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**THE 100th MEETING OF THE
LEAGUE COUNCIL**

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**PROSPECTS OF
FREER TRADE**

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HEADWAY

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

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FURTHER AND DEEPER.

NEWS AND COMMENT

The League Council

THE 100th meeting of the League Council began in gloom. Within a few hours of the assembly of the delegates, however, the clouds began to lighten. The world cannot do without the League. It disappoints its adherents, it fails, it is denounced; its death is proclaimed, despairingly, or perhaps delightedly. Then the statesmen of many nations come together and are compelled to recognise that the League is a necessity of our times.

At the Council the conviction revived that the League was needed. Not only so. Confidence was strengthened that the Great Powers in the League set a high value upon the collective system and were resolved to work it. The small Powers gained new courage.

Britain and France

IN a considered statement of British policy, Mr. Eden told the Council his Majesty's Government do not think it inappropriate at the moment, when they have to acknowledge the repudiation in some quarters of the League of Nations, to declare that their faith in the aims and ideals that inspired it remains unshaken.

The principles on which the League was founded are laid down in the Preamble to the Covenant. They are the promotion of international co-operation and the achievement of international peace and security on the basis of respect for international law. To those principles his Majesty's Government hold fast, and they believe that true peace and orderly progress and prosperity cannot be looked for in the world unless all nations co-operate in some system based upon those principles.

We must realise that, in present circumstances, the League is not in a position to achieve all that was hoped of it. It was designed to hold all the nations of the world together in resistance to war and injustice. It was born of the universal desire to avoid a recurrence of the horrors through which the world had just passed. It was an idea hailed by all nations as responding to an urgent and spontaneous impulse. Believing, as we do, that that impulse survives, we can hope that it will ultimately prevail and that differences will be narrowed to those of method.

For this reason it seems to his Majesty's Government essential, in these difficult times, to retain what still exists. They consider that the League, in spite of its limitations, is the best instrument which has yet been devised for giving effect to the principles of international co-operation, and they are therefore determined to keep it in existence, to give it their full support, and make use of its machinery and procedure to the fullest extent that circumstances permit. Within the limits which they have to recognise they intend to make it as efficient an instrument as possible.

For France, M. Delbos said:

The French Government maintain complete confidence in the League, and are profoundly convinced that it is in the extent to which the League is animated by those who have charge of it that peace will be maintained and organised.

Plan for Freer Trade

FOR nearly a year the Belgian Premier, who recently retired, M. Van Zeeland, has been busy with a mission entrusted to him by Great Britain and France. His purpose was to discover whether the obstacles to international trade could be reduced. He visited most European capitals and Washington. His report is published as HEADWAY goes to press. He recommends that: representatives of the principal economic Powers—France, the United Kingdom, the United States, Germany, and Italy—should be brought together as soon as possible in order to set up an international bureau for the study of economic grievances and with a mandate to draw up a programme of constructive action. Later the necessary diplomatic instruments would have to be drawn up and submitted to an international conference for ratification.

The main proposals in detail made by M. Van Zeeland are:—

Creditor countries to resume foreign lending.

The external debts of debtor countries to be finally adjusted and all arrears of clearing liquidated by the issue of consolidation bonds.

Export and import credits to be made available to debtor countries once their finances have been so adjusted.

These credits to be made available through the Bank for International Settlements, in which the banks of issue would open credits in favour of one another in the national currency of each.

A common fund to be established under the direction of the B.I.S. to facilitate the financing of legitimate trade operations.

Governments should undertake not to raise their tariffs, and should carry out a gradual reduction of such duties as are exceptionally high.

Duties, taxes, and other restrictions on the export of raw materials should be abolished.

Bilateral commercial agreements, based on the unrestricted most-favoured-nation clause, should be encouraged.

Joint committees should be set up to consider unfair practices in the nature of indirect protection.

Industrial quotas should be suppressed, with special provisions for safeguarding the interests of international cartels.

Agricultural quotas should be modified. No new quotas should be imposed, and no existing quota should be tightened up.

Colonial Mandates to be revised, and the systems made completely international from the economic and political points of view.

The Congo Basin Convention to be extended to all colonial territories.

Agreements to be concluded between a colony and an industrial State whereby colonial goods supplied would be carried to an account and paid for by the execution, in return, of public works such as bridges, railways, harbours. The intermediate finance to be provided by the metropolitan State.

Here is an ambitious programme. Given good sense and good will among the nations, it can be translated into fact for the benefit of them all.

Boycott of Japanese Goods

AT the December meeting of the General Council of the L.N.U. a resolution on the Far East was adopted. The full text was published in January HEADWAY. In the last two paragraphs, it may be recalled here, the General Council:

welcomes the action taken by individuals and societies both at home and abroad to refuse to purchase goods of Japanese origin, and trusts that there will be such an extension of this refusal to purchase Japanese goods as will convince the British Government of the strength of public opinion on this subject.

The next step has now been taken. The Union has printed and is circulating in tens of thousands of copies throughout the country a four-page leaflet on "A Boycott of Goods From Japan." The leaflet explains what individual citizens can do (1) to stop Japan, and (2) to aid China: and gives a detailed list of the principal goods imported from Japan and sold in retail shops. The last page is ruled for the signatures and addresses of those who "are not willing to help Japan's attack on China by buying Japanese goods." The leaflets can be obtained from the L.N.U., 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1, at cost price, 10s. per 1,000 carriage paid.

At the same time, the Union has published a set of three double-crown posters, 20 inches by 30, whose wording is: (1) "If you buy Japanese goods you pay for Japan's war"; (2) "China asks you not to help the aggressor"; (3) "Unless she sells her goods Japan cannot continue her war." Branches of the Union, and all friends of peace and justice, are asked to do all they can to secure for both the leaflet and the posters the largest possible measure of public notice. The British people are profoundly moved by the sufferings of millions of innocent helpless Chinese. It is the duty of all who are, in their degree, leaders of opinion to show how that pity and indignation can be effectively mobilised to prevent a recurrence in other places and at other times of the present horrors.

Excuse and Fact

AMONGST the readers' letters published in this number of HEADWAY is a protest against the alleged unfairness to Japan. It is a charge that must be answered.

January HEADWAY's leading article did not purport to paraphrase Lord Cecil's speech. It presented in its own way the same case. Lord Cecil's actual words were reported on another page. Lord Cecil did not say that insufficient friendliness on the part of China towards Japan was the reason for invasion. He said it was the official defence—a very different thing.

HEADWAY does not accept the bald statement that "cases are on record of Chinese merchants being executed and their heads exposed to the public gaze for no other reason than that they have maintained commercial relations with the hated 'dwarfs.'"

In Northern China for a long time past the Japanese have encouraged the smuggling and sale in Chinese territory of vast quantities of noxious drugs. Perhaps it is to criminals who have suffered the lawful penalty for such offences that the passage quoted by Mr. Corrick refers.

No doubt in recent years the Chinese have shown little cordiality towards Japan. But invading armies should not expect to be beloved. And the damage done to Japanese trade is commonly overstated. In 1932 and 1933 Japan's share of the total declared imports into China fell heavily. That was the effect of the invasion of Manchuria and its separation from China. Japan has long sold much to Manchuria, and when her Manchurian trade was excluded from the returns for all China the basis for a comparison with earlier years was destroyed. In 1933 Japan's percentage share in the imports into China was 9.9; in 1934 it was 12.5; in 1935, 15.6; in 1936, 16.3. During those same years Britain's percentage share in imports into China began at 11.3, rose to 12, fell to 10.6, and rose again to 11.7. In 1935 smuggling over China's northern frontier from Manchuria mainly in Japanese goods, and all with Japanese connivance, was estimated at 23 per cent. of China's imports.

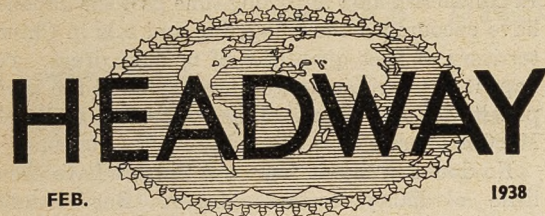
Church and Peace

THE Northamptonshire Federal Council of the L.N.U., and clergy of the Church of England, Free Church ministers and Salvation Army officers in the county have had under consideration plans by which the activities of the Churches in the cause of peace might be made more effective. They are profoundly convinced that, as President Roosevelt said at Chicago, "there can be no stability or peace either within nations or between nations except under laws and moral standards adhered to by all." And, in their view, it is just here that the Churches have so great a part to play, so clear a lead to give.

Arrangements are being made to hold a United Christian Peace Service at Peterborough Cathedral at 4 p.m. on Saturday, March 12, when the Bishop of Peterborough (Dr. Blagden), President of the Northamptonshire L.N.U., will preach, and leading Free Church ministers and officers of the Salvation Army will take part. After the service, a conference will be held—at which Lord Allen of Hurtwood will be the principal speaker—to decide how best the Churches can work for Christian brotherhood.

Northamptonshire members of the Union believe that this service and conference present a great opportunity and represent a great experiment which deserves wide and whole-hearted support. All are welcome who wish the venture well, whether they belong to any Church or not, and whether they live in the county, in neighbouring counties, or even further afield.

With faith, courage, and personal support, the friends of peace can accomplish great things. Without them they can do nothing.



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THE JUDGMENT OF THE WORLD

DOES the judgment of the world count for anything? This is the question which is now being tried. In China conscience is defied by barbarism.

The world's judgment is not in doubt. Everywhere decent men and women condemn Japan's onslaught upon China, condemn her ruthless methods, condemn the cold frivolity of her excuse. Japan invades Chinese territory, occupies Chinese towns, destroys Chinese property, kills Chinese men, women, and children. Cold and hunger, nakedness, wounds, disease and death, all these are suffered by thousands upon thousands of defenceless human beings. The official excuse is that China is not friendly; the true reason is that the masters of Japan, aspiring to the mastery of Eastern Asia, planning to impose military, political, economic control upon China, saw in the Chinese renaissance a growing and perhaps finally fatal obstacle to their plans. Throughout the British Commonwealth, in the United States, in France, in the Scandinavian democracies, in all countries, indeed, outside the dictatorships public opinion is virtually unanimous in the expression of its horror. Even in Italy and Germany the one voice which is permitted to be heard betrays by its frequent hesitation how deep and general is the popular uneasiness. The world has made up its mind. But will its finding have any effect?

The answer depends on how much we ordinary people mean what we say. Collectively we are the world. What we think is what the world thinks and the acts which follow up the world's thoughts must be our acts. Are we ready to act? It would be best for us to act as nations, making use of the instrument which exists for such purposes—the League of Nations. Japan cannot continue her war unless she sells abroad and buys abroad. The two transactions go together. She must sell in order to buy. She must buy in order to feed, clothe, and equip her armies, to maintain and move her navy and her air squadrons, to supply her munition works and her civil factories with raw materials. She must sell in order to pay her bills. How desperately she needs funds is revealed in her latest trade returns and Budget estimates. Japan is a poor country. Even before her renewed attack on China her public charges were a heavy burden on her people, and of her large expenditure already almost half was being devoted to armaments. In 1936 the proportion of her normal Budget absorbed by her navy and army was 48 per cent. ;

in 1937 it was nearly 50 per cent. Between July and December, 1937, she spent another £140,000,000 on military operations, which was more than the whole of her normal Budget for that year. For 1938, her estimates are £170,000,000 normal expenditure, mainly on the fighting services, and a further £250,000,000 on the war in China. She faces these immense outlays after twelve difficult months in which the usual credit balance on her foreign trading accounts has been changed into a debit balance of between £20,000,000 and £30,000,000. Three years ago Italy was shaken by the economic sanctions imposed by the League. These figures show that Japan is far more vulnerable than Italy. Were the League members to apply to Japan the same pressure as they employed against Italy, refusing to allow the import of Japanese goods into their territories, the effect could not be long delayed and would in the end be decisive. The fact that the League members do not intend to be brave and wise does not invalidate the argument.

Accepting the likelihood, for the time being at least, that the governments will not act in concert in the sense necessary to produce prompt and decisive results, what remains? We ordinary men and women are not driven to stand aside helpless, there to watch with no more than wordy protests the defeat of conscience. As individuals we have a choice to make and a part to play, and if only enough of us choose alike that part may have historic consequences. We may decide that although we are unable to give military aid to China, and although our governments do not find it advisable to restrain Japan by State action, yet we will do nothing to help Japan's aggression. We are all of us in our degree consumers. We can resolve that our custom shall not contribute in any measure to keep alive the foreign trade from which Japan derives the money she must have for the continuance of her war. We can prevent any money of ours from going to pay for the petrol which Japan must buy if her artillery and her tanks and her armoured cars are to beat down and break through China's defences, if her military transport services are to carry her armies deeper into Chinese territory, if her aeroplanes are to bomb Chinese homes. We can reject Japanese goods and Japanese fabrics and the many Japanese fancy articles which have come in recent years to fill our shops. We can inquire from grocers and drapers and from dealers in hardware and in toys whether they are providing any longer a market for Japanese goods, and we can cease to buy from those whose answers do not satisfy us completely. The little trouble we would be put to and the little inconvenience we would undergo would be trivial in comparison with the miseries which the Chinese people are suffering. They would be trivial also in comparison with the restraining influence upon evil that might be exerted. The boycott is a weapon of scarce-tested possibilities. Enforced for a supreme international end on an international scale by hundreds of millions of consumers against a ruthless aggressor who is a great trading nation dependent on its trade for its life, it might save the world from disaster. Especially at the present moment a demonstration that the peace-keeping peoples possess the means to curb the war makers and are capable of utilising those means effectually would do incalculable good. We ordinary men and women must shoulder our responsibility; by our action we must make such a boycott succeed or by our inaction we must allow it to fail.

BEHIND THE ROUMANIAN CRISIS

By C. A. MACARTNEY

Research Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, and a high authority on Central and South-Eastern Europe

NOT for many years has Roumania filled the headlines as she did at the end of December, when the mighty Liberal Party performed the unprecedented feat of failing to achieve a secure majority at elections conducted under its own auspices, and the King entrusted the Government to a small party, led by a poet, whose programme consisted chiefly of anti-Semitism.

The appointment of a Government of the "Radical Right" is quite in accordance with, if perhaps somewhat in advance of, all Roumania's recent political development. Her constitution, a very democratic one, is made for the two-party systems to which she successfully adhered up to the War, and for the ordinary antithesis of Left and Right. Indeed, the two strongest parties, even to-day, are the Liberals, representing the bourgeois and especially the financial interests, and the National Tsaranists—a peasant party. But all political controversy in Roumania has recently been centering increasingly round the national question. Even before the War, the Roumanians felt—not without all reason—that they were not truly masters in their own State. The chief economic assets of the country, with the exception of the land, were largely owned and controlled by foreigners, while trade, finance, and the professions were largely in Jewish hands. Extreme nationalism and xenophobia, were already strong; they were greatly increased after the War when the diversion caused by incidentist ambitions was removed; the only Roumanian managed class—the big landowners—fell into poverty, owing to the land reform; and large new territories were acquired in which the Roumanians again formed the numerical majority, but the social and economic proletariat. Above all, the acquisition of Bessarabia, Maramuresh, and the Bukovina swelled Roumania's Jewish population to nearly 1,000,000, who could fairly claim Roumanian citizenship. In addition, a number of Jews, estimated variously from 250,000 to 800,000, have entered the country since 1917 from Poland, Russia, and Germany on foreign passports, or without papers of any sort. It is these "foreign" Jews against whom, in theory, most of the national wrath is directed; in practice half the country is to-day in a state approaching national hysteria of resentment against all non-Roumanians; the immigrant Jews heading the list with the native Jews a good second, but the Magyars, Germans, and Bulgars all getting their share. The two great Roumanian parties have held out best against this current of feeling, but both of them have recently lost many adherents to the Right Radical groups, of which there are many. The strongest and most violent is not M. Goga's but M. Codreanu's "All for the Fatherland" movement, a successor of the "Iron Guard" dissolved and proscribed some years ago for its murderous activities. M. Codreanu is a complete fanatic, a killer in theory and practice, and a passionate admirer of Hitler and Mussolini. It might have been expected that the

King would entrust the Government to M. Codreanu if he was going to move to the Right at all; if not, to one of the traditional parties which, after all, secured the two largest polls. But the Liberals are exhausted and unpopular; a 37.5 per cent. poll by a Government conducting elections is, in Roumania, the completest of fiascos. As for the National Tsaranists, personal antagonisms between their leader, M. Monica, and the King seem to have intervened. The same applies to M. Codreanu, who is known to be hostile to the King's entourage; moreover, King Carol is not the man to open the door to a second person in his kingdom with dictatorial ambitions. It may be that he thinks that M. Goga's milder measures will satisfy public opinion, and steal M. Codreanu's thunder. At any rate, he can control the smaller party better. It is not out of the question that M. Goga, if he fails to maintain his position—as he may well do, attacked as he will be from both Right and Left—might find himself supplanted by a military dictatorship under the King himself. The Army is loyal to Carol.

M. Goga proposes to dissolve the Chamber and rule by decree. He has begun by dissolving the organs of local self-government and appointing Government Commissaires. It is safe to say that whatever happens, Roumania will not see genuine self-government for a long time to come. Most of the decrees hitherto enacted have been against the Jews; and although M. Goga does not, like M. Codreanu, propose to drive the lot into the Black Sea, the Jews of Roumania are justified in the apprehension with which they regard the future. Still, oppressive laws are not always fully carried out in Roumania, any more than good ones; and wise men know that Roumania to-day cannot get on without some Jews, even though she may not need quite as many as she now has. The chief surprise, hitherto, has been M. Goga's attitude in foreign policy; his protestations of loyalty to the League, France, and the Little Entente. He even telegraphed friendly words to M. Litvinoff. He had been expected to swing right over to the "German-Italian axis" and to the "Anti-Communist front." This gratifying surprise also is probably due to the King's influence.

TO BE PUBLISHED IN FEBRUARY

Peace Through Social Justice, 6d.
L.N.U. Year Book, 1938 . . . 6d.

Popular leaflets 2/- per 100.

1, Helping Each Other in Defence; 2, Why Fight About It; 3, The League Defends the Health of the World; 4, The League Tackles Under-Nourishment; 5, Refugees; 6, The Chinese War.

From the UNION BOOKSHOP, 15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1

GERMANS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By JOHN A KEYSER

(Member of the Executive Committee and a well-known writer on Central European problems.)

CZECHOSLOVAKIA came into being on October 28, 1918—a fortnight before the Armistice was signed—that is to say, it was recognised by the Allies as an independent State. Its frontiers were agreed upon at the Peace Conference and were defined in the Treaty of St. Germain which was signed on September 10, 1919. Czechoslovakia consists solely of territory formerly belonging to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

According to the 1930 census, the total population of Czechoslovakia amounted to 14,500,000. This figure is made up of (approximately) 7,500,000 Czechs, 3,250,000 Germans, 2,000,000 Slovaks, 700,000 Hungarians, 500,000 Ruthenians, 80,000 Poles, 190,000 Jews and 300,000 other nationalities.

By the Treaty of St. Germain, Czechoslovakia undertakes, "to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Czechoslovakia without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race, or religion." The Treaty further states that "all Czechoslovak citizens shall be equal before the law" and that "Czechoslovak nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Czechoslovak nationals."

The German minority is the second largest national minority in Europe (the Ukrainians in Poland are more numerous). Over 2,000,000 of these Germans reside in Bohemia, mostly along the frontiers of Austria and Germany. Although they live in fairly compact blocks these are, to a certain extent, interspersed by Czech areas. Bohemia is by far the most important industrial centre of Czechoslovakia. Its Germans now, as in the past, largely control that industry. In consequence, they suffered severely from the world's economic crisis. Unemployment increased alarmingly. Even though economic conditions have now sensibly improved, as recently as the spring of 1937, over 12 per cent. of German workers were still without employment—nearly double the number of Czech unemployed.

Of the remainder of the German-speaking minority 800,000 reside in Moravia and Silesia and 150,000 in Slovakia and Ruthenia. In general they form over 22 per cent. of the total population. In Bohemia they represent more than 30 per cent. of the population; in Silesia, nearly 40 per cent.; and just under 20 per cent. in Moravia. The importance of this minority is therefore evident. They are the second largest national group in Czechoslovakia, ranking even above the Slovaks.

Politically the German minority is split into two camps, the "Activists" and the "Negativists." The former—so-called because they collaborate with the Czech Government—are represented by the three German Parties: Social Democrats, Christian Socialists and Agrarians. The last named are in direct opposition to the Government. They form one party, the Sudeten German Party (named after a mountain range in the

German districts) under the leadership of Herr Konrad Henlein. As a result of the last elections, in 1935, the Activists are supported by only 35 per cent. of the German-speaking electorate and send 22 Deputies to Parliament, whereas 65 per cent. voted for Henlein, whose Party has 44 seats in Parliament. The Republican Agrarians, numerically the strongest party in the Chamber, only exceed the Sudeten Germans by 1 seat. Nevertheless, the Activists are represented by 3 members of the Government while the Sudeten German Party (SdP) refuses to serve in the Cabinet at all. The policy of the Activists has always been co-operation with the Government in the hope of improving the situation of the German minority. They have followed this line since 1926. The aim of the SdP, reduced to its simplest form, is complete self-government.

Between 1926 and 1936 the co-operation of the three Activist German Parties with the Government availed them little. Economic conditions in the German districts were decidedly bad. The degree of unemployment assumed alarming proportions. Exports were seriously reduced. This was not the fault of the Czech Government. It was due almost entirely to the world economic crisis. Latterly the situation tended to improve somewhat. This, in its turn, was the result of the general world improvement. The Czech Government were responsible neither for the decline nor for the rise. The Government's leaders have always made honest attempts to improve conditions in the German areas. That they have been prevented from fulfilling their objects is, in the main, due to psychological causes. For 300 years before the War the Germans (of Austria-Hungary) were the masters and the Czechs were the servants. Now the positions are reversed. So that, rather naturally, the great mass of Czech bureaucrats and functionaries, of narrower outlook than their leaders, want to "take it out" of their former masters. The Germans complain that, apart from their economic troubles: (a) that they have been excluded from State service; (b) that too many Czechs have been employed in German districts; (c) that nearly always contracts for work in German areas are awarded to Czech firms; (d) that the proportion of Government contributions to charitable and cultural purposes in German areas is far too low; and (e) that Czechs are being drafted into German districts with the intention of denationalising the Germans. In February, 1937, an Agreement was made between the Government and the Activists by which the lot of the German minority, in particular, but of all minorities in general, was to be improved. In practice, a certain amount of improvement has resulted from the Agreement, such as an increase in the number of German workmen employed and a lessening of petty persecution. But the position is still far from satisfactory. Moreover, the Activists are becoming dissatisfied with the slow rate of progress. Nevertheless, they are still faithfully co-operating with the Government.

Who will Pay the Price of Anarchy?

LORD CECIL ASKS A PERTINENT QUESTION

The present international situation is anxious but not alarming. The future, however, is very disquieting. The immense armaments that are being piled up involved propaganda based on international hate. So said Viscount Cecil in his speech at Hanley on January 24. He continued:—

THERE is, too, a new and very unpleasant feature—the organised attack on the League of Nations made by Italy and Germany. From every side we hear of representations being made by diplomatic envoys from those two countries to State after State, begging them to leave the League. Such representations have been made, apparently, in the Little Entente countries, in the Balkan countries, in the Central European countries, and possibly in others. It is to be observed that this campaign is not carried out against any particular provision of the Covenant, but against the whole conception of the international organisation of peace. Those people, both in this country and abroad, who believe that by modifying this or that Article of the Covenant, restricting or abolishing Articles X or XVI and so on, they can convert the Italian or German Governments from being enemies of the League into being friends, are profoundly mistaken. The whole tenor of German and Italian policy is hostile to any international authority. Their conception is that the State, in each country, is a divine or semi-divine institution which requires the absolute submission, moral and intellectual, of all its subjects, and therefore keeps its inhabitants in sufficient ignorance and subjection to make them submit to this new form of idolatry. It is obvious that this so-called totalitarian theory makes the intervention of any foreign country or any group of foreign countries or any international organisation anathema. Moreover, it is not unfair to say that the bitterness of the hatred of the League is due essentially to the fact that the League stands against armed aggression.

Warning to Small Countries

If my words can be heard by those small countries, I would venture to beg them to consider carefully the danger of abandoning the League. Great countries may hope that by their own strength or by their alliances with one another, they may be able to preserve their independence and integrity. But the prospect of the smaller countries being able to do so is very remote. Let them consider very carefully the recent international history of those countries who are wooing them so assiduously. Does it justify any reasonable hope of safety for the smaller countries? Is it not certain that as soon as they have served the turn of those who are seeking their support, they will be abandoned? The moment all effective opposition to aggression is destroyed the great military countries will necessarily dominate the scene, and it will be in the end the smaller countries which will have to pay the price of the international anarchy which will thus be restored.

League Not Dead

The much-abused sanctions, when they were employed in 1935, were very nearly successful—a little more resolution and they would unquestionably have succeeded. Even so, it is by no means certain that the conquest of Abyssinia is going to be either permanent or productive of advantage for the conquerors. The same is true of the Far East.

No doubt Japan succeeded in her first aggression. Manchukuo and the other Northern Provinces have been wrested from Chinese sovereignty. But, believe me, in that matter the end is not yet. Indeed, one of the causes of the new invasion is, I have no doubt, that the position in the North is so unsatisfactory that the Japanese militarists, after their manner, are persuaded that its failure is due to the fact that they were too moderate. Moreover, the success of the Nyon agreement in stopping Mediterranean piracy shows how easily a vigorous peace policy can be made to succeed.

B.B.C Talks On Peace

"THE WAY OF PEACE" is the general subject of a weekly series of broadcast discussions. They are held each Thursday at 8.30 to 9 p.m. in the National programme. Sir Alfred Zimmern introduced the series on January 13; he will sum up on March 31. On February 3, Lord Cecil will speak on "The History of the League"; his interlocutor will be Sir Charles Mallet. On February 10 the speakers will be Mr. Wickham Steed and Lord Ponsonby; on February 17, Mr. Amery and Sir Alfred Zimmern; on February 24, Dr. A. Salter and Colonel Josiah Wedgwood; on March 3, Lord Davies and Professor L. P. Jacks.

The introductory note in the B.B.C. programme reads: "Why are we faced with the danger of another war? Because many of the issues which provoke strong feeling are to-day on a world scale and, unlike domestic problems, have not been brought under the rule of law. Why not? Because the need for doing so has not been understood by those who have the power. Who has the power? The democratic peoples and, in particular, the people of this country." There is the explanation of the lively interest taken in the series by Union branches throughout the country and the many discussion groups which are meeting on the evenings of the talks.

On Monday evening, February 7, at 8.30 p.m., VISCOUNT CECIL is to address a meeting in the HORNSEY TOWN HALL, Crouch End Broadway, N.8. The chair will be taken by the Reverend Prebendary Stewart Bernays, Rural Dean of Hornsey. Admission to the meeting will be free, but a few reserved seats can be had at 2s. 6d. and 1s. Nearest station to the hall—Crouch End, L.N.E.R. Buses Nos. 41 and 212 pass the door. The meeting is being held under the auspices of the Crouch End, East and West Hornsey Branch, the secretary of which is Miss Warrington, 41, Birchington Road, Crouch End.

If I Were Foreign Secretary

Prize Essays in "Headway's" Holiday Lecture Competition

A year ago the L.N.U. held in London a series of Christmas Holiday Lectures on world affairs for boys and girls between 15 and 18 years of age. HEADWAY offered prizes for the Four Best Essays on a set subject by young people who had heard the lectures. Both experiments were completely successful. This year they have been repeated. The lectures were given on January 3-6; they were attended by 331 boys and girls from 90 schools in all parts of the country. The subject set for the Essay Competition was: "If I were Foreign Secretary." The prize-winning essays are printed below. IRIS MURDOCH, who was a prize winner last year, now wins the First Prize of £2 2s.; the Second Prize of £1 1s. is won by RAYMOND WILLIAMS; the Third Prize of 10s. 6d. by EILEEN SNELGROVE; and the Fourth Prize of 10s. 6d. by MARY COFFIN:—

I

Iris Murdoch, Badminton School:—

If I were Foreign Secretary I should first of all press the immediate application of strong economic sanctions to Japan, and recognise the legality of the Spanish Government, allowing it every freedom to purchase arms. Then I should form an entente with America, and in consultation with Washington urge the League to call a World Conference at Geneva for the consideration and removal of all legitimate grievances.

The German colonies claim would be first on the agenda, and to deal with that a League Mandate scheme would be proposed. All colonies and mandates would come under an international commission, with a view to their ultimate autonomy. Every League member-state would have equal access to them economically, and immigration, though controlled by the commission, would be open to all nationalities. Problems of surplus population would thus be dealt with on a world-wide scale.

Meanwhile, every nation would be invited to a twin conference on economic conditions, and attempts would be made to lower trade barriers, stabilise markets, and agree upon an international currency.

When the immediate danger of war had been averted and a certain feeling of security prevailed, the conference would consider the reform of the League. Britain, however, would take the lead in affirming that efficacy and sincerity, rather than universality, should be its aim—and I should introduce a clause enacting the immediate expulsion of any aggressor. This would be a deterrent to aggression, for expulsion would involve exclusion from the new mandatory system. Britain would further suggest the revision of Article XVI, with definite technical provisions for speedy action. A halt would, of course, be called to the arms race, and a scheme of gradual disarmament agreed upon.

If the Fascist countries were still to stand aloof, continuing their policy of aggressive expansionism, I should, in conjunction throughout with America and France, propose the severest penalties under the new Article XVI. But it is to be hoped that, tempted by economic advantage and convinced by the firm equity of the democratic powers, they would co-operate fully. The world would be calmed and reassured, and the menace of war would gradually disappear.

II

Raymond Williams, King Henry VIII School, Abergavenny:—

The first duty of a Foreign Secretary is to translate love of peace in his country into constructive action to maintain that peace. One cannot too strongly emphasise that the way to lasting peace lies through international co-operation; and for an embodiment of this why search farther than Geneva and the League of Nations? Thus, my fundamental policy would be to re-establish the League as the most potent international factor.

An opportunity now presents itself with Japanese aggression in China. In Spain, though mainly international, the conflict is not so clearly aggression. On the Chinese question I would propose a definite British lead which would mean League action and the enforcement of Collective Defence.

This restoration of International Law would allow the British Government to propose a world conference to discuss:—

- (1) Peaceful change.
- (2) Security.
- (3) Disarmament.
- (4) Economic planning.
- (5) Colonies.

My proposals on these would be:

(1) Immediate application of Article XIX, with a commission to investigate any territorial grievances laid before the conference.

(2) (3) Re-establishment of collective security as best means of defence; primary regional agreements; economic sanctions automatic in case of aggression recognised by a majority of the League Assembly vote; formation of an International Air Force preliminary to—

- (a) An International Police Force;
- (b) Complete disarmament. Alternatively, disarmament on the basis of absolute equality.

(4) Apportionment of raw materials; gradual localisation of industry; mutual tariff concessions; stabilisation of exchange; International Labour office used to standardise conditions of work and wages; formation of International Economic Intelligence Bureau.

Alternatively, bilateral trade agreements.

(5) All mandated territories and colonies to be administered by a Civil Service under the League as a preliminary to complete self-government.

III

Eileen Snelgrove, Fulham County Secondary School:—

If I were Foreign Secretary, assuming that I had the power to direct foreign policy, I would first state that Britain would uphold the League of Nations and fulfil her obligations as set out in the Covenant.

Unlike those who have made this statement previously I would follow it up by action. At the next Council Meeting of the League I would propose that China be assisted against Japanese aggression—namely, that an embargo be placed on imports from Japan, on armaments, mineral oils and all war materials exported to that country, that no money be lent to her, and credits be withdrawn. I would also propose that the countries employing these sanctions should assist each other economically and financially and, if it became necessary, with armed forces.

I would also take action about Spain. I would recognise the Government as the only legitimate government, considering the Insurgents as rebels. I would lift the embargo on arms to Spain as it is only affecting the Government, but give my full support to the Non-Intervention Committee in its work of withdrawing foreign volunteers.

When affairs made it possible, I would propose that a conference should be held, to which Germany, Italy and Japan should be invited, to discuss revision of frontiers, colonies and trade problems.

Later, I would take steps to resurrect the Disarmament Conference opened in 1932.

Some of these measures involve great risk. If the risk had been taken in 1931, when Japan attacked Manchuria, or in the Italo-Abyssinian dispute, affairs would be

PLANS FOR THE EASTER HOLIDAYS

I.—AN EASTER SCHOOL on Prospects for Peace and Social Justice in 1938

The Union's Easter School on Contemporary International Affairs will this year meet again at Bristol. Speakers and Writers on International affairs, trade unionists and employers of labour, teachers and officers of League of Nations Union Branches and Youth Groups will find that this year's programme is of special importance to them.

Excursions in the West Country—seen at its best at this time of the year—will be arranged.

Fees: with accommodation at Wills Hall (University of Bristol) from April 14th to 19th and attendance at all lectures and discussions: £3 13s. 6d.

II.—TEACHERS AND WORLD PEACE

Teachers from many countries are expected to attend an International Conference of Teachers to be held in London from April 21st to 25th to consider

- (a) The present international situation, with special reference to the problem of preventing war and of securing social and international justice.
- (b) The Teaching of International Relations in colleges and schools,
- (c) School activities intended to promote international understanding and goodwill, including especially Junior Branches of the League of Nations Societies.
- (d) The Training of Teachers.

The fee with accommodation, will be about £2.12s.6d. for four days.

III.—FOR BOYS AND GIRLS

A party of League of Nations Pioneers will explore Czechoslovakia, visiting Germany en route. No more places are available for girls. There are still vacancies for Boys.

Leave London April 9th and return April 21st. Fee: approximately £8.8s.0d.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

This programme could satisfy actual and psychological necessities in Germany, Italy, and Japan, promote trust in League solidarity by smaller Powers, check suicidal rearmament, ensure social justice, without which peace is a mockery, and abolish war.

better at present. The risk must be taken now. Britain must move forward and become the leader in strengthening democracy and the League. If I were Foreign Secretary she would do so.

IV

Mary Coffin, Croydon High School:—

Please believe for a moment that I am Great Britain's Foreign Secretary. My duty concerns diplomatic relationship with other countries, and my greatest aim is peace. I sincerely believe that the only possible way to peace is the way of the League of Nations. Pacifism I admire; it demands moral courage, but its ideals are those of the idealist, whereas the ideals of the League of Nations are the ideals of the realist.

As Foreign Secretary I have decided to renounce, on behalf of Great Britain, the Briand-Kellogg pact. Great Britain belongs to the League; she has signed the Covenant and therefore has agreed to use military force as a last resort. In 1928 she signed the Kellogg pact, so promising that in no circumstances would she resort to war. She cannot keep two such conflicting promises, for which reason, I hold the renunciation of the Kellogg pact just and sane.

If any quarrel arises between this country and any other nation who is a member of the League I shall do all in my power to have that quarrel settled by the League of Nations. My foreign policy is a policy of peace. I am doing and shall do all I can to make the relationship between Great Britain and the world so satisfactory that an armaments' race such as the one in which we are now taking part will be seen to be not only unnecessary but mere folly. If one member of the League joins an act of unprovoked aggression against another member, I shall be willing to impose sanctions immediately, even to the extent of military sanctions, on that aggressor.

However, I am not Foreign Secretary. Peace is just as much a concern for me as it is for every individual.

THE HUNDREDTH SESSION OF THE LEAGUE COUNCIL

(From Our Special Correspondent)

Geneva, January 24.

OF late years it has become almost a truism to say that the importance of a League Council Session is to be sought not on its agenda, but in those subjects which are not on the agenda. At the risk of repeating an unbearable cliché, this observation must at once be made about the hundredth session of the Council. Never can the Council have met with an agenda which so fantastically under-represents the crucial importance of the issues now before the League.

A casual glance at the 25 items on the Council's agenda reveals only two of first-class importance—namely, the question of China and the question of the reform of the Covenant. At the moment of writing, it is extremely unlikely that China will be discussed at all in the Council itself, and the main work on the reform of the Covenant will, it is to be supposed, be carried out in the Council's Committee of Twenty-Eight, which is now to meet on January 31. The question of Spain is nowhere referred to on the agenda, nor, of course, the question of Abyssinia.

Thus the casual observer might think that this was going to be a very happy little session of the Council—few problems of major importance, a nice little packet of routine work, and a few congratulatory speeches on the centenary session. The fact is, of course, that the Council and the League are face to face with the major crisis of their history. The withdrawal of Italy, though it has not so far been followed by other withdrawals, has been the signal for a determined campaign against the League among the Governments of all those Powers with whom Italy maintains either friendly or semi-feudal relations. Thus in Bucharest, where the new Government is joyfully engaged in tearing up the Declaration of 1919, by which Roumania guarantees freedom and fair treatment to the populations handed to her as the result of the Allies winning the War, in Budapest and in Vienna, where the voice of the charmer is being raised on the subject of military equality, and in Belgrade, where an unpopular Government is flirting with the Dictators, there is much brewing, the upshot of which is not likely to be favourable to the future of any League of free nations. Switzerland, between the upper and nether millstones of Berlin and Rome, is anxiously considering under what conditions she can remain among the free peoples. Warsaw is credited with an entirely new plan for a technical and economic League, with headquarters elsewhere than in Geneva—a League to which, it is urged, Germany and Italy might return in due course, especially if such a League were to be domiciled in Rome.

About ten days ago there seemed to be a chance that the British and French Governments would make a joint declaration at this month's Council "proclaiming their fidelity to the principles of the Covenant"—so ran the semi-official account—and "reassuring the smaller Powers as to their commitments in connection with any coercive action by the League in the future." The Secretary-General's recent visit to Paris and London

gave rise to much talk of this kind. But I will venture a guess that it will never be known whether the Secretary-General undertook his journey to secure such a declaration, or to scotch a suggestion which might be dangerous to the institution for which he is responsible. Rumour now says that there will be no such declaration. In any case, the French Government is in no position at the moment to make major declarations of policy, and the British Government, perhaps has doubts about a statement the chief effects of which might be a series of counter-statements from the other members of the Council. In many quarters it is now alleged that if any such statement is made on British Government authority, it will be made in the Committee for the reform of the Covenant. There is reason to believe that something will be said by Britain.

The truth is that, while those who should be the leaders of League opinion are uncertain what they want, the totalitarian States have no doubt whatsoever about their aim. They have openly expressed it and they are openly going about it. Their aim is to destroy any League of Nations the object of which is to promote or maintain peace in the world. Their preliminary manoeuvres, both in Geneva and in the Balkan capitals, are abundant evidence both of their objective and of the pertinacity with which they pursue it.

It is now virtually certain that the question of the Jews in Roumania will come before the forthcoming Council. Two Jewish organisations, the Universal Israelite Alliance, and the Executive Committee of the World Jewish Congress, have formally petitioned the Council on this issue and have demanded that it be treated under the "procedure of urgency." This means, of course, that the Council, through its Minorities Committee of Three, would deal with the question at the forthcoming Session. Otherwise, the petitions would be referred to the Roumanian Government which would then have two months in which to formulate its observations. There is reason to believe that the "procedure of urgency" will be adopted, as was the case when the Jewish organisations petitioned in 1933 against the extension to German Upper Silesia of Herr Hitler's anti-Semite legislation. Meantime, M. Goga and his friends in Bucharest, vie with one another in inventing new terms of opprobrium for the League of Nations (one of these gems was "the Council of Jews in Geneva who would be better in their graves"), while M. Micesu sits in Geneva and sunnily asserts that he can explain everything. There is a feeling here that the coach and four which M. Goga's Government has driven through the Declaration of 1919 will take some explaining away.

As I write, the news comes that, with any ordinary luck, M. Delbos will again represent France in Geneva. This is almost the only comfortable piece of news which a lover of the League can at the moment offer to readers of HEADWAY. M. Delbos knows both how to speak with authority for France and how to collaborate to the best effect with Mr. Eden. It remains to be seen what results such renewed collaboration is capable of achieving.

Prospect of the Anglo-U.S. Pact

By E. V. FRANCIS, the well-known financial journalist.

THE idea of bringing the English-speaking nations into a system of closer co-operation is one that has never failed to appeal to public imagination. And it probably never will. But past attempts to translate it into practical action have provided at least one warning against setting any great hopes for its realisation by purely political methods.

The primary objective of a new Anglo-American rapprochement is severely limited by the widespread inhibition in the United States against political entanglements of any kind. The present Neutrality Act, which would withdraw official protection from American merchant ships trading with any belligerent country, is a striking proof of this.

The fact that closer Anglo-U.S. co-operation is only attainable through economic agreement and mutual concessions in respect of commonplace utilities like woollen goods, hams, and apples does not necessarily imply that this method is at most second-best. On the contrary, it is by just a process of adapting national markets to the needs of each other's industries that the similarity of interests are proved and developed.

It is a matter for mutual congratulation that the plan of an Anglo-American pact of this kind has already been launched. With the arrival of the U.S. Government delegation in London and of the British officials in Washington, important negotiations will soon take place with a view to determining the extent to which each country can be induced to scale down its tariffs on the other's goods.

That is, of course, the most difficult task of all. The American manufacturers have been basking in the shade of highly profitable protectionism since the imposition of the Hawley-Smoot tariff in 1930. They are not likely to forgo any of its benefits without considerable opposition. This will be made clearer when the public hearings on the proposed tariff changes are held, under Constitutional procedure, in Washington.

At the same time, it is to be noted that protectionism has been pushed to the point of absurdity. Many of the exorbitantly high tariffs imposed on the entry of British imports into the U.S. could be reduced or abolished without affecting any domestic interests. Such a downward change is possible in the case of high-grade woollen goods which are by reason of their special quality not strictly competitive at all. In the case of other goods, such as cotton-lace or table damask, high tariffs have been imposed without there being any domestic industry of the kind to protect.

Apart from redundant protection, however, the Roosevelt Administration appears set on lowering tariffs on the manufactured goods in which Great Britain is most interested, despite the opposition of industrialists. The motive is largely the desire to obtain in return concessions for the sale of U.S. agricultural goods in the British market, thereby giving support to the farmers of the Middle West and the fruit growers of California and elsewhere.

American emphasis on an agricultural *quid pro quo* raises one of the most difficult problems in commercial

policy yet faced by the British Government. For Britain is already bound by the Ottawa Agreement to maintain preference to agricultural produce from the Dominions. And in view of the fact that the British tariff is extremely moderate in this respect, it has become questionable whether any worth-while concessions to U.S. produce could be made without affecting imperial preference.

Thus, a trade pact with the U.S. cannot be considered apart from the Empire. Fortunately, for the ultimate welfare of the Commonwealth, the leaders in the Dominions have been alert to the wider implications of a pact of this kind.

They have realised that the stimulus to world trade that may be expected from it are likely to benefit them more in the long run than an obstructive insistence on the *status quo*. They have learned also that the prosperity of the Dominions is bound up with high rather than low prices for their commodities and raw materials and that high prices can be maintained only if U.S. trade is moving in the right direction. Consequently it does not appear that the Ottawa Agreements will prove anything like the obstacle that is often supposed.

Assuming then that the Dominions can be compensated for a mitigation of imperial preference either by other concessions in this or the U.S. market, the remaining problem is to assess the scope for direct concessions between the U.K. and the U.S.

The Federation of British Industries says that the scope is small because the U.S. takes not much more than one-third of what we buy from her. That is perfectly true—as far as visible trade goes. But if other factors be taken into account—as they should be in view of the Imperial interest in the pact—namely, re-exports to the U.S., payments to British shipping, banking, hotel and other industries, and the American balance of payments with the rest of the Empire—then the discrepancy in the balance of Anglo-U.S. trade is far less important than at first appears.

At all events, it is certain that there is no vital impediment on technical grounds to the conclusion of an effective commercial pact between the two great democracies. From the standpoint of international expediency the case for it has never been so clearly proven, as by world events of the past five years. The prospects of its successful conclusion are extremely encouraging.

WAR CAN BE AVERTED

THE ACHIEVABILITY OF
COLLECTIVE SECURITY

By ELEANOR F. RATHBONE, M.P.

At the Union Bookshop — 5s.

Garden of The Good Neighbour at The Empire Exhibition

By ISHBEL, Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair

It has now been definitely decided to go ahead with the project of a Peace Pavilion and Garden for the great Empire Exhibition which is to be opened in Glasgow in May of this year by Their Majesties King George and Queen Elizabeth.

The Committee, widely representative of Peace interests and including a goodly number of League of Nations Union people, resolved to proceed with the splendid venture, and accepted the design of Mr. Alister MacDonald, son of the late Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, and appointed him architect for the scheme.

The basis of the scheme is a long graceful structure of pleasing design, with a tower at one end. Particular attention will be given to lighting, and at night the whole building will be seen in a diffused light which will give an atmosphere of peace and quiet. In addition to light, sound will be used. It is hoped to have a Carillon of bells in the tower and to have regular peals, reminiscent of the Carillon of Bells set up in the Peace Tower at Ottawa. Set, as we hope, in a garden suggestive at every turn of the things of brotherhood and peace, the whole effect should be a memorable one.

The ground plan of the building will give ample space for displays of the League activities and the necessary opportunity to give the message of Peace to all who come. Remembrance, achievement and hope will be the keynotes round which the exhibits will be grouped, and a small hall will be available for short lectures, cinema showings, and musical recitals.

The committee are now actively engaged in getting into touch with those who may be able to help in exhibits or suggestions for the furnishing of the pavilion. In one way and another a display, not perhaps so ambitious or on so ample a scale as Paris, but designed to impress its message on every beholder, may be confidently anticipated. In one particular we hope to strike a fresh note.

In Toronto in 1929, at a meeting of horticulturalists, Mr. Henry J. Moore outlined a scheme for a great International Garden on the frontier of the United States of America and Canada to commemorate the hundred years of unbroken peace. The idea, taken up slowly at first, gained momentum as the days went on.

In July, 1932, a great assemblage of 50,000 people met at a spot as near as could be to the actual geographical centre of the northern continent and on the frontier between the two great countries. There they dedicated a Garden, and as a first token, a Cairn round which the pledge of enduring Peace between the two nations was sworn in the following words:—

"To the glory of God we two nations dedicate this Garden, and solemnly pledge ourselves that as long as men shall live we will not take up arms against one another."

The two Federal Governments of the U.S.A. and Canada have given their approval and their help.

The land round about to the extent of 2,200 acres

has been given by the State of North Dakota and the Province of Manitoba as a great Garden—woodland, lake—and formal Garden—to be, in the language of the Indian tribe living in the district, a "Garden of the Good Neighbour." Year by year the Garden grows and is developed, and year by year the pledge is renewed. Now that the story of the Garden is getting better known, thousands of letters are being received with offers of help, desire for information, and suggestions for other gardens. Gifts of bulbs from Holland; seeds from Japan; and plants from all over the world have enriched it.

Mr. Moore and the committee in charge are delighted that the Peace Garden should be illustrated at Glasgow and are willing to help, and the Exhibition authorities on their part will gladly place land at our disposal for such a Garden.

I cannot tell you yet how the idea will develop. If possible, we would like to be able to show in some way what an International Garden would be like. The various Dominions would, I am sure, help and send gifts characteristic of their land, and some of the typical flowers and plants of, say, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, Africa, and India could be shown. As in America, there could be exhibits from the lands of the earth.

It may be that the War Graves Commission will co-operate and show how it has transformed the places of rest into beautiful gardens. At least visitors from the world and the Empire can come and in a Garden of Peace find inspiration for the work for Peace which we must yet do if our children and our children's children are to have a world freed from war.

The decision to go ahead was only taken after long and anxious consideration, and the only thing that held the committee back was the question of finance. It is calculated that a sum of £5,000 will be required. We go forward in faith. In response to the first appeal, a sum of £1,800 has been received. Surely there are many in these islands—for the appeal is a national one—and in the great Commonwealth of the British Empire who will be glad to know that such a Pavilion and such a Garden is to have a place at Glasgow—and will be willing to help. Perhaps there are some to whom this will appeal who can give generously. Such gifts given speedily will lift a burden from the shoulders of the promoters and allow them to give all their energy to the actual work. But many small gifts will also do the task, and we are grateful for those who give the "littles."

Donations should be sent direct to *Lady Aberdeen, Gordon House, Aberdeen*, or to the *Hon. Treasurer, Peace Pavilion Fund, 136, Wellington Street, Glasgow*.

As I see it, this is an unparalleled opportunity which will not recur in a generation. It is for us as great an opportunity as Paris was in 1937. Here in the enterprise there is vision, enthusiasm, and hope. I cannot but believe that the material needs will be met.

AT MARBLE ARCH, FEBRUARY 12 & 13

An International Peoples Assembly

IMMEDIATE aid for China is something with which few people will be able to quarrel. But to make that aid as effective as possible is a problem which needs careful thought. In order to prepare the plans in the fullest possible detail, the International Peace Campaign has called an International Peoples Assembly at British Industries House, Marble Arch, Oxford Street, London, on February 12 and 13.

The purpose of the Assembly will be to discuss every aspect of the problem. The boycott must in the first place be international. Individual refusal to buy Japanese goods must be developed, but the boycott must be more complete than this. Who brings the goods to the country, who takes goods to Japan, who buys them, who distributes them—all these questions must be answered by the Assembly and then systematically tackled.

The decisions of the Assembly, comprising a detailed plan of action, will be reported to a Mass Meeting at the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, on Sunday night, February 13, at which Madame Sun Yat Sen and her son, Mr. Sun Fo (President of the Chinese Legislative Yuan), will speak. During that week the decisions will be

reported in Paris, Prague, Stockholm, Brussels, Amsterdam, and other capitals throughout the world.

The policy adopted by the Assembly will be important, particularly if it is acted upon promptly. But however swiftly and completely they are carried out, their results must be less than if the Governments themselves took action. The main object, therefore, of the campaign must be to encourage our own and other governments to take action by showing them that an overwhelming number of voters want them to place an embargo on Japanese goods.

As a first step towards convincing the Government of the feeling of the electors, a China Week will be organised from February 19—27. It will not be simply a week about China, but a week in aid of China. It will develop throughout the country the boycott organisation and will bring to the notice of the Government the feeling of the people.

A great part of the responsibility for the success of this campaign must necessarily fall on the L.N.U. as the most powerful peace organisation; 19 years of educational work by the L.N.U. should make it possible for Great Britain to give a lead to the rest of the world, while it is still not too late to save China and Save Peace.

SAVE CHINA

FEBRUARY 12th—13th

INTERNATIONAL PEOPLES ASSEMBLY

Organised by the INTERNATIONAL PEACE CAMPAIGN

To decide what action the Peoples of the World can take to aid China and to stop Japanese aggression,

at
BRITISH INDUSTRIES HOUSE, OXFORD STREET, LONDON.

Apply to the Secretary: L.N.U., for Delegates Appointment Form.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 13th, 8 p.m.

MASS MEETING

at
ROYAL OPERA HOUSE, COVENT GARDEN.

FEBRUARY 19th—27th

CHINA WEEK

SAVE PEACE

Youth can be Enlisted for the League

By "KESTREL"

WHEN we read of the magnificent achievements in work for an ordered world of the under thirties in the cities of Great Britain and other lands, some are inclined to say: "These things can be done in the large centres of population with their many advantages, but here, with only 10,000 or 20,000 people (and mainly unenlightened at that) we cannot expect such results." Of course not. But let it not be tacitly assumed that nothing can be done for or by the youth in any neighbourhood. Are there not in every town young people with at least a potential interest in the struggling and starving youth of Spain, the deluded youth of Germany, the butchered youth of China, the martyred youth of Ethiopia? And in the down-trodden youth of our own distressed areas? (If you can give a negative answer for your own town, then your educational system has been a colossal waste of good money, and your Churches deserve the fulfilment of the dire warnings of the Prophet Jonah.)

Unfortunately this latest interest is not necessarily or frequently activated and canalised into L.N.U. channels by the ordinary activities (and extraordinary inactivities) of the branches. Soon after leaving school or college, young people become absorbed in a maze of

organisations, some perfectly healthy, others (and this applies to some religious as well as secular), a waste of time and a perversion of youthful qualities and capacities. Amid the welter of other attractions, even a most active L.N.U. branch may fail to make heard its claims on youth, unless it resorts to some special means to do so.

A Youth Group is Formed

In this article it is desired to demonstrate what has been done in a small town where the L.N.U. branch was getting rather "elderly" in spite of a creditable record in many directions.

One Friday, in November, 1936, Mr. F. L. Whelen spoke at a public meeting organised by the L.N.U., and, at his suggestion, a number of under-thirties were invited to meet him at the branch secretary's house, at 8 p.m., on the following Sunday night. Three or four of the committee hurriedly considered the question of who should be invited; each contributed a few names, consisting largely of young people taking part in some Church organisation. About three dozen invitations, mainly verbal, were issued, and 22 people arrived at the appointed place. Mr. Whelen told the fascinating story of the formation of the League of Nations, and spoke of his contacts with the youth of other lands. There followed a stream of questions and discussion which effectively demonstrated both the lively interest

that had been aroused, and the freedom for expression of opinion that was given as the result of the (all but) complete absence of over thirties. The occasion was enjoyed as a happy and informative evening party, and no appeal was made to join the L.N.U. or to form a Youth Group.

Two Study Circles Succeed

On a Sunday evening in February, a similar but slightly larger gathering was arranged when the Regional Representative gave an informal talk. As a result, many of those present expressed a desire to pursue the study of international affairs. It was suggested that the formation of two study circles, one on "Principles of the League," and another on "The Causes of War," would offer a suitable introduction, and that L.N.U.

Headquarters would supply study outlines, books and pamphlets. Two study circle leaders were chosen, and subsequently each circle met in houses of members fortnightly on Wednesday and Thursday evenings for four sessions each, with attendances ranging from five to 14. Then on Sunday evening, May 2, members of the study circles and other under thirties interested, met Mr. W. Arnold-Forster,

who took up the threads of the work done by the two groups, and interwove them with his own recent experiences in the U.S.A., and his work at Geneva.

There was a spontaneous feeling of the need to link up with the League of Nations Union. Another Youth Group was born. Officers and committee were elected there and then. They met four days later, drew up a programme of study circles on the Four Points of the I.P.C., and arranged an open-air meeting with the use of a loud-speaker apparatus.

The main activity of the Youth Group is still the study circle, held in the houses or gardens of members. It has grown in strength rather than in numbers. Its influence is widespread as it has attracted many of the keenest young people in the town, and it is a source of help and inspiration to the general branch. Especially was this so during the recent Peace Week when the Youth Group organised a very lively Youth Rally, besides giving general assistance in other arrangements and contributing to the Press controversy that ensued.

In addition, an attempt has been made to establish a local Youth Peace Assembly and a Spanish Relief Working Party is being formed.

It is not suggested that the methods employed with success in this case should be adopted in every community; but they do stand as a challenge to those who say that the under thirties of their town are not interested in the L.N.U.

U.S.A.

Following the successful visit last year it is hoped to organise a Union party to visit the United States in 1938, probably sailing in R.M.S. QUEEN MARY on April 20th.

Inquiries about any of these activities should be addressed to The Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

LEFT BOOK CLUB

You are asked to consider the advisability of joining the Left Book Club, if you are not already a member. Members buy every month, at the price of 2/6, a really important book, of which the price for the public may be anything from 7/6 to 18/-. As examples of last year's books, we may mention Edgar Snow's now world-famous *Red Star Over China*: Koestler's poignant *Spanish Testament*: Hannington's *The Distressed Areas* (the first full-length study of this subject): Brady's *The Spirit & Structure of German Fascism* (again, the first fundamental economic treatment): and G. D. H. Cole's searching book on the idea of *The People's Front*—to mention only a few. Members also have the right to order from a very large number of optional books—books as important, for instance, as Noel-Baker's *The Private Manufacture of Armaments* (Club price 4/6, ordinary price 18/-), & the Webbs' masterpiece *Soviet Communism* (Club price 6/-, ordinary price 35/-).

Last year closed with a membership of over 50,000, & over 700 local & professional Groups: & for the first time in the history of London, the Albert Hall & the Queen's Hall were simultaneously filled in January at the Club Rallies, which were addressed by a representative platform.

To mention only 2 of this year's books, there are coming (1) *On the Top of the World*, a wonderful first-hand account of the **Conquest of the North Pole** by the Soviet Expedition, edited by the great Schmidt himself, & with 24 unique photographs (price to the public about 16/-, to the Club 2/6). (2) A. L. Morton's *A People's History of England*, a book long overdue, for it is the first

really modern treatment of this subject. There are 600 pages, and 16 maps by Horrabin: price to the public 8/6, to the Club 2/6. Here are 3 advance opinions:

"A treasure"—*Dr. Olaf Stapledon.*

"Its publication may well turn out itself to have been an historical event"—*John Strachey.*

"I think it great"—*A. S. Neill.*

"C" MEMBERSHIP

We have recently instituted a new form of membership—"C" membership—which many people are finding most attractive. "C" members, instead of undertaking to buy a book a month for 2/6, can **choose** from among the 12 monthly books offered them during the year which elapses from the date of their joining, & only have to buy 4 of these 12 books (though, of course, they can buy more). They pay 3/6 per book (instead of the 2/6 paid by ordinary members), & this is still only a fraction of the ordinary public price.

CHRISTIAN BOOK CLUB

A subsidiary organisation is about to be formed with the above title. It will provide members of the new Club with a book every 3 months, at a fraction of the ordinary price: these books will approach the problems of our time in a thoroughly progressive spirit, & from the angle of Christian belief. The series will be edited by the Dean of Canterbury.

Enquire only, no commitment

Fill in the Coupon opposite, cut it out, & post it today in an open (½d. stamp) envelope: *it commits you to nothing*, but is merely a request for information. You will get a detailed prospectus, which describes a large number of forthcoming books: when we have posted this prospectus the matter ends *so far as we are concerned*—we do not "follow you up" with any further letters if you do not join the Club.

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(2) Send me, as soon as ready, particulars about the Christian Book Club.

[If either (1) or (2) does not apply, cross it out.]

NAME & ADDRESS (in capitals).....

.....

.....

HOW TO RUN A PUBLIC MEETING

By FREDERICK LEMAN WHELEN, formerly senior staff speaker, L.N.U.

THE L.N.U. has had conspicuous success with its national public meetings (Albert Hall, Queen's Hall, etc.), and also at local public meetings held in connection with Armistice Sunday or Armistice Day.

It has not achieved the same standard of success with its local public meetings. There are, of course, many instances to the contrary, and these suggest methods which might usefully be adopted more generally.

To give illustrations. I remember an overcrowded meeting in Dover Town Hall. The speaker was not a national figure. The honorary secretary who had organised the meeting had made use of many collaborators, and had thought out a stunt to draw attention to the meeting. She had invited to the platform, in the name of the Mayor, a large number of local representative people. The chairman was a General. On his left sat 50 representatives of the commerce, the industry, and the government of the town—among them an alderman, a town councillor, the chairman of the Rotary club, a chairman of a Trade Union committee, the chairman of a women's club, a grocer and a bank manager. On his right sat 50 representatives of the arts, sciences and professions—among them a doctor, a sculptor, a painter, an author, a headmaster and a headmistress. The mayor received these representative people in his parlour. They were carefully informed as to the position of their seats and were then led by stewards, from opposite entrances, formally and simultaneously, to their appointed places. The General and the Mayor entered alone and last. The representatives on the platform and consequently, the audience in the crowded hall, rose to receive them.

Youth Always Helps

I recall another interesting example—a meeting in Uttoxeter Town Hall. Here the secretary had visited or written to the chief schools in the neighbourhood and had secured the names of 200 boys and girls recommended by their teachers. To each of them was posted from the Mayor a printed card of invitation to a reserved seat on the platform at a League of Nations Union meeting. The cards were all marked R.S.V.P. and these letters appear to have caused great interest. The children were formally received in the mayor's parlour by the Mayor and Mayoress. The hall was crowded, obviously by friends and relations. The audience had the pleasure of facing 200 children on the platform. I have noticed that the presence of youth on the platform at an L.N.U. meeting always adds to its impressiveness.

I recall a meeting of the Union in Cannes for British visitors to the Riviera. All the British Girl Guides on the Riviera seemed to be present in uniform. They served as stewards. Most of them sold literature from baskets which they carried round until the meeting started.

As a generalisation I should say that there is usually need for greater order and dignity in the organisation of

public meetings. The platform should look well. It should not be dirty. It should not be untidy. Old scenery should not be leaning against the back wall. There should not be a large number of empty chairs. There should always be a table in front of the chairman. I have personally always desired to see at L.N.U. meetings of every kind, the L.N.U. map of the World exhibited on one side of the platform and the L.N.U. flag unfurled on the other.

Most public meetings have too few stewards. . . . At public meetings of any importance it is vital that a large number of people should be concerned with its organisation and responsible for making it a success.

My experience is that there is now a steadily growing number of persons who can make an effective appeal for new members. If there is a local personality who can do this, that, I think, is the best method. But if not, the chief speaker should do it. Not as part of his speech, but in answer to a question. It should be the duty of the secretary to arrange to have the question put. An exasperating experience is that when the appeal has been made and the chairman calls on the stewards to take round the membership cards or to collect the membership envelopes there rise only one or two stewards for the purpose. Frequently they rise in a casual, leisurely manner. It is obvious that they cannot cover the hall in a reasonable time. The result is that most of those present are not approached. It is incredible, but it happens often that the cards have to be found, to be divided, and the pencils disentangled. The effect is deplorable. In my observation, this often happens.

Branch Meetings

It is very important that branch meetings should be held in halls which are made visible to a potential audience. It has frequently been my experience to find the hall with difficulty, and, having found it, to think that a mistake has been made and that no meeting is to be held. John Galsworthy's account of a Peace Meeting in "Caravan" is a frequent experience: "Designed to make an impression on public opinion, every care had been taken that the meeting should not attract the public eye."

Branch meetings are frequently held in schoolrooms or in halls connected with churches. These latter halls are often to be found at the back of the building and are not visible from the road. It frequently happens that public buildings, although in conspicuous places, are inconspicuous from the absence of any special lighting. Could not a portable lighting apparatus with the label "L.N.U. Meeting" be devised?

At branch meetings, although I think it is advisable, it is not so important as at big public meetings to secure a good "platform." The usual practice is to have on the rostrum facing the audience only the chairman, the speaker, and the secretary. In such cases, there should be no other chairs left on the platform. An effort should

always be made to make the general appearance of the hall, including the platform, clean and pleasant. This is often neglected.

At branch meetings there should always be literature on sale. This should be displayed well. Literature, appropriate to the subject of the meeting, should be on the chairman's table and the chairman should draw special attention to it. My experience indicates that it is useful to appoint a literature secretary, who should be *ex-officio* a member of the branch committee, whose main duty it shall be to keep the committee informed of new literature and to be present in person or by a deputy, at every meeting, to display, to sell, and to take orders for literature. A member of a Youth group should, if possible, be appointed for this purpose.

Literature, including Covenants, should always be offered by the stewards for sale to the audience whilst they are assembling and waiting for the opening of the meeting.

Questions

At all meetings members of the audience should be encouraged to ask questions. If oral questions are not promptly forthcoming, it is useful to have a few questions ready in writing which can then be handed to the chairman. This usually has the effect of evoking other questions. Even though no other questions follow, the written questions, which should be questions which any audience would like to have answered, serve a useful purpose. I remember a meeting at which I had personally given five questions in writing to the secretary, to be used if the emergency arose, and at which all the five had been sent up. No other written questions, no oral questions had been answered. But I heard a member of the audience when leaving at the end, say: "What a splendid meeting. What a lot of questions."

In no circumstances should "questions" figure on the agenda of a meeting unless steps have been taken to avoid the deplorable effect of the absence of questions when questions have been called for.

Photographs

It is useful in the case of certain meetings—for example, an Armistice Day meeting or a mass meeting of children, to arrange to have a flashlight photograph taken. These are useful not only for immediate Press publicity, but for permanent use. I have seen, during the last few years, in foreign newspapers, a photograph of a great L.N.U. meeting held many years ago in Ossett, Yorkshire. In the life of the Union there have been many finely organised mass meetings of youth and of school children, which have thrilled the few adults who had the good fortune to be present. I think at this moment of three such: Two were meetings of the L.N.U. Junior Summer School, one in the Governing Body room of the I.L.O.; and the other in a committee room at the new buildings of the League at which the young Rapporteurs of the Commissions presented their reports and heard the criticisms of Sir Norman Angell. The third was the Armistice Day meeting of 1,000 children at Bromley, in 1937.

I was present at those three meetings, and can testify to the impression they made on the few adults who were fortunate enough to be present. Only recently I have heard of the delighted amazement of three members of the League Secretariat who chanced to pass the committee room and to stroll into the meeting held there.

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READERS' VIEWS

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

HOW WOULD THE VOTING HAVE GONE ?

SIR,—At the same time the General Council, recognising the increasing difficulties with which Japan has had to contend—over-population in a small territory poor in natural resources, immigration restrictions, tariffs and (of late) Imperial Preference—earnestly requests the Government to make a firm declaration that, in the event of Japan desisting from the attack and relinquishing her stranglehold on China, it will apply all its goodwill and use all its powers of persuasion, both on the Dominions and other countries, with the object of lightening materially the burden of a peaceful Japan.

I wonder how many would have voted for the above which, after much deliberation, I refrained from proposing, at our last General Council meeting, as an addendum to the resolution on the Far East. It seemed appropriate and yet so inappropriate. Even now, I dare not ask the delegates who were present to send a postcard "Yes" or "No" verdict on it to HEADWAY—assuming that we all read our paper, down to "Readers' Views."

Are we, the peoples, in our indecision, standing in the way of a successful League of Nations, or only our Governments ?

B. BURNE.

Hull.

JAPANESE AGGRESSION

SIR,—In repeating in your January leader Lord Cecil's defence of action on behalf of China, in reply to the critics of the League and the Union, who ask why "peaceful change" is ignored, do you not go beyond mere paraphrase when, what Lord Cecil described as insufficient friendliness on the part of China towards Japan as the reason for invasion, becomes "China has something that she (Japan) wants; her aim is conquest." The President's euphemism, "China was not prepared to treat us (Japan) with sufficient friendliness," is itself grossly misleading, and I would be glad if you would find space for this protest, and for the following short extract from the November "Nineteenth Century and After":—"... Frequently in the last few years the position of Japanese nationals in China has been intolerable and, on occasions, dangerous. They and their families have been subject to abuse in the streets, and to social ostracism, while Chinese who continued to associate with them have been intimidated by anti-Japanese associations which enjoyed secret Government support. Posters daring Japan to do her worst fluttered from the doorways, violent pamphlets were handed round day after day. The boycott was a weapon whose effects were felt immediately; it did more than anything else to prejudice China in the minds of most Japanese. In the sixteen years following 1915, Japan suffered seven boycotts of her goods in the market which was at once the nearest and the most important to her. Every means was employed by the Chinese patriotic associations to ensure that the boycotts were effective. Merchants who dealt in Japanese goods were subjected to steady persecution, and in many cases found themselves and their shops the objects of violence. Cases are on record of Chinese merchants being executed, and their heads exposed to the public gaze, for no other reason than that they had maintained commercial relations with the hated 'dwarfs'..."

ROBERT H. CORRICK.

London, N.12.

[Note: Mr. Corricks' criticism is answered in News & Comment]

Readers' Views are continued in the first column of page 39.

UNION MEMBERSHIP

Rates of Annual Subscription

Foundation Members, to receive HEADWAY and specimen copies of pamphlets and similar literature published by the Union: £1 a year, minimum.

Registered Members, to receive HEADWAY: 5s. a year, minimum.

Subscription Members, to receive the monthly NEWS SHEET, or, alternatively, the QUARTERLY NEWS, insofar as their respective Branches will distribute copies: 2s. 6d. a year, Standard Rate.

Charter Members: 1s. a year, minimum.

Life Members, a single payment of £25.

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.)

Inquiries and applications 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.

Particulars of the work in Wales can be had from *The Secretary, Welsh National Council, League of Nations Union, 10, Museum Place, Cardiff.*

COUNCIL'S VOTE

The following branches have completed their Council's Vote payments:—

1936:

Bristol (Salem Church).

1937:

Abingdon, Budleigh Salterton, Beaminster, Buckingham, Barton Hill, Blakesley, Brockenhurst, Bream, Bruton, Bamber Bridge, Bridgwater, Brentwood, Bledlow Ridge, Bucklebury, Chinnor, Cranbrook, Chesham, Cradley Heath, Crawley, Cowes, Coseley, Dunmow, Dorking, Droitwich, Dorchester, Darenth Valley, Dartmouth, Desford, East Bolden, East Bergholt, Eakring, Felixstowe, Frodsham, Faringdon, Finedon, Failand, Gerrard's Cross, Grange-over-Sands, Giddings, Hartley, Hathern, Haverhill, Haddenham (Bucks), Hotwell, Hanley, Haslemere, Hurtwood, Helmdon, Harlow, Hornchurch, Halstead (Essex), Jordans, Keswick, Kirkham, Kirkby Stephen, Laindon, Ludlow, Liskeard, Lingfield, Leatherhead, Long Buckby, Mistley, Malling, Milford (Surrey), New Earswick, Nailsworth, Niton, Northam, Newton Abbott, Ongar, Ottery St. Mary, Portsmouth (North), Paignton, Polperro, Penrith, Redland, Ridgmont, Salem Church (Bristol), Stratford Road (Birmingham), Salem Cong. Church (Leeds), Sevenoaks, Street, South Molton, Small Heath, Silverdale, Salisbury, Sedbergh, Shipley, Stowmarket, Stewkley, Silloth, Sudbury, St. James (Newcastle), South Iver, St. Osyth, St. Margaret's-at-Cliff, Tunstall, Thaxted, Tetbury, Taunton, Tynemouth, Upminster, West Mersea, Worthing, Weybridge, Wantage, Wooldale, Warminster, Whitstable, Withernsea, Wellingborough, Wylam, Walkern.

AN ANONYMOUS GIFT. Headquarters has lately received from an anonymous donor a gift of a solid silver cigarette case, match box, and child's bracelet. The articles were valued at 5s., but the Union managed to raise 25s. for them, and this sum has been placed in the general funds.

"TOM LONG's superb—a joy to light"—
Smoker's judgment's always right.

A REPLY

SIR,—The words which Mr. Macartney finds it hard to understand and which he quoted on page 18 of the last issue of HEADWAY from page 232 of the preceding number, were a paraphrase of the following sentence:—

"There is no obligation under Article XVI for any State to take part in any action proposed which may involve armed resistance by the disturber of peace unless it has the support of States sufficiently strong to make such resistance almost certainly unsuccessful."

This last sentence comes from a resolution drafted and proposed by Lord Cecil, and (unanimously, if I remember aright) accepted by the General Council of the Union at their meeting in Torquay last June.

MAXWELL GARNETT.

London, S.W.1.

VAGUE STRIVING IS NOT ENOUGH

SIR,—The article in the December issue of HEADWAY by the secretary of the Port Said Branch is a most timely declaration on the new situation with which supporters of the League are now confronted. I think it is true (as he says) that the time has passed for vague and general striving for peace—there must be a policy clear and definite, suited to the urgent needs of our day.

For we have surely learnt now that we shall never drift into peace by vague wishing and hoping or even by mere denunciation of war. Peace is the goal of a striving and purposeful journey. Happily—and here again I second your correspondent—those of us who work for the League have not to make plain an abstruse and difficult idea, but rather to declare a conception easily comprehensible and generally accepted in other spheres of life, namely, the idea of adequate government over wider and wider areas and interests as human nobility and contacts develop. National government alone is clearly inadequate and civilisation to-day is in danger of disintegration through lack of proper and powerful organs of government over the sphere of international relationships. That, as I understand it, is the essential case for the League.

This letter is but an echo of your correspondent's article, but it will serve (I hope) to emphasise its message.

E. L. FOWLER.

Croydon, Surrey.

MAKE THE LEAGUE AN INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT

SIR,—I was extremely interested in Mr. Edwin Ker's article on "National Sovereignty." I think people realise in other countries as well as our own that the time is due for the reformation of the League.

In the past we have idealised the League and expected too much from States.

A modification of the principle of national sovereignty is now essential. We are too near to each other in this modern age. And why not by the same means as used in U.S.A.? Their constitution has been successful.

Allow the League to work through individuals instead of States and justice and peace will follow.

Mr. Ker suggests the first small step by the L.N.U. should be an effort to establish within the League an Air Control Board. I think it is often as easy to take a big decisive step. Therefore I say to Mr. Ker, yours is the right track, but why not go further. Why should not the L.N.U. work to make the League an international government and the world a Federation, thereby ensuring peace for us and for our descendants.

EDITH HOLROYD.

Horwich.

THIS DEMOCRACY

By JOSEPH YAHUDA, LL.B.

Foreword by Viscount Cecil.

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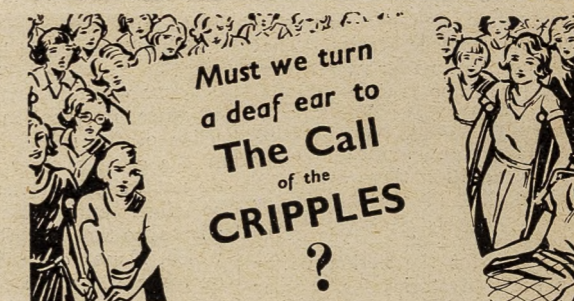
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In the following article a well-known novelist and short story writer describes the remarkable opportunities in fiction writing.

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

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

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

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

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