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CONGRESSES

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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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A YEAR ago the world, as is its habit, looked to Britain for a lead and was not disappointed. For some weeks after Sir Samuel Hoare's great speech of September 11th, the British Government showed the world the way of peace. Subsequent events have changed all that.

Nevertheless, His Majesty's Government, with the great majority of the British people behind them, still seek to organise peace through the League of Nations, and the world's old habit of looking for a British lead has not been eradicated by the disastrous events of a single year.

Civilisation is on the march and wants a British lead.

The League of Nations Union—incorporated by Royal Charter—steps into the breach. Let us be worthy of our opportunity. We have nothing to fear but lack of faith.

NEWS AND COMMENT

Against the Aggressor

THE only protest raised anywhere against Mr. Eden's Assembly speech, and that based on a misapprehension, is its severance of Europe into two halves, a West which is Britain's business, and an East which is not. On any careful reading Mr. Eden's thought was "the West is Britain's first business." The doubt, such as it is, however, makes still more timely Mr. Winston Churchill's plain words in his Paris speech the day before Mr. Eden addressed the League. Said Mr. Churchill:

We seek peace. We submit ourselves proudly to the League of Nations. Someone asked me the other day, "If Germany and Russia went to war would you be in favour of Germany or of Russia?" I think that is a very easy question to answer. Our sympathies and any action we are bound to take under the Covenant of the League of Nations would be against whoever was the unprovoked aggressor. It would not be a question of Germany or Russia. It would not be a question of Right or Left. It would be a question of right or wrong.

Mr. Churchill's point is not new to readers of HEADWAY. But no one could drive it home with more force than the statesman who has been most passionate in his attacks on Communism and furthest from any weakness for the Extreme Left.

Mind and Conscience

EVERYBODY felt that the existence of the League had been at stake and that the League had been saved." In one happy sentence the Geneva correspondence sums up the effect of the Assembly's decision, taken on September 23, by 39 votes to 4, that the Abyssinian delegation appointed by the Emperor, must be admitted to a full share in its proceedings. A pungent account of the manœuvres which were the prelude to this act of justice and sound policy is given on a later page. But the foolish beginning has little importance compared with the wise conclusion. Indeed, the fact that powerful nations struggled hard to go astray makes more significant their being compelled to take the right path. The plan was to buy the favour of Italy by excluding Abyssinia. Abyssinia was to be sacrificed because Italy's presence at Geneva was supremely precious. But the value of Italy to the League to-day is far from proved, and a betrayal of the League's honour would be a disastrous price to pay for no matter whose co-operation. The good sense of the League rose in revolt. That revolt is full of hope. The League has a mind and a conscience.

Union's Policy

THE Assembly vote has heartened all friends of the League. The Union has never doubted what the League ought to do. A resolution passed on September 17, reads:—

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union trusts that H.M. Government will resist any

proposal that may be made for depriving Ethiopia of its right to be represented at the Assembly of the League of Nations.

And in thus expressing its hope the Union was in effect only reaffirming a decision come to in the most formal manner as long ago as last June at Scarborough, when the General Council asked that: at the forthcoming meetings at Geneva, His Majesty's Government should propose that, in accordance with the terms of Article XVI (4) Italy, having violated the Covenant, be declared no longer a Member of the League.

Neighbours Must Help

OURS is a world of shrinking distances and multiplying contacts. In one sentence, that is the case for the League. The nations now live, perforce, so close together that they must have world peace, and world peace means world government. The League is no vague, unpractical attempt to satisfy a sentimental aspiration; it answers a workaday need.

One of the minor satisfactions of the present bewilderment is the clearer understanding now visibly emerging in many countries that the League must serve many other purposes than common defence against an aggressor, vitally important though that is. When German troops entered the Rhineland last March, thus destroying the Locarno Treaties, Belgium, France, Great Britain and Italy included in the programme which they then submitted to Germany for a comprehensive European pacification: "International arrangements having as their object the extension of economic relations and the organisation of commerce between the nations." At this year's Assembly the exceptionally numerous and competent French delegation, whose many economic experts were a proof that the Paris Government was very much in earnest, was instructed "to sound other League Members on their attitude towards negotiations for improving the disastrous financial and economic situation in Europe." Finally, the League's Economic and Financial Committees, in their reports to the Assembly, both demand action to re-establish more helpful trading relations between the nations of the world. Not only prosperity but peace requires it.

By common consent, the League offers the sole means of approach to economic disarmament. In no other way than through the League has any serious attempt been made to reach that highly desirable end. In no other way is any serious attempt possible. Despite past failures, the League has at least saved the nations from forgetfulness or despair. Now it is awakening new hopes.

Dictators Hinder

THE objection may be raised that exaggerated nationalism, dominant in many countries, is reducing international contacts, not multiplying. To believe so is to be misled by words, and

to attend rather to what dictators choose to say than to what they are compelled to do.

Nations bicker when they might be friends. Ill-will sets up obstacles, and obstacles cause loss. But still they are driven to help one another in however grudging, limited, inefficient a fashion.

Herr Hitler has been denouncing and threatening Russia. His boast of the good uses to which he would turn his resources if all the land to the Ural mountains were German territory has excited alarm. Dr. Goebbels has gone far beyond his chief in violent abuse. Retorts have come from Moscow. And yet German shipping increases rapidly in the Russian ports, while impoverished German finance and industry prepare to place at Russia's disposal long-term credits of £24,000,000 for the purchase of German goods. The drive of powerful forces is towards a rationalisation of the world economy: the dictatorships are unable to do worse than thwart them in part. The League method can guarantee that the full benefits are reaped and that waste is averted.

The Method of Peace

AMIDST the hubbub and heart-breaks of the past year the temptation has been insistent to believe that only violence succeeds. The nations seem to have turned their backs upon reason, and to seize what they want by force, either actual or threatened, in disregard of their own pledges and their neighbours' rights. In the prevailing mood two crucial events have received less than their due notice. During these months the method of peace has achieved in two highly-important cases results certainly not less valuable even in the most narrowly self-regarding estimate than were obtained by Signor Mussolini in Abyssinia and Herr Hitler in the Rhineland, and at no cost in persistent friction and resentment. These are the satisfaction of Turkish claims to fortify the Straits and the recognition of full Egyptian independence. The exact details need not be set out here. What is vital is that, having met and talked together, a large group of nations face the future on friendlier terms. All the Powers with major interests in the Eastern Mediterranean, except Italy, have reconciled serious differences which were only too likely to poison their relations. Great Britain and Egypt have dispelled their mutual suspicions: instead of being potential enemies, as they have too long continued, affording dangerous opportunities to mischief makers, they are now firm allies, bound to common action in defence of peace.

America Was Willing

WHEN Japan challenged the League in Manchuria, with the dire consequences for all the world which are tragically plain to-day, the weak complaisance of the British Government was excused with the plea that Great Britain could not ask the League to go further than the United States was ready to go, since the

American limit fixed the practicable limit for Britain also. The story of the American drag upon the League engine was repeated authoritatively in many quarters where the facts should have been known. Now comes Mr. Henry L. Stimson, who was then American Secretary of State, to utter a flat contradiction. In his book on "The Far Eastern Crisis" he says he suggested to Sir John Simon the imposition of economic sanctions, invoking, as the legal basis of United States' action, the Nine-Power Treaty for common defence in the Far East. He continues:—

I talked with the Foreign Minister again on the same subject at London, on February 13 and February 15 and, while no explicit refusal to my proposal was ever made, I finally became convinced from his attitude in those conversations that for reasons satisfactory to it, and which I certainly had no desire to inquire into or criticise, the British Government felt reluctant to join in such a *démarche*. I therefore pressed it no further.

A lack of courage and drive in British policy has been confessed a chief cause for the League failure in Manchuria and all the evils which followed and are still following. Apparently more was thrown away more needlessly than the British people have hitherto known.

The Vital Question

WHAT is our general attitude to change? Do we regard change as a dislocation of normal rest and stability, or rest and stability as a mere pause in a normal process of change? The answer to these questions will make all the difference to the social shock-absorbers, the accommodating mechanisms, that must be envisaged. In one case there will be well-developed tentacles grappling-irons, anchorages, and all the apparatus of security. In the other, society will put on castors and roller-bearings, cushions, and all the aids to painless transition. The impact of science will be surprising and painful in the one case, smooth and undamaging in the other."

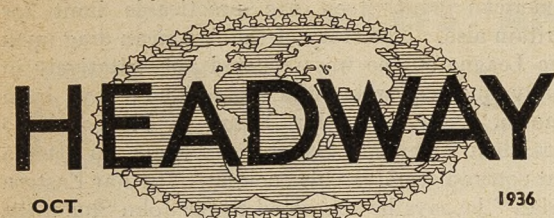
In this passage in his Presidential address to the British Association at Blackpool Sir Josiah Stamp flung down to the assembled scientists of the country the very challenge which, in the realm of world politics, the League of Nations Union exists to take up.

Courage for Safety

MR. G. G. COULTON, the distinguished historian, writes a letter to the *Times* on the ideal of peace. It contains a brief paragraph which deserves to be pondered:

The worst danger to pacifism comes not from outside but from within; the danger of choosing unconsciously the line of least resistance and calling it "peace." It is almost universally admitted now that the worst failures of the League of Nations have come from this preference of peace to justice.

Peoples, as well as individuals, must always be choosing. If they choose the easy way out every time they soon find they have blundered into disaster. Courage is one of the conditions of safety.



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A LEAD ONCE MORE

ONCE more Great Britain has given the world a lead. Mr. Anthony Eden, in his League Assembly speech on September 25, outlined a practical peace policy. The response has been immediate. The strain is relaxed. Plain men and women are breathing more freely. They see an alternative to the dread choice with which they are challenged daily from a thousand platforms. "Either this extreme of violence or that," they are told. "On one side or the other, fight you must." "Not so," says Mr. Eden. "The League offers a middle way. Within the League as it ought to be, all nations, no matter what their political systems, can find satisfaction for their just claims and effective defence against an aggressor. It is for us to make sure that it serves the great purpose of which it is capable. We must hold the League together, for only the League can hold the nations together. Only the League can give peace a chance."

A year ago Great Britain's representative spoke words in the Assembly. Sir Samuel Hoare struck a higher note than Mr. Eden has done. The response of the world then was enthusiasm, not relief. What was promised was not an escape from disaster; it was a convincing demonstration that the world future was peace. Should the need arise the peace-keeping nations would rally in overwhelming force to restrain a peace-breaking nation. But soon courage gave place to caution. Less than the situation required was attempted. Partial success was made the excuse for an irresolute halt. In the end all the nations who had taken so bold a stand went away backwards, leaving the aggressor victorious, in possession of his booty. The event persuaded many of the League's firmest friends that if no more had been intended not so much should have been said. Mr. Eden has avoided a repetition of last year's error. A world, grown deeply suspicious of heroics, therefore, listens without prejudice. And, having thought over his message, it discovers much matter for encouragement. What Mr. Eden has propounded is a long-term policy, whose gains, secured one by one, will build successive footholds for further advance.

Mr. Eden puts first things first. The League must be a world League. What is even more important, its Members must feel a world loyalty. They must honour their bond as set down in the Covenant. In the League is a place for all nations. All Members rightly ask respect for their political institutions, themselves showing a similar respect in return. A strong League gives each of them without discrimination a common pledge of peace and justice. Justice is as necessary as peace. Unless they are assured that their just demands

will be satisfied, nations with deeply felt grievances will not continue in the League. Article XIX of the Covenant reads:—"The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world." Hitherto the righting of legalised wrongs has commanded too small a share of the League's attention. Article XIX must become a reality. The separation of the League from the peace treaties is a further measure required to satisfy the demand for completely equal treatment, which is an essential of justice.

Justice once more, Mr. Eden says, insists on a recognition of the rights of the world's peoples to play the part for which their abilities and their energies qualify them in the development of the world's natural resource. The Colonial problem is immensely complicated. Its difficulty does not excuse a refusal to study it in a spirit of active goodwill with a fixed resolve to work out a solution. Great Britain proposes an early inquiry into the relative ease of access to colonial raw materials enjoyed by different peoples. Here is a practical beginning. Other wider and deeper issues have already taken shape in the background. They cannot be neglected much longer. A helpful approach to them will be facilitated if a demonstration is given that the general economic life, and in particular the industries, of nations with few colonies or none is not handicapped in the purchase of raw materials.

Justice and peace. Peace is a condition of justice as it is of all the good things of life. Without peace they cannot flourish. Mr. Eden has his contribution to offer on behalf of Great Britain to the League's vitally important task of peace keeping. Recognising explicitly the world scope of the Covenant, Mr. Eden remarks on the naturally varying measure of concern with which League members regard threats of disturbance close home or at the ends of the earth. No nation can act as effectually, no nation will be as ready to act, against an aggressor 3,000 miles away as it can and will against an aggressor just across its own frontier. Mr. Eden is for a Western European Pact. He suggests it not because he wishes to contract out of the League system but in order to strengthen the whole system by providing a special protection in a particular place. Another point for peace is his reminder to the world that prevention is better than cure. Indeed, prompt preventive steps may succeed where after delay no cure would be possible. He suggests an alteration whereby under Article XI the League may intervene in good time to avert a threatened war although one of the parties to the dispute is opposed to League action.

Britain bases her world policy on the League. Mr. Eden has told the world so in the plainest terms. He has outlined the consequences which Britain expects to follow from her stand. What now? For the Union the question is already answered. The policy announced by the Government closely resembles the policy the Union has advocated in full detail for many months past. There is no reason for a moment's delay. The Union must set to work at once to supply a convincing demonstration that the British people support a policy which is in the fullest sense both a League policy and a national policy. In the true British tradition it offers the world a middle way of escape from the final horror of a world civil war between rival extremes.

WORLD YOUTH AT GENEVA

By G. CARRITT

SEVEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY delegates from 36 nations and from 11 international youth organisations have returned home to report the success and to carry out the tasks that have been set by the first World Youth Congress; 48 delegates and 50 observers from Great Britain represented four political parties and the important Christian and social youth organisations, the student and youth peace groups in the country.

The organisations which sent the British delegation to Geneva have reason to hold high hopes of the youth peace movement which will develop at home and throughout the world. One result of the many informal meetings which took place was the formation of an inter-Empire Youth Committee, to establish closer relations between the youth movements of the Dominions, Colonies, India and Great Britain.

Small incidents are characteristic of the spirit that prevailed during the whole week. On the first day the American delegation put forward a Negro girl to address their greetings to the plenary session; on the last the French delegation submitted an appeal to the German youth to join the international youth committee from which they had resigned during the preparations of the Congress.

The reports of the Commissions were recommendations based on accepted lines of policy.

The outstanding findings of the First Commission were: that it is not the League which has failed, but the governments who have failed to fulfil their obligations under the Covenant—therefore, there should be a league of peoples acting as a consultative body and giving the authority of public opinion to the representatives of governments; that any reform of the League must be of a nature to strengthen its authority—such as, an automatic definition of an aggressor, and pacts of mutual assistance organised on a regional basis within the framework of the League.

The Second Commission, which dealt with Youth in the Economic and Social Order, based an important part of its findings on detailed reports submitted by various delegations on the serious conditions of young people resulting from the economic crisis and from new methods of organisation in industry. The report recommended that a "Charter of the Rights of Youth" should be prepared and submitted to the International Labour Organisation and to all governments as well as to organisations of employers and employed. The charter should deal with such questions as youth unemployment, hours and conditions of work, training and education, sports facilities and holidays, etc.

This Commission also considered the vexed question of Colonies and Mandates. It determined that the mere transfer of colonies or mandates from one Power to another would in no way solve the political and economic rivalries of the Powers nor satisfy the demands of justice to the colonial and mandate people whose interests must be the first concern. The contribution of the United States delegation, based on hearings before the Committee on Education and Labour of the United States Senate concerning the American

Youth Act, was of the greatest significance. In the discussions on Mandates and Colonies, a leading part was played by Negro delegates from America and French Africa.

The Third Commission, which dealt with philosophical and religious problems, having agreed on the necessity and desirability of co-operation between organisations of fundamentally different outlook (*e.g.*, Catholics and Communists) on immediate issues concerning peace and social welfare, proposed a number of practical measures for the organisation of international understanding through publicity and education.

The Fourth Commission, which was composed of only three delegates from each national delegation and one from each international organisation, drafted a resolution on the "international duty of youth"—the future of the World Youth Congress Movement. This resolution, which was adopted with enthusiasm, proposed the setting up of an international youth committee and secretariat. The committee will work in close co-operation with the International Federation of the League of Nations Societies, and has asked to be permitted to rent an office in the offices of the Federation. The functions of the committee will be to give publicity to the findings of the Congress through the national co-ordinating committees, to seek the co-operation of youth in countries not yet represented, and to organise another Congress within a few years. It will meet regularly, and will co-ordinate the work being carried on by the autonomous national committees of youth throughout the world.

Before the last plenary session broke up, a sincere vote of thanks was passed by every delegation to the International Federation of League of Nations Societies for having undertaken the enormous task of bringing together the leaders of the youth movements of 36 nations.

The prospects for the development of the youth peace movement arising from the Congress are as bright as the international situation is gloomy. In Britain the tasks are already defined and the work begun. Every delegate who participated in the Congress has pledged himself or herself to assist in making known the reports and resolution to his or her organisation, and to all meetings of youth organised to hear a report in the neighbourhood. At the end of October, the British Youth Peace Assembly, which assisted the Executive of the League of Nations Union to select the British delegation, is holding its second Assembly in Birmingham. At this Assembly the official reports of the delegates will be heard and discussed, a policy for the British Youth Peace Assembly will be adopted, and plans for a great campaign for 1937 worked out.

Finally, as a climax to the campaign of 1937, it is proposed to hold a National Congress of British Youth, to which local branches of all youth organisations shall have the right to send representatives.*

* The reports submitted by the British delegation, speakers' notes (free), and the official reports of the Congress (price 6s. 6d.); and any other information about future activities in Britain, can be obtained from the L.N.U., 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

Impressions of the First World Peace Congress at Brussels

by CLIFFORD B. REES

I WENT to the first World Peace Congress at Brussels in a detached capacity and with considerable scepticism. I returned amazed at the achievement of a memorable and pioneering enterprise, in which the size of the affair and the success of the meetings were an embarrassment of riches. It is easy to criticise, but when I realise that this gathering was the first of its kind, that 35 nations or so were represented, that over 5,000 delegates attended, that there was a certain amount of misrepresentation and hostility in certain quarters—some of them highly placed—to contend with, I am forced to the conclusion that the Peace Movement in Europe has never done a better or a bigger thing.

On the boat, going across with the British party, I was impressed by the enthusiasm of the delegation, but not only by the enthusiasm. Enthusiasm is not difficult to generate in a good cause. It is much more difficult to be intelligent about it, and to argue in its interests with knowledge and realistic comprehension. I spoke to men and women of all types, and they were all powerfully under the influence of the fact that Europe would slither into catastrophe unless the forces of democracy, of peace, of international co-operation organised themselves solidly against the machinations of war-mongers and the stupidities of Governments professing to seek peace and succeeding only in devouring it.

It is true that I met a number of Communists from this country and elsewhere, and that there were attempts in the Press to damn the Congress on the ground that it was dominated by the Communists. Now, whilst I am as much opposed to Communism as I am to Fascism, on the ground that both are tyrannies over the individual, and whilst there were moments during the Congress when the Communists were vocal and energetic and recalcitrant—and surely this is not surprising—it is the plain unvarnished truth that the Congress was no more Communist than the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

The impressive feature that distinguished the Brussels gathering from all others was the emergence of a new class of delegate, the participation in active peace work of people who have not hitherto taken part, except perhaps in their own countries, and even there not noticeably. I refer particularly to the peasants from various parts of Europe at whose sessions there was the plainest and most constructive speaking of the whole conference. The peasants are realising that it is they who supply the armies and that it is upon them also that war beats with most ruthlessness. And they are now, for the first time in an international sense, acting together to prevent the demoralisation of their lot, the ruin of their land, and the mutilation and destruction of their lives by the makers of war.

The peasant is slow to think and slow to act. But when he does either, the effect is all the more striking because it is the product of deep deliberation, of a purpose which, tardy in articulation, once it begins to function is seldom turned away from its goal. I was much moved by the peasants' contribution to the

THE FOUR POINTS OF THE I.P.C.

1. Recognition of the Sanctity of Treaty Obligations.
2. Reduction and limitation of armaments by international agreement and the suppression of profit from the manufacture and trade in arms.
3. Strengthening of the League of Nations for the prevention and stopping of war by the organisation of Collective Security and Mutual Assistance.
4. Establishment within the framework of the League of Nations of effective machinery for remedying international conditions which might lead to war.

Congress. They did not talk so much "politics." They did not generate any of that "hot air" which is an inevitable feature of any gathering in which there is a mingling of politicians, publicists, orators, agitators, intellectuals and propagandists. They talked hard sense, gritty and full of the soil of realism, about what war has done to them in the past, about what it must do to them, in worse measure, in the future, and about the steps they can and will take to prevent its onset.

I am not forgetting the inaugural gathering nor the final public session at the Palais du Centenaire, nor the great rally in the Stadium on the Sunday, with impressive marches round the arena and some fine oratorical efforts from leading delegates. But the real hard work was done by the various Commissions. It is exhilarating to see and hear men like Herriot (who rose from a sick bed to make his eloquent speech), Pierre Cot, Lord Cecil, Noel Baker, and others, but it is in the less dramatic atmosphere of the "side-shows" that the organisation of peace, as indeed the organisation of anything else, is done.

These Commissions got to work early and remained hard at it throughout the period of the Congress. Hour after hour, not without some discomfort, they thrashed out questions of policy and principle, and after long and intense argument and concentration they hammered out agreement on vital issues for subsequent ratification by the full Congress. I have no space to go into the full details of this work, but there are one or two prominent features deserving of emphasis.

The Aviation Commission, where, incidentally, Mr. Arnold-Forster did excellent work, declared unequivocally for the abolition of national air forces and the development of civil flying as an international service. There would have to be devotion to a new and larger loyalty on the part of airmen, it insisted, if the conquest of the air was not to be abused and the security of populations from air offence was to be attained.

The Churches Commission (on which there were no representatives of the Catholic Church) demanded that all religious communities should refuse to countenance

workers are up against and of the need for accelerating all the efforts to save Europe from another holocaust. The procession of children and athletes, which was interspersed with groups of miners bearing large banners, the last of which represented the Soldier, crucified, had a profound effect on all who saw it. The bright, eager young children, the old, tired miners, this stark symbol of the crucifixion of war—all knocked at the heart. It is this folly and crime that the lovers of peace have to prevent at all costs, but it is unfortunately not enough to possess fine sentiments or to pass resolutions. This was fully realised at the Congress. It was the theme of many of the speeches. Happily the result, as I have stated, is a new machinery of peace, a bigger and more powerful mechanism than has hitherto existed, of a character to serve the interests of mankind.

I was immensely struck by the character and intelligence of the delegations. There were poor people and rich people, hand workers and brain workers, aristocrats and bourgeoisie, mild Liberals and fiery Communists, but there was very little nonsense talked, either in private or in public. I mention this because those of us who have had experience of all kinds of conferences from the standpoint of the observer and the commentator, are only too well aware of the fatuity of much that happens at them. I did not get this impression at Brussels. And I must pay a tribute to the organisers, whose task was rendered all the greater by the overwhelming support the Congress gained, for the way in which the agenda was arranged to cram as much as was practicable into the period of the deliberations and to eliminate all the time-wasting procedure that vitiates so many large-scale conferences.

Moreover, there was very little time or inclination for the more social aspects of international gatherings. Certainly those who served on the Commissions had no time to see Brussels, and I met scores of devoted workers who had put in all their time at the Congress irrespective of inducements to "slacken speed" for a few hours. This may seem a small point, but I know how frequently the assumption is made by organisations that send delegates to Continental meetings that it is all "junketing and joy," and I would like to put it on record that whatever happens elsewhere the first World Peace Congress set a notable example of unremitting application and strenuous toil.

To sum up: I am convinced that a great initiative has been taken for peace. It will be all the more successful because it was dominated by, and has issued in, practical proposals for doing—not merely by theoretical propositions, however sound and estimable. The psychological effect in the various countries represented will grow as time goes on and as the delegates spread the message, provided, however, that the new machinery gets to work swiftly to keep the pressure of opinion high, to vitalise constant effort all over Europe, and to impress with ever-increasing emphasis on the various Governments that the will of the democracies for peace is at last finding the means to make itself irresistible.

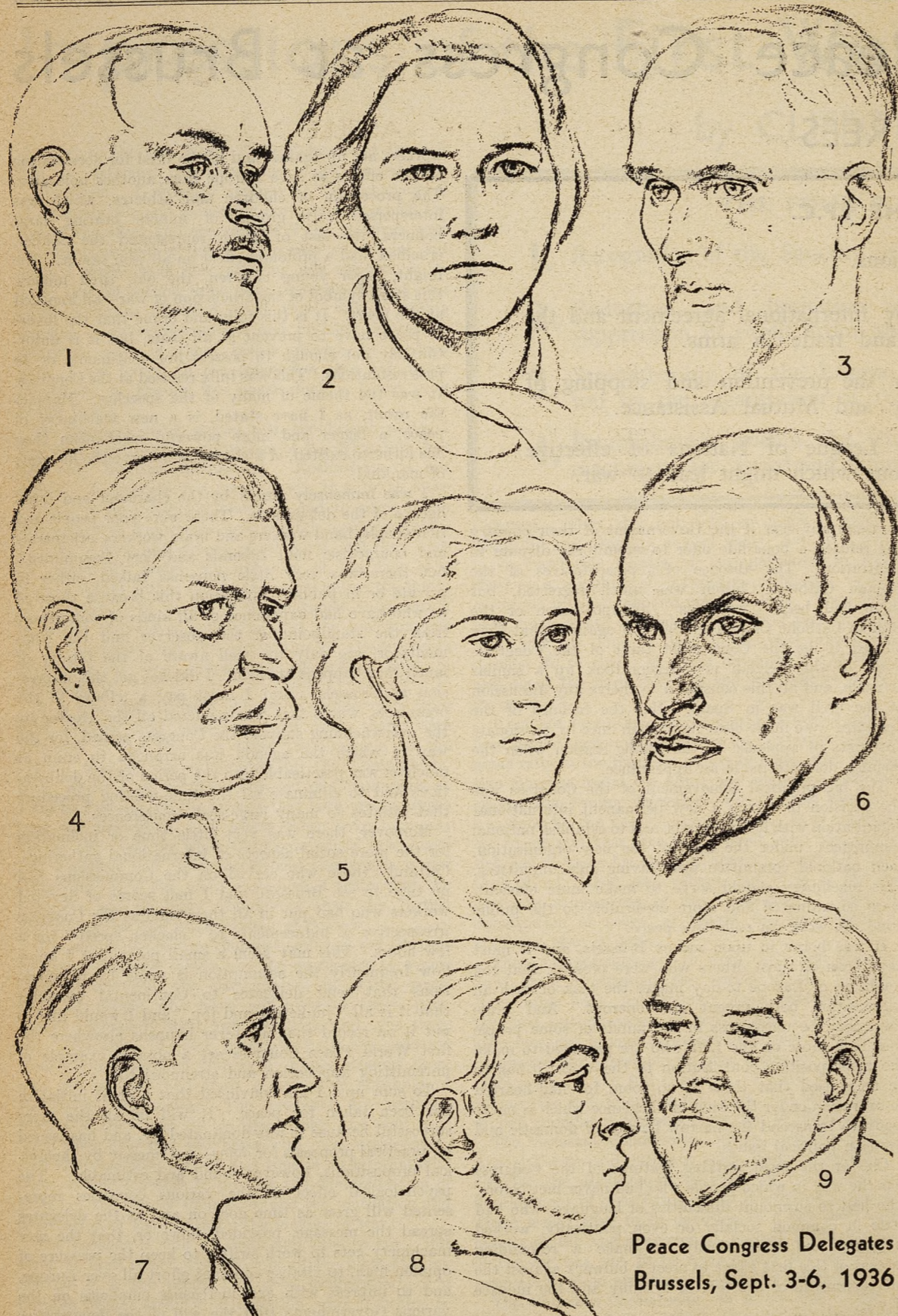
or assist any war if the Government of their country has refused a bona-fide offer to submit the dispute to arbitration. The absence of representatives of the Roman Catholic Church was much regretted, but there had been "warnings" by spokesmen of the Roman Catholic Church in Belgium against what they alleged to be the Communist taint of the Congress. Some of the Belgian newspapers took up a similar attitude, and all this conspired to shelve any discussion of the civil war in Spain. But the feelings of the delegates were made clear more than once by passionate outbursts of applause at the public session when the Spanish delegate made an appearance.

The big practical achievement of the Congress was the decision to set up a new permanent international organisation with its own funds, and to establish national committees, under the aegis of the new organisation, each national committee also having sub-committees. This machinery should serve to make more efficient, more co-ordinated and more discernible to the public mind the work for collective peace.

It was borne in upon me at Brussels, and it must have been on most others who were present, that the condition of Europe to-day makes the task of such an organisation both urgent and onerous. And while there may be uneasiness in the minds of some people that it is those on the Left who are prepared to make the most positive contribution to the work, it has to be recognised that there is no room for half-hearted co-operation or for the kind of allegiance which is never ready to transcend the narrow bounds of domestic and partisan political issues.

One of the most striking features of the Congress was the way in which people who had never met before, who had to surmount difficulties of language, who had little in common socially or even politically, worked amicably and energetically to make a resounding success of this first effort to erect a bulwark against the encroachments of the tide of tyranny and the menace of war.

The Stadium demonstration was a most vivid reminder to us all of the nature of the task the peace-



Peace Congress Delegates
Brussels, Sept. 3-6, 1936

1 M. Schvernik (Russia).
4 M. Martens (Belgium).
7 Mr. John Sayre (U.S.A.).

2 Madame Bluc (Roumania).
5 Mlle. Anna Caprile (France).
8 Mulk Raj Anand (India).

3 Professor E. Gorter (Holland).
6 Mr. Alan Bush (Great Britain).
9 M. Victor Serwy (Belgium).

MERCILESS WAR IN SPAIN

By PROFESSOR JOSÉ CASTILLEJO

THE Spanish civil war is a surprise and a problem beyond the provisions of the Pacifists, and has no admittance to the offices of the League of Nations, for no treatment has yet been discovered for the dire disease.

Wars between two States are the clash of forces qualitatively equal, disputing over territory, commercial supremacy or sovereignty. From the international point of view the essential task is to ascertain on which side is the right and to find a superior force which can, ultimately, impose it.

The Spanish civil war is not a mere vulgar brawl of ambitious leaders, squabbling for power; it is a duel between two ideas of social life and between two apparently discordant political systems. Its bitterness and excesses arise precisely from this essential character and, similarly to the religious wars, is dominated by the obsession of extermination, according to the old belief that heresies die out with the death of the heretics.

Capital punishment is inflicted not for crimes but for the danger of ideas; not for deeds committed, but for their germs in the mind. There is no doubt that a harangue or a pamphlet, and even sometimes a gesture or a significant silence, may cause more havoc than a machine gun.

Personal bravery, recklessness and contempt of life, traditional Spanish virtues, when at the service of an ideal, are accentuated at present by the vague belief that the struggle in Spain is a world conflict. Each victim may die hoping that he has offered his life for humanity, in order to give birth to a new and more just society.

Neither is the Spanish war a struggle between two qualitatively equal forces; it started as an internal rebellion against a constitutional government. In official language it is not a war but a mere police repression, for one of the belligerents is not a recognised international entity.

Political parties proclaim, more or less openly, the right to rebel while they are struggling for power, and deny it when they are the masters. In international society natural selection prevails, and the victor is recognised as the embodiment of national will, no matter whether he is right or wrong, loyal or perfidious.

Should not these principles be revised? Should millions of human beings be deprived of any court of appeal in which morals and justice prevail? Is there no other way of revealing the will of the Spanish people than through rivers of blood, convulsions of hatred and destruction of wealth, with the inevitable paralysis of the recent spiritual renaissance of that country? Must the other nations, handbound by routine, shrug their shoulders and await the result? May this not mean the death or disabling of a million Spaniards, probably the strongest and noblest of its youth and the most distinguished of its political leaders and

intellectuals? Will not also masses of the weak and innocent succumb to violence, hunger or disease?

Reasons of caution and the danger of a world conflagration have counselled non-intervention by the other countries, but it is because governments only think in terms of arms and ammunition, each desiring to support its political affinities regardless of ideals of justice, and yet afraid to do so.

Nevertheless, no nation can afford to be indifferent to the result. No honest mind can approve the crushing of the weakest by the material force of the strongest. Moral support, the only assistance which our narrow conceptions permit across the frontiers, is a communion of minds, which may form a tie stronger than all the treaties.

England has always been the champion of freedom and emancipation, of respect for human dignity, selection of the ablest and protection of workers. She has never suffered the army or the masses to menace the law or be a danger for democracy. She should be able to discern where her sympathies lie in the Spanish conflict. She has, moreover, an enormous responsibility because her weight, though it be only of opinion, may be decisive.

Just as in a war between two States, all the others are partly guilty, at least for not preventing it, so in the Spanish civil war, the victims who fall in that poor little country are paying for direct incitements or for shortcomings of which scarcely any European country can claim to be wholly innocent.

Let each one ask itself what it has done to prevent the fratricidal turmoil which has been brewing during the last twelve years, and what portion of poison she has contributed to the social unrest of the world.

The idea of absolute sovereignty of States is theoretically erroneous and practically false. No State has more sovereignty than the others allow, and if it were not for divisions among them, lack of moral unity and opposing egoistical interests, the great armed conflicts could not occur.

The civil war in Spain broke out as an attempt at absolute domination. Each one of the integral parts of a democracy—Parliament, Cabinet, Capital, Labour, Army, majorities and minorities—felt the fascinating temptation of trying to become the supreme power.

If the League of Nations, swathed in red tape, had only emerged from its diplomatic crystal, and grown into a vibrant conscience embodying the generous and humane ideals which, stifled by sordid political mechanism, prevail among the masses of all countries, the Spanish civil war would have been averted.

Now the war has broken out, the duty of civilised countries is to attenuate the catastrophe, to save innocent lives, and to help the birth of a better Spain. There is no need to send cannons. Men of ideas, educators and wise counsellors reach further than missiles.

Proposals For Reform

THE LEAGUE IS AT THE CROSS ROADS

Geneva, September 21

GENEVA is a grand site for reformation. It is in the civic tradition. What more appropriate to Calvin's town than reform of the League?

Four centuries ago men's social emotions were conditioned by religion. Possessed by doctrinal passion, they suffered torment without flinching, inflicted it without compunction. Nowadays, few would kill or be killed for the interpretation of a creed. But most of us Europeans would die, if not gladly, at least with fortitude, for a theory of government; for the plot of earth called a country, for the human collection called a nation, for Fascism, or democracy, or Communism. We serve our ideal. We believe its opposite pure devilry. The odium theologicum has transmuted into political fanaticism, and the resulting conflicts have all the ruthlessness of Holy Wars. Let nobody imagine that the Assembly discussions will be concerned only with legal points; they root in the hearts of the peoples.

The League, after all, is more than the attempt to compose international differences. That is a great part of its use. There are many people, more to-day than ever before, who would have its function limited to that only. But it should be realised that such a restriction would mean a fundamental change. The Covenant as it stands is the creed—confusedly drafted, as creeds tend to be—of one side in the greatest modern controversy, the issue between peace and war. The States which sign it swear that they will combine by economic blockade, backed if need be by armed force, against any nation which uses war to gain its ends. And it is because the League members have dishonoured their oath; because they did not oppose aggression in China, and opposed it in Abyssinia too little and too late, that they are now facing the reconsideration of Articles X and XVI, the Collective Security Articles.

Eighteen States sent in suggestions before September 20. Certain ideas are common to many of them. Thus a large number want non-League States to be invited in, or at least, as Sweden writes, induced to collaborate without membership. Many plead for a revival of the effort for disarmament. The smaller countries add control of the manufacture of arms, and the Convention on Financial Assistance to a victim, of aggression. Some speak of economic appeasement, some of Treaty revision. It is not surprising to find Hungary among those last.

But when they come to reform of the Covenant, few want actual amendment. Switzerland would like economic sanctions deleted, and Argentine military obligations for every State not interested in the dispute; this, of course, would mean dropping Article X and modifying Article XVI. But the great majority are opposed to amendments. They want interpretations. France and Russia demand regional security pacts—Russia supplies a draft of a swift-acting trap to snap on the aggressor. Most are against regional pacts, or

say anxiously that if there are any they must be in harmony with the Covenant. The "Seven" (Denmark, Finland, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland) stick to their common note, saying that the obligation to apply sanctions must depend upon disarmament, itself a Covenant pledge. Several States say, with Esthonia, that if sanctions are to be applied it must be worked out beforehand what they are to be. The Baltic States, and some others, want definition of the aggressor. Almost every State wants unanimity taken out of Article 11.

On the whole the notes are honestly written, and face the issues. One is legalistic—Peru. One is fluffy in an old-world manner which went out with long hair. But I shall not say who, for fear of being thought disrespectful. For sheer sense, Esthonia and Iraq win in a dead heat; Esthonia in the pessimistic, Iraq in the optimistic tone, but both entirely rational. The Little Entente are silent. The British Empire mostly silent. Britain herself says that she will not write, but will make her proposals at the Assembly. Why is Britain so reticent? Did the Cabinet, possibly, disagree on the proposals put before it? "It's gey and easy spierin!" said the beggar-wife tae me—

But in reading the New Zealand note the absence of the rest of the Commonwealth is not felt. Ah! gorgeous New Zealand! How often has Britain refused a forward step at Geneva "because we must act in concert with the Dominions?" Which never meant Canada, who is usually in advance; nor Ireland and South Africa, who most likely would oppose Britain in principle; nor yet India, who has had to take her orders from Whitehall. It was often simply flim-flam, Britain pretexting the Dominions as a silly woman cries for pity on "her poor nerves." But if it meant anything, it meant Australia and New Zealand. And New Zealand has rattled from reaction with a beautiful blatancy.

"We believe that the Covenant has never yet been fully applied, and that it cannot be characterised as an ineffective instrument until it has been so applied. We are prepared to reaffirm with the utmost solemnity our continued acceptance of the Covenant as it stands." The Covenant should be strengthened. New Zealand accepts the principle of the 1924 Protocol! "We are prepared to take our collective share in the application, against any future aggressor, of the full economic sanctions contemplated by Article XVI, and we are prepared, to the extent of our power, to join in the collective application of force against any future aggressor." They believe in immediate, automatic, complete economic boycott, backed by force if need be. They would agree to an international force. They want plebiscites on collective security.

Well might Low's Colonel Blimp exclaim: "By gad! sir, if New Zealand insists on supporting the League of Nations, Britain must withdraw from the Empire!" And it is years, now, since I have decided that Low is my candidate for Foreign Minister.

Abyssinia To Stay

Assembly Dispatches from Our
Special Correspondent

Geneva, September 25

"COME," said the French journalist, "let us see the dirt they are preparing for us."

We went into the gallery of the Assembly Hall. The Council President, M. Rivas Vicuna, was reading out the names which he proposed for the Credentials Committee: "Mr. Eden, Great Britain; M. Delbos, France; M. Ossuski, Czechoslovakia; M. Politis, Greece; M. Limburg, Netherlands; Mr. Jordan, New Zealand; M. Tudela, Peru; M. Litvinoff, Russia; M. Rustu Aras, Turkey."

The Credentials Committee, as a rule, is totally unimportant. But this time it must decide whether the Ethiopian delegation should be admitted to the Assembly. M. Avenol's visit to Rome could not have been made against the will of the Great Powers; nor Italy's blackmailing proposal entertained. If the Ethiopians were there, the Italians would not come. Therefore, said the Great Powers, Ethiopia must be rejected. At first the smaller states refused to serve on a committee which was to do this; and Britain and France had been forced to shoulder their responsibilities and offer themselves. Then the little states turned about and proposed the Netherlands and New Zealand; there would, at any rate, be opposition.

There was a group of my betters, the correspondents of the great dailies of the world, at the gallery rail. Through the ripple of thin talk ran a reiterated word, . . . "Sale! . . . Sale! . . . Sale! . . . Dirty!"

Journalists, as I have met them, are not an over fastidious race. But like other men, they are capable of being shocked at some point. This final meanness shocked them, though few of them would be allowed to say so in print.

The first delegates went up to the voting urn, "Afghanistan, South Africa, Albania." It is always entertaining to watch that procession and to see how different men answer to the call; the ponderously dignified, the nervously quick, the self-conscious, the simple; M. Delbos, alert and unobtrusive as a Cairn terrier, Mr. Eden with a wolf-hound's leisurely grace. Never have I watched with such a sinking heart, man after man voting his country's honour away.

Curious, that a manoeuvre, small enough in itself, should cause so strong a revulsion. The betrayal of Ethiopia, the abandonment of the Covenant, was in July, when sanctions were dropped.

Boggle they did. Possibly the turn came with the news that the Negus himself had arrived by plane. It would be very difficult, when he had spoken to the Assembly three months ago, to refuse to hear him now; nothing had changed since. The Assembly listened to a decent formal speech from M. Saaveda Lamas, and the delegates drifted away.

On Tuesday night things suddenly bettered. The Credentials Committee had a majority of only one in favour of refusing Ethiopia—then it changed to a minority of one. New Zealand, Netherlands, Turkey, Czechoslovakia, Russia—so said the Press, were pro-Ethiopian. Compromise, send the question to the Court;

We must respect each other's national systems. We also need an international order which shall finally supersede the arbitrament of conflict between States.

Many attempts have been made to find this order, and they have not succeeded, but they must be continued. Civilisation has to find a means of putting this promise into practice or it must perish. Unless we can achieve this result the League must be only of secondary value. So far as His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom is concerned, its policy will continue to be based upon its membership of the League.

There is nothing essentially wrong with the League. Its general principles are right, and a logical and reasonable system can be constructed upon it. The failure of the League has been due to the fact that its members have not in the past always been integrally loyal to it. . . .

Do the nations of the world wish to establish an international machinery for the settlement of disputes between them without recourse to force? If all nations so willed it could be done, and it must be done unless we are prepared to watch with folded hands the final calamity, which is the drift of humanity to war.—MR. ANTHONY EDEN, in the Assembly, September 25.

and meantime Ethiopia can sit, unless the Assembly votes her down. The nine states on the Committee asked their legal delegates for advice (M. Limburg and M. Politis asked themselves and reported back to themselves). But the jurists, toiling on Wednesday, failed to agree on what question should be sent to the Court. The deciding factor, it seems, was the attitude of Mussolini. The Italian journalists had been sitting about the corridors, smouldering like volcanoes. The Duce exploded. After this insolent delay Italy would not come anyhow. So it was said. In that case, why not let Ethiopia sit, provisionally? M. Politis, than whom nobody writes a more elegant legal report, drew up the finding of the Credentials Committee.

The Assembly met to receive it. Hungary, Austria, Albania, Italy's client States, demanded an open vote. Thirty-nine states voted for the report, four—the servile three and Ecuador—against it. Six abstained, among them Switzerland. M. Motta interrupted the voting with an odd little speech to the effect that the situation was fraught with political significance.

So it is, of course. And it is far from ended. Italy has not finished with Abyssinia; nor yet with the League. Still less have the Western Powers finished their struggle to reconstitute the support lost by their own infidelity. Whether Italy, if they can get her, will prove a sure buttress—or any sort of substitute for the democracies—may be doubted.

The fact is, the Covenant states have just one good card, honour. The war-mongers have everything else; discipline, resolution, power over their peoples, absolute lack of scruple. The only chance of the Western Powers, and their only appeal, is to play straight. Their crooked policy has reduced their security to its nadir. Thanks to public opinion, and the intelligent self-interest of the smaller states, they have been forced into a slight inclination towards decency. The League is at the cross-roads and the Powers hesitate to choose their path, looking now at the broad way to destruction; now the narrow road:—

"Sore thick beset wi' thorns and briars
That is the path of righteousness,
Though after it but few inquire."

The Only Sure Foundation (By the Secretary of the Union)

SEPTEMBER saw the meeting of two unofficial Congresses, each so important as to deserve the attention of every member of the League of Nations Union.

The World Youth Congress, held in Geneva under the auspices of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, and attended by five hundred delegates and half that number of observers from thirty-six countries, was a triumphant success and full of promise for the future. Its proceedings are described elsewhere in this issue.

The other Congress was convened in Brussels by the International Peace Campaign (I.P.C.). Some forty countries were represented by more than four thousand delegates, including nearly seven hundred from this country. The Congress demonstrated how widespread and how enthusiastic is the support for the four basic principles of the I.P.C. concerning the sanctity of Treaty obligations, 'disarmament,' collective security, and the need for remedying, by a process of peaceful change, international conditions which might lead to war.

The Brussels Congress proved beyond question that its methods are capable of awakening intense interest in large masses of people and of winning their active help in the cause of peace through the League of Nations. The issue between peace and war within the next few years may depend upon enough of this help being forthcoming in this and other countries.

Now, our League of Nations Union is commissioned by its Royal Charter to get all the help it can in securing the wholehearted support of the British people for the League of Nations in general, including, of course, the four principles of the I.P.C. Our District and Regional Councils and our principal Branches would do well to offer the use of their machinery to the local representatives of the other bodies—including peace societies, Churches, professional and

Local Peace Council or other existing combination might be known as the Local Peace Assembly. Its Organising Committee would resemble the National I.P.C. Committee in representing all the co-operating bodies. Its plenary meetings would, we hope, apply the lessons learned at Brussels to awakening in large masses of people a new enthusiasm and determination to organise peace through the League. The Union's General Council will, no doubt, consider whether the same lessons might not be applied on a national scale by convening many thousands of delegates at least once a year to a National Peace Assembly.

Action on these lines will avoid wasteful duplication of machinery already in existence (and so hindering instead of helping the work of the I.P.C. and the work of the L.N.U.) It will require no new and independent organisation or officials. It will prevent, in particular, a competitive appeal for money. It will, at the same time, apply the lessons learned at the Brussels Congress; and it will ensure the collaboration of all the bodies who are anxious to achieve the objects of the I.P.C.

In certain neighbourhoods a Local Peace Council, or other combination of societies, is already in existence. The relation of the Union's Branches to such bodies is governed by a resolution unanimously adopted by our General Council at Bournemouth in June, 1934. That resolution lays down that "Branches should not affiliate to or otherwise become formally associated with, or contribute to the funds of, any other organisation without the specific approval of the Executive Committee in each particular case. Branches are, however, free to join with other bodies in common activities provided that in each case the Branch is satisfied that the outcome of the activity will increase public support for the League of Nations."

Finally, this new effort to widen and intensify our appeal for the cause of peace through the League

must, on no account, lead to any weakening of our zeal to build up, through our National Canvass and in other ways, a vast individual membership of our own Union. That is the only sure foundation of our power to work effectively in the field of education and to bring about, in the field of practical politics, the full development of the League of Nations.



The Delegates at the World Youth Congress.

Are You Making These Blunders in English?

Do you say "If I was you," "I laid down for an hour," "Between you and I," or "He was that pleased"? You may never be guilty of such errors in English as these, but you have probably heard others make such mistakes.

Can you be certain that you do not sometimes make blunders that are equally noticeable to those who are better educated than yourself? Are you so sure of your command of English that you are prepared to wager your position—your success—upon it? For remember that faulty expression in speech or writing is one of the most dangerous pitfalls in the path of the average man and woman.

Are you certain of your spelling? Do you know, for instance, that "alright" is incorrect? Are you sure of your pronunciation? Can you punctuate correctly? Do you confound words of similar spelling but dissimilar meaning? Are you clear about the correct use of "shall" and "will"?

Words Can Make or Mar You

No matter what ability you may possess in other directions, you are gravely handicapped if your English is defective. Every day—every minute—you run the risk of being underrated.

Are you content with the way you speak and write? Can you express yourself fluently and correctly? Are you sure that your English is not "letting you down"? You should face these questions frankly. They are vital to your success and to your happiness.

If you are liable to make grammatical errors or to pronounce words wrongly, and if your spelling is faulty and you cannot be certain about punctuation, you are at a great disadvantage. Your success both in business and in social life depends on how you express yourself.

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- How to Concentrate.
- Everyday Errors in English.
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- Words Frequently Mispronounced.
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"We are not Isolationists, Except for War"

—said President Roosevelt to the Rev. E. N. Porter Goff, Secretary of the Christian Organisations Committee of the L.N.U.

"We are not isolationists, except for war." These words of President Roosevelt are about the only generalisation that can be made about public opinion in the United States of America on international questions. Perhaps one may venture to make another. Educated Americans in the Eastern States take a more lively interest in British and European politics than we do in American politics. American ideas on international affairs may be regarded, therefore, as having some relevance to the European situation.

The American people are, of course, sincerely desirous of peace. Like most other people, they want nothing more than to be able to tackle their very serious economic and social problems without interference from outside. They have a great admiration for the way in which Great Britain has tackled similar problems, and wish that they had surmounted the depression as well as we seem to them to have done.

It is in the sphere of foreign policy alone that one hears criticism of Great Britain. I expected this criticism to be of our handling of the Italo-Ethiopian dispute. On the contrary, I found that while no one could regard that incident as a particularly glorious one in British history, it was generally felt that the attitude of France had made it impossible for us to do other than we did. I came across no one who thought the United States could or should have done more, and I realised how very difficult effective action by the Administration would have been, especially with a Presidential Election looming ahead.

The foreign populations in the United States inevitably sympathise with the countries of their origin, and this makes effective American action in any European quarrel difficult. Italian opinion was almost wholly in sympathy with the attack on Abyssinia, and this in turn influenced the Roman Catholic community. As recently as last July, Father Coughlin's Bishop, Bishop Gallagher, of Detroit, was widely reported in the Press as saying to Italian newspaper representatives on his arrival at Naples, that when the Italians entered Addis Ababa, he had celebrated a Mass of Thanksgiving in his cathedral, which had been packed for the occasion.

But even those Americans who are not swayed by former national loyalties find it difficult to understand the policy to which the peace movement in Great Britain is committed. It is easy to expound to British audiences the doctrine of collective security, for it is simply the extension into the international sphere of something which is accepted by all British citizens as being necessary within the State. The doctrine that a peace-loving nation is pledged not only to keep the peace itself, but to see that other people keep it too, can easily be understood in a country where a law-abiding citizen is required not only to keep the law himself, but to see that other people keep it too. But this is not the case in America. However much he

may admire British ideas of law and order—and there is no doubt that he does—the average American does not think that these ideas are possible in his own country with its large foreign element, which has been brought up with different ideas, and he sees no chance of their being accepted in the world at large. As one man put it to me, "You may export British institutions, but unless you export British people to work them they are doomed to failure." Because of this, I heard many doubts expressed as to whether the idea of collective security, as it is at present formulated in the League Covenant, would ever work.

The Roosevelt Administration—which is more internationally minded than a Landon Administration could be—believes in regional pacts. In his conversation with me, President Roosevelt expressed himself definitely in favour of them. In his judgment, they are working well on the American Continent.

The desire to limit international engagements to a minimum, which has always been characteristic of America, appears to have been strengthened by recent events in Spain. If Europe is to be divided between Communism and Fascism, the average American is determined to have nothing to do with either. This dislike of the two dominant philosophies of Europe is making him more conscious than perhaps he has ever been of his common interests with other English-speaking peoples. The common language is seen as the embodiment of common ideals of personal liberty. Everywhere I heard the hope expressed that Great Britain might be able to refrain from taking sides in this particular European quarrel, since Americans are sceptical as to the value of making war for the sake of ideals. "In the last war," they say, "we fought for democracy, and the result of it all has been that democracy has disappeared over the greater part of the world." Many of them feel that if the English-speaking peoples are to preserve their traditional individual liberty, they must at all costs avoid being drawn into a conflict between Communism and Fascism, and must find some way other than war of defending their ideals.

I heard much more talk about the humanitarian activities of the League and the work of the International Labour Organisation in America than I have recently heard in Great Britain, and it is generally felt that it is in these directions that real international co-operation is possible—"We are not isolationists, except for war."

In this article I have tried to give as objectively as possible the impressions received in a recent visit to the United States of America. Another visitor might get different impressions. As he travelled further west, for example, he would find less interest taken in, and less understanding of, European problems. My conversations were with people who for the most part had supported the League of Nations from the very beginning.

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Compares the trade of the world, of Continental groups, and of individual countries in 1935 with that in preceding years. Shows the changes in the value and quantum of trade and in the price-relationships and relative importance of the main groups of commodities of which it is composed, special attention being devoted to the trade in capital goods and in the principal raw materials and foodstuffs. Examines the effects of recent currency developments and of the increasing application of the principle of "bilateralism" on the volume and direction of international trade.

WORLD ECONOMIC SURVEY, 1935-36.—(Ser. L.O.N.P. 1936. II. A.15.) Fifth year. 338 pages. In wrappers, 6s.; bound in cloth, 7s. 6d.

The *World Economic Survey*, 1935-36, covers the period from July, 1935, to the beginning of August, 1936. It consists mainly of an analysis of the degree and nature of economic recovery so far achieved. While the situation in different countries is considered in the light of national statistics, the whole analysis is conceived in an international setting. Consideration is therefore given to the effects of rearmament expenditures and to changes in international equilibrium.

Particular attention is given to the development of commercial and financial policy. The spread of clearing arrangements, the new German policy in international trade and the effects of bilateral trade treaties are the subject of a special chapter. There are also chapters on public finance and the trend of consumption, in addition to those on production, prices and profits, banking and international trade.

The first chapter provides a narrative of events up to the end of March, and is devoted mainly to recovery in such countries as the United Kingdom and the United States. The last chapter brings this narrative up to the middle of August and, in addition, describes the situation in the countries of the gold bloc.

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YOUR CHILDREN will receive their education which will be purchased by instalments out of your earnings *now*. The education is *guaranteed*, whether you live or not, from the moment you make your first regular deposit. The most convenient educational provision.

(Service No. 2)

YOUR PENSION in later years secured by means of the *guaranteed*, terms of the new Sun Life of Canada Pension and Protection plan. First deposit creates a fund of £1,000 for your dependents (should you not live) for each £10 a month income you arrange for your own pension. You also save Income Tax yearly.

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YOUR GRANDCHILDREN, nephews, nieces, or such young persons in whom you may be especially interested, will receive a cash sum at age 21 to be used for a start in life or as a cash reserve for the future—a benefit beyond praise for the recipients and a comfort to the parents.

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YOUR INCOME from Invested Capital may be doubled, with the certainty that it will be paid to you, in full, for as long as you live, and provide a substantial sum for your dependents at your death.

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YOU INCUR NO OBLIGATION BY SENDING THIS ENQUIRY

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Address

..... Date of Birth

Headway, October

There are 46,000,000 persons in the British Isles. Give every one £3 and you visualise the Assets of the Sun Life of Canada—£145,000,000—the largest Company of the Empire transacting Life Assurance on'y.

A Letter on the Spanish Civil War

SIR,—We cordially welcome your plea for sympathy and patience in all comments upon the Spanish tragedy, and especially for the avoidance of all ignorant partisanship. But as Catholic officers and members of the League of Nations Union we feel regretfully obliged to dissent from not a little that is implied in the editorial notes which follow upon this good counsel. It is seldom wise to make sweeping generalisations about the social history of a great nation; nor do we believe it to be the duty of the Union, of which HEADWAY is the organ, to pass judgment upon the domestic differences of Spain. We deplore particularly that in doing so it should have found nothing but ill to say about the Catholic Church in that country. The assumptions that the Church is purely obscurantist, and that British ideals of democracy are to be identified with the cause of the Popular Front, may, as your editorial note suggests, be self-evident propositions to many British readers: to us, who are British and democrats, they are not.

The Church, whose ministers have been shot down in hundreds in Catalonia by the adherents of the Government, is not, whatever it may have been in the past, a privileged institution. It is a Church separated from the State, whose property time after time has been despoiled, latterly with great severity, and whose teaching and nursing orders have been driven from the country.

No doubt there is not a little to deplore in the conduct of Spanish ecclesiastics in the past, who did much to identify the Church politically with reactionary elements and with a land-owning class which—in Andalusia, for instance—often neglected its responsibilities. But while this fact may account for the unpopularity of the “higher clergy” in certain parts of the country, the great majority of priests, especially in the villages, are poor men drawn from the peasant class.

The old gibe against the Church for failing to educate the people, invites oblivion of the fact that, time after time during the past century, schools built by the Church have been seized and sequestered by the State. It ignores the splendid contribution of the Catholic universities of Spain to the science of international ethics, recently recalled by the Vittoria celebrations at Salamanca and reaffirmed at the outbreak of the Ethiopian war in a manifesto, wholly in conformity with this Union's policy, issued by a formidable group of Catholic university professors, schoolmasters, professional and working men in all parts of Spain, led by Prof. Mendizabal y Villalba. All

that learned man's books and manuscripts, incidentally, were burnt by the Communist rebels during the reign of terror to which they subjected Oviedo last October. But we cannot recall reading any denunciation of that violent rising against a democratically elected parliamentary majority in HEADWAY. The burning of the magnificently equipped industrial school of the Society of Jesus in Madrid is only one of dozens of cases in which Catholic schools and colleges have been destroyed by extremists of the Left since the establishment of the Republic—a curious way of displaying their zeal for education.

In short, we English Catholics know, from our more frequent contacts with our Spanish colleagues in recent years, enough to excite our admiration for the lively faith and practice of Christianity which adversity has produced and enough to arouse our horror at the cult of violence into which the traditional anti-clericalism of some politicians in Spain has developed. We do not hold any brief for the insurgents, nor do we ask HEADWAY to take sides; though the violence against religion of the Socialist, Anarchist, Syndicalist and Communist groups, which the Madrid Government has been impotent to restrain since the last Elections, so far from being a matter of secondary importance to us, is an offence against all that we hold most sacred. All that we ask is, that the organ of the League of Nations Union should observe the wise policy of neutrality which His Majesty's Government has adopted, and should apply your own good counsel of charity and restraint to the extent of refraining from one-sided observations upon the present position or history of religion in Spain, which cannot fail to wound your Catholic colleagues and provoke controversy within the Union's ranks.—Yours faithfully,

H. J. Adson (H.Q.); Theodora Ashcroft (Kensington); J. T. A. Burke (Westminster); Ianthe Harley Bacon (W.A.C.); Vincent Connolly (Kensington); J. Cummins (Tyneside Dist. Council); N. Cummins (Newcastle West); (Rev.) Canon Martin Duffy (Preston); C. Harington Edwards (Westminster); John Eppstein (H.Q.); Winefride Elwes (Welcome Committee); L. B. Golden (Refugees Committee); Howard of Penrith; (Rev.) Leo O'Hea (Christian Organising Committee); (Rev.) J. Keating (London); N. E. W. Lawrence (H.Q.); P. E. Schofield (H.Q.); W. B. Smith (Preston); Teresa Ward (Felixstowe); Barbara Ward (Kensington).

September 17, 1936.

Outrage Begets Outrage

The signatories of the above letter, which HEADWAY publishes with pleasure, would have spared themselves much distress if they had read the comments in September HEADWAY more carefully.

Most of HEADWAY's protest was addressed to those quarters in Great Britain, hitherto not distinguished for their religious fervour, where frantic efforts are being made to represent the present armed rebellion as a religious crusade and the struggle as one between Christianity and Satanism. Those who are so pretending are the same persons who denounced the Bishops of the Church of England with scarcely less violence when they suggested a settlement by reason of the national coal strike, and again when they supported the Peace Ballot. Such champions are dangerous

allies for religion and strange associates for supporters of the League of Nations.

But the signatures do not hold any brief for the rebels. No more does HEADWAY for the Spanish Government. HEADWAY, however, has condemned the dreadful crimes committed on both sides. At the beginning of the revolt, Government supporters were massacred at La Linea. In many places occupied by the rebels, officials who thought their duty was to the Government have been shot out of hand and great numbers of men and women whose crime was the holding of Left opinions have met the same fate. After the capture of Badajoz the rebels slaughtered *en masse* several hundred prisoners. The broadcasts from Seville of the rebel leader, General Queipo de Llanos,

boasting of past horrors and revelling in tortures still to be inflicted, are not empty words. *The Times* did not go beyond the facts when it wrote in a leading article, on September 8: “The ruthless cruelty with which the insurrection has been conducted has equalled, if indeed it has not surpassed, the worst excesses perpetrated by the other side.”

HEADWAY laments cruelties by whomever practised. Had it commented on the Asturian miners' revolt in 1934 it would have condemned both the outrages committed by those rebels and the torture and bloodshed with which the then reactionary government punished them.

Spain is a great country and a Catholic country. There are many glorious pages in her history, and her history is Catholic. But she has had to pay a heavy price through the centuries for a clerical control of her intellectual life carried to extravagant length. That is not a topic which should be pursued here: a vast array of facts is easily accessible. The implication must be answered that during the nineteenth century the Church exercised no political power but was persecuted by the State. A sufficient answer is given in the great speech of Señor Ortega y Gasset at the Opera Cinema, Madrid, in December, 1931. Ortega y Gasset is a philosopher of world fame, respected everywhere for his brilliant powers and his scrupulous intellectual honesty. Not a Catholic, he is no enemy of the Church. In the Cortes he opposed the drastic laws on religion passed in the first year of the Republic. Yet he said:

“The Monarchy was public authority denationalised, which irremediably perverted the life of our people, always deflecting it from its spontaneous path. The clearest case of this distortion to which Spanish existence was subjected is offered us by the Church. Placed by the State in a situation of superlative favour, enjoying excessive privileges, it seemed to possess an enormous social power upon our people; but that power was not, in truth, its own, raised and supported exclusively by its own forces, which were, nevertheless, themselves really worthy of respect, but came to it instead from the State as a gift which public authority made to it, placed at its service. Thus the effective equilibrium of social forces in Spain was destroyed, and also the Church was led astray and, this is what is most sad, was herself gravely demoralised. I do not see how any thoughtful Catholic could desire the perpetuation of such an order in which use was already abuse, although what I have said does not mean, in fact, very far from it, that the situation recently created seems to me, in its details, either perfect or desirable.

As for education, the major facts are too well known for serious denial. Free and compulsory education for all was decreed in the Republican Constitution of 1931. In the first year of the Republic 7,000 new schools were set up and 20,000 new teachers engaged. In Madrid the number of pupils in the schools was increased by over 15,000, or more than one-third. Doubtless the enthusiasm of the Left overtaxed the available resources and much of the development was hasty and inefficient. But the enthusiasm was genuine.

To-day the Church is more friendly to popular education than it was in the past. In any case, no one would excuse present persecution by a reference to a historic obscurantism. Nevertheless mass ignorance and mass poverty are contributory causes to the Spanish horror, and the former masters of the country must bear a heavy share of the blame.

HEADWAY stands for a policy of effectual non-intervention, of strict observance of Article X of the Covenant—of government by consent.

MAKE WRITING PAY

There are real opportunities in Journalism for those who are prepared to learn the technicalities of the profession. Hundreds of publications use stories and articles by unknown writers, and pay well for them.

Success does not depend upon the possession of brilliant literary ability, but upon knowing what sort of plots and subjects are wanted, what sort of treatment to give them, and where to sell them.

The Premier School of Journalism has been giving genuine professional tuition by correspondence for sixteen years. Its students have been remarkably successful. Some of them now earn material incomes in spare time; others have been enabled to adopt writing as their profession.

Students of this School are under the guidance of Gordon Meggy, one of Fleet Street's most successful journalists, who has had 40 years' experience in the profession, and over 15,000 of whose contributions have been published. Mr. Meggy takes a personal interest in every pupil and remains at his elbow every step of the way, ready with sympathetic advice and frank but kindly criticism. Below are Statements from some of his students:

“I have made just under £800. Before enrolling with you I had not sold any stories. Since your tuition I feel that if writing was not with me a spare-time job, I would easily earn a good living.” (H.R. 1077.)

“Before the Course was over I was selling articles regularly. I now devote my whole time to writing. Before joining the Premier School I had never made a penny at it. Since, I have earned over £2,500.” (H.R. 1075.)

“Writing has to take third place in my scheme of things. Yet, through Mr. Meggy's teaching, I know exactly how to set to work to earn sums up to £15 15s. 0d. for a few hundred words, and my work is rising in value.” (H.R. 1070.)

AN INTERESTING SAMPLE LESSON, with a CHART OF SUITABLE SUBJECTS and details of separate courses BY CORRESPONDENCE in Story Writing, Article Writing, Verse Writing, and Writing for Children, will be sent to you on application. These will cost you nothing and will place you under no obligation.

PREMIER SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM,
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“HEIRS OF TINDALE”

LAST year the phrase “Heirs of Coverdale” was applied to the Bible Society and its work of translating the Scriptures. It would be even more appropriate to speak of “Heirs of Tindale” when we think of all that is being done under the auspices of the Bible Society to translate God's Word into the languages of the world.

If through the labours of Tindale we have our English Bible in all its grace and strength of diction, it is our bounden duty to give to all mankind the Bible in the mother tongue.

Will you help to make the Bible the Universal Book?

Gifts will be gratefully received by the Secretaries,

BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY,

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

HERE AND THERE

UNION BRANCHES

Some 400 Branches in all parts of the country have now replied to Lord Lytton's appeal for immediate financial assistance for headquarters. These are about 10 per cent. of the total recipients of the appeal. The apparent meagreness of the response is misleading, as in very many cases officers and committees have been away from their homes for the past few weeks. Indeed, it is noticeable that most of the replies so far received have come from comparatively small branches. In the smaller localities committees are more easily consulted.

The financial response from those branches which have already replied makes it plain that the urgency of the situation is fully realised, and there is every reason to hope that, if the response already received be maintained proportionately throughout the Union, the situation will be saved and the League of Nations Union empowered to carry on work that was never more needed than it is to-day.

That very real support exists is proved by the response of the Post Office Savings Bank Branch, where Miss Marion Ridges, one of the Union's most devoted supporters, has collected from her members in small sums of a few pence per head no less than £32 13s. 6d., which she has remitted to headquarters—a really remarkable achievement.

An Exhibition of Posters illustrating the work of the League of Nations Union was held at the James Allen's Girls' School, East Dulwich Grove, S.E.22. The 150 posters were designed by the School Junior L.N.U. Branch. They were grouped under these headings: The Organisation of the League, the Political Work of the League, Health and Humanitarian Work, Refugee Work, Transport and Communications, Intellectual Co-operation, Economic Activities, and the Work of the International Labour Office. The League film was also shown several times. The exhibition was very well attended and a request has already been made that the posters shall be sent to be shown in America. In the meantime the J.A.G.S. Branch is willing to lend the posters to other branches if they care to apply to the secretary. A small charge will be made to cover postage, wear and tear, etc.

THINGS THE LEAGUE HAS DONE

In the spring of the present year the L.N.U. published a carefully-revised and completely up-to-date edition of its successful pamphlet "What the League Has Done," by Maurice Fanshawe and C. A. Macartney. This tells the story from 1920 to 1936; it is the best single volume on the League's record. It has received a warm welcome both at home and overseas. In Australia, the New South Wales Department of Education has given it full official approval after a thorough scrutiny and has distributed 5,000 copies to the schools of the State, sending at least one copy to every school.

EALING EXHIBITION

For two days in January, 1934, the Ealing Town Hall was the scene of a very fine exhibition. Dramatically, artistically, and in many picturesque ways which appealed to the "man on the bus," it illustrated the work of the League and clearly defined its objectives. Some ten Branches of the Union, in and around the convenient centre of Ealing, co-operated with a friendly spirit which gave a valuable impetus to the work of the Union in the districts.

The co-operation did not cease with that exhibition. A new and greater exhibition will be displayed at the Ealing Town Hall on Thursday to Saturday, October 22 to 24. There are special children's sessions on the Friday and Saturday morning. The Literature Stall and Children's Court will be in the care of headquarters and the combined Junior Branches respectively. The Courts will be arranged by individual branches. Southall takes Disarmament in the Air; Wembley, the Permanent Court of International Justice at work; Chiswick, the I.L.O.; Ealing, Minorities and Refugees; Acton, Finance and Economics; Greenford, Health, Drugs and Social Welfare; Kew and Kew Gardens, Communications and Transit; Brentford will portray the question which it will be the object of the Exhibition both to stimulate and answer: "What can we do?"

The Children's Sessions will be opened by Dr. Maxwell Garnett and Mr. John Eppstein. The formal opening on Thursday will be by Viscount Cecil, supported by Members of Parliament and the Mayors and Corporations of Ealing and other boroughs whose branches are co-operating. The Mayor of Ealing, who has given valuable help and support to the committee, will preside. Friday's opening, under the chairmanship of the Rev. W. B. Sandberg, Vicar of Hanwell, who is the chairman of the Ealing Branch, will be by the Rev.

Dr. S. W. Hughes, Secretary of the Free Church Council. On Saturday afternoon, Mr. S. H. Haynes will preside for Lady Violet Bonham-Carter.

Admission by programme—a most attractive souvenir of the Exhibition—will be 6d.—half-price tickets for children. The programmes are already circulating in the districts.

WELSH NOTES

The Welsh Council is continuing its Membership Campaign and is planning a large number of rallies and public meetings during the autumn and winter. It is hoped that many of these rallies and public meetings will be addressed by the President of the Council, Mr. Dudley Howe, J.P., C.C., and by the Chairman of the Executive Committee, the Rt. Hon. Lord Davies.

A number of branches in Wales and Monmouthshire have already arranged excellent programmes for the coming session, and Welsh Council headquarters have prepared panels of speakers whom the branches may approach.

A number of Festivals of Youth are also being arranged in various localities during the coming months, and it is hoped that every church in Wales and Monmouthshire will send a contribution, however small, in aid of the work of the Welsh Council at the time of the commemoration of Armistice.

OVERSEAS NOTES

Senator Gerald P. Nye, Chairman of the Munitions Investigation Committee, is planning to "stump the country" with the following peace proposals:—

Nationalisation of the arms industry; Enlargement of the present embargo on sale of arms to warring nations to cover petroleum products; An embargo on both public and private loans to belligerents; A "cash and carry" plan for the sale of American goods to nations at war; Rigid restrictions on Americans travelling in war zones.

The Thirty-Second Inter-Parliamentary Conference was held in Budapest from July 3—9, 1936. The following groups were represented: U.S.A., Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Egypt, Spain, Finland, France, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Norway, Holland, Poland, Rumania, Sweden, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia and Yugo-Slavia. The opening of the conference took place in the great Session Hall of the Hungarian Lower Chamber in the presence of the Regent of Hungary. The following were elected Members of the Executive Committee for the coming year: Count Carton de Wiart (Belgium), President; Mr. Arthur Engberg (Sweden); Dr. H. Lowenherz (Poland); M. J. Estelrich (Spain); and Baron B. Lang (Hungary). It is with the greatest regret that the Inter-Parliamentary Union announces the death of heart-failure, which took place at Budapest during the conference, of Dr. Henryk Lowenherz.

The Conference passed resolutions on:—

- 1.—International Commercial Arbitration and International Mixed Courts for the Settlement of Commercial Disputes.
- 2.—Unemployment and Development of the Possibilities of Work.
- 3.—Parliamentary Control of Public Finance.
- 4.—Peace and the League of Nations.

The last resolution reads:—

"Seeing that the development of the international situation has compromised the prestige of the League of Nations and the confidence in the important pacts concluded with a view to the consolidation of peace;

"That this state of affairs is such as to give rise to grave anxiety, the more so as the memory of the evils of the last war is growing fainter in the different nations and the feeling of solidarity and of political and economic interdependence between all States is in frequent danger of becoming obscured by excessive national egoism;

The Conference believes that public opinion in all countries must be rendered increasingly aware of the consequences which would result from another war, consequences which are made more terrible by constant perfecting of means of destruction, as also of the necessity of uniting all the efforts of Governments, Parliaments and peoples to avert so fearful a possibility; and

"Asks the groups of the Union to neglect no opportunity of promoting better co-operation between all States for the respect of International Law, and, particularly, to study the question of the consolidation and, if necessary, the reorganisation of the League of Nations in order to enable it to settle differences between States with greater authority and efficacy and thus to strengthen the guarantees of peace."

L.R.F. Assistant Organiser

Miss Nancy Stewart Parnell, B.A., has been appointed Assistant Organiser to the London Regional Federation, L.N.U.

Miss Parnell is a graduate of Liverpool University and great niece of the famous Irish statesman. She was hon. secretary of the Liverpool University Branch of the L.N.U. and after leaving College, was actively associated with the work of the L.N.U. in Liverpool and District. She represented young women at the Equal Franchise deputation which Mr. Baldwin received at the House of Commons in March, 1927 and is said to have made a great impression. She spoke at the Queen's Hall Demonstration in March 1928, and was publicly congratulated by the Prime Minister on that occasion. Miss Parnell has helped Lady Simon in the Anti-Slavery movement and has been identified with other organisations, including the Women's International League and the St. Joan's Social and Political Alliance.

Miss Parnell will be engaged in the main on the development of L.N.U. activities in areas where there is no Branch at present, or where the Branch is weak.

Council's Vote

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

St. Anne's on Sea, Hailsham.

For 1936:—

Albury, Banstead, Boldre, Bourton-on-the-Water, Balcock, Bridlington, Bourn, Blewbury, Basingstoke, Boars Hill, Bentham, Chester, Cromer, Croston, Crosby Garrett, Crewe, Crewkerne, Cumnor, Cove, Dorchester, Driffild, Dunster, Eton, Epping, East Compton, East Bergholt, Esholt, Egham, Esher and Claygate, Felbridge, Godstone, Great Missenden, Great Horton, Guildford, Goole, Hailsham, Hurtwood, Hayle, Knebworth, King's Langley, Kirkham, Lacock, Leintwardine, Navenby, Nantwich, Painswick, Penistone, Portishead, Portsmouth N., Plumpton, Portsmouth S., Rugeley, Ringwood, Sutton, Stamford, Stratford-on-Avon, Spratton, St. Mawes, Staveley, Sheringham, Shelford, Shillington, Todmorden, Tring, Tettenhall, Truro, Thetford, Wychwood, West Wight, West Moors, Whitby, Woburn, Weymouth, Wheatley, Waterferry, Worplesdon, Whittlesford and Duxford.

UNION MEMBERSHIP

Terms of Subscription

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ORDINARY MEMBERS: 1s. a year minimum.

LIFE MEMBERS: £25.

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

THE LEAGUE and THE CRISIS

MAKING COLLECTIVE DEFENCE EFFECTIVE

A statement of the case in the light of the present situation. Approved by the Executive Committee of the L.N.U.

To be obtained from the Bookshop, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1

Price 3d.

WESTMINSTER YOUTH GROUP

SOCIAL & DRAMATIC EVENING

OCTOBER 8th, 1936, at 7.30 p.m.

St. John's Hall, MONCK ST., WESTMINSTER, S.W.1

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Its status has declined,
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INFERIORITY COMPLEX eradicated for ever

AN Inferiory Complex is a disturbance in the Subconscious Mind which manifests itself in:—

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| (1) Self-consciousness. | (8) Stuttering. |
| (2) Nervousness. | (9) Blushing. |
| (3) Depression. | (10) Obsessions. |
| (4) Worry. | (11) Trembling. |
| (5) Weak Will and habits. | (12) Nerve pains. |
| (6) Unsteady gaze. | (13) Indigestion. |
| (7) Nervous catarrh. | (14) Physical lethargy. |

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By MICHAEL GORING

It is well known among journalists that very many people who have never considered the possibility of writing for the Press could contribute articles and short stories were they taught how to find material to write about, how to construct and how to select their markets.

The Regent Institute has proved this. Hundreds of people in all walks of life who have awakened to the fact that they possess literary aptitude have put themselves in the hands of the Institute, and within a few months—often, indeed, from the start of the Course—sold articles and stories at good prices.

Everyone can draw interesting subjects from his own experience once he has learnt how to look at things journalistically. Consider the variety in this list of titles of articles contributed to the Press :

Queer Ways of Earning a Living ; Nature's Medicine Chest ; My Strangest Experience ; Character in Houses ; The Ideal Kitchen ; His First Term.

One type of article in constant demand is nothing more than a novel point of view on a familiar or a topical subject. Here is a representative list of titles :

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The Regent Institute offers practical correspondence tuition in article and story writing. Send for the interesting booklet, "How to Succeed as a Writer" (free and post paid), and learn how the Institute has enabled hundreds of men and women to write for the Press. *Many of them started to sell their work while still taking the Course.*

A Remarkable Offer to Readers of "Headway"

Readers who have literary ambitions are advised to write to the Regent Institute for a specimen lesson of the fascinating and practical Course in Journalism and Short Story Writing conducted by that well-known correspondence school.

Applications should be addressed to The Regent Institute (Dept. 219K), Regent House, Palace Gate, London, W.8.

If you have a little natural aptitude for literary work, you can be trained to earn a substantial second income in your leisure hours.

Hundreds of journals need the work of outside contributors for every issue they produce. The supply of brightly written articles and stories does not keep pace with the demand.

The range of publications is so extremely varied that almost anyone who has literary ability and has learnt technique can find a niche for himself, whatever be his educational attainments or his experience of life.

Solid proof of the substantial opportunities that await the amateur writer is afforded by the many success reports received by the Regent Institute. A few extracts :

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(From a Housewife.)

"You may be interested to know that I have had every article I have submitted for publication accepted at the first offer."
(From a Doctor.)

"I have had over two hundred articles and paragraphs printed."
(From a Farmer.)

"Five articles I sent out one week were accepted, and two the previous week."
(From a Musician.)

"You will be gratified to hear that I have had a great many acceptances. Up till December I had made about £78 in spare time."
(From a Housewife.)

Earning While Learning

Swift Success of Regent Students

Hundreds of Regent students have earned money by the pen during tuition ; some of them have recouped the fee many times over while taking the Course.

The following extracts are typical of a great number of letters received from students :

"I am quite pleased with the Course, and have had considerable success."

"The editor has written asking me to send him an article each month."

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