at which either form of detection is reliable is little more than 50 miles.

Bombers flying at 300 miles per hour might be detected 100 miles from London, giving us a maximum warning of 20 minutes. Our A.R.P. plans are based on an estimate of 15 minutes, and that may prove in practice over-optimistic. It might be sufficient, but clearly a longer period would greatly increase London's safety.

The possibilities are, however, that in another war we might not have even that warning—or any warning at all—if we rely entirely on a national defence organisation.

During forty hours on March 16 to 18 this year, Barcelona was subjected to thirteen air raids, and on every occasion bombs dropping in the streets were the first warning the inhabitants or the defence had of any attack.

The attackers were using what Mr. John Langdon-Davies, in his book "Air Raid," calls the technique of the Silent Approach. Flying at a great height, they switched off their engines some considerable distance from Barcelona and glided to their objective.

A squadron attacking London could rise to a height of 30,000 feet or more, and switch off their engines 100 miles away. They would still be 20,000 feet up when they were over their target. They would thus be high enough to clear the balloon-barrages, the only form of defence which is not entirely dependent on

being able to locate the attackers. If they could increase their initial height to 40,000 feet, they could glide the last 200 miles of their flight. The Silent Approach is a completely surprise approach, for there are no sound vibrations or electro-magnetic disturbances for the detectors to register.

We must approach this problem in one of two ways. Either we must devise a means of making London physically invulnerable from air attack, an impossible task unless the whole life of the city is transferred underground. Or we must be certain of detecting any would-be attackers while they are still more than 200 miles away, and so give the active and passive defences adequate time to prepare.

A network of listening and observation posts, extending throughout Holland, Belgium and the North of France, could give us this adequate warning. In the event of an impending air attack by, say, German bombers, we should know an hour beforehand that the raiders were on the way, whether they used the Silent Approach technique or not. It is inconceivable that they could glide much more than the whole distance from the German frontier to London and still be high enough to clear the balloon-barrage.

How is such a network of ground intelligence services to be established?

A military alliance between Britain, France, Holland and Belgium would achieve the object. But, apart from the desire of Holland and Belgium for neutrality, military alliances of the old type are clearly undesirable and would have a disturbing rather than a stabilising effect on Europe.

The only solution is a genuine system of collective security, in which the partners co-operate in at least those measures which are necessary for passive defence. The easiest and most important of those measures is the automatic warning to member States of the League of any threatening movements by an aggressor air force.

Collective security, supplemented by a mutual intelligence service of this kind, is essential if the Western democracies are to safeguard to the utmost their civilian populations against air attack. Without it any A.R.P. plans are at best a gamble.

It may be argued that, with a system of collective security in operation, air raid precautions and aerial defence measures become unimportant, for the threat of collective action would deter any potential aggressor.

That, unfortunately, is no longer true. We have departed from League principles to such an extent that any rebuilding of collective security on a sure foundation is bound to be attended by some risk. And the greatest risk to-day lies in the extreme vulnerability of London from the air. As long as it remains the most vulnerable capital of any of the League States, British Governments will have at least an excuse for not shouldering the responsibilities which partnership in a real collective security system involves.

What the Struggle of Church and State in Germany Means to Mankind

by a correspondent who has recently been visiting the Christian leaders

THE present difficulties of the Church in Germany have their roots right back in the past. When Luther freed a large portion of the Church from the autocracy of the Pope, and limited the competency of the Church authorities to directly evangelical matters, he was forced to leave a large sphere of man's concerns to man, to determine on his own, and without ecclesiastical guidance. This gave a great impulse to free research in all fields, and while the research was carried on by godly men it was very fruitful. But soon, man's interest shifted from God to man, and the arts of philosophy and politics began to be practised on a basis of human self-sufficiency. The Church was unconsciously carried along on the tide—it was the spirit of the times and seemed to be yielding good results. Why not?

So now the National Socialist Weltanschauung is the outcome. The German man is the centre. God is a nebulous figure Who always agrees with him. The interest of the community of the German people, as interpreted by its present leaders, is the official "golden rule" for every man.

This conception is incompatible with the revelation of God through Jesus Christ. Therefore the Nazi Party is at enmity with the Church. At the same time the Church, purified by the persecution, has come to a new realisation of her revelation from God, and of her absolute duty to preach this revelation to the world.

Here is a brief review of the struggle. The twenty-five points of the Nazi Party include a declaration that their programme is based upon a "Positive Christianity." But when they came into power in 1933 they explained what this meant. The Church was to recognise the revelation of God through Adolf Hitler as on the same level with His revelation through Jesus Christ. The Church was to be united by State action, and a Reichsbishop, Ludwig Muller, was appointed to carry unification through.

This meant, of course, that the Church, if she agreed, must allow the right of the State to determine, in the last resort, the nature of the message the Church is to give to the world.

So the Church "split." The faithful were summoned to send delegates to a Synod at Wuppertal Barmen in the Ruhr, where the heretics, as those who accepted the Nazi offer had perforce to be styled, were invited to repent and to join the faithful in the Confessional Church, which was then and there provided with a theological basis of complete dependence on the Word of God, and an organisation independent of the official Church organisation, where this was in the hands of the heretics (German Christians), backed by Nazi support.

At present the struggle has passed through three

main phases: first, attempted use of force by the Reichsbishop and the police; second, State Church Commissions backed by the Nazis, and attempting to reconcile the Church and the heretics (their conclusions were overruled by the Churchminister Kerl when favourable to the Church); and now the phase of struggle for financial control of the Church.

The policy of the Nazis is "Divide et Impera." The struggle is carried on with varying intensity in different parts of Germany. Christians are divided in their loyalty to the Church and to the State. So that they are much tempted, if there is but little persecution in their district or a respite at any time, to feel that the struggle is non-existent or over. The party formations use every subtle means to discredit the Church. The Government plan to stop teaching Christianity in the schools, and the efforts of the Church to educate the children in the Bible are often hindered. In all but a few Universities theological professors and lecturers who are members of the Confessional Church have lost their posts and have been replaced by "German Christians." If a man goes to church it is a black mark against him, and he perhaps loses his job and has a bad time in the party. Spies listen to every sermon and report it to the secret police, perhaps having misunderstood it. The leaders of the Confessional Church outside Berlin are not allowed entry into Berlin, and vice-versa. Many prominent pastors have microphones fixed in their houses so that their whole conversation can be overheard by the secret police.

To meet these measures the Church has organised secret theological seminaries that change their location from day to day, where students get a true theological training, and when a congregation appoints such a student, now a pastor, it has to pay double salary—once to the consistorium and once to the pastor.

The attitude of the Church in Germany is one of deep consciousness of sin and inadequacy, but equally and more so of the power of God to uphold them and guide them, and of His forgiveness through Jesus Christ. The Christians are not political. The duty of the Church is to preach the Gospel. Applied to the present situation, Nazi "politics" embraces religion. Hence the clash. When this duty is opposed by illegal Nazification, they resist. But the Gospel is the only instrument they wield. They would scorn anything else. I have not met one Christian who is afraid for the future of the Church. In their best moments they are glad of the persecution for the awakening it has given them. This attitude has resulted in full churches, in praying congregations, and in a new realisation on the part of the "intelligentsia" that their intellectual gods are powerless to help them, and that they must turn to Jesus Christ.

Reflections on This Year's International Labour Conference

By JAMES H. WHITE, of the Intelligence Section, L.N.U. Headquarters

LAST month's HEADWAY contained a general account of the work of the 24th International Labour Conference. Now that a certain period of time separates us from it, it is possible to pick out a few of the more suggestive and interesting points which arose and to indulge in some general reflections.

Hours of work were disposed of more happily than most people had been led to expect. There was no anxiety to postpone the issue for two or three years—still less to bury it. It is true that the employers, with the exception of the French and the Americans, clung to their former attitude of obstruction, and revelled in endless discussions of the general principle of shorter hours, on which, however, their often-repeated arguments could shed no new light. The weight of the Governments, however, was thrown decisively into the scales on the side of the workers. The British Government, though dilatory in detail, was conciliatory in principle.

The employers resorted to the tactics of proposing an elaborate questionnaire, to be sent round to all Governments asking them what in their opinion would be the economic effects of shorter hours on a whole number of factors, such as production, unemployment, cost of living, etc. The proposal is alluring on account of its apparent impartiality and of the scientific guise in which it was presented. Yet it loses much of its power of attraction in the light of the fact that an inquiry of this kind was actually made by the International Labour Office in 1936, and that it produced few and unsatisfactory results. The Governments refused the bait with evident relief that their examination days were after all at an end.

Hours on the Road

The question of the hours of work of road transport workers was difficult chiefly owing to differences of opinion as to the scope of the points. Almost every word, even in the title of the question, was open to a variety of interpretations. Though the committee ultimately agreed not to regard camels, elephants and other pack animals as "vehicles engaged in road transport," there was, at any rate, at some stages of the discussion, a lively chance that they might have been included in such a category. However, the committee surmounted triumphantly all these technical difficulties and its report was discussed by the Conference during its last session. One question of scope was brought up again by the employers. They challenged the competence of the organisation to regulate the conditions of work of owner drivers and reserved the right to bring this constitutional question before the Permanent Court. However, as the World Court has already in a similar case, admitted the right of the I.L.O. to regulate the conditions of work of master bakers, it is unlikely that the whole issue will have to be fought out once more. The Conference, at any rate, rejected decisively the employers' limited conception of the Organisation's rights.

No uniform application of the 40-hour week was envisaged by the Conference. It is left to Governments to suggest a figure for the hours of work of road transport workers. In industry and commerce considerable elasticity will be allowed, and limits as high as 48 hours a week for hospitals and theatres, and 52 hours for hotels are being proposed.

Holidays for Native Labour

As regards native labour, the employers objected to the provision for annual holidays; to the proposal that they should pay the travelling expenses of their employees to and from the place of work; and to the abolition of penal sanctions. All these objections were upheld before the full Conference by a South African employer with the curious surname of Wellbeloved.

Even the Committee on the apparently harmless subject of vocational education ran into some choppy water when it attempted to regulate the conditions of apprenticeship. Employers dislike any regulation of their right to have and train apprentices and any control of the number employed. They disapprove still more of the proposals to fix the apprentices' wages; to provide holidays with pay and to guarantee their right to become members of Trade Unions. They cannot see why employers' and workers' organisations should be represented on the bodies which supervise apprenticeship. Their representatives at Geneva claimed that all these points were outside the scope of vocational training and had no right to be on the agenda.

Brink of Great Achievements

Yet it would be a great mistake to sum up the work of the Conference on terms of the controversies which arose from time to time among the three groups represented. The significant fact is that in each case a solution was arrived at by means of free negotiation and discussion and was ultimately accepted by a two-thirds majority of the Conference. Thus all the questions discussed this year, except statistics, which were finally disposed of will come up for discussion next year as draft conventions or recommendations. If the general attitude of Governments is as favourable then as it has been this year the I.L.O. stands at the brink of great legislative achievements. Possibly Governments feel that as they have so repeatedly abandoned the political aims of the League, their obligation to support its industrial wing is all the greater. At all events, enthusiasm for the I.L.O. is particularly noticeable in those South American countries, which are at this moment engaged in a flight from the political obligations of the League. It is encouraging to compare the sincere and helpful co-operation of the British Government representatives on the committee on the hours of work of road transport workers with their attitude of blank negation on the issue of shorter hours in the textile industry in 1937. The British Government is moving, and though the pace is not as fast as some of us could wish, it is certainly—so far as the I.L.O. is concerned—moving in the right direction.

THE I.L.O. NOW

By KATHLEEN GIBBERD, Author of "I.L.O.": The Unregarded Revolution

I HAVE written of misunderstandings and early days, of the British memorandum which grew into the constitution of the I.L.O., and of Albert Thomas, whose passion for social justice transformed the I.L.O. office into a missionary headquarters. Now we turn to the I.L.O. as it is to-day.

"This year," wrote an I.L.O. official to me some weeks ago, "we meet in marble halls," and I gathered that there was some conservative regret at saying goodbye at last to the makeshift accommodation that has had to serve for the past 20 years. Evidently the discomforts of the strange places that have previously housed I.L.O. Conferences are regarded with affection in retrospect. There was the Pan-American building, in Washington, that welcomed the first session to its parrots and goldfish; there was the Renaissance Palace, in Genoa, where the first seamen's conventions were loudly contested in mingled elegance and heat; there was the Geneva Casino, where the ill-effects of white lead in paint were pronounced on a stage that usually provided rather lighter entertainment. (It was there, too, that an ingenious barman offered weary delegates a special cocktail that he called "white lead and anthrax.") And in latter years there has been the sombre *Bâtiment Electoral* whose whimsical acoustics had to be wooed with billowy sheets hung above the heads of the delegates.

A Place To Be Visited

When the I.L.O. built its own office by the side of the lake, the funds which Albert Thomas wrung for it out of the League's Financial Committee—for the expenses of the I.L.O. have to be met by the League—were not sufficient to cover the cost of a hall for the I.L.O. Conference. The I.L.O. has therefore to borrow the League's Assembly Hall and now that the new League palace is completed both the Assembly and the Labour Conference meet in the Assembly wing of this vast new building that for all its size and superb beauty was paid for with a sum that bears only a decimal relation to the cost of a modern battleship. I have heard people speak of it as the most beautiful building of the modern world, but this is not the place to speak of its enchantments. Besides, it is something to be visited rather than described. At first we kept losing our way, and often our balance also, for the marble floors are excessively slippery. To the English mind the long corridor called *la galerie des pas perdus* was aptly named, for in this wide decontrolled area we were especially tempted to hurry and therefore lose our steps. Later, however, we learnt to imitate the careful walk of the ever-efficient I.L.O. staff and adopted what someone flippantly called the "Conference waddle."

The efficiency of the I.L.O. staff is remarked on at every Conference. Everyone of the 400 delegates (a figure which includes the group of advisers that every country is allowed to send along with its voting delegation of two Government representatives, one employer, and one worker) is entitled to receive before and daily during the Conference a large and varied supply of documents. Thus he or she is informed about everything on the agenda and the details of daily progress.

It is said that this distribution department never makes a mistake. Typists, secretaries, editors, printers work far into the night to keep the records up to time.

How Reforms Begin

But the staff is, of course, much more than a recording and distributing agency. It is the experts on the staff, for instance, who have produced the famous "Grey Reports" that the delegates tuck under their arms. A Grey Report is the beginning of every industrial reform undertaken by the I.L.O. There are four Grey Reports behind the discussions of this year's Conference. Next year, if all goes well, they will be superseded by Blue Reports and within the pale blue covers next year's Conference will find in the form of a Convention or Recommendation draft legislation ready for adoption. Thus thousands of native workers may ultimately be protected from unjust contracts, thousands of children diverted from blind alley occupations, thousands of emigrants assisted in their exile and hundreds of thousands of industrial workers given greater leisure.

The Office experts follow the development of their own conventions or Recommendations as parents watch over the development of their children. In the marble corridors they mingle with the delegates, always ready to inform and explain. When the voting takes place they sit on the platform with anxious eyes, and when it is over they can be found chasing those who called out "No" or "Abstain" to ask them why. But the office staff not only provide the information, the machinery, and the guidance, they also contribute to the goodwill. And without goodwill an I.L.O. Conference cannot advance towards results. Each section of the Conference fights for its own interests, the workers pressing for reforms, the employers struggling against increased costs, the Governments leading this way or that way, according to their political colouring. The fight in the Conference Hall is often with gloves off, but afterwards in the corridors, in the hotels, in the homes of I.L.O. officials, goodwill prevails. I heard one overworked official regret the effect on his digestion of so many evening parties and receptions, and I daresay fatigue and dyspepsia are no small part of the casualties in the struggle for co-operation and industrial peace.

PUBLICATION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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Establish and Maintain the Law

There is clearer moral justification for the use of armed force in defence of International law than for a War of the old type in defence of territorial possessions or economic interests.

A STATEMENT by the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Bath and Wells, Bristol, Carlisle, Chelmsford, Derby, Dover, Lichfield, St. Asaph, Southwark and Southwell; the Deans of Chichester and Exeter; the Provost of Wakefield, and the Rector of Birmingham.

We are persuaded that the deterioration in this sphere which is universally acknowledged, is due to the failure to stand by principles which they professed on the part of the States Members of the League of Nations at various critical points; we mention two—the failure to take any kind of effectual action on the Lytton Report after the invasion of Manchuria, and the holding up of sanctions in the case of Abyssinia at the point where they might have begun to be effective; in both cases our own country had a large measure of responsibility.

At present we are confronted with situations in China and in Spain which give rise to grave misgivings, and all are aware that similar situations may arise at any time in Central Europe.

We desire, therefore, to affirm that the supreme goal of foreign policy should be the establishment and maintenance of international law. It seems to be assumed that our country would resort to war in self-defence, which is generally understood to include defence of the territorial integrity of the British Empire; from that we do not dissent, though we should wish the decision whether a *casus belli* exists to rest with an impartial authority, unless a territorial aggression has actually taken place.

But we wish to affirm with all possible emphasis that there is clearer moral justification for the use of armed force in defence of international law than for a war of the old type in defence of territorial possessions or economic interests. And we are far from satisfied that this order of moral priority is universally accepted by our fellow-citizens or by the Government.

Several examples might be given of what we mean. The continued wars in China and Spain, accompanied, as

they are, by the most appalling suffering of the civilian population, including women and children, constitute clear breaches of both law and morality. Perhaps the clearest instance of a single factor to which both national interests and international law are applicable is the bombing of British ships in Spanish harbours. These ships are acting lawfully, and the attacks on them are unlawful. Not so much in defence of British interests as in defence of law, we hold that the Government should take effectual action to check these outrages and face considerable risk with that object. We have no competence to suggest how this should be done, but are encouraged by the success of the Nyon Agreement to believe that the difficulties are not insuperable, and that a firm stand for moral principle would not necessarily involve war.

There is a real moral case for a repudiation of the use of armed force altogether; but our country has not been persuaded that it is sound. There is no moral case for building and maintaining armaments without clear moral principles to direct their use. We are anxious lest the recent trend of events should develop into a drift away from all moral principles, and result in an acceptance of sheer expediency as the guide of our action.

We recognise the paramount obligation of avoiding general war if that can be done without gross betrayal of principle; but we contend that an even greater evil is involved in international anarchy, which would, moreover, almost inevitably lead to general war.

We desire, therefore, to reiterate our conviction that the maintenance of international law must, on moral grounds, take precedence of any national interests in the direction of foreign policy, and should be its supreme goal.

Other points follow from this, including revision of the existing international law and the securing of fair access to raw materials. But of all claims the authority of international law stands first.

policy must, nevertheless, seek to support at all times the positive principles of responsible individual freedom under representative, democratic government, upon which the British Commonwealth is founded. Among these principles are respect for individual human right, toleration of racial, religious and political differences, and free association between the members and sections of a community—all of which are essential conditions of the establishment of peace.

British policy, therefore, must oppose in the international sphere intolerance or recourse to arbitrary violence. It must favour methods of impartial inquiry and of peaceful adjustment and the willing acceptance of a common law of nations. And it must be ready to join others in withstanding breaches of this law as the only way to diminish armaments and to create peace.

The new HEADWAY, whose first number will be published on October 1, will be the organ of this policy.

DEFENCE OF FREEDOM AND PEACE

The aim of British policy should be to maintain and to defend the vital interests and the free civilisation of Great Britain and the British Commonwealth and, in co-operation with other countries, to safeguard peace.

The methods of attaining this aim are:—

- To ban aggressive violence from international relations, to restore respect for treaties and covenants, and, for this purpose, to raise and to keep the armed strength of Great Britain and the Commonwealth up to whatever level may be needed.
- To co-ordinate, through the League of Nations and otherwise, political, economic and military strength so as to deter and, if need be, to resist armed aggression.
- To discountenance and to counteract aggression in the form of propaganda.
- To promote impartial inquiry into international grievances, and peaceful redress of proved wrongs.

While recognising that all civilised peoples are entitled to choose their own political and social systems, British

FRANCE REJECTS ISOLATIONISM

By H. P. S. MATTHEWS

FOR some months past France has been subjected to a vigorous isolationist campaign. The leading figure in that campaign has been M. Flandin, Foreign Minister of France at the time of the German reoccupation of the Rhineland in March, 1936. The vehicles of the campaign have been the two widely-read periodicals, *Gringoire* and *Candide*, as well as a section of the Paris daily press.

The Flandin campaign reached its height in March of this year. It was a campaign of bitter attacks on the Czechs, and it aimed at showing that France did not consider herself bound by her Treaty of mutual assistance with Czechoslovakia. That treaty, it was argued, was a part of the Locarno system, and had lapsed with the German renunciation of Locarno in March, 1936.

The shock which French opinion has experienced both over the Austrian and over the Czech affairs has had a most salutary effect. It has left the French people conscious that only by unity can it hope to meet the dangers of the situation which faces it.

It is becoming increasingly plain to Frenchmen that there can be no question of abandoning Czechoslovakia, and that for a variety of reasons. In the first place France has so solemnly committed herself to the defence of the Czech Republic that, if she defaulted on her obligations, she would suffer a loss of prestige which would deprive her of all say in the councils of Europe. Secondly, the acquisition of Czechoslovakia, and the opening of the road to Roumania and Hungary, would put at Germany's disposal supplies of wheat and oil which would enable Germany to conduct a long war. In present circumstances, the Western Powers, if they can survive the first weeks of a war, are assured of ultimate victory. For in a long war time would operate in their favour. With the bulwark of the Bohemian quadrilateral gone, this would no longer be the case.

German propaganda has, in the past, attempted to place upon France the onus of making a localised Czech-German conflict into a general war. Germany has said: "Our quarrel with the Czechs is our own affair; if they fail to grant our just demands, we may be compelled to use the threat of war. If you intervene, yours will be the responsibility for dragging Europe into a general war." To this the French reply: "We have a specific obligation to assist the Czechs in the event of an unprovoked attack upon them. We undertook that obligation at Locarno, at a conference which German representatives attended, and they raised no objection to it. We intend to implement our obligation, and if, therefore, you attack the Czechs, you will be responsible for the consequences." M. Flandin would have the French Government speak and act otherwise. But I believe that M. Daladier, in adopting this attitude, has the support of the overwhelming majority of the French people.



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READERS' VIEWS

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

"THOSE BETRAYALS"

SIR,—It was refreshing to read in the June issue of HEADWAY the two letters signed E. J. Corner and Oswald Earp putting the case for the Government, and to note the reactions to Mr. Earp's contention in the first three letters of the current number. What so many critics of the Hoare-Laval scheme and later of the Anglo-Italian agreement fail to appreciate is that, in Sir Samuel Hoare's words at Geneva, in September, 1935, "My Country stands for the 'collective' maintenance of the Covenant, etc.," and that if through the refusal of other parties to fulfil their obligations under the Covenant collective action becomes impossible, there is nothing for it but to search for a compromise in order to save something from the wreck. The analogy of the two burly policemen breaks down when one realises that one of them is strongly suspected of having fatally committed himself with Mussolini and that unilateral action by the other is ruled out by the Covenant itself. "We are betrayed" has been the cry down the ages by those smarting under a sense of failure of a cause or system dear to their hearts, followed by a search for a scapegoat and savage reprisals or a "purge" in latter-day Russia or Nazi-Germany. Surely we pride ourselves on having outgrown that sort of mentality?

CHARLES PENGEL.

Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

REPLY TO CRITICS

SIR,—In reply to my three critics—none of whom would seem to have grasped the real situation—may I suggest that among the truths which at least no reasonable and well-informed man can deny are these:—

(1) That the whole trouble originated in the weakness of our representatives at the Stresa Conference, who, preferring to "let sleeping dogs lie," made no reference whatever to the war clouds already gathering over Abyssinia, and so gave Mussolini the impression that he had no serious opposition to fear.

(2) That when the trouble did arise, the natural concern of the British, and still more of the French, Government lest Italy should be driven to a German alliance—only too well justified by the event—made effective opposition impossible.

(3) That when this became clear the Hoare-Laval move, making the best of a thoroughly bad position, was both wise and timely.

(4) That had the Cabinet held to its course, Mussolini, who accepted the proposals *thanking* the British and French Governments for their *demarche*, would have been only too glad to end the campaign on the lines suggested.

(5) That their failure to do so forced Mussolini to complete his victory before the next rainy season set in by the use of poison gas.

The responsibility of those who opposed Sir Samuel Hoare is very grave, and one would have liked to see some of them making him the *amende honorable*.

Queen's Road, Egham.

OSWALD EARP.

A NATIONAL PLEBISCITE

SIR,—I agree that present international circumstances may have rendered the "emergency" collective security campaign a vital necessity for the moment. Yet in the absence of any other current activity, on the same scale as regards output of energy and calculated to keep the Union's

fundamental and permanent aims well in view, there is grave danger that it may lead to fatal misunderstanding both here and abroad. As such other activity I suggest the taking of a national plebiscite on the following question:

"In so far as British interests are concerned, is it your desire that our Government, after consulting the Dominions, should advocate at Geneva all such changes in the existing international arrangements (territorial and economic, as well as those connected with colonial administration and immigration) as may be found necessary to convert the 'League' into a fully co-operative one into which all civilised nations could be expected to enter in contentment and with confidence?"

I am well aware that the Union has covered the whole field referred to in the above question and resolutions passed at different times, but I fear these may be easily overlooked, in the heat of the present campaign, by all those who are less familiar with the history of our "movement."

Should the expense and work entailed preclude a plebiscite, I believe an explicit and emphatic "Declaration" from Union headquarters alone could have much the same effect, and thus constitute an important step towards the goal we are all hoping to attain.

B. BURNE.

Park Avenue, Hull.

LET THE UNION GIVE A LEAD

SIR,—Many will agree with F. Talbot that it is time the L.N.U. got a new programme. Collective security is dead. Any attempt to rebuild the League must start from the angle of peaceful change. Let the Union give a lead. It made a good beginning in declaring the need for internationalising colonies and the air. Add to that the international control of trade, and there would be a programme to fire men's imagination.

If such a programme could be realised in the world, it would do far more for security than any number of promises. A League responsible for the world's air routes and trade routes would have real strong, selfish reasons for resenting any disturbance of the peace: it would also have the power to make its resentment felt.

But such aims are visionary? Well, why should not the L.N.U. have the courage again to be visionary, as it was in 1918? At least, its position could not be any worse than it is now.

A. H. WALLACE.

Horwich, Bolton, Lincs.

TRUE TO-DAY

SIR,—I have just been reading a speech by "Pericles," which seems to me singularly appropriate to our special troubles: "Different States with equal votes are likely to think just of their own interests, and that usually ends in nothing being done. How could it be otherwise? One will be wanting the maximum of vengeance upon a particular enemy, another the minimum of damage to his own property. And when, after numerous delays, they do contrive to meet in council, short will be the time devoted to matters of common concern, but lengthy the discussion of individual interests. Everybody will think no harm can be done by his own negligence, but that it's everybody else's duty to be careful on his behalf. And so, with every member separately tending his own plans, disaster stealing on it unperceived will overtake the whole League."

Bexhill-on-Sea.

RICHARD KAY.

LOAN TO TURKEY

SIR,—With what a shock of horror comes the news that England intends to make a war loan to Turkey!

Through years of living with the Armenian remnant in Aleppo, in humble co-operation with the work of the League's High Commissioner for Refugees (Dr. Nansen) I realise how Turkey literally undertook to annihilate them (after we, the Allies, had forsaken them) in methods of indescribable cruelty.

In the memorial presented to the Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, by Mr. Asquith and Mr. Baldwin in 1924, it is clearly urged that it is the Armenian refugees themselves to whom our great debt is due.

May the Spirit of God stab our country awake, that we may refuse to make the choice of serving baal.

Much talking may do harm rather than good, but only upon righteousness dare we hope for international peace.

From an Englishwoman, who has thrown her own life and possessions to help save England's honour.

EDITH ROBERTS.

Camberley, Surrey.

"LEAGUE NEWS"

SIR,—It has been my privilege to read and retain for binding purposes all the numbers of *League News* for the young, edited by my good friend the late F. J. Gould. I look upon this leaflet as the best emanation from headquarters; it has, much more than the other Union literature, served to fan my zeal for the propagation of constructive international peace. It has been the basis of scores of addresses which I have given to boys and girls since that outstanding day when the first copy of *League News* was delivered at my home. I imagine it has been the source in many lands of wisdom, inspiration, pleasure and enlightenment. I cannot recollect any lack of tact, thoughtfulness, or gracious understanding in any of all the 43 wonderful numbers which are a lasting memorial to a great World Friend and Teacher. There must be many, many like myself in almost all parts of the world who thank God for the life and labours of F. J. Gould.

Dundee.

A. G. BLACKWOOD.

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