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**THE ARMS COMMISSION  
REPORT**

See pages 228, 229

**STEPS TO MAKE THE  
LEAGUE EFFECTIVE**

See pages 230, 231

# 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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"... Large bodies of men ... prepared to fight and die for an abstract creed ... the most dangerous thing in this world to-day."—MR. BALDWIN



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## NEWS AND COMMENT

## Britain's Policy

BRITISH world policy is still built upon the League. The League's friends must keep firm grasp of this master fact.

All the setbacks and failures of the past five years have not shown that any alternative can be worked. There is no alternative. Mr. Eden, speaking to his constituents at Leamington on November 20, outlined the Government's policy. The following are the crucial passages:

It would be a tragedy if the League of Nations were to become the home of any ideology, except the ideology of peace.

The principles of the League are entirely in accord with British ideas, and it would not be our nature to abandon them merely because in some parts of the world they have fallen on rocky ground, and we shall certainly not do so. A league which did not include all the more powerful nations must necessarily be different, be less effective, than a universal league, but the fact that we know that we cannot do everything is no excuse for doing nothing.

There can be no doubt that attempts to uphold international law have not benefited from the comparative decline of British strength in arms which has existed in recent years. The equilibrium is now being restored—nobody but a would-be aggressor will complain.

These arms will never be used in a war of aggression. They will never be used for a purpose inconsistent with the Covenant of the League or the Pact of Paris. They may, and if the occasion arose they would, be used in our own defence and in defence of the territories of the British Commonwealth of Nations. They may, and if the occasion arose they would, be used in the defence of France and Belgium against unprovoked aggression in accordance with our existing obligations. They may, and, if a new Western European settlement can be reached, they would, be used in defence of Germany were she the victim of unprovoked aggression by any of the other signatories of such a settlement.

Those, together with our Treaty of Alliance with Iraq and our projected treaty with Egypt, are our definite obligations. In addition our armaments may be used in bringing help to a victim of aggression in any case where, in our judgment, it would be proper under the provisions of the Covenant to do so. I use the word "may" deliberately, since in such an instance there is no automatic obligation to take military action. It is, moreover, right that this should be so, for nations cannot be expected to incur automatic military obligations save for areas where their vital interests are concerned.

## Still Leaguers

BRITISH armies, a great captain has said, lose every battle except the last. The toughness of the national character is coming out afresh in the country's attitude to the League. A score of failures do not mean surrender.

The British democracy, after the huge sacrifices and exertions of an unprecedented war, was and is determined not to acquiesce voluntarily in the defeat of the aims for which it fought and suffered. It has sought consistently and rightly for eighteen years to establish a system of treaty revision, limited armaments, and collective security through the League of Nations.

It is less than a year since collective security in its first real test was paralysed by some of its professed upholders. . . . In adhering even now to the full purposes of the League, the Government have identified the country, as it would wish, with a conception in which lies the only hope for the ultimate organisation of peace.

So says the *Times*, which famous newspaper does not number fanaticism amongst its qualities.

## Britain and Egypt

GRREAT BRITAIN and Egypt are friends as they have never been before. All through the many years of Lord Cromer's rule, just and efficient though it was, and great though the material benefits were which it conferred on the Egyptian people, a deep restlessness persisted. Later, discontent burst into frequent disorder. The cause was the basis of force on which Anglo-Egyptian relations rested. Britain was immeasurably the stronger; and inevitably, in every dispute, her strength decided the issue. To-day, for the first time, the two nations have concluded a free alliance, in which equal respect is assured to the rights of each.

Such a proof that the method of peace can achieve results beyond the reach of the method of war, either actual or threatened, could not be more timely. It is a welcome signpost raised on the difficult road which nations must follow, if the world is to escape disaster. Incidentally, in his excellent speech in the House of Commons explaining the Treaty, Mr. Eden offered a remark whose significance ranges far beyond his immediate subject. The negotiations succeeded, he said, because the most difficult matters were resolutely

attacked first. The same courageous course might be adopted much more often at Geneva by the Great Powers.

## Freedom and Peace

THE Albert Hall meeting on December 3, which was addressed by Mr. Winston Churchill, the Earl of Lytton, Lady Violet Bonham-Carter, and Sir Walter Citrine, was in "Defence of Freedom and Peace." Those words state the whole purpose. Despite all the agitated commentary, and in many quarters it has been deeply apprehensive, which Mr. Churchill's tempestuous energy has lately excited, there is no adroit political manoeuvre, no attempt to call into being a new party. Mr. Churchill and his associates, members of all parties, are profoundly alarmed at the drift of the world towards ruin. They detest both the extremes of violence which are busy proclaiming a world civil war. They believe that Britain has both the duty and the power to avert it. Therefore they ask her not only to declare in words her acceptance of a full League policy, which shall assure the effective joint defence of all peace-keeping nations against any aggressor, but also to prepare herself to take her due share in carrying out such a policy. In other words, they are (1) for the League, and (2) for the arms needed to serve the League purpose. Since that is the Union programme, the Albert Hall meeting was held under the Union's auspices.

## Carl von Ossietzky

THE winner of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1935 is nearly 49 years old. He began his activities as a pacifist writer when he was 21, and never weakened in his struggle. During the War he was forced to enlist, and he had to keep silent. In post-War Germany there was only one possible form of militant pacifism: that was to fight the Reichswehr politics of rearmament. That he did, although it was a dangerous task. For an article criticising the air subventions of the Government, he was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment. The official German News Agency call him now "a criminal convicted of treatment under President Hindenburg." That is true. But Field-Marshal Hindenburg was not a pacifist. And they forget to add that even the Supreme Court that sentenced him said: "He did not use any dishonest methods. Nor did he intend to damage the interests of the Reich. There can be no doubt that he acted from his personal conviction." Released from prison in December, 1932, he was re-arrested in February, 1933, in the dawn after the Reichstag fire. He was confined in various prisons and concentration camps for three years and seven months.

## Apostle and Martyr

ROMAIN ROLLAND called him "an apostle of peace who became a martyr," and declared: "The work for peace demands that great examples, such as Ossietzky's is, should be crowned

—not only the platonic and theoretic apostles of peace." This the Nobel Prize Committee has done. The Berlin correspondent of the *Morning Post*, who saw him after the news arrived, wired: "Three years in Papenburg concentration camp have broken his health beyond repair." Other German pacifists are still in prison, for example, Carlo Mierendorff, former Member of the Reichstag; and Fritz Küster, the President of the Friedengesellschaft.

Among those, several hundreds, who sponsored Ossietzky's candidature, were Thomas Mann, Albert Einstein, Romain Rolland, Jane Addams, Hellmuth von Gerlach, Ludwig Quidde, Emile Vandervelde, Henri de Man, Louis de Broeckere, Camille Huysmans, the Rev. Walter M. Long, the Rev. Herbert Dunnico, Sir Alfred Zimmern and Professor J. L. Brierly, of Oxford, Franz Boas and John Dewey, of Columbia University, Wickham Steed, D. N. Pritt, K.C., M.P., the Earl of Listowel, and many parliamentarians and professors of France, Switzerland, U.S.A., and the Scandinavian countries.

## L.N.U. Library

MANY lovers of books find an unfailing pleasure in the catalogues of publishers, booksellers, and libraries. The libraries are best because they offer a vastly wider range of choice and infinitely less invitation to extravagance. The L.N.U. Library is not only the best and most extensive library of League books outside Geneva, it is amongst the most highly valued services of the Union and an essential instrument for the League education of the British people. It is a lending library open to all members of the Union.

After an interval of eight years a new edition of its catalogue is now on sale, at 1s. 3d. a copy. A first rapid survey of its pages suggests a novel Christmas Gift game. The book-lover makes a list of the omissions: the more numerous the omissions the more truly a book lover he. Then he awards himself the prize of dispatching from his own shelves or from his bookseller copies of some of those works which no League Library should be without. Even in the Union Library there are gaps which ought to be filled.

## The Same Battle

AS President of the British Institute of Philosophy, Sir Herbert Samuel had many pregnant truths to utter on the present political condition of the world.

The man who is fully free is one who lives in a country which is independent; in a State which is democratic; in a society where the laws are equal and restrictions at a minimum; in an economic system in which he is assured of security of livelihood, and comfort.

Champions of high causes, the League, national liberty, democracy, or economic justice, often allow themselves to forget that they are all fighting in the same battle. Peace is indivisible; so is freedom.





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## THE WORLD MUST KNOW

**U**NCERTAINTY is the evil. The first beginnings of civilisation creep into existence when men realise that in some measure they can count upon the future. The area of assurance expands. Agriculture, finance, administration; property, law, government—everywhere the mark of progress is an always surer promise that reasonable expectations will be fulfilled. In a civilised community the rules are obeyed. Civilisation is the extension of certainty.

The purpose of the League is to secure world obedience for world rules. If the League succeeds the whole world will possess a world civilisation. If the League fails, if the attempt to create a world order is defeated, the warring fragments of what ought to be a unity will destroy one another. It is a current commonplace that the powers of humanity have developed out of proportion to its purposes. Science, we say, has given man command over forces which he does not know how to use. We are less accustomed to remark that a special, vitally important example of the general distortion which we so rightly deplore is the inadequacy of our political procedure to our political needs. Government, we should tell ourselves more often, is peace; and, since the jostling present-day world by the very fact of its many contacts makes the enjoyment of peace except on a world-wide scale tentative and precarious, world government is essential to security. The wider the area of certainty the greater is the confidence with which those who live inside it can continue their building of a better future. A limit narrower than the world would be too narrow to give the full assurance they require.

The major international crime of dictatorship is that it spreads uncertainty. The characters of democratic nations and authoritarian states are reversed in much fashionable discourse, some of it honestly confused, more of it deliberately confusing. Their neighbours know well what are the objects of the democracies, where they are going. Their end is peace, their means is conference. Not Great Britain, nor France, nor the United States nurses aggressive designs. Not one of them is really suspected of intending war, either immediate or postponed. They may hesitate, compromise, shrink from action. They do not follow coup with coup, tear up treaties, anticipate negotiations with accomplished facts. In the other class, the purpose is obscure. If violence be proof of strength and decision, then the methods of the dictators are strong and decided. But their aims remain undisclosed. Perhaps those aims are not clear even to themselves. Clouds of voluble witnesses bear contradictory evidence. Signor Mussolini's Abyssinian adventure, reports Mr. Evelyn

Waugh, who enjoyed extraordinary facilities and is an enthusiastic apologist, was intended to impress the barbarian, to persuade him peacefully, as it were, to satisfy Italian military honour with a parade to Adowa; Marshal di Bono, not less well placed to guess the truth, describes a war of conquest planned years in advance, and the systematic exploitation of the accidental clash at Walwal so that the world might be deceived into condoning an unprovoked aggression. The new Italo-German-Japanese alignment is already being explained in equally diverse fashions. The motives behind it, the events to which it points, are matters of deeply anxious speculation.

Six years ago the League dominated the world. All-round disarmament was a dawning possibility. A peace system was working. Still imperfect, lacking some of the parts and much of the power needed for its complete effectiveness, it had, nevertheless, begun the outlawry of violence as a political instrument. Any aggressor, should he resort to war in defiance of the world's judgment and in disregard of his pledges, was warned to expect collective resistance. The supremacy of the democracies was not challenged. To-day the League is shaken. Disarmament is indefinitely postponed. No longer is an effectual peace system in being. Violence is practised without apology. Aggressors, having laid masterful hands upon their booty, demand general acceptance of their success. They are not restrained by fear that military measures might be taken against them. The dictators believe themselves to be in the ascendant; visibly they have risen in the world. Which is cause and which consequence is an unprofitable debate. The fact of the grouping is indisputable. Democracy and certainty and peace belong together.

The British people, loyal to their tradition, have reason to be satisfied that their influence is being employed to strengthen the League, to diminish the area of uncertainty, to increase the chances of peace. Tireless pressure is being brought to bear upon the Government from many directions to force a declaration that Great Britain, world power though she is, holds herself disinterested in the fate of most of the world. In the words of one notorious propagandist, Ministers are asked to maximise Britain's forces and to minimise her commitments. Such a course, the British people see clearly, would only intensify the dangers it is alleged to avert. Arming in isolation, Britain would be only one competitor in a mad, helter-skelter arms race, more exposed than anyone else to its risks and with most to lose. Wise commitment is the only sure defence in the world of to-day and to-morrow. Standing together in defence of the right of all to live in peace, the peace-keeping nations, who are also the free nations, could defeat all attack. Indeed, they would be so strong that no attack would be threatened. Uncommitted, they would be doomed.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in speeches in the House of Commons and in his constituency, has made clear the resolve of the Government to accept and to honour in action, should need arise, the commitments required for the effective defence of British interests. The chief of those interests, the deepest and most prominent, is peace everywhere. Mr. Eden, advanced with decent resolution some distance along the right path; and the role of the peace movement is now to help him to go further.

# The "Conflict of Ideologies" as a Threat to Peace

By H. P. S. MATTHEWS, who sums up the lesson of a recent inquiry in Paris

**I**T is, perhaps, only natural that, in one's thinking about the problems of world peace, one should tend to visualise the future almost wholly in the light of the particular crisis which at the moment is monopolising the attention of the world. Six months ago we were planning for the future in the light of an act of aggression which had been heralded by nine months of unconcealed military preparations, forgetting, perhaps, that the greatest danger to European peace is a sudden unannounced attack by a Great Power whose military establishment is permanently on a war footing, and that a war which necessitates the transport of hundreds of thousands of troops overseas is apt to be the exception rather than the rule. So to-day, with the tragedy of Spain before our eyes, we are speaking of the "next war" as a "clash between opposing ideologies," and confidently declaring that it will be due, not to an act of flagrant aggression, but to the more subtle and less easily detected method of a carefully prepared revolt on the part of a fraction incited to violence and furnished with arms by a foreign Power.

The dangers of conflicts "à l'espagnole" are obvious. If effective action is to be taken to bring a war to an end, it is essential that one should be able to determine with the utmost rapidity the responsibility for the outbreak of hostilities. At the present time, whilst Italy and Germany are sending aeroplanes and pilots to General Franco, posters in the working-class districts of Paris are inviting subscriptions to send to the "struggling masses of Spain," "les Armes—oui, les Armes." I saw several of those in Paris more than six weeks ago—and France, too, is a party to the non-intervention agreement.

The danger is obvious; it is shown to us clearly by Hitler's Nuremberg tirades, by the succession of "Non-intervention crises," by the constitution of the "anti-Communist Front" between Germany, Italy and Japan. As an eminent publicist expressed it recently—with a charming disregard for the purity of his metaphors: "There is a grave danger that the gulf between opposing ideologies may be bridged by the clash of arms."

Let us, then, paint the picture in its darkest colours—and then let us examine the assumptions upon which the believers in the "coming clash" base their prophecies of impending doom.

During recent months, Hitler and Mussolini have been co-operating ever more closely. Their respective announcements that they recognised General Franco's government as the legitimate authority in Spain appeared within five minutes of one another. The protagonists of "aryanism," who advertised themselves as the bulwark against the Decline of the West, have called in the Yellow Peril to help them to fight World Communism, "symbol of Asiatic Barbarism"; in Paris the conflict between Right and Left grows daily more bitter; in the East End of London Fascists and anti-Fascists demonstrate on alternate Sundays and assault one another with increasing frequency.

It is perfectly true that at the moment the Fascist Powers are collaborating with all the outward appearances of cordiality. But is it necessarily true that the fact of having more or less the same "ideology" is enough to bind a group of countries in a lasting union? It is a little over two years since, within a few months of the impressive parade of Fascist-Nazi solidarity which accompanied Herr Hitler's visit to Venice, Italian troops were massed on the Brenner to ward off the danger of a German invasion of Austria. Germany and Italy are co-operating to prevent Russian influence from spreading in Spain; they have yet to divide the spoil; Germany's economic and political interests are in South-Eastern Europe, and, if Fortune is with Franco, in Spain; Italy's economic and political interests are in South-Eastern Europe, and, if Fortune favours Franco, in Spain. . . . If there is one capital in Europe where the spectacle of Italo-German co-operation ought to be turning men's hair grey, it is Paris. But, Paris is taking it surprisingly calmly.

Was it two, or three, years ago that sailors from the Soviet Navy were being feted with such extravagant hospitality by the people of Naples? In Paris to-day, you will find people of the most widely differing views who will tell you that the Reichswehr, which trained the Soviet's troops for years after the conclusion of the Russo-German treaty of Rappallo, is still in touch with the Red Army. I was told that six weeks ago, by two men, both of considerable eminence, one of them a Radical-Socialist, the other a journalist of the extreme Right. I was told that one of the merits of the Franco-Soviet pact was that it forestalled the conclusion of a new Rappallo; in Danzig I found people who believe that Hitler, who concluded a pact with the great "National Enemy" Poland, and with the Austrian Government, against which the Nazi Press and wireless had conducted one of the most bitter campaigns of history, would one day come to an agreement with Soviet Russia.

The principal plank in Hitler's platform is the union of all Germans under the rule of the Third Reich and the liberation of oppressed German minorities from foreign bondage. Nowhere is there a German minority more ruthlessly denied the right to be German than in South Tyrol, where Italian Fascists have ordered that even the German names on the tombstones should be erased. Not a word about the sufferings of South Tyrol may appear in the German Press. Why? Because, if there is a conflict between political expediency and Nazi principles, Nazi principles must go.

Rather less than two years ago, at the time of the Saar Plebiscite, a Nazi journalist, Press attaché to a member of the German Cabinet, told me that there was only one country with which Germany could never come to an understanding—Italy. I remind myself of that conversation when I am told that the world has definitely taken sides for the Clash of the Ideologies.



# "CANNON INTO BELLS"

By F. B. BOURDILLON who shows how Scandinavia is co-operating to keep the peace

WE were listening to radio Stockholm, it was the first "Day of the North." All at once we heard (in English) "Hullo, America." The Heads of the five states of the north were just going to co-operate in a broadcast to commemorate the peaceful relationships existing between their countries. This must surely be a unique occasion in history. It began with the ringing of cathedral bells, broadcast from cities in four out of the five states. "Good morning, Iceland," said the Bishop of Tromsø, "good morning, Finland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway," he added. "To-day we rouse each other with chimes from church towers. In the old days we sometimes used metal on one another in other and less friendly fashion."

We found the whole occasion so instructive that we think each of the four heads of states should be allowed to speak for himself and make no apology for reproducing at the end of these notes the report published in *The Times* of the following day.

The interesting point about the broadcast was that it had no political significance. As the writer of a leader in *The Times* of the same date said, "the recognition of the limitations as well as the scope of co-operation accounts for the great success of yesterday's festival." That seems to be one of the intrinsic features of the co-operation which has existed between the northern states in the greater part of the twentieth century: it is not rigidly exclusive. When they met at Geneva last year to discuss League problems, they only formed part of a group which included Spain, Holland and Switzerland. At other conferences others of the smaller European states have been associated with them for particular purposes, and this has been both possible and natural owing to the fact that no political commitment appears to be entered into or even considered, even when we find the four foreign ministers meeting once a year or more often in one or other of their capitals.

Of course, as King Christian points out in his speech, what began the present trend was the meeting of the three kings at Malmö early in the Great War. The three Monarchies found that, throughout the later stages of the war, much was to be gained by improving facilities for mutual co-operation, in the first place as regards mutual trade. This co-operation has continued, particularly through the convention arrived at at Oslo in 1931, by which the states agreed to give notice and time for consultation before making alterations in their tariffs. This may be, perhaps, the Scandinavian answer to the need which other nations feel for easier access for raw materials, for colonial possessions, or for protection of trade routes. Of course, other subjects also lend themselves to co-operation between any group of contiguous states, and the Scandinavian group has gone further in a number of respects, such as legislation affecting nationality, marriage laws and the mercantile marine. Further, there is close inter-action between all the five northern states in such matters as education, literature, the stage, the discussion of professional concerns of various kinds, and particularly as between federations of employees and employers.

Language affinity certainly makes co-operation easier, once the inclination is favourable, and unquestionably it has facilitated professional and academic co-operation. Each of the five countries is indeed resolved to retain its own identity linguistically just as much as in other respects. But the background of common culture has done much to produce the present determination to settle all mutual questions peacefully and amicably. The Scandinavian nations have enjoyed no particular immunity from questions that needed settlement. In this century we have seen the separation of Norway from Sweden, the granting of autonomy to Iceland, the winning of national independence by the Finnish people, the Dano-Norwegian dispute over East Greenland, and the settlement of the question of the Aland Islands by reference to the League of Nations.

That all these questions have been amicably settled is due to the prevalence throughout the northern countries of what Dr. Sandler last month called a "free and informal solidarity." "Scandinavianism" has been called a "unified policy of peace and neutrality." What makes a study of it so instructive is the conclusion which such a study suggests, that, given the same determination, the same policy might be applied between all the nations of the world.

King Gustav V of Sweden made the first speech. "My long experience as a monarch (he said) has taught me that northern concord is an essential condition for the happy future of the northern countries, and I have been glad on important occasions in the northern people's history to work for the promotion of this concord."

The President of Finland, M. Svinhufud, said that from olden days Finland had been in close connexion with the other northern states, especially with Sweden. "Nearly one year ago (he added) the Finnish Parliament took the initiative in expressing the view that the Finnish people ought to endeavour to co-operate with the Scandinavian countries for the defence of the peace and neutrality of the North. This is of double importance in our unpeaceful days."

The King of Denmark and Iceland, Christian X, said: "It is known that it was King Gustav who, in December, 1914, during the World War, invited King Haakon and myself to a meeting at Malmö, and on this basis co-operation between the northern countries has developed naturally. We can not only speak our own languages to each other and be understood, but we are also related in culture and mentality; facts that influence practical life very greatly and facilitate co-operation on all internal questions. What was established at that meeting has already borne fruit, and I hope that this co-operation may be strengthened in the times to come."

King Haakon of Norway said that the foundation of closer co-operation between the northern states must be the same as between all other nations—namely, toleration and goodwill, which can work out to the eternal benefit of the nations. "We each have our own problems (he continued), owing to the differing characters and close proximity of our countries. Even if our history shows that difficult problems have existed, we have fortunately always succeeded in settling these in a friendly way. The foundation of present-day northern co-operation must be, first of all, stronger and still stronger cultural community, and when we have found the way to what is of value in ourselves we hope our co-operation will extend to economic questions."

# A Ruler for the League of Nations?

By WILLIAM A. BREND

(Lecturer on Forensic Medicine, Charing Cross Hospital; Author of "Sacrifice To Attis," which deals with the effect of excessive discipline upon the young, and examines also the psychology of Salism and its relation to War.)

THE League of Nations suffers from the lack of a commanding personality to serve as a focus for the devotion of its supporters. Human affairs are governed far more by emotion than reason, and no great movement, national or international, has ever succeeded unless it has had at its head either one actually wielding authority or one possessing the appearance of authority, who can command the love and, if need be, the self-sacrifice of his followers.

This is the secret of the power of dictators, and we see their influence extending far beyond the boundaries of their own territories. Hitler and Mussolini have their admirers in all countries; Lenin, and after him Stalin, served as a beacon for Communism throughout the world.

The Pope has been a powerful factor in maintaining the universal appeal of the Roman Catholic Church, and the Salvation Army could never have gained its enthusiastic support without the leadership of General Booth.

The Crown in this country, though possessing only the symbols and appearance of authority, arouses no less fervid an emotion in the people. We have seen them recently wholeheartedly sharing in the joy of the King and his family at a marriage and a Jubilee, and profoundly grieved at a Royal death.

Unhappily, the League of Nations receives no adventitious help of this sort. Acceptance of the obligations of the Covenant necessarily implies some derogation of national sovereignty, and this, as we know so well, has been one of the great obstacles to its success. The transfer of even a limited degree of allegiance is all the more difficult when there is no sovereign to whom it can be transferred. The average man thinks of the League as a committee of not very trustworthy persons sitting at Geneva mainly to further the interests of their own countries, and it is impossible to love a committee.

The appeal of the League is to reason and to enlightened self-interest, and it has never excited any religious fervour, largely because, though handling a matter upon which the whole future of humanity may depend, outwardly it is cold and uninspiring. It offers nothing to grip the imagination of the ordinary man, no symbols or personalities through which the untutored in all countries, able to think only in terms of concrete images, can express their deep sense of human fellowship and profound longing for universal peace.

Can this psychological need of mankind be met and enlisted in the service of the League? I believe it can, and my suggestion is that the League should be nominally governed by a constitutionally controlled ruler occupying a position analogous to that of the constitutional monarchy in this country: a ruler who should only appear on ceremonial occasions, and should be above all debate and international difference, but

in whose name every act of the League should be done. He should hold office for life, and should be nominated rather than elected so as to raise him above the turmoil and possible intrigue of an election, each country in turn nominating and being precluded from selecting from its own people. He should be a national of every country in the League, and should be the titular head of every local organisation associated with the League.

The desire in masses of humanity to serve and obey a leader may seem—and rightly seem—childish to the sophisticated, but it is a factor we cannot disregard, and it is becoming stronger with the evolution of society.

Respect for authority originates in the attitude of the child to its parents. In an earlier stage of civilisation little concern was shown for children after the years of infancy. Tacitus describes the children of the Germans as running naked with the cattle; infanticide was common throughout the Roman Empire.

Steadily the period of family influence has been prolonged, and to-day the young, though physically mature soon after sixteen, are kept in tutelage in school and university until a much later age and are encouraged to submit themselves to disciplinary organisations of all sorts, while at the same time their responsibility is reduced to a minimum.

A man may be compelled to fight for the defence of other people's property at the age of eighteen, but if he has any property of his own the State will not allow him to make a will leaving it even to his wife and children until he is twenty-one, and until that age he has no say in the election of the body which sends him to fight. He is not necessarily fully responsible for his misdeeds until twenty-three, and may be sentenced to Borstal treatment up to that age. Recently a magistrate described a man of twenty-seven as "a youth."

Many approve of this excessive disciplining of the young and would have more of it as a cure for various social ills. Others, of whom I am one, believe that eventually it saps the spirit of independence and fosters the desire to lean upon authority. But whatever the cause, the readiness of a large part of youth to-day to follow an authoritative voice is patent, and unhappily, in many parts of the world, is being exploited in the interests of evil.

My tentative and sketchy suggestion has been made in the hope that some of this generously inspired but ill-directed force may be utilised in the interests of peace. But the appeal must be to the emotion and the imagination. Dictators have their symbols and salutes. The Fascist raises the outstretched arm, the Communist the clenched fist. Cannot the peace movement have at least the figure of a Prince of Peace, the olive branch as a symbol, and the hand offered in friendship to all peoples?



# WHAT THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE ARMS TRAFFIC RECOMMENDS

An expert commentary by Freda White, author of "Traffic in Arms"

THE report of the Royal Commission on the Traffic in Arms, long-awaited, appeared in October. Surprisingly, it was unanimous. Listeners at the Commission's hearings have tended to expect majority and minority reports, or possibly three. For the seven members seemed to include believers in the present system, in some form of public utility arrangement, and in direct national control. It is certain that every one of them must have sacrificed part of his own opinion in order to share in a common finding. The result is a coherent texture, with a few holes rather sketchily darned.

The whole document is conditioned by "the decision of the Government as indicated in the 'Statement Relating to Defence' of March 3, 1936—namely, that during the period of rearmament private manufacture of arms is not only to be continued, but it is to be encouraged and increased." More, the inquiry was held in an abnormal period of intensive rearmament, and the mind of the Commission was turned by events to the problem of the efficient production of munitions and away from that of the over-supply of arms. This has led them to be realistic on one side and unrealistic on the other. For instance, they set up an antithesis between armaments and other causes of war. "The causes of war are remote and intractable, its implements near and tangible. It is not surprising that many people should project their hatred of war on to the instruments of war in a belief that the control of one will lead to the suppression of the other." Seven practical people, thinking of the part played by the instruments of war in creating the condition of Abyssinia and Spain, and the present tension of Europe, might well have modified this reflection.

The Commission begins its serious conclusions with a chapter on international disarmament. In spite of the present failure of limitation, "If the total available demand for armaments in every country were, in fact, restricted both quantitatively and qualitatively to a known maximum under international supervision most, if not all, of the objections to which the system of private trade has been stated to be open would be removed, and those not removed would be greatly diminished. For the potential evils to which it is liable depend ultimately on the possibility of seeking private profit in an expansible market." Under limitation, the creation of "a fear market" would be impossible.

The following chapters, Part IV, are the hub of the report from the point of view of principle. For they deal with State monopoly, and reject it. First, as part of an international agreement by all States to set up monopoly. The history given by the report is partial in regard to the League negotiations. It says, as is true, that no agreement has been reached on State monopoly, but omits to tell how the party of governments in favour of it have increased of late years, nor how Britain has headed the opposition. It does say that Russia, France, Italy, Germany, and the United States are moving towards monopoly, adding: "None of these examples seems to have much value for British

industry." (Why not?) Then a tail-chasing conclusion. Britain should not adopt a policy in favour of general State monopoly unless or until a general agreement has been reached.

State monopoly for Britain itself is more closely considered. The moral objection to private manufacture is rejected. "It may be said that the present system is essentially distinguishable from State monopoly because it permits of the operation of private gain. This is not, in our opinion, a necessary distinction on moral grounds." Reason shatters against this wall. Is there no distinction between the hateful necessity of the State to prepare for war, and the rapacity of speculators gambling in the markets on the chances of slaughter? But then, a later passage, in Chapter IX reads: "In a general sense there is unquestionably something revolting to the conscience of all ordinary men and women in the thought that killing, and the supply of killing power, is profitable to particular groups of people." Well, are we supposed to appeal from the Commission warm to the Commission cold? Its conclusion lies in a compromise between its own two views. "The complete removal of the profit motive from private industry is neither necessary nor desirable, and it is far from our purpose to propose that profits should be so restricted as to discourage private firms from undertaking the supply of arms. But it is an opinion that measures ought to be taken to restrict the profits of armaments firms in peace-time to a scale of reasonable remuneration." For this purpose the State is to supervise and check the costs of production. In war-time profiteering should be prevented by conscription of industry. The State should choose the staff it wants to keep in industry and those they require to join the forces. Everyone, from the head of a business down, should be given similar positions and pay, according to the work they are doing, to those serving in the war.

This scheme for taking unreasonable profit out of war is really consequent upon the Commission's main finding. That is that private arms manufacture, in collaboration with the Government, should continue in time of peace; in time of war arms manufacture, with the whole of industry, should be conscripted. The argument is as follows: the aim of the inquiry is to provide a peace organisation "which is (1) efficient and economical, and (2) lends itself to rapid mobilisation and expansion on the outbreak of war. At present, the army depends largely upon the private trade for its armament, the navy very largely, the air force almost entirely. The State's own policy has created this system. If arms were transferred to State production, so must the whole field of industry covered by "war supplies," and this could not be done save as part of a general nationalisation of industry. Schemes such as those proposed by the League of Nations Union, or Dr. Addison, for nationalisation of key-processes, are rejected, apparently on the ground that though State organisation of production is needed, it would be a mistake for the State to maintain factories whose work would fluctuate with the demands of the Services. The

crucial point is expansion in time of war; and this the Commission believes will be better prepared for by spreading the skill in arms manufacture over a large number of peace-time industries than maintaining the same skilled hands in Government works.

Therefore arms-making should be left in private hands, but plans for conscription in war-time should be fully worked out. The Commission says that the taking over of the industry by the State will mean delay and dislocation; but seems to think that the appropriate moment for dislocation is the outbreak of war.

On the evils of private manufacture the Commission is interesting. "So far as United Kingdom firms are concerned, the charges are few and the evidence scanty," though the "frivolous and cynical language" used by some directors is censured. The Japanese naval scandal of 1914, and a proposed bribe of £50,000 to a foreign official, are the only instances of corruption given. But the system of sale by agents on commission is "open to grave objection." It is true that competition does not exist between British manufacturers; and price maintenance agreements are sometimes "disguised by a form of collusive tendering." Therefore a vigorous system of price control is necessary. International price-raising rings were not investigated. Officials and ex-officers should not take positions with arms-firms without the specific approval of the Minister in charge of this department.

The Commission is more definite on the export trade. It recommends the adoption of the American proposals of 1934-35 for an international agreement. This is its only divergence from British Government policy in the past. It outlines the British amendments to those proposals, and refrains from comment on them. It will be remembered that Britain, in the name of "simplicity," proposed the deletion of inspection on the spot by the Commission to be set up to supervise the arms agreement, and also the limitations of publicity to total by categories. That meant "£10,000,000 of naval armaments"—whether capital

ship, destroyer, guns or 'planes left undefined—an obviously useless publicity.

For control of the industry the Commission recommends "a body for the purpose of controlling supply and dividing questions of priority. Such a body should have executive and not merely advisory powers over supply, manufacture, costing, and the authorisation of orders from abroad. It should be presided over by a Minister responsible to Parliament." The Government works should be equipped for the production in some measure of arms, and should specialise in research, design, and production of machine tools. Expert control shows the only split in the Commission's report; for "some of us would like to see the foreign arms trade of this country discontinued," while the majority believe it would do international harm. All agree that the existing licence system is "largely negative," and tends to encourage export. They do not think the export trade is great enough to justify this on grounds of expansion-power. A new outlook is needed. Licences should only be granted by the controlling body; and only for export to governments. Open general licences should be abolished, especially for aircraft. All aircraft, civil and military, should only be exported on specific licences after individual consideration. The sale of surplus Government stocks of arms should be stopped.

The report is disappointing to those people who consider that armaments should be as much a Government service as the men in the navy, army and air force who use them. It should appeal to League supporters in its findings on the American Draft proposals and the control of export trade. It should, to the lay mind, appeal to the Government which is rearming, since its main proposals would tend to efficiency. But does it? Sir Thomas Inskip poured gallons of cold water upon it in the Debate on the Address; and the Government seems, so far, to be opposed to the Ministry of Supply, supported by many Members from all parties. Having got a verdict against nationalisation, the Cabinet is unlikely to do anything towards reform of the arms industry.

## LORD CECIL ON SPAIN AND DICTATORS

ADDRESSING an L.N.U. meeting at Altrincham in Armistice Week, Viscount Cecil referred to the Spanish tragedy.

Up to a point, it was true, it was not a matter in which the League could interfere. But, unhappily, the fighting had international consequences. He would not like to say that rebellion was never justified, but it ought never to be resorted to except in the very last extremity.

There were three justifying conditions to be fulfilled:—(1) The grievances should be intolerable—not mere failure by a Government to keep complete order or to punish serious crime; (2) it must be quite clear there was no other possible remedy; and (3) there must be a reasonable certainty of

rapid and complete success. He could not think that any one of those three conditions was satisfied in Spain, and one week of the fighting had produced more misery than years of inadequate government could do.

"Europe is divided between two rival theories of government. They are not mere systems of government; they are, as it were, religions, and as I should say, forms of idolatry, because they are false religions.

"There seems to be a kind of rule growing up in Europe that dictators may say what they like, but that if anybody criticises anything a dictator has said it is a great insult to the country to which the dictator belongs, I think the sooner we get rid of that conception the better."



# STEPS WHICH CAN BE TAKEN TO MAKE THE LEAGUE EFFECTIVE

By LORD ALLEN OF HURTWOOD

THERE is a wave of depression sweeping over many friends of the League of Nations. This mood is more than understandable, but it can easily lead to a dangerous distemper. It may cause us to believe that what is wanted is still further declarations in favour of the ideals for which the League stands. I want to suggest that this will not do. Our task, at so critical a moment as the present, is not to reaffirm aspirations, but to take infinite pains to explain the methods and procedure by which the authority of the League can be restored.

I do not believe for a moment that the public has lost faith in the League. But what they do want to know is precisely what can be done in the immediate future to rebuild it. Our problem is, therefore, with methods, not ideals. Do let us beware of meeting the emotion of fear only with the passion of zeal. We shall not in that way keep our grip over the public mind or help it to find the road back to peace.

Indeed, so convinced is the public that the nation would be in great peril, if there were no League, that people are now beginning to realise that when the League was founded in 1919, it emerged by virtue of necessity itself, and not by the virtues of statesmen. In such circumstances, to appeal to emotion or to dwell upon impending catastrophe is to diminish the one quality the public must possess at a moment of danger—the power of judgment and thought. Emotion may begin as an asset on the side of righteousness. But let it become devoid of an outlet in constructive proposals, and we shall find that it will first degenerate into bewilderment, and then lose itself in fear. When it has reached that point, the public may easily swing across in terror to the false comforts of reaction and support policies which give neither protection nor hope.

Here let me lay emphasis upon the immense value of the League of Nations Union as a Society with its own distinctive message. No peace organisation since the war has equalled it in influence or range of knowledge and constructive proposals. We ought to be proud of that record. We have reached further into the heart of the public, and exercised more influence over successive Governments than any other peace society. I believe the League of Nations Union is the only organisation which can now commend the rebuilding of a peace system as a practical proposal to the public. We must, therefore, keep alive our own distinctive message. It is far more important for us to convert the unconvinced—what we call the "Right"—than to keep on re-converting the faithful.

Our business, therefore, as a League of Nations Union is to devote all our propaganda effort to explaining in the most precise and explicit manner what steps can now be taken to make a broken League effective. Different points should take precedence in our propaganda at different moments of time. We know that the advocacy of disarmament and an exact discussion of sanctions must always go on simultaneously with our other efforts. But for the present there is one special point we must stress, and that is how to get the nations back to the League table. We may fail in this, and then have to take steps accordingly; but the effort must first be made with renewed energy and sensitive wisdom.

To put pressure into advocating closer co-operation between the nations that remain loyal to the League is all to the good; but chronologically it should, in my judgment, give precedence to an initiative towards completing the membership of the League in Europe. We shall not achieve that end merely by closing the ranks of the League members and saying to the others, "You are free to come in on equal terms to share in rights and obligations." The psychological state of Europe has gone far too much awry, owing to mistakes in the past, for that method to work. Moreover, it has special perils of its own.

There is a more immediate procedure that we need to try out first, though not at the cost of surrendering the other. Suppose that in the end we have to tighten the relationship between the loyal nations. We can do that all the better if we take certain preliminary steps, which might give us a new Peace Settlement. If these steps fail, we shall have a much surer moral foundation for dealing with the enemy who may thereby be revealed. At present we are in doubt as to where nations stand; what they want; what are their ambitions and their intentions. We must clear up that obscurity. To do so requires that pressure on behalf of setting up the machinery for peaceful change should be a few inches ahead of pressure to improve the working of collective security. We shall never get respect for law until all are equal before the law, and until all know that the law can be changed.

The Locarno Conference of certain Powers in a certain geographical region may turn out to be a good technique for at least bringing absent nations round some table or other. But it is an insufficient procedure, and gives nations the chance to make far too many excuses for keeping away from the table.

What we want is first of all a declaration from Britain

that this nation, at any rate, rules out no international grievance or claim that any country may wish to have considered, whether we happen to think those claims to be justifiable or not. Next, a definite invitation should at once be extended to all the nations to take part—not in an unwieldy world conference—but in a number of special Commissions to examine every grievance, whether it be concerned with Colonial questions, access to raw materials, economic co-operation, trade revival, movements of population, territorial readjustments, or revolutionary and counter-revolutionary propaganda.

Great dangers are, of course, involved in this procedure. It may lead to exaggerated claims or to feelings of apprehension on the part of the nations that might be called upon to make concessions. That cannot be helped. It is a choice of evils. It is less dangerous to explore grievances than to sit on them until they explode. We can help to meet part of this difficulty by the next proposal.

It will be legitimate to ask all nations, which agree to participate in the work of these Commissions, to reaffirm their solemn undertaking not to break the peace by direct or indirect means. Every participant should be called upon to guarantee the peace to enable the work of these Commissions to bear fruit. This, I think, is a far more unprovocative method of organising collective security than merely reaffirming our intentions to resist aggression against the *status quo* in general.

From these Commissions we can then proceed to a World Peace Conference—not a War Conference, such as Versailles.

There is nothing new in this programme, except the placing of the emphasis differently. It will appeal to a bewildered public by its precision. It will, above all, prove that the League can be an instrument of change and not only an instrument of force. It will put the League of Nations Union in a far stronger position to press upon public opinion and upon the Government that Britain should join with others in guaranteeing throughout the whole of Europe the new Settlement, which all nations agree to sign. Public opinion now hesitates to give such a guarantee. It knows in its heart that it ought to, even from the point of view of its own national safety. But it wonders whether the existing Settlement is sufficiently just to claim protection, and it dislikes the thought of being entangled unexpectedly in a series of sudden far-off crises, due to the absence of any coherent plan.

But let there be this invitation to all nations to take

part in Commissions to remedy grievances and provide a new and more just Settlement; and then public opinion will agree to join as surely in protecting law and order in Europe as it has hitherto done in protecting national safety.

That seems to me the distinctive message of the League of Nations Union at this bewildering moment. It is a precise procedure to implement a great ideal. It will calm public anxiety by indicating a definite method of rebuilding the peace; and it will rekindle conviction in the League and its system.

May I here say that I feel it will be a tragic betrayal of Britain's safety, world peace and a new régime of law, order and justice, if extreme pacifists destructively insist upon combining the advocacy of their own ideals with negative attacks upon the League system of collective security. The pacifist does a cruel wrong to his fellow-citizens if he denies the great step forward mankind took, when—having refused Pacifism—it yet renounced war as an anarchic instrument of national policy, and made its first attempt to put force behind law as the basis of a system of justice and fair dealing. Unless pacifists are careful, they will only put a barrier of fear and emotion between their own creed and the public. The people are eager for peace in our time—not many generations ahead. If pacifists attack the League system, they will achieve nothing, except to drive the public to seek a false refuge in increasing armaments, and maybe, in a régime which will betray democracy.

I believe the League of Nations Union can mobilise opinion as no other peace organisation in Britain. It should be proud of its influence and use it with precision and courage. Let its message be constructive and let it be clear. Let it avoid dwelling too much on past mistakes, deplorable though they have been. Let it retain the confidence of public opinion by being ready with a helpful contribution in each new situation as it arises.

If we remain faithful, and never let hope be submerged in disappointment or anger, we shall find that the pressure of events will second our own efforts, and thus restore the League system, and with it Democracy—the essential partner of Peace.

We shall do well to realise that some of the disturbing upheavals in Europe are either pathological or personal in character. If we are wisely sensitive and resolute, we may find that they come to an end as suddenly as they emerged. Much depends upon the extent to which Britain and the United States of America refuse to be "rattled."



# THE HAND OF FRIENDSHIP

By G. J. G. SMITH (who tells of the success won by an adventure in practical peace building in an outer London suburb.)

**A**n attempt to do something really practical towards building a real peace in the world was recently made at West Wickham, Kent.

The experiment started as the result of a sermon preached at the church of St. Mary of Nazareth by Rev. H. K. Percival Smith, who asked: "Is this new armaments race the best method that humanity can devise for the future happiness of the world?" Subsequently, a meeting for men was called, when it was agreed that (1) "the will for peace is existent in the hearts of individual men and women of the countries of Europe"; (2) future activities should be based on this assumption; and (3) supporters should "seek to give collective expression to this feeling in an endeavour to promote an atmosphere of real world brotherhood."

Obviously, then, it was necessary to make contact with the "ordinary" men and women of the countries of Europe. An appeal was made for offers of accommodation, funds, and other help, and arrangements were finally made for 25 French and German visitors to come for a fortnight in August to stay in the homes of "ordinary" people. It should be remembered that it is in the home that real contact and friendship is made, although hundreds of local residents established cordial relations with the visitors at the social functions arranged for their benefit.

Having received the offers of hospitality, the committee contacted with the visitors through the Anglo-German Academic Bureau and friends in France. Meetings for prayer and study were held weekly, as the importance of obtaining and radiating the right kind of atmosphere was realised. A programme of visits and entertainments was organised. This was designed to allow visitors to see the sights, to allow residents to meet the visitors, and to free the hosts from the responsibility of continuous entertainment of their guests.

This programme included a welcome party, rambles, a night trip to London, a garden party, visit to an employment exchange, a biscuit factory, Houses of Parliament, shops, city, Hampton Court and Croydon Airport, sing-songs, and a farewell party.

The sing-songs were a great hit, each nationality contributing its own songs, and all joining in with our own community songs. It is worthwhile to mention the welcome party, held within a few hours of the arrival of the visitors. A programme of games and songs had been arranged, but visitors and residents, who began to arrive at 7.30 p.m., started to talk and continued to do so until, with some difficulty, the hall was cleared at 11 p.m., without the programme being used. It was an amazing demonstration of international friendship.

The farewell party was a fitting end to a wonderful fortnight. A real jolly evening was concluded with speeches on behalf of both French and German parties, all stressing the fact that friendship between the peoples can be an established fact, so that in time, and through friendship, there will be no foreigners.

The German party sang their lullaby, "Güten Abend,

Gut' Nacht" (Brahms' "Wiegenlied"), and all joined hands for "Auld Lang Syne," and then, still with hands joined, all dedicated themselves to the future building of friendship and peace between the peoples of the world, using the words of that old hymn "God be in my head and in my understanding." And so a marvellous fortnight came to an end.

From the organisers' point of view, their work was justified and their hopes more than realised. Letters have since been received from the visitors showing that the idea of friendship, and the recognition that the misunderstandings of the past can be overcome in the future by a genuine desire to give and take, are in the minds of all who took part in that memorable fortnight.

Here is an opportunity for anyone to accept responsibility for building up the peace of the world, as it has now been proved that it is a task which ordinary men and women can tackle, and abundantly proved that it is well worth while.

Any district is suitable for visits of this kind, and any branch of the L.N.U. is an ideal organisation for making arrangements. The cost is small and the fun is enormous. A hall which can be used as headquarters is an asset, if not a necessity. From the fund raised it is possible to subsidise those who have accommodation and not the means to offer full hospitality, and also to pay incidental expenses. The total cost to the fund for the 25 visitors was £10. Whilst accommodation is free to the visitors, they pay their own fares on visits and outings. Several hosts and hostesses have already returned visits to Germany and France, whilst many more are planned for next year.

Finally, all those who helped with the organisation of this effort at West Wickham this year will be glad, out of the experience gained, to assist any who may be thinking of starting a similar venture elsewhere. Application for details of this kind should be made to Mr. G. J. G. Smith, 33, Silver Lane, West Wickham, Kent, who will, if desired, endeavour to arrange for the visit of a speaker to address meetings.

## WORLD REVIEW

Editor:

**VERNON BARTLETT**

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### December

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- MUSSOLINI'S CHALLENGE. Will Arms Decide?
- VERNON BARTLETT Answers His Critics.
- Pan-America: ROOSEVELT'S Peace Efforts.
- CARTOONS, BOOKS and THE NATIONS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES.

# "Headway" and the Spanish Tragedy

## "OUTRAGE BEGETS OUTRAGE"

SIR,—In your issue of October, 1936, in a manner not concerning the League of Nations, and, still less, the League of Nations Union, you inserted two long paragraphs under the column "News and Comments" attacking (i) The Anti-Reds in Spain, and (ii) The Catholic Church.

A purposely moderate letter was addressed to *Headway* stating: "All we ask is that the organ of the League of Nations Union should observe a policy of neutrality." Instead of complying with this most reasonable request, you insert an outrageous fresh attack under the heading "Outrage Begets Outrage."

So be it. Accepting the correction of your heading, I positively assert that you are a mendacious person, and I challenge absolutely the truth of the alleged "facts" set out in your article.

In order that you should not wriggle out again in generalities I will at present only take one of your statements and ask you to prove it. You state:—

"In many places occupied by the rebels, great numbers of women, whose crime was the holding of Left opinions, have met the same fate" (i.e. "shot out of hand").

This I say is a deliberate lie.

If you do not prove this statement I say you are a liar. If *Headway* does not insert such proof then I say it is a lying publication.

If the League of Nations Union allows the statement to go unproved and uncontradicted, I say they are worse than liars.

Strand, London, W.C.2. P. HARRINGTON EDWARDS

SIR,—I understand that complaint is made that I have misquoted portion of the paragraph headed "Outrage Begets Outrage," which was published in your October issue.

I tried very hard to make my letter as short as possible, knowing the demands on your space, and I suggest so that there should be no complaint that I have misquoted, that

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you should put the whole paragraph. The quotation in my letter of October 20th was:—

"In many places occupied by the rebels, great numbers of women, whose crime was the holding of Left opinions, have met the same fate" (namely, "shot out of hand").

Your complete paragraph read:—

"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."

As I have no doubt that officials may have been shot and numbers of men have been shot, I did not challenge that; all I challenged was that great numbers of women whose crime was the holding of Left opinions, have met the same fate, so that if you propose to accuse me of misquotation, I trust you will be good enough to make this perfectly clear.

Strand, London, W.C.2. P. HARRINGTON EDWARDS.

## EVIDENCE IN THE CASE

Our correspondent is entitled to an acknowledgment that *Headway* in its attempt to state its case with the utmost moderation made two mistakes. It said, "great numbers of men and women whose crime was the holding of Left opinions have met the same fate" (have been shot out of hand by the Rebels).

It should have said, "have been shot out of hand, bombed to death in their homes, soaked in petrol and burned, tortured to death." Further, many women victims were wives or daughters of men holding Left opinions, but evidence is lacking of their own party colour.

Horrors, sworn to by witnesses, occurred at La Linea, in the first days of the revolt (where one victim amongst many was a woman on whom was found a Left newspaper), in the regions of Malaga, Seville and Cordova, and near the

### GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING

The General Council of the League of Nations Union will meet at the **Conway Hall, Holborn, London, on December 15th and 16th** and, if necessary, **17th**. The Meeting will be followed immediately by a Conference of Branch Secretaries and Workers.

Portuguese frontier. The worst of these are too shocking to be set out in detail in *Headway*. Here is one example, a little less dreadful, first published many weeks ago and since included in a report by the Governing Body of the College of Lawyers in Madrid:—

In the village of El Carpio, near Cordova, which has now been freed by the Republican forces, the Fascist captain who for a few days tyrannised over the village had 200 workmen taken to the cemetery, and, after making them dig a great pit, had them shot. He then published a decree, to the beating of drums, to the effect that the families of the dead men had two hours in which to see them and take their clothes before the corpses were buried. This caused scenes of grief whose agony is difficult to describe. But the most terrible of all was that when the families of the workmen were gathered round the grave, the captain ordered his men to fire and killed them too.

From South-Western Spain massacres have been reported ever since the beginning of the disorders. Confirmation has recently come from a British official at the Rio Tinto mines, who has reported to Reuter's correspondent at Gibraltar the shooting by the Rebels of 1,500 persons, among whom were 100 women. British officials from the mines were present at some of the executions.

At Algeiras the Rebels seized a woman whose husband had escaped to Gibraltar. They forced her to drink a mixture of castor oil and petrol, and then set her free to join her husband. She died the next day.

Lists have long been available containing hundreds of names of men and women shot by the Rebels just because they were Left adherents.

These hideous instances, which could be reinforced with many others not less hideous and some of them much more so, show how ample the justification of *Headway's* protest, and why *The Times*, in its leading article of September 8th, wrote: "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." But the partisans of the Rebels cannot fairly demand more evidence than the statements of General Quiapo de Llano, one of the Rebel leaders, who in broadcasts from Seville during August and September boasted often of the cruelties inflicted by the Rebels on men, women, and children, and threatened still worse things.

It should not be necessary to repeat that *Headway* has not taken sides in the Spanish civil war. Nor has it attacked the Catholic Church.



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# The League Describes our Recovery

FOR those of us who feel vaguely that the world is getting out of its economic troubles, but wonder how solid the improvement really is, and how widespread, the publication of an annual bulletin on the economic health of the world, compiled by so reliable a body as the Economic Section of the League's Secretariat, gives an authoritative answer. The League of Nations has published the fifth annual *World Economic Survey*. Looking back, it seems amazing that not until 1931 was it decided to issue these surveys, that of 1932 being the first of the series. They are now generally

By VANDELEUR ROBINSON

recognised as indispensable aids to an understanding of economic, social, and political realities. In them Dr. J. B. Condliffe is making a contribution at once persuasive and powerful to world order.

Recovery is certainly taking place. Unemployment, for example, which, taking the world as a whole, was in 1932 2.9 times as great as in 1929, was, by 1935, down to 1.9 times the 1929 figure. Industrial production, which sank, in 1932, to .69 of the 1929 figure (.63 excluding Russia) has got up to .95 (.84, excluding Russia). Other indices of prosperity have moved in a similar manner. The world's economy is still on the up-grade, and the accelerated rate of improvement in 1934 was maintained in 1935. The economic forces tending towards a new equilibrium are prevailing over the hesitations and uncertainties caused by political disturbances and fears, and the prospect is encouraging, provided always that no other influences are allowed to interrupt progress.

The recovery which is proceeding in many nations is distributed unevenly, and is mainly confined to the expansion of internal markets. This expansion cannot be continued indefinitely, and the increase in international trade, though not negligible, is as yet relatively slight. Still, production is increasing, prices are rising, and unemployment is diminishing.

In the manufacturing countries, Governmental measures have directed the recovery. These measures have, in many instances, not been due to economic motives, but to such considerations as the desire for national economic self-sufficiency or schemes of re-armament. Orders for arms have stimulated economic activity, at least for the time, especially by bringing into use hitherto untapped sources of credit; but they are not by any means the chief cause of economic recovery, for the countries which are emerging most strongly from the depression are not those in which re-armament is taking place. The long-run unfortunate results which will arise from the diversion of energy and resources to unproductive purposes have not yet had time to develop.

Increased demand for food and raw materials in the industrial countries has greatly benefited the agricultural countries and those which export mineral raw materials. It is particularly they which, during the last year, have made big strides in recovery. The catastrophic fall in prices had hit them very heavily, but they are now reaping a big share of the general improvement.

In comparing the recovery in various countries, one must remember that the Union of Socialist and Soviet

Republics is a special case, owing to the new industrialisation of the country, the successive Five Years' Plans, and the high degree of self-sufficiency. Among the remaining countries, Belgium has enjoyed the greatest improvement during the year, and other states in the most favoured group are Austria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Hungary and Norway. In all these countries production has increased by from 12 to 21 per cent. in the year, and (except for very slight increases in Canada and Hungary) all of them have reduced their unemployment.

The second best group of countries, in which recovery is definite, but not so great as in the first, comprises the United Kingdom and the United States (here recovery set in much later than in many other of the countries considered), Australia and New Zealand, Chile, Denmark, Finland, Germany and Japan. The "gold bloc" countries (France, the Netherlands and Switzerland), together with Poland and Spain, have not done so well. It must be remembered that this survey deals with a year before the "gold bloc" came to an end; it may well be that, now they are on managed currencies, these states will participate in the general upward trend.

The turning-point for international trade was when the United Kingdom, having gone off gold, and having been followed by a number of countries which linked their currencies to sterling, succeeded in stabilising its managed currency. During the past year, the improved technique of currency management, exchange equalisation and other devices have kept the international exchanges fairly steady, and this has assisted the recovery of international trade. This recovery, however, is still very slight—about 2 per cent. Unfortunately, during the period of severe monetary disequilibrium, the acute difficulties of the time produced an unprecedented crop of exchange restrictions, of diverse character but devastating efficiency, and these present a serious obstacle to the recovery of international trade. (Recent efforts at Geneva to procure the reduction of such restrictions, and the appointment of a League Committee to investigate the problem of access to raw materials, may be expected to produce a helpful result; they are, of course, subsequent in date to the publication of the Survey.)

The greatest single cause of improvement in trade during the year was the purchase, widely diffused, of raw materials by the United States. Monetary expansion, however, is assisted by the fact that more gold is being produced. Russia is now able to pay for some of her imports by gold which she herself produces; and the mines of South Africa are apparently on the eve of a greatly increased output.

The currents of trade in the new Europe which is emerging from the crisis are in many respects different from those of former years. Germany, for example, is no longer able to buy from the United States and the British Dominions to the same extent as formerly, and has been obliged to conclude trade agreements on a barter basis (owing to monetary difficulties) with various Southern and Central European countries. Italy, too, has concluded trading agreements with her partners in the political "Rome bloc."

The Survey leaves one hopeful of the economic prospect, provided that the folly of the "political animal" does not with violence bring all to ruin.

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## READERS' VIEWS

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

## NOTES AND BEAMS

STR.—Mr. Keeling is undoubtedly right in stating in the November number of *Headway* that the difficulty of Germany in obtaining raw materials and foodstuffs will not be materially diminished by restoration of her former Colonies. That is much more a political than an economic question. Mr. Keeling is also clearly right in saying that such difficulty is largely increased by the protectionist systems of France and the U.S.A. That point, however, would, I submit, have been better made in French and American papers. Those countries are certainly very much to blame, and it is tempting to be more concerned with the mote in the eye of a neighbour and to pay little attention to the beam in our own eye. It is true that Mr. Keeling administers a mild rebuke to this country for its treatment of the Ouchy Convention, but he praises Ottawa and has no word to say about our own protective system, which is more injurious to the peace and prosperity of the world than any other single thing.

Germany, and also Italy and Japan, are poor in natural resources, highly industrialised, and can only support their large populations by the export of manufactured goods which can only be produced from raw materials imported from abroad. But how can Germany buy raw materials from a British Colony? It is obviously useless to offer to pay in German marks. The Colonial producer would have no use for such things. There are only two ways. First: She may purchase the currency of such Colony, and to enable her to do that she must sell her own manufactured goods to somebody in that Colony who will pay for them in that currency. The German who has sold German manufactures and has become entitled to the Colonial currency can then sell that currency in exchange for German marks to the German who desires to import the Colonial raw materials which must be paid for in the Colonial currency. But the Principle of the Ottawa Agreements is that trade is to be kept to the greatest possible extent within the Empire. Nothing is to be bought from foreigners if it is possible to "buy British" even on less favourable terms. Therefore, just in so far as the principles of Ottawa are successful, Germany and other countries in like situations are prevented from obtaining raw materials and foodstuffs which are essential to the maintenance of their populations.

Ottawa, however, does not apply to any Mandated Territory, nor to some African Colonies (e.g. Kenya) and such places are only affected by the second method by which Germany may pay, which may best be described by an example. Germany requires sisal from Kenya, which, however, does not need German produce to a value sufficient to balance German needs from Kenya. If it were really the case that each country must exactly balance its trade with each other country there would be an end of the matter. But nobody refuses to buy from his grocer goods to a greater value than his grocer will buy from him, and there is an easy way out of the difficulty. Kenya owes large sums of money to England, which it has great difficulty in paying. If instead of paying to Kenya the price of the sisal required, German goods are exported to England and sold here for English money, that money can be placed to the credit of Kenya in an English bank and used to pay Kenya's debt to England. But our protectionist system is designed by means of tariffs and quotas to prevent as much as possible German goods entering England, which prevents Germany from buying Kenya raw materials and makes it difficult for Kenya to pay its debts.

There is hardly a country in the world which is a producer of foodstuffs or raw materials which does not owe large sums of money to England and which is not in a similar

situation to that described with regard to Kenya, and the power of Germany to acquire foodstuffs and raw materials from all of them is affected in the same way.

There are other and not unimportant reasons which make it difficult for Germany, Italy and Japan to obtain raw materials and foodstuffs but it is true that these difficulties are immensely increased by our protective system, and just so far as that system attains its objects we are inducing those three countries to say: "We would rather fight than starve."

Before devoting so much attention to the wrong-doing of other nations let us purge our own offence.

Letcombe Bowers, Wantage. ALFRED BEESLY.  
November 23, 1936.

## A UNION CALENDAR FOR 1937

He saw the City and wept over it, saying: If thou hadst known in this day, even thou, the things which belong unto peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes!

## SOME THINGS WHICH BELONG UNTO PEACE

Thus saith the Lord:—

Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might, let not the rich man glory in his riches— but let him that glorifieth glory in this that he understandeth & knoweth Me, that I am the Lord which exercise loving kindness, judgement and righteousness in the earth, for in these I delight, saith the Lord.

These are the things that ye shall do: speak ye every man the truth with his neighbour; execute the judgement of truth & peace in your gates: & let none of you imagine evil in your hearts against his neighbour: & love no false oath: for all these are things that I hate, saith the Lord. Surely His salvation is nigh them that fear Him: O that glory may dwell in our land! Mercy and Truth are met together: Righteousness and peace have kissed each other: Truth springeth out of the earth: And righteousness hath looked down from heaven: Yea, the Lord shall give that which is good: And our land shall yield her increase: Righteousness shall go before Him: And shall set us in the way of His steps.

When the spirit be poured from high... Then judgement shall dwell in the wilderness and righteousness shall abide in the fruitful field. And the work of righteousness shall be peace and the effect of righteousness— quietness and confidence for ever: And my people shall abide in a peaceable habitation, & in sure dwellings, and in quiet resting places....

BLESSED ARE YE THAT SQU BESIDE ALL WATERS: THAT SEND FORTH THE FEET OF THE OX AND THE ASS.

The above reproduces the richly coloured illuminated panel of a calendar for 1937 published by the Union. Price 1s. 6d.

## CALL FOR A POLICY

STR.—It is generally agreed that the Versailles Treaty dealt harshly with Germany, and that she should now receive equality of treatment with the Victors. These, however, are reluctant to do so in the matter of her Colonial Claims. The promise given at the Armistice that there would be absolutely impartial adjustment of all Colonial Claims has not been kept. Consequently, Germany feels strongly her position of inferiority.

An undertaking to put forward proposals for giving equitable access to raw materials will not satisfy her. It is additional territory she wants. Can it be supposed that with her enormous military strength she will be content to remain under what she regards as this stigma, and that she will not attempt to obtain her former Colonies or other

territory? Her official and unofficial statements show her intention. Can a peaceful solution be achieved, or must we wait until Germany takes the bull by the horns as she has done in recent cases? The lengths to which Japan and Italy have gone to gain expansion are well known.

Let us anticipate coming events—not wait upon them. National claims are allowed to grow by the failure to give them reasonable satisfaction betimes. As Sir Norman Angell has said: "Great trouble has been incurred in the past because of our disinclination to face a situation which, though not actually arisen, was impending."

Had this principle been acted upon years ago a good deal of the subsequent trouble with the "Have-not" nations might have been avoided. Covetousness of great possessions has been one of the chief causes of evil in the world. We condemn that spirit in others. The L.N.U. has always stood for giving a lead in International problems. It is, I submit, high time that the Executive formulated a definite policy on the question of Colonial claims for submission to the General Council.

Tulse Hill, S.W.2.

W. STEWART JENKINS.

## ARMS TRADE INFECTION

STR.—The Royal Commission on Arms has at last made its report, and has disappointed a large body of peace-workers. Their voice was silent during the various sittings of the Commission, due to their desire to consider the whole of the evidence brought before the Commission. After the debate in the House of Commons on Thursday, November 12, it seems as if the Government are not even certain to carry out the recommendations of the Commission.

Clearly, the immediate danger in Europe arises from the existence of armaments on a colossal scale, and there is a strong body of opinion in this country which believes that the present system of private manufacture is largely responsible. In "Hitler the Pawn," Rudolf Olden, who was formerly political editor of *Berliner Tageblatt*, tells of Hugenberg, the managing director of Krupps, foreseeing the defeat of Germany, before the last War ended, and buying up newspapers, having already control of several. His purpose was to influence public opinion later, with a view to Germany again building up her armaments. Rudolf Olden tells how Hugenberg was the representative of the Junkers, heavy industry, and the army, and was influential in the cinema and the Press. He helped to finance Hitler for his own purposes. What a tremendous influence this man must have wielded over the nation!

Sir Charles Craven, managing director of Vickers-Armstrong, referred to the League of Nations as "a fancy convention." Our British armament firms supplied Japan with a huge quantity of arms, although her policy was anti-League. The licences which have to be obtained do not seem to prevent this kind of thing happening. Nations seem to be supplied with arms indiscriminately. Surely if we are League supporters, this should not be allowed. I appeal to all peaceworkers to sink their differences, and work strenuously for the abolition of the private manufacture of arms.

Sale, Manchester.

L. BOLT.

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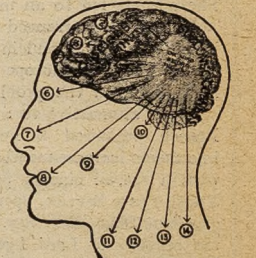
AN Inferiorty Complex is a disturbance in the Sub-conscious Mind which manifests itself in:—

- |                           |                         |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| (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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Imaginary diagram depicting effect on the sub-conscious mind (see key in text).

Darby and Joan—their latest move—  
He smokes TOM LONG and both approve.



## HERE AND THERE

### UNION BRANCHES

The **Waterloo, Crosby, Seaforth and Litherland** Branch held its Annual Armistice Dinner on Saturday, November 7. The guests of the evening were Mr. C. W. Jenks, Legal Adviser to the I.L.O. in Geneva, and Miss Vera Brittain, well-known author of "Testament of Youth."

In his response to the toast, "The I.L.O. and World Affairs," Mr. Jenks gave a brief account of the work of the I.L.O., and in responding to "Youth and World Peace," Miss Vera Brittain gave a stirring address on Youth's place in the construction of international peace. Mr. R. A. Pilkington, of St. Helens, made a very able Chairman.

The following day, Sunday, a great crowd gathered in the Regent Picture House, Crosby, to hear Mr. Jenks and Miss Brittain speak on International Co-operation. As a result of this meeting several new members were enrolled for the Union.

Mr. Campbell Johnson, prospective Liberal candidate for the Salisbury Division, made the League of Nations the subject of his first meeting, held under the auspices of the **Salisbury** Branch, and showed himself to be a sturdy champion of League principles. His speech dealt with the social and constructive activities rather than with the political work of the League. "If," he said, "the future of the world rests in social arrangement, then the League as we know it in this day and age has a decisive role to play. . . . Let us stand strongly by the League."

At a meeting organised by the **Bolton** Central Council of the Union, Mr. Isaac Foot gave an address which was much appreciated. He appealed to his hearers to stand by the Covenant of the League. National Sovereignty must give way to the sovereignty of law if peace is to be secured. It is hoped that the meeting, which was well reported in the local press, will result in increased membership for the Union.

With the object of raising funds in response to Lord Lytton's appeal, the **Staveley** Branch organised a Flag Day, which proved a great success and enabled the Branch to send special contributions both to Headquarters and to the Derbyshire Federal Council.

The Vice-Chairman of the **Bootle** Branch, Major James Burnie, M.C., is to be the Coronation Mayor of Bootle.

In an address given at a meeting arranged by the **Sheffield** Branch, Sir George Paish stressed the need for world freedom of trade. "The nations," he said, "should remember that their neighbours are their customers and their welfare is essential to their own well-being."

At **Bradford-on-Avon** Miss K. D. Courtney gave an interesting address on present international affairs under the title, "The International Tangle." The one encouraging element in the tangle was the tremendous demand among the public all over the world for peace.

The **Covenry** Central Branch had the opportunity of hearing a German professor's views on international affairs when Professor Hafereorn spoke there on Danzig and German-Polish Relations. The address led to an interesting debate.

At a meeting arranged by the **Belfast** Branch, the speaker was a Viennese visitor, Fraulein Marie Luise Moll. Under the title, "The Young People of Europe: What Are They Thinking?" Fraulein Moll discussed the problems confronting young people to-day.

As an alternative to a house-to-house canvass, the **Kensington** Branch organised a Peace Week, October 31 to November 11, in order to increase membership. Special features of the programme were a special cinema performance for school children, a united Youth Peace Service, open-air meetings, a Social Evening and three excellent Mass Meetings. The Branch was fortunate in securing the services of Lord Lytton, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Miss Margaret Bondfield and Mr. Richard Acland, M.P., as speakers. The Campaign was brought to a close by a very successful women's meeting on Armistice Day addressed by Mrs. Corbett Ashby. The Branch worked hard beforehand in order that the Peace Week might be brought to the notice of as many people as possible. As a result of these activities about 150 new members were enrolled and interest has been greatly stimulated in Kensington. Other branches wishing for information about the Peace Week should write to Mrs. Argenti, 8, Princes Gardens, S.W.7.

The Headmaster of Auldclaw Grammar School, Mr. J. Lord, M.A., in addressing the Armistice meeting of the **Ashton** Branch, gave the view of a schoolmaster on international affairs. In his opinion the only hope for the peace of the world was "to keep pegging away at the League of Nations." We should ask those who jeered, "What is the alternative?" Mr. Lord thought there was no alternative.

### WELSH NOTES

On November 4th, the Executive Committee of the Welsh Council of the Union met at Shrewsbury, under the chairmanship of the Rt. Hon. Lord Davies. The present grave international situation was discussed fully and amongst the important resolutions adopted was the following:—

#### THE REFORM OF THE LEAGUE

"That the Executive Committee of the Welsh Council of the League of Nations Union, in this most critical juncture, recalls the repeated declaration of the Prime Minister that the League of Nations is the sheet-anchor of British Foreign Policy and re-affirms its belief that the one hope for world peace lies in the League of Nations.

"It notes with satisfaction that the opinion already expressed on the reform of the League by its States-Members is overwhelmingly against any weakening of existing obligations;

"It welcomes various proposals made on the reform of the Covenant by the British Foreign Secretary in his speech at the last Assembly, but it would emphasise the grave danger that exists in the formation of regional pacts.

"It would press upon the British Government to support the proposals made by so many Governments, and particularly by the Government of New Zealand, in favour of extensive and continuous action for the strengthening of the Covenant, the development of collective security and for a loyal execution of international undertakings."

Branches in Wales and Monmouthshire have been particularly busy during November with their campaign for enrolling new members and with arrangements for Public Meetings.

On Armistice Day, wreaths were laid, on behalf of the Welsh Council, during the Armistice Day Ceremonies at the Welsh National War Memorial at Cardiff and at the North Wales War Memorial at Bangor.

### OVERSEAS NOTES

The Tenth Conference of the New Zealand League of Nations Union was held at the New Zealand Educational Institute Room, Wellington, on Wednesday and Thursday, September 2nd and 3rd, 1936, under the chairmanship of Professor F. L. W. Wood, President of the Union. Delegates attended from fifteen branches, the following were among the resolutions passed:—

That the New Zealand League of Nations Union Affiliate with the International Federation of League of Nations Societies.

That the Government be requested to see that the broadcasts from Geneva . . . are picked up and relayed from at least some of the main stations of N.Z. . . .

It is recommended that Youth Groups be formed in all Branches as a means of extending and strengthening the work of the League of Nations Union.

M. Paul Struye has resigned the General-Secretaryship of the Belgian League of Nations Society, a post which he has held for the last six years. His place has been taken by M. H. Cochaux, a Brussels lawyer. M. Struye is now Vice-President of the Society.

On the recent occasion of the "Week of German Books, representatives of German libraries meeting in Weimar adopted resolution as follows:—

At this grave moment for the West, representatives of all German publishers and libraries, conscious of their grave responsibility in the realm of ideas, undertake neither to publish nor sell any book which, by deliberately distorting historical truths, would defame the head of a foreign state or nation, or would tend to render despicable institutions or sacred traditions belonging to another nation. In the certainty of thus serving the peace of Europe, they declare themselves ready to exchange views with foreign publishers and editors inspired with the same spirit, with a view to the conclusion of an international understanding.

The International Ball under the auspices of the Australian League of Nations Union, was held at the Trocadero, Sydney. Among those present were the Gov.-General of Australia and Lady Gowrie; Lady Street, President of the Ball Committee, and Sir Philip Street; Chairman of the Committee, Miss Jeanie Rankin; Miss Noreen Danger, President of the Younger Set Committee; and Lady Francis Anderson, wife of the President of the New South Wales Branch of the Australian League of Nations Union.

### TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

Monday, January 4, to Monday, January 11, 1937

The League of Nations Union takes part every year in the Conference of Educational Associations. This time we are holding a session on Wednesday, January 6, at 10.30 a.m., when there will be a lecture and discussion on methods of teaching the relations of the British Empire to the League of Nations.

The Union is affiliated to the Conference, and this entitles members to attend these meetings and any other sessions except those marked "Private."

The Conference is held at University College, Gower Street, London, W.C.1.

**FOR RETURN TICKETS**, members may purchase summer tickets, which are issued from all booking offices at the ordinary fare and one-third for the double journey.

**VOUCHERS FOR REDUCED RAILWAY FARES** may be obtained to secure **SINGLE TICKETS** available on the day of issue only, and issued on any day between Wednesday, December 30, 1936, and Tuesday, January 12, 1937, at two-thirds of the ordinary fare. The vouchers must be obtained beforehand, and can be had by members of the League of Nations Union on application to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. A stamped, addressed envelope should be sent with the application and the names and addresses of the people for whom the vouchers are required should also be given.

### COUNCIL'S VOTE

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

Appleton-le-Moors, Bristol—Eastville Park, Bridgwater, Burford, Duston, East Bolden, Eastbourne, Horbury, Hemel Hempstead, Littleton, Newbury, Newquay, New Milton, Oxford Federation, Ossett, Purton, Radlett, Spilsby, Stocksfield, Sway, Silverstone, Wells, Wantage, Week St. Mary, West Hartlepool, Yelvertoft.

### 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.*

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MSS. The instructors are authors and journalists of wide experience.

Send to-day for a free copy of the Institute's prospectus, "How to Succeed as a Writer." This describes the immense field of opportunity for the spare-time writer, and gives detailed information regarding the tuition offered by the Institute.

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# A POLICY FOR PEACE

By The Secretary of The Union

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THE world is in a bad way. What exactly is the matter with it? Chiefly this: Europe and the Far East are driven distracted by fear. And this fear—fear of war—is the more terrifying because it is also fear of the unknown. The darkness enshrouding foreign policy is causing the very madness that threatens us all with destruction. It is largely responsible for the drift towards war.

The problem is to replace fear by confidence, madness by a sane outlook, and obscurity in foreign policy by plain dealing between governments.

On November 5th, Mr. Eden outlined to the House of Commons a policy as acceptable to the Labour and Liberal oppositions as to the supporters of H.M. Government. There is, in Mr. Eden's view, no need to reconstruct the League of Nations or to re-write the Covenant. The principles for which the League stands are the best yet devised for the regulation of international affairs. But the League's machinery for applying these principles must be worked both for the protection of peace and for the provision of justice. In particular, the unanimity rule must not apply to Article 11; Article 19 must be made practically effective for removing injustices by a process of peaceful change\*; a European—not merely a Western European—settlement must be negotiated; an arms agreement must be reached as soon as possible; international trade must be freed from some of the restrictions now imposed by national governments; and the authority of the League must be strengthened so that all acts of aggression may be prevented by the certain prospect that collective resistance will overwhelm and stop them.

The Foreign Secretary put first in this programme, "the strengthening of the authority of the League to which (he said) I give the House the undertaking that this Government will devote every endeavour." Their first endeavour might well be to speak with one voice. But it must be the voice of Eden. Without even going beyond the realm of words their unanimity would appreciably diminish the terrible uncertainty that constitutes so large a part of the danger of war to-day.

[In passing it must be said in the clearest words that no one suspects Mr. Eden of a part in the attempt to exclude Abyssinia from the Assembly. The whole truth of that affair is not yet known. But certainly Mr. Eden neither suggested the plan nor lent it any support.]

Their next endeavour, and it is indispensable, must be to get beyond the realm of words altogether and into that of deeds: to translate Mr. Eden's programme into practice, his aspirations into achievements. Here the League of Nations Union has an essential part to play. Sir Austen Chamberlain, when Foreign Secretary, wrote that "Governments in these days are the servants of their peoples in regard to foreign policy."

\* How this may be done is explained in the tenth edition of *Organising Peace*, just published.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, when Prime Minister, told a deputation from the Churches "We want pressure brought to bear behind us . . . In doing the great thing I would like to do and you want us to do, I hope you will go on pressing and pressing and pressing us to do it."

We of the Union can press the British Government to get on with the job of rebuilding peace, to use all the vast resources of this great country for strengthening the authority of the League, and to carry out the rest of Mr. Eden's programme. We can help our fellow-countrymen to see that this programme does not so much involve being ready to fight for Czechoslovakia or some other outlandish part as being ready to defend Britain's most vital interests which are world peace and the new world order for which the League stands. We can make the world realise that the British people are determined, for the sake of these vital interests, to run whatever risks are involved in the collective enforcement of peace. That is the way to put an end to the present doubts about the application of British foreign policy outside Western Europe. It is also the way to create a more effective machinery both for collective resistance to aggression and for the remedying of grievances. It is, therefore, the way to make the membership of the League more complete.

But our power to press and to persuade depends upon our membership. Our great meeting in the Albert Hall on December 3rd, when Mr. Winston Churchill will be the chief speaker in *Defence of Freedom and Peace*, begins a new drive for *More Members and More Money to Strengthen the League*. The only alternative to strengthening the League is catastrophe and chaos.

In the supreme effort we have now to make that war may be averted and peace re-built, we need all the help we can get both from individuals and from organisations. We rely upon the continued assistance of all the powerful bodies that have been associated with us in the past. We also look for the co-operation of such other societies as may now be led to join in the International Peace Campaign. In order to welcome the latter without offending the former, the Union's Executive has decided to ask the General Council at its December meeting to pass the following resolution, instead of the motions printed in the Preliminary Agenda paper:

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

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



30 JAN. 1940



