

**GENERAL COUNCIL
AT TORQUAY**

See pages 124, 128-134

**LORD ALLEN ON PEACE SETTLEMENT
FOR EUROPE**

See pages 130 and 131



HEADWAY

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OF POLITICAL AND
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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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CONTENTS

	Page		Page
News and Comment	122	Resolutions of the General Council	132
The General Council Points the Way. (Editorial)...	124	From the Press Table in Torquay Town Hall: Impressions of the General Council. By a Journalist who reported the meetings	134
The Covenant as Some Critics Would Like to Have It. By Dr. Gilbert Murray	125	Abyssinia—The Test. By Professor Stanley Jevons...	135
Two Views of the War in Spain... ..	126	Readers' Views	136
France : Some Impressions. By Mrs. Edgar Dugdale	127	Here and There	138
High Lights at the Meeting of the General Council. By Leslie Aldous	123	Justice and Peace—or Chaos and Catastrophe. By the Secretary of the Union	140
A Peace Procedure for a Final Settlement of Europe's Problems. By Lord Allen of Hurtwood	130		

THINGS SAID AT TORQUAY

Points from General Council Speeches by Leaders of the L.N.U.

“It has been said that the League is the keystone of our foreign policy. It should be more, it should be the whole structure of our foreign policy . . .”

VISCOUNT CECIL.

“When Britain leads, Geneva works.”

PHILIP NOEL BAKER, M.P.

“What we ask of the Government is that they should use the League of Nations.”

THE EARL OF LYTTON.

“You'll never negotiate the peace of Europe by snatching at each crisis as it comes.”

LORD ALLEN OF HURTWOOD.

“If you will not stand for the defence of others, it is a physical impossibility to defend yourselves.”

SIR NORMAN ANGELL.

NEWS AND COMMENT

Spain

SPAIN continues to trouble the conscience of the civilised world. All the world ought to be uneasy. The League, created to give the peoples peace, is not used. The London Non-Intervention Committee fluctuates between dull slumber and tragic farce.

On June 25 the Executive Committee of the L.N.U. passed a resolution, which declared "in view of the recent difficulties in operating the Non-Intervention Committee, coming after a long record of dilatory evasion . . . that the whole question of intervention in Spain and the continuation of the war in that country should be forthwith referred to the League of Nations, and that for that purpose an immediate meeting of the Council be called."

In its refusal to be deluded any longer by the derisory facade of Non-Intervention, the Executive Committee goes little farther than the latest pronouncements of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Under Secretary, Mr. Eden and Lord Plymouth.

At The Queen's Hall

ON June 21st the L.N.U. held, in the Queen's Hall, London, what the *Manchester Guardian* afterwards described as "one of the best meetings yet held in London on the subject of the Spanish war." Every seat was filled and several hundred persons had to be refused admission.

For HEADWAY, the crowded audience was a special occasion of pride. The Secretary of the Union had sent out to all its readers in the London area a postcard appeal for their help towards making the event an unqualified success. Their response was most welcome evidence that support of the League is very much alive. Dr. Garnett offers them his thanks and adds that those members of the Union who were turned away from the Queen's Hall contributed not least effectually to the purpose in view. On a June evening, in Central London, an indoor meeting crowded to the doors with a large overflow outside demanding entry is an unusual and impressive demonstration of public interest. It is the surest guarantee that what is said will be noted with respect.

Appeal To The League

THE Earl of Lytton made the hit of the evening at the Queen's Hall with his description of the Non-Intervention Committee. It was, he said, a committee of those countries which were taking part in the Spanish war presided over by the only country which was not taking part. He also stated exactly the object of the meeting and the Union—to secure the withdrawal of foreign troops from Spain and to help Spaniards to find peace among themselves.

Mr. Walter Nash, Finance Minister of New

Zealand, was brave and definite in the refreshing manner which has become the habit of his country's spokesman in League affairs. He outlined again the plan submitted by the High Commissioner of New Zealand at the last League Council meeting. Its terms are: (1) The withdrawal of all foreign troops; (2) A League mandate over Spain for a year; (3) A Spanish election, with universal franchise, supervised by two independent countries entirely unconnected with present hostilities. It is the way of common sense offering the Spanish people the supreme goods of peace and freedom.

Praise Indeed

OVERHEARD at the Queen's Hall: First delighted steward: HEADWAY readers are the Old Guard of the Union.

Second delighted steward: Mon, they are mair than that. They are the Union's 51st Division.

40-Hour Week

ACTIVELY unhelpful" is the friendliest comment that can honestly be made on the British Government at the 1937 International Labour Conference. It employed the best administrative staff and the most efficient administrative machinery in the world not to devise expedients for advance but to discover excuses for not moving. The chief business of the Conference was the 40 hours week. Three conventions applying the principle to the textile, chemical, and printing trades were discussed with the utmost thoroughness. On the first day the British Government stood with their backs to the wall: the last day found them, in an attitude which need not be particularised, in the last ditch. For let there be no mistake, sooner or later, no matter how laggard it may be, the British Government must yield to the drive of the nations towards a lightening of the worker's lot everywhere on the basis of a world code. The only question is whether Great Britain, content to be dragged at the rear of the procession instead of leading as once she did, shall delay progress until the obstacles are multiplied, the costs are increased, and the benefits diminished.

At Geneva the 40 hours convention on the textile trade obtained the necessary two-thirds majority, despite the vote against it of the British Government, which had the support of India and Esthonia. The 40 hours conventions on the printing and chemical trades narrowly failed to obtain the two-thirds they required. Here again the British Government inspired the opposition, still numerically insignificant but now large enough to defeat both projects. Common report alleges that British official influence was exerted throughout against the 40 hours principle.

This subject, and its supremely important implications, will be discussed from several points of view by expert contributors in August HEADWAY.

League Support Abroad

AT Bratislava, at the end of June, the International Federation of League of Nations Societies held its annual plenary Congress. The list of delegates was impressive; from most of the countries of Europe, from several Dominions of the British Commonwealth, from the United States—who speak with authority on great topics of world policy—came to take their part in the debates and decisions. The matters set down for discussion showed the supporters of the League in many countries not afraid to attack the most difficult and dangerous problems. They included the reform of the League, a peace settlement in Europe, Spain, Abyssinia, colonies.

Belgian opinion asks for a wide extension of the mandatory principle to colonial possessions. It begins to be perceived that voluble and sincere talk about trusteeship involves an honest acceptance of the status of trustee with a consequent subordination to a Court. A trustee can neither do just what he likes, nor decide finally for himself whether what he does is right. Belgium's vast African territories make highly significant Belgian recognition of this fact.

A still more encouraging sign is the approval given to the L.N.U. Manifesto. At Bratislava, as at Torquay, with friends of the League throughout Europe as with friends of the League everywhere in Great Britain, Lord Allen's plea for immediate steps to promote a final settlement in Europe, doing justice to all and therefore acceptable by all, is arousing a fervent response. It offers a way of escape from deadlock whose long continuance would provoke disaster.

News

THE fall in Union membership reported to the General Council received the widest publicity.

A host of newspapers announced the loss of 20,000 subscribers. Quite clearly they all made use of the accurate summary sent out by the Press Association. As did many other papers, Lord Rothermere's *London Evening News* emphasised the 20,000. It was alone in omitting the brief statement that the financial deficit had been reduced during the year from £13,000 to £8,000.

Weak Union, Weak League

ENEMIES of the League have seized with delight upon the apparent decline of the Union. They know that a weak Union will mean a weak League. Whoever desires a strong League must help to make a strong Union. What are the prospects? The first response to Torquay is far from the despair the *Evening News* labours to provoke. For example, Mr. R. K. Cardew, Chairman of the Bournemouth District L.N.U., wrote to HEADWAY:—

The loss of 20,000 members in a year sounds very bad. But there is another way of looking at the figures. We

have lost 1 out of every 20 members; we have retained 19 out of every 20. Every society in the world loses a certain proportion every year by resignation or death. To some extent the loss is made up by new members. And what about the Youth Groups and Junior Branches?

The moral seems to be:—

- (a) No need for despondency or discouragement;
- (b) Carry on with increased activity;
- (c) Tell people of the creative work of the League as emphasised by Lady Hall, at Torquay.

An encouraging fact, justifying the optimism of such stout-hearted supporters as Mr. Cardew, is the continued increase in the circulation of HEADWAY. That section of Union membership which is deeply in earnest about the Union and gives its serious thought to League problems is not decreasing in numbers.

By-Elections

TWO brightly interesting by-election results are announced as HEADWAY goes to press. At Hemel Hempstead, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, a member of the L.N.U. Executive Committee, was the only one of the three candidates who increased her Party's poll. At Cheltenham, Mr. D. L. Lipson, chairman of the local L.N.U. Branch, standing as an Independent Conservative, captured the seat against entrenched opposition and the general expectation.

Guests From Rouen

A PARTY of 15 members of the Rouen Branch of the French League of Nations Society will be visiting London for the week-end—July 17 to 19. Their object in coming is to meet members of the Union and to discuss with them the future of our work for the League. The Chelsea branch has arranged a supper for the visitors, followed by a discussion on the Saturday evening. The Head Office, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1, will be glad to receive offers of hospitality for the visitors for the two nights in that neighbourhood, as well as offers of assistance from members of the Union speaking French who would be willing to accompany the visitors on an excursion to Windsor and Hampton Court on Sunday, July 18, or on a tour of London on the morning of July 19.

Viscount Halifax at St. Martin's

VISCOUNT HALIFAX will be the preacher at a special Service to be broadcast on all wavelengths from St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London, at 8 p.m., on Sunday, July 11.

The purpose of this Service is to encourage people to pray for peace—particularly in groups. The Christian Organisations Committee of the League of Nations Union has drawn up a Prayer Paper, suggesting the lines upon which such groups might be formed and the prayers which might be used. Copies of this paper may be had on application to the Secretary, Christian Organisations Committee, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1, at 1½d., post free; or 5s. per 100.



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THE GENERAL COUNCIL POINTS THE WAY

A STRONGER Union for a stronger League. This was the text of the General Council at Torquay. The attendance was exceptionally large and more widely representative than ever before. Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales were present in force; of all the counties of England only two failed to send delegates. Not only the attendance proved how vital is the Union. The debates were keen and purposive. Everyone was eager to help. Scarcely anyone split hairs; scarcely anyone tried to force private fancies on a reluctant majority.

The Council set an admirable example, which might with advantage be copied by more pretentious assemblies—of putting first things first, of finding workable solutions for urgent problems, of keeping always clearly in view the desired end. The Council flinched from none of the consequences of an honest and effective League policy. It affirmed the need for a true peace settlement in Europe, which, satisfying the just claims of all, could justly require a general acceptance and loyalty. It affirmed the need for arms to resist an aggressor. In other words, it stressed the two complementary aspects of the League system—peaceful change and collective security, insisting that the one is as necessary as the other if a living and lasting world order is to be created. It reaffirmed its belief “that the permanent aim of British policy is and must be the drastic reduction and limitation of the armaments of all nations, including the complete abolition of national air forces by international agreement.” It reaffirmed also its resolution of two years ago, powerfully reinforced by events since then, “that it is contrary to the public interest that the manufacture and sale of armaments should be carried on for private profit.” It proclaimed the duty of the League towards Abyssinia and Spain. It called for social justice and active humanitarian services. It underlined the essential pre-conditions on which depends an ordered world, peaceful and prosperous, healthy and happy. There must be a strong League to translate the vision into fact. There must be a strong Union to make a strong League.

Union members, at odds as they are in many of their opinions, are of one mind, not to be divided by any bribe or any threat, in one fundamental, profound, unwavering belief. For them the League exists to make and strengthen and enrich peace. The silly jest that the League supplies bigger and better wars has no point. There can never be a League war, although more than one bright politician or writer has thought to find in that phrase a catchy title for a speech or an article or

a book. The only circumstance in which members of the League could be called upon in fulfilment of their pledges under the Covenant to use armed force would be an armed attack by an actively war-making nation upon a nation which was sincerely and demonstrably striving to keep the peace. In the past, in those cases which are habitually paraded as the League's decisive failures—Manchuria, the Gran Chaco, Abyssinia—whatever the differences one factor has been constant. Always the League has attempted by every suggested means to promote a peaceful settlement. It has been inventive, patient, tireless in its search for terms acceptable to both parties. After repeated rebuffs, it has still tried to find new means of conciliation. It has never resorted to even the most cautious measures of non-military coercion until all else has proved unavailing. The League has besought, in turn, Japan, Paraguay and Bolivia, and Italy: “Tell us your grievances. Produce your evidence. Formulate your claims. We will do all that is possible with good hope to get you justice.” Italy, indeed, was offered, at the expense of Abyssinia, much more than justice. The one charge most emphatically not borne out by the League's record is that war is the League method, that League thoughts turn to war making, that the League threatens violent coercion to make its will prevail. The exact opposite is the truth. And members of the Union, as loyal supporters of the League, are happy that it should be so. Peace is their deepest purpose as it is the League's.

At Torquay, the truth that the League is the world's best hope of peace received vigorous expression. Most interesting, and encouraging, was the emphasis thrown upon the imperative need for a constructive peace policy and the unique value of the League as the only agency able to carry such a policy through to fruition. The League not only has nothing to do with war-making; its duty is to create a world order which will make war irrelevant. The warm approval given to the Union's now famous manifesto, and the rapt attention with which the General Council heard Lord Allen develop its argument, were the final proof of what the Union is thinking. But other evidence there was in plenty. Peace must be built upon justice or it cannot stand; and justice is not the rigid maintenance of existing conditions. Justice requires the continual change of things if they are to satisfy growing and changing needs. Often the matter is discussed with exclusive reference to the ambitions of the so-called “Have Not” Powers of to-day. How to meet their claims and thus persuade them not to break the peace is supposed to be the only difficulty. The problem is much wider. An ordered world must have an orderly method of effecting necessary changes and a political institution by which such a method can be applied. In the past the excuse made for war has been that the alternative was the acceptance of imprisonment for ever in a strait jacket. The answer of the League and the Union is: “That is not the choice. The choice is between, on the one side, a savage and ruinous and inevitably futile attempt to escape by violence, and, on the other, the continuous peaceful initiative which will give in concrete realities in the political, social and economic lives of the nations the results reasonably desired. Only a continuously creative peace can continue to live. The League is the instrument for building such a peace.”

THE COVENANT AS SOME CRITICS WOULD LIKE TO HAVE IT

By GILBERT MURRAY

SEVERAL influential letters have recently appeared in *The Times* objecting to the “economic sanctions” of the Covenant, and particularly to any suggestion that a State Member of the League, merely because it is peaceful and law-abiding, ought to receive, if attacked, any protection from the rest. Such protection, they point out, even if reduced to the most modest terms, cannot but offend certain strong and dynamic nations and thus impair the “universality” of the League, which can be much better assured by expelling from time to time any weaker nation which is in need of protection.

The following slight amendments of the Covenant would, we hope, meet the desires of these critics.

PREAMBLE

The HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES

In order to promote international co-operation among the vital and well-armed nations and to minimise the inconveniences attending such wars as they may find necessary or desirable,

By the abolition of international law and treaty obligations wherever they might interfere with the actual conduct of governments,

By establishing due respect for force in the dealings of organised peoples with one another, and the prescription of such variety in the treatment of different nations as may accord with their respective armaments and vitality,

By the suppression of all facts which may contravene the statements and obstacles which may thwart the will of the vital and well-armed nations,
AGREE to this Covenant of the Reformed League of Nations.

DEFENCE OF THE EMPIRE

By SIR NORMAN ANGELL

Extracts from his new book

British policy this last ten years has progressively weakened our defensive capacity. Again and again we have retreated from positions which before the War we should have regarded as, beyond any question whatever, indispensable to the Empire's security; again and again we have yielded to the threat of force what we had previously refused to peaceful negotiation. It is here suggested that though some degree of “strategic retreat” may have been at times advisable, the policy if continued much further must render the defence of the commonwealth, those political and social values for which it has stood, a practical impossibility, whatever degree of armament Britain may decide to maintain.

“Men are not guided by logic, by reason,” the implication usually is that, in discussing national policy, it is futile to talk reason. But, precisely because men are so

ARTICLE X

The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve the preparations and results of external aggression in all cases where the territorial integrity or existing political independence of a decadent or contented nation causes offence to one better-armed or more vital.

ARTICLE XI

In case of any war or threat of war, it shall be the friendly right of each Member of the League to inquire of the aggressor what country he desires to attack and what result he desires to obtain, in order that, by depriving that country of arms and supplies, they may take wise and effectual action to reduce the length of the war.

ARTICLE XVI

Should any Member of the League, in disregard of its covenants under Articles XII, XIII or XV, resort to war, it shall, *ipso facto*, be held to have proved itself a vital and well-armed nation and shall be respected as such by all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake to regard the nation attacked as *prima facie* weak and decadent and to subject it to the severance of all relations, diplomatic, commercial, financial and personal:

Provided always that nothing in the above shall prejudice the right of Members of the League to receive payment for supplies from the decadent nation so long as the supplies are not sent, or to assist in the plunder and dismemberment of the said decadent nation either during the war or after.

If, which God forbid, the attack should prove unsuccessful and the war be prolonged, the other Members of the League shall meet and reconsider their attitude towards the respective combatants.

seldom guided by reason, it is important to talk reason where one may. And logic has its use even in emotional storms. The sight of the man who has vilely betrayed me does indeed provoke an emotion, a passion of murder, that no ‘logic’ can subdue. But the ‘logic’ which the next moment enables me to see that, because this man has five fingers on his right hand and my enemy had one missing, he cannot be my enemy but someone else, has, after all, some influence on my conduct. I decide not to kill the wrong man.

If the brick wall into which the car is rushing really has been unperceived by the reckless driver, it is just as well to point it out, though recklessness may be a universal human failing. Perception of fact may not change human nature, but it can certainly change human conduct.

Letters to The Editor

Two Views of The War in Spain

Federation Would Make Fundamental Compromises Possible

I WAS pleased to see the Secretary's statement about Spain in June HEADWAY. On the subject of "federalism," referred to by Dr. Maxwell Garnett in his last paragraph, I write this in development of what I have already said elsewhere.

Federalism in Spain should be considered in the light of the experiments made by Senhor Pi y Margall in connection with the Constituent Cortes of 1873. There was much of promise in Margall's attempts, but we can now see that he conceived of "federalism" in its *sub-parliamentary* aspect instead of in its *pre-parliamentary* fashion. Perhaps the one point which stands out from a hundred years' history of constitutionalism in Spain is that all Spaniards impartially abhor our own Alexandrine parliamentaryism and all its ways! When Spaniards come together they all like to bring their *distinctions* with them, not their *indistinctions*. They would rather be martyred than become dull units in some voting machine! Hence the Cox and Box farce of the Rotationalistas, and the fact that recently General Elections only tended to bring murder nearer and not quiet!

Now all pre-parliamentary federalism, if I may express it so, was of the "states general" type, not of the parliamentary type. Nowadays we only know the states general idea in the stunted fashion in which it has come into history. Even so, the much modified states general of Holland has served wonderfully well in keeping together Holland's very distinctive "provinces."

So, most assuredly, could a Spanish states general

help to hold together "all the Spains." For, in a true states general, men would go to the Assembly, bearing all their individual or regional or civic pride with them. And if Spaniards do come together where individuality, as in such a case, is recognised, no people are more ready than they are to agree about certain essential joint duties and enterprises, which have to be put through a people's collective might. Martin Hume, who edited the Calendar of Spanish State Papers, pointed out how remarkably "all the Spains" used to rally to collective enterprise—let us say in preparing for an Armada!

I mean then that friends of Spain, such as Professor José Castillejo, might come together and suggest to both the contending parties in Spain that they should call an armistice and prepare to call a states general (*Estados Generales*) in which regions, provinces, towns, industries, occupations, labour unions, and the like, should be duly represented. Then, at once the *Estados*—really a special form of *Cortes Constituyentes*—would set up its *politbureau* which should be entitled to wield the Spanish *summum imperium* in all the field of national order and security where it was demanded.

It would then be possible—as happened at the Philadelphia Convention—to work upon certain *fundamental compromises* as between the general aims of the members of the Right and of the Left Fronts now in conflict in Spain. I believe that what I have said is in agreement with the whole trend of Spanish history.

RICHARD DE BARY.

Horton, Wimborne.

League Powers Must Show More Sincere Regard For League Principles

I SHOULD like to express some disagreement with the article by the Secretary of the Union in June HEADWAY.

Dr. Garnett evidently wishes to avoid seeming to show a leaning towards either side in the civil war. But in trying to avoid this appearance he, in effect, assumes a judgment of substantially equal blame for both sides, with some apparent leaning against the Government. He begins by speaking of the League's concern, in theory, "Whenever the government of a country allows things to get so bad as to threaten . . . international war"; and goes on to suggest that if the League had last year been stronger it might have said to "the contending factions" in Spain: "Unless you can govern your country so as to prevent mass murder we must step in. . ."

If the League had said anything of the sort the constitutionally-elected Spanish Government would, I think, have been justified in replying: "We represent the main part of our people, and are faced with a revolt of the professional armed forces (in which the proportion of officers to men was unusually high), reinforced with Moorish mercenaries, and backed by the greater part of the wealthy and traditionally ruling classes in State and Church, as well as by two European Powers. You charge us with failing to keep order: but the

nations of which you are composed have refused us, a State Member of the League, the customary right of buying arms from their nationals to help us to do this; and have in effect connived at the scarcely veiled armed support given to the rebels by Italy and Germany—a support altogether greater than any consequential support given to us by Russia."

All this, it may be said, is an individual and debatable judgment of the Spanish situation. But so also is Dr. Garnett's implied verdict of substantially equal blame for both sides, and his ignoring of the large part which Italy and Germany have already taken on the rebel side; and it would, I submit, be unfortunate if the Union were to be taken as being identified with it.

As regards the Executive Committee's proposals for two League Commissions of Inquiry, which Dr. Garnett announces, I will only express the conviction that until the Governments of the League, including our own, can show an entirely different spirit in this matter than they have yet done—an avoidance of truckling to the two aggressive European Powers and a more sincere regard for League principles, any efforts they may make, within the League or outside it, can be of little avail.

ARTHUR FLOYD.

Purley, Surrey.

FRANCE

SOME IMPRESSIONS
By Mrs. EDGAR DUGDALE

The political crisis in France, brought about by the conflict between the Chamber and the Senate and involving the resignation of M. Blum, makes timely this plea for understanding by a sympathetic observer

COLLECTORS of "impressions" in foreign countries must be as suspicious of "fakes" as if their hunting grounds were sale rooms or old curiosity shops. Especially nowadays, when certain States have reached a high degree of skill in manufacturing convincing specimens, and putting them on the tourist market. It is easy to be taken in, where the Dictators control the raw materials out of which the genuine article is most easily gathered—beginning with the newspapers, and conversations with strangers.

In the free democracies the traveller can still tap these sources of supply, provided he has tact, and some knowledge of the language. And nowhere better than in France. Nevertheless, the French, with no desire whatever to mislead the foreigner, and, indeed, wishing ardently to be understood by him, make his task hard. For with all their longing for sympathy they are by nature secretive, and slowest among civilised nations to open their hearts or their homes to strangers.

Then there is the difficulty of discovering where the unity of French feeling really lies. For it is hidden under a pattern of life made out of the vast variety of opposites which France embraces within her wide frontiers. Her people are of the North, and of the South, than which there is only one deeper division between the breeds of men. She is a country of industry and a country of agriculture, and even her peasantry differ from those who cultivate vineyards and olive groves. Then there are the people of the coasts, and the inland people, whose lives are unaffected by the sea. It seems as if the French, in spite of their long seaboard, feel the attraction of the land more strongly than the pull of the ocean. Else why does the War Memorial to French sailors on the coast near Marseilles face inwards, turning its back to the sea? To an island race, this seems a strange way of doing honour to seafaring men.

But nowhere do the sub-conscious instincts of a people betray themselves so naturally as in their monuments. Take two noble examples, in strong contrast to one another, in our own country. The Cenotaph in London, with its English restraint and reserve, and the War Memorial on the Castle Rock, in Edinburgh, reflecting all the sentiment of the Scottish character. So it is perhaps not too fantastic to see in the Marseilles monument a small additional proof of the impression that grows upon the traveller in France—that the thoughts of the French turn inwards with a passionate desire for peace. That we share with them. But they cannot share with us the habit of mind which looks on peace as normal.

Twice in living memory they have failed to defend

their own soil against devastation by an invading neighbour. Twenty years of ant-like toil have not yet smoothed away all traces of the last war from the fields and villages of the north-east. It is not easy for us to look at these facts through their eyes, and our failure has been at the bottom of many blunders and missed opportunities for which we and they have been jointly, and severally, responsible in our joint pursuit of peace.

Beginning with the Treaty of Versailles. Parts of that were a product of war mentality, and war mentality withered quickly among the people of unravaged Britain. Very soon we loathed to be reminded of it, and a wave of self-reproach set in, which reacted in our feelings towards the defeated nation on whom the Treaty had been imposed. Very little was left over for the ally disappointed in her hopes of a guarantee of security for her eastern frontier, hopes encouraged by ourselves, but unavoidably left unfulfilled during the crucial years immediately after the war.

Franco-German relations suffered greatly from the shock of this disappointment on the French nervous system, which was further irritated by disbelief that the British could ever understand the French point of view. The first thing that strikes the traveller to-day is the soothing effect of British rearmament upon France. This arises out of no bellicose spirit, very much the reverse. It merely seems to this realistic people that the British have been forced by facts to realise that in present-day Europe peace itself may have to be defended by arms.

And alongside of Peace, Freedom. Now that we are being taught by the Dictators what lack of liberty really means, the intense freeness of France stands out as one of the great facts of the modern world. She is almost alone now among the Great Powers of the Continent in permitting criticism of the Government by the citizens. More and more the Dictators find themselves compelled to treat this as a crime, and to withhold from the people even the knowledge that outsiders do the forbidden thing. And so these rulers dry up the springs of public opinion, and the political instincts of millions of Europeans are atrophied, to the great danger of the whole body politic of Europe.

Against this the spirit of France wages continual war. To her, as to us, the liberty of the individual is as the breath of life, to be defended against all assaults. Not necessarily with material weapons. But the more we desire not to be driven to use those, the more we are bound to the moral battle against aggression on human liberties practised in the name of the State. In this struggle France, our neighbour, is our nearest and most natural ally.

High Lights At The Meeting

A Running Commentary On Four

Torquay, June 19

WHATEVER the months ahead may hold in store, Torquay will rank as an occasion of the utmost significance in the history of the League of Nations Union. The advance agenda had provided ample indication that the Council's task this year would be more than usually onerous. The delegates from every part of England and Wales, from Scotland and Northern Ireland, came together under a heavy burden of responsibility. To the grave international problems confronting the League—to the war in Spain, the race in armaments, the doubt and uncertainty in every corner of Europe—were added the inevitable internal difficulties confronting the Union. Thus the Council met with a dual purpose. If it was essential to concentrate public attention upon sound plans for restoring the authority of the League, no whit less necessary was it for the leaders and active branch workers to take counsel together on strengthening the Union. For common sense, and not mere egotism, insisted that without a strong Union a strong League would be an impossibility.

Press Is Interested

Friends and foes alike were well aware that momentous discussions were taking place in the Town Hall at Torquay. Hostile newspapers were not prevented by the trivial circumstance of having no reporters present from gleefully seizing upon isolated incidents in the Council meeting, and arguing therefrom that the Union was on its last legs and had better save itself further humiliations by retiring like some toothless and decrepit animal to a secret place to die. In point of fact, this fanciful picture of a Union that had outlived its days of action could only be treated with amused contempt by those who were actually present to watch the Council face up to its pressing problems—not in blind, ill-judged complacency, but with the considered conviction that none of the obstacles to peace was too great to be overcome with courage and determination.

There was every reason for satisfaction that, in spite of recent disappointments which nobody would seek to minimise, the Union could muster the most representative Council meeting in its career—only two English counties were, in fact, unrepresented. "The first rule for an army that has sustained a setback," said Dr. Gilbert Murray, at the opening session, "is not to scatter and not to run away." The delegates took this as their watchword in dealing with all their business. Their prime concern was to consolidate their forces and to inspire fresh support by their example. An excellent lead came from the Mayor of Torquay, who, in welcoming the Council, presented them with the slogan: "More membership for the Union and more interest generally." "All our deliberations and our resolutions," added Lord Cecil, "should be with a view to strengthening the Union."

Decline In Membership

The first excitement occurred when Mr. H. S. Syrett, Chairman of the Finance Committee, in presenting the

audited balance-sheet, spoke frankly on the decline in the Union's membership. As there seemed to be some misconception concerning the published figures, Dr. Garnett explained that, while the number of subscriptions in 1936 had been 6½ per cent. less than during the previous year, the payments had produced 2 per cent. more. Many loyal members were giving practical testimony of their continued faith by increasing their subscriptions to the Union. Mr. Syrett urged that, if Peace Weeks were properly used, they would result in a great accession to the Union's membership. Also, the I.P.C. was as much a work of getting members and finance for the Union as for any other purpose.

Practical Schemes Only

The Council's determination to concentrate the Union's attention upon practical schemes only for increasing membership was illustrated when the proposal that the Executive Committee should initiate a movement towards the amalgamation of peace societies was defeated. The common-sense view prevailed that other societies would not willingly fall out of existence at the behest of the Union; that they would be willing to co-operate but not to lose their independent existence.

Lord Lytton introduced a scheme for a coming-of-age celebration in the Albert Hall, in October, 1939, at which many thousands of Branch workers could be brought into direct personal touch with the Union's leaders. He hoped that this would prove to be a fitting occasion to congratulate branches on having accomplished their task of substantially increasing membership. Branch delegates, quick to perceive the possibilities of the idea, were ready with suggestions for extending the celebrations throughout the country, so that the Union could make a big show on its twenty-first birthday.

On world affairs, the Council's deliberations maintained a sane balance between questions of immediate urgency and a carefully-thought-out long-range peace policy. Lord Cecil, in replying to the Mayor's welcome, clarified the issues in a rapid survey of the European situation. The remedies that he suggested should be considered by the Council were first of all economic disarmament; secondly, the means of settling outstanding controversies by peaceful means; and, thirdly, the "fundamental thing"—a restoration of confidence between the nations. "It has been said," declared Lord Cecil, "that the League is the keystone of our foreign policy. It should be more than the keystone, it should be the whole structure of our foreign policy."

Lord Allen's Speech

Among many memorable utterances by the Union's leaders at Torquay, Lord Allen's presentation of the Executive's Manifesto on a General Settlement for Europe stood out by reason of its quietly compelling eloquence, its undercurrent of earnest appeal, and not least its crescendo effect of logical argument. At long last, he told the Council, they had come to consider the League as a peacemaker. For reasons which all deplored and which need never have occurred, the collective

Of The General Council

Crowded Days By LESLIE ALDOUS

system had become weaker. Hence the necessity for defining what to do with the League at that moment, and for trying to bring together in one document all sides of the League. "You could turn the League into a discussion society to-morrow," continued Lord Allen, "but you would not remove force from the world. We say in the Manifesto: 'There is force in the world. We prefer to place the force behind the law. We want it wisely used and wisely applied. We want to recreate conditions in Europe so that force will never have to be used.'"

Having touched upon prevailing doubts whether that kind of force was preponderant, or whether it was predictable, he said impressively: "I wish that the Prime Minister could go to Geneva now, and lay a map of the procedure of peace before all the nations." Prolonged applause followed the emphatic statement: "You'll never negotiate the peace of Europe by snatching at each crisis as it comes."

League A Maker of Peace

As regards the actual machinery necessary for the remedying of grievances, Lord Allen saw a danger in "always thinking of world conferences." What he had in mind was a series of fact-finding Commissions meeting simultaneously but not in isolation. In pressing such a programme, which visualised the League not only as the protector of the law but also as the maker of the peace, the Union had the advantage (compared with pre-War conditions) of the greater availability of the public. With only one dissentient, the Council endorsed the Manifesto.

The Council also approved and adopted the Executive Committee's statement on British Armaments, the suggested amendments being either not pressed or heavily defeated when put to the vote. Described by Mr. Arnold-Forster as "the negative part of our task to-day" as compared with the positive side set out in the Manifesto, such a reasoned statement had been made necessary by the widespread feeling throughout the Union that the rearmament resolution adopted at the last Council meeting had been too negative in character. A special committee, representing as far as possible all the different points of view, had with great labour reached a unanimous conclusion. Mr. Arnold-Forster, in presenting this agreement to the Council, said that the document explained itself. It first answered the question, "Why this armaments race again?" It showed how that race could be stopped, by repairing the errors of the past. Finally, it offered us a yardstick whereby to measure a rearmament programme.

Darkest Cloud Over Spain

Probably the majority of delegates agreed with Lord Lytton that the darkest cloud on the international horizon was to be seen hanging over Spain. "For Heaven's sake do something more than pass it!" implored Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., when the Executive resolution was under discussion, and her words were a

reflection of the anxiety of the whole Council. There were few to quarrel with Mr. G. B. Croasdell's contention, in moving the Cambridge University Branch's amendment, that what had begun in part as a civil war had developed into a flagrant aggression. It was not merely the Non-Intervention Agreement but the Covenant which had been violated. The views of Cambridge and the Executive were reconciled in a single resolution urging the Government to take immediate action in co-operation with other League Powers to fulfil its obligations under the Covenant, and also urging the appointment of two international Commissions with the respective duties of conducting an impartial inquiry into alleged breaches of the Non-Intervention Pact and of inquiring what could be done to stop the war. Urgency was also granted for a resolution condemning terrorism as a method of warfare by the indiscriminate bombing and burning of open towns.

A collection taken among the delegates in aid of the funds of the National Joint Committee for Spanish Relief realised £36 10s.—a sum sufficient to maintain 70 Basque children for one week.

Abyssinia Not Forgotten

If Spain attracted the limelight, Abyssinia was not forgotten. In reaffirming its previous conviction that nothing should be done implying recognition of Italian sovereignty over Abyssinia, the Council took the opportunity to urge the Government to support the request of the Emperor of Abyssinia for a full and impartial inquiry into the facts of the reported massacres in Addis Ababa.

That not one of the positive recommendations for supervising the arms industry put forward by the Royal Commission had been accepted by the Government in its White Paper was the characteristically vigorous contention of Miss K. D. Courtney. The Council unanimously carried the resolution which she proposed on behalf of the Executive Committee, asking the Government "to reconsider its attitude to the moderate suggestions for control put forward by the Royal Commission."

Refugees

With so many weighty issues before the Council, only one of the League's "sideshowes" was deemed of sufficient urgency to demand an immediate pronouncement from the Union. But, as Dr. Gilbert Murray pointed out, the fate of the refugees was not merely a humanitarian question but a political question that had got to be handled by the Governments. The essential point of the resolution adopted on this subject was that one big Commission under the League should be set up to deal with all refugees.

It was one of the best Council meetings that the Union has ever known. Violent controversy was absent, and an enormous amount of constructive work was packed into the space of a few days. In the coming months, the encouragement derived by the delegates should result in increased activity among the branches.

A Peace Procedure For A Final

By LORD ALLEN OF HURTWOOD

Lord Allen knows Germany more intimately than, perhaps, any other in British public life. For many years he has been in closest touch with her problems and personalities. His judgment of what is necessary to obtain a lasting peace in Europe is authoritative. HEADWAY offers its readers Lord Allen's proposals, as they have been expressed in a series of recent speeches at the National Peace Congress, at a L.N.U. Tuesday luncheon, and at the General Council of the Union at Torquay. They are the argument on which was based the Manifesto issued by the Union last December and adopted by the General Council last month. The Manifesto was submitted also to the Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies at Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, by the delegates of the L.N.U. Printed copies of Lord Allen's speech at Torquay may be obtained from the Secretary, L.N.U., 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1, 1d., post free.

MY intention is to outline a peace programme capable of immediate and practical application:— Let me set down a bald catalogue of suggestions deliberately confined to the subject of PROCEDURE:—

(1) In the first stages of any new initiative the Governments should not attempt to define too precisely either the principles governing, still less any of the details, of a new settlement. We must concern ourselves with the procedure of negotiations rather than with the clauses of the new Peace Treaty—in other words, with inducing the nations to come into the discussion. Our first task, therefore, is to prepare the Agenda for those negotiations.

(2) We must break away from the conventional diplomatic view that a peace settlement should only be negotiated after a war. We should emphasise that the occasion to discuss a peace treaty is in time of peace.

(3) The consequence of this view is that we should give up the practice that has been applied during the last few years of opening up peace negotiations, only as they arise out of some isolated crisis or some explosive breach of law, such as the occupation of the Rhineland by Germany. You cannot find the road to a general peace settlement by snatching feverishly at each crisis like a crag in a stormy sea, for that will cause each side to approach the other in the wrong mood, either inspired by reproach and fear or by resentment and anger.

(4) The first stage in the offer to negotiate must be comprehensive in character. The Governments must desist from their traditional belief that the most expedient procedure is to select some one subject or some one dangerous geographical area, and try to solve one difficulty, proceeding then to the next. An illustration of this wrong technique has been the attempt to discuss Access to Raw Materials in isolation from the subject of Colonies and Mandates. The time factor, with the race of armaments in full swing, will not afford opportunity for this elongated process. All subjects—especially in the case of discussions with Germany, which will, of course, be the most important centre of these negotiations—must find their inclusion in one common Agenda—colonies; territorial readjustments; economic co-operation; the removal of trade restrictions; access to raw material; migration; the cessation of the activities of revolutionary Internationals across frontiers parallel with the International of sovereign states working through the League; and finally the consideration of the League Covenant itself. Most of you will probably agree that governments and public opinion might bring themselves to the point of favourably considering mandate and colonial readjustments, if

they were satisfied that these were to be part of a general and final settlement, whereas they would not consider them for a moment as isolated bargains.

(5) This need for a comprehensive approach to the Agenda requires in the first instance some method not unlike that used by President Wilson in his Fourteen Points which led up to the Armistice. In other words, we want a Map of the Procedure of Peace spread before the world.

(6) Maybe this should take the form in 1937 of a preliminary declaration by Great Britain at the Council or Assembly of the League; and here it is worth recalling the beneficent effect upon the whole world of the famous speech by Sir Samuel Hoare at Geneva at the time of its delivery.

(7) This declaration should be followed by an invitation to all nations to engage in exchanges or to appoint representatives to join in drafting the agenda of negotiation without in any way discussing the details of what the final settlement should be. The assistance of America and the neutral States in the preparation of this Agenda would be of the first importance, and would not involve America in organic membership of the League structure.

(8) This preliminary declaration and the consequent Agenda must for the first time since the Treaty of Versailles start from the standpoint of absolute equality of status between all nations. This Agenda of equality would naturally provide for the consideration of the means whereby the League Covenant should be re-subscribed without being especially associated, as at present, with any one treaty such as that of Versailles.

(9) The declaration and the invitation should make clear that Britain desires to withhold from the Agenda no item or grievance which any nation may wish to include, whether the grievance is felt to be justifiable or otherwise.

(10) Following the preliminary declaration and the invitation, I believe the first stage in the negotiations should take the form of setting up Fact Finding Commissions, which should work simultaneously on each of the main items raised. They should be manned in the first instance more by experts than by diplomats. Their business would be to ascertain the facts governing the claims made, especially with regard to such questions as economic co-operation; access to raw materials; movements of population; colonies; mandates; and territorial revision. I think there is much to be said for asking countries, such as Sweden and America, which

Settlement of Europe's Problems

are not primarily concerned with the Treaty of Versailles, to exercise third party judgment on Germany's claims in Central Europe.

(11) Emotion and prestige are, however, involved as much as facts. Consequently the reports of these Commissions should then be referred for the consideration of the States concerned, so that instructions could be given to their accredited representatives, who would finally meet in a World Conference to negotiate a new and just Peace Settlement based upon the facts elicited.

(12) I hope that the British Peace Movement would press upon our own country that she should herself contribute to this Agenda the opinion that all signatories of the New Settlement should become members of the League of Nations on the basis of absolute equality of rights and obligations; that trade barriers should be lowered and positive economic co-operation of all kinds be fostered, especially under the ægis of the League; that the Conference for the reduction, limitation and international supervision of armaments with equality for all comparable States should be resumed and shared in by all signatories; and that machinery should be set up under Article XI of the Covenant so that steps could in future be taken to forestall a crisis threatening war.

(13) In an armed world and in the presence of an arms race, there should be included a suggestion that during some agreed period, in order to allow opportunity for the negotiations, and without prejudice to the provisions of the League Covenant and the Pact of Paris, all participants should bind themselves not to break the truce by forcible means, direct or indirect, and should guarantee their pledge. If any nation declined to join in this guarantee, it could not legitimately object if the other States insisted upon taking such a step together—the door always being left open to all participants.

(14) Similarly we must be ready to insist that when the new Peace Settlement is at last ready for signature, it should be guaranteed by all signatories. This would once again raise the whole question of collective security. But it would have emerged at the end of the Peace negotiations, when the settlement to be guaranteed was accepted by all signatories as being just. The League Covenant would have meantime remained in existence, available for use by those members of the League who were prepared to apply it according to their geographical position and military circumstances, as suggested in Annexe F of the Locarno Treaty.

Here, then, is the baldest outline of a programme not for the final settlement of Europe's problems, but for the procedure which might lead to that settlement. It takes account of the actual position in contemporary Europe, dominated, as it is, by existing governments. No doubt it requires the closest scrutiny, modification and amplification. It is, I venture to think, a programme which could be supported by most sections of the British Peace Movement without infringing on their right to proclaim their own philosophies. Here, too, is a programme which I claim would arouse an eager response in the heart of a bewildered public opinion



LORD ALLEN OF HURTWOOD.

exceeding twenty million voters with whom we are now losing contact. It does not emasculate or amend the Covenant, but it does think of the League not only as the maker and protector of law, but as a Peace Maker. It lays emphasis upon the immediate view for rebuilding the circumstances under which the League system for protecting the supremacy of law could once more successfully operate.

A final word about our own country—the country to which you and I belong. It will be conceded by us all that one of the most tragic features of the age in which we live is the revival of cruelties and evil standards both of conduct and statecraft, which we had imagined were buried in a forgotten age in history. Since this is so, it follows that a special responsibility must rest upon that nation, which by coincidence and good fortune, has been able to shed these cruelties earlier than many of her sister countries. Britain has in past centuries displayed many of the evil characteristics of power-politics and tyranny. But I believe it is true that we are a people, which to-day esteem mercy and liberty more highly than any other Great Power. To proclaim this as our opinion of ourselves, when we cannot deny either the history of our own past, or even many incidents of the more immediate present, would provoke resentment and scorn amongst those nations that we seek to influence. But none the less the British love of liberty and humaneness is, I believe, a fact, and one over which we should rejoice. Since, then, it is not expedient to declare our virtue to others, we should at least admit it with so much pride amongst ourselves, that we accept the obligations of leadership at a time when the world needs the qualities of mercy, sympathy and charity more than all else.

Resolutions of The General Council

The following are the chief resolutions on World Affairs adopted by the General Council of the Union at Torquay, June 15-19.

1.—SOCIAL JUSTICE (I.L.O. AND L. OF N.) :—

The General Council

Recalls its conviction that international peace cannot be made secure without the establishment of social justice ;

Urges Branches in their work for peace to convince public opinion of the importance of the creative work for social justice undertaken by the I.L.O. ; and

Instructs the Executive Committee to present to the next meeting of the Council detailed plans for popularising the constructive work of the I.L.O. and the League.

2.—INTERNATIONAL PEACE CAMPAIGN :—

The General Council

Notes with great satisfaction the progress of the International Peace Campaign and pledges itself to support the objects of that campaign, as stated in its "Four Principles," by every legitimate means in its power.

3.—INVITATION TO THOSE WHO HAVE RENOUNCED THE USE OF VIOLENCE :—

The General Council

Affirms its abhorrence of war and its adherence to peaceful co-operation as the best method of conducting international affairs. It hopes that, inasmuch as the League system is based upon the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war and the continuous co-operation between all countries for the increased well-being of people everywhere, all those who have renounced the use of violence, even in self-defence, will give their support and co-operation to the development of the League system as a practical means of achieving world peace.

4.—THE LEAGUE AND CIVIL WARS PROMOTED FROM OUTSIDE :—

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Considers that the intervention of foreign Governments as such in the internal policies of other countries is a manifest danger to international peace, and may easily become merely a disguised form of aggressive war ;

Urges H.M. Government to be vigilant in detecting such interventions and bringing them before the League at the earliest possible moment for appropriate action under Articles X, XI, XV, or XVI.

5.—SPAIN :—

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Seeing that the intervention of foreign Powers in Spain constitutes not merely a gross breach of international law, but an immediate danger to the peace of Europe ;

Noting the definite and serious allegations made by the Spanish Government against the Italian Government that it has invaded the territory of Spain, and the accumulation of evidence of a similar nature against the German Government, and that this aggression is continuing with increasing brutality in spite of the efforts of the Non-Intervention Committee ;

Urges H.M. Government to take immediate action in co-operation with other League Powers to fulfil its obligations under the Covenant ; and it further

Urges that the Council of the League should appoint two International Commissions—

The first to consist of independent individuals of high personal standing and to conduct an impartial inquiry in Spain into alleged breaches of the Non-Intervention Pact, being furnished with the necessary technical assistance ;

The second to be drawn from nationalities which have not taken an active part in the fighting, and to inquire what can be done to bring the actual hostilities to an end and what proposals can be made for establishing a permanent peace.

6.—THE BOMBING OF OPEN TOWNS :—

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Urges H.M. Government to protest against the use of terrorism as a method of warfare by the indiscriminate bombing and burning of

open towns and the slaughter by machine guns of the fleeing inhabitants, and to take immediate steps to invite other Governments to join in this protest, and, in addition, to raise the question as soon as possible at the Council of the League.

7.—ABYSSINIA.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

(a) Reaffirming its resolution of December, 1936, urges H.M. Government to take no action implying recognition of Italian sovereignty over Abyssinia ;

(b) Profoundly shocked by the apparently well-attested reports of massacres and other outrages committed by the Italians in Addis Ababa ;

Feeling that such barbarities constitute a menace to the whole of our Christian civilisation, and fearful of the effect which the condonation of them would produce on the relation of white and coloured peoples throughout the world ;

Strongly urges H.M. Government to support the request of the Emperor of Abyssinia for a full and impartial inquiry into the facts by the League of Nations.

8.—TREATY OF VERSAILLES :—

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Decides to exert its whole influence to secure the separation of the Covenant from the Peace Treaties.

9.—DISARMAMENT :—

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Welcomes the initiative of the French Government in asking for the summons of the Bureau of the Disarmament Conference and regrets that the results of that meeting of the Bureau were so meagre ;

Urges H.M. Government to continue its efforts for disarmament, particularly in the direction of real control of the manufacture and trade in armaments and the setting up of a Permanent Disarmament Commission which should have the duty of working out schemes for the complete abolition of all military and naval aviation, the international control or internationalisation of civil aviation, and, if necessary for that purpose, the formation of an international air police force ; and

Trusts that it will, by all means in its power, promote international agreement for the reduction of armaments.

10.—PRIVATE MANUFACTURE OF AND TRADE IN ARMS :—

The General Council of the League of Nations Union recalls

(1) Its resolution of 1935 stating "that it is contrary to the public interest that the manufacture and sale of armaments should be carried on for private profit" ;

(2) Its resolution of 1936, urging the Government to adopt without delay those recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Private Manufacture of and the Trading in arms which would establish national and international control of the arms trade ;

Therefore, deploring the reply of the Government to the Report of the Royal Commission which, while endorsing the Commission's conclusion that the private manufacture of arms should not be abolished, ignores the accompanying proviso "that the industry should be strictly supervised," and sets aside the recommendations of the report for bringing the manufacture and sale of arms under national and international control.

The Council therefore urges the Government to reconsider its attitude to the moderate suggestions for control put forward by the Royal Commission.

11.—PREVENTION OF WAR : OBLIGATIONS OF MEMBERS OF LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE :—

The General Council of the League of Nations Union is of opinion that

(1) The chief objects of the Covenant of the League are—

- (a) To promote international co-operation ; and
(b) To achieve international peace and security.

The two objects are interdependent and must be pursued together. One of the purposes of (a) is to assist

in securing (b), and unless (b) is secured no attempt to achieve (a) can be successful.

(2) Bearing in mind this general obligation to promote international co-operation in every direction, the following special steps are incumbent on members of the League in order to prevent or put an end to war.

Under Articles X, XI, XV, and XVI, members of the League are bound to take whatever action may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard peace and prevent aggression, so far as may be compatible with their military situation and their geographical position. In case of any war or threat of war, the Council must meet and draw up plans for the purpose. This should be done as soon as any threat of war appears to exist, or indeed whenever the Council believes that circumstances have arisen which are likely to disturb peace or good international relations. 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 ;

Such action may take the form of negotiations or mediation of any character likely to succeed, diplomatic pressure up to and including a rupture of relations, economic pressure ranging from an embargo on the supply of arms or military materials up to complete blockade, financial pressure either by way of depriving the aggressive nation of financial resources or giving financial assistance to its victim, or in the last resort military pressure designed effectively to protect the victim nation from aggression. Members of the League are further bound to support one another in resisting any retaliatory measures aimed at one of their numbers by the aggressive State. If on the true construction of Articles X or XI, it is in the power of a party to a dispute under consideration by the Council to veto any action, the Article should be amended so as to take away that power.

Any dispute of a justifiable nature should under Articles XII and XIII be submitted either to arbitration or to decision by the Permanent Court of International Justice. Any dispute of whatever nature, which is likely in the opinion of either party to it, to lead to a rupture and has not gone to arbitration or the Court, should be submitted under Article XV to inquiry by the Council. In addition to the general obligation to refrain from aggression there is a special obligation not to resort to war till these proceedings have been completed and a delay of three months thereafter has elapsed. There is also an obligation to resist such resort to war if it takes place.

In a case coming under these last provisions a decision of the Council is not strictly necessary since the obligation to take joint action is placed on each Member of the League separately. But in practice it is desirable for the Council to consider and advise what action should be taken.

12.—PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES :—

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Requests the Executive Committee to consider all methods, including that of mutual insurance, by which can be obtained common benefits for all League members by co-operative and peaceful action, and to draw up proposals for the consideration of H.M. Government.

13.—REFUGEES :—

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Reaffirming its conviction that the problem of refugees is an essentially international problem which, for humanitarian, political and economic reasons, falls within the scope of the League of Nations ;

Noting that according to the decision of the Assembly the Nansen International Office for Refugees is to be liquidated on December 31, 1938, and that the mandate of the High Commissioner for Refugees coming from Germany ends on the same date ;

Urges H.M. Government to request the Council of the League of Nations not only to make the necessary arrangements so that the League may continue to afford juridical and political protection after that date to all the refugees who have not been satisfactorily established, but also to provide for the co-ordination of unofficial activities for the assistance of refugees, and for their definite settlement ;

The General Council.

Suggests that it is desirable to establish for this purpose a Refugees Commission to which would be referred all those tasks of the Nansen Office and the High Commissioner for Refugees from Germany which cannot be devolved upon the Governments of States Members, and hopes that the use of Dr. Nansen's name will in some form be retained in connection with the League's work for refugees.

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IMPRESSIONS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL By a Journalist who Reported the Meetings

THERE was throughout the Torquay General Council a feeling of toleration and good fellowship, so that even with the most controversial subjects under discussion there were few real differences of opinion, and none of those scenes which sometimes regrettably occur when those with passionate beliefs find themselves in opposing camps. The business proceeded smoothly and with such expedition that all save one of the motions on the agenda paper were dealt with, and that one was by consent withdrawn.

This being the case, there was not a great deal of opportunity for the emergence of "personalities," particularly from the floor of the House. None the less, there were two or three, with whom I shall deal presently, who may be said to have left their mark. First of all, tribute must be paid to the conduct in the chair and dominant leadership of Viscount Cecil. A chairman can make or mar a conference. His must always be the iron hand within the velvet glove, and how well Lord Cecil understood his forces! Speaking always with authority, interposing here and there the word in season, rebuking if necessary, and bringing to bear on every problem that keen analytical mind, coupled with the resource for which he has become famous, he established himself even firmer, if that be possible, in the hearts of his people. The British, they say, are an undemonstrative nation, but Lord Cecil would not have been human had he not been deeply touched by the tribute of respect and affection with which—at the suggestion of Dr. Garnett—he was thanked just before the conference rose. A great man in whom the delegates expressed their perfect confidence.

Always at Lord Cecil's side was the Chairman of the Executive Committee, Dr. Gilbert Murray—quiet, convincing, and tactful. Nearby the spare figure of the Earl of Lytton, who made several important declarations in the course of two or three days and whose conduct of the mass meeting was exemplary. Sir Norman Angell, strong in advocacy or rebuttal; the General Secretary, who disdained to use the unoffending microphone; Miss K. D. Courtney, Vice-Admiral S. R. Drury-Lowe, Mr. H. S. Syrett, Lady Hall, and Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., were among other members of the Executive effectively heard in debate.

A special paragraph must be reserved for two men who made the best speeches of their day. Lord Allen of Hurtwood did not take a great part in the discussions, and only once did he interpose on quite a minor matter before moving, on Friday morning, the adoption of the L.N.U. Manifesto, calling upon public opinion in Britain and other countries to reaffirm in the clearest manner fidelity to the League and its principles. It was as though he had been saving himself for the occasion, and he seized it with an address for which there was afterwards a general demand for publication. Lord Allen is not what is commonly meant by the words "a great orator," but at Torquay he swept his audience in enthusiastic assent. Slightly flushed, he received an

ovation at the end. Very different in material, delivery, and composition, but equally excellent in its way, was the address of Mr. P. J. Noel Baker, M.P., on the International Peace Campaign. As a piece of propaganda it could not have been bettered.

Amongst the rank and file one of the strongest personalities was Mrs. White (co-opted). Pugnacious and unrelenting she was often in the minority—even a minority of one. But she never seemed to mind. A true crusader! The working-class point of view was put vigorously by Mr. D. Beever (Montague Burton branch), and Mr. W. Brayshaw (Bradford). The conference loved their outspokenness and would have liked to have heard more of both of them.

Youth was well represented by Mr. G. B. Croasdel, of Cambridge University; Miss Fischer Williams, also of Cambridge; and Mr. Moelwyn Hughes, representing the National Youth Committee. Miss Williams spoke three or four times, and on one occasion took quite an independent line. The possessor of a charming personality with a pleasing voice and a good delivery, she will do great things for the Union. Mr. Croasdel spoke lucidly and sincerely. Mr. Hughes found a sympathetic hearing for his resolution calling upon branches to build up Youth Groups.

Mr. J. Macdonald, of Liverpool, spoke often. Miss Parnell, of the London Regional Federation, persuaded many with her plea for an invitation to those who have renounced the use of violence. Others whose speeches will long be recalled with pleasure by those who heard them are Lady Parmoor, Mr. A. Behrens (Manchester District Council), and Mr. J. Garnham (Balham and Tooting).

Socially the conference was a great success, and the local committee, with the Mayor and Corporation, earned the thanks of all for the manner in which everyone was entertained. Mr. Hole (Secretary), Mr. R. W. Turner (Chairman), and Mr. F. March had worked indefatigably; the smooth running of the Council was their reward. On the opening evening there was a Civic reception and dance in the Town Hall, the platform of which was almost hidden by a mass of flowers and shrubs from Torquay's gardens. The Mayor and Mayoress were splendid hosts. The dinner at the Imperial Hotel was another memorable event. For this, delegates were joined by Mrs. Chas. Williams, wife of the Member for the Torquay Division, who might have been excused for feeling a little awed by being on the list of speakers with Lord Cecil, Sir Norman Angell, and Gilbert Murray. Her speech was admirable and suffered nothing in the comparison. Another guest was Principal Murray, of the University College of the South-West (Exeter), who responded to a toast.

The final outing, after the close of the conference, was to Dartington Hall, by the invitation of Mr. L. K. Elmhirst, Chairman of the Torquay and Mid-Devon District Council. The diversity of occupations carried on at this centre came as a great surprise to the visitors.

ABYSSINIA: THE TEST

By H. STANLEY JEVONS

THE fate of Abyssinia and the future of the League of Nations as the instrument of world peace are closely bound up with one another. The cause of Abyssinia is by no means hopeless provided she remains a legal entity as a State and member of the League; but if Britain, and other League States, recognise the Italian annexation, not only will Abyssinia be doomed, but the League will lose any authority it still possesses.

There is not much reason to fear that the British Government will accord *de jure* recognition outright to the Italian annexation within the near future. There is, however, danger that a situation indistinguishable for all practicable purposes from full recognition may arise without the public being aware of it; so that, after a year or two, it might seem reasonable to argue that merely to retain the diplomatic fiction of the independence of Abyssinia could have no useful result.

That there is a real danger of *de facto* recognition being made practically equivalent to *de jure* recognition is suggested by the recent judgment in the Bank of Ethiopia case (see *The Times*, May 12). This bank, with its headquarters in Addis Ababa, was put into liquidation a year ago by a decree of Marshal Graziani. Considerable funds and securities were, however, held in London on its behalf by the National Bank of Egypt which, after being notified by the Italian Government of the liquidation, refused to pay out anything to the order of the Directors of the Bank of Ethiopia, most of whom were in Europe. Mr. Justice Clauson decided that, since the British Government had granted *de facto* recognition, the Italian decree of liquidation must be regarded by English Courts as valid; consequently the Bank of Ethiopia no longer existed, and the action failed. Distinguished jurists agree that this judgment is correct as *de facto* recognition has a retroactive effect.

The important point which claims attention however, is Mr. Justice Clauson's definition of *de facto* recognition: "The recognition of the fugitive Emperor as a *de jure* monarch, appears to me to mean nothing but this, that while the recognised *de facto* Government must for all purposes, while continuing to occupy its *de facto* position, be treated as a duly recognised foreign Sovereign State, His Majesty's Government recognises that the *de jure* monarch has some right (not, in fact, at the moment enforceable) to reclaim the governmental control of which he has, in fact, been deprived."

Perhaps Mr. Justice Clauson's views would not be endorsed by other judges; the exact definition of *de facto* recognition was not necessary for the case he was trying, and his opinion does not create a precedent. It does, however, indicate the possibility that in other legal actions *de facto* recognition may be construed in the same manner; and should this be so, the position of Abyssinia as still legally an independent State cannot but be weakened.

The only reason given by the Government for *de facto* recognition of the Italian occupation is the necessity of dealing with the authorities on the spot in order to protect British interests. The vagueness of *de facto* recognition is most unsatisfactory, and it seems desirable that an international convention should define clearly several stages or degrees of recognition.

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READERS' VIEWS

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

WILSON'S LEAGUE

SIR,—As an ardent believer in *President Wilson's League of Nations* and longtime faithful member of the L.N.U., I am all in favour of that criticism which the Executive of the L.N.U. seems, alas! to regard as disloyal hindrance—a kind of sabotage. I venture to predict that it will do more for the cause of international peace than all the strenuous striving of the L.N.U. to realise sanctions at the epoch of the Abyssinian War had any chance of doing, even had that striving been crowned with success.

For many years now scarcely a day—certainly not a week—has passed without reference being made to the foolishness of the Treaty of Versailles. It was that foolishness which prevented the United States of America from becoming a member of the League. President Harding, as you recall, made the questions he then raised “familiar to the world at large.” You proceed: “Later, they were half forgotten.” That, in my firm opinion, explains the whole tragedy of the League's failure to remove the fear of war. Then you add: “Now the League's failures have been followed by their vigorous revival.” In that I see new hope for the League and peace. I should not do so if it were merely a question of “take Sanctions out of the Covenant,” though sanctions under present League conditions can only spread warfare. But, surely, the majority of our critics are saying—in effect “Return to Wilson's principles.” And in that return, I feel sure we shall find salvation.

The short cut to “Peace” through sanctions may have seemed inviting—a line of least resistance—but it was elusive from the first. Is it not high time for all our peace societies to unite for the task of converting our own statesmen and people—not only foreigners—to faith in *Wilson's League*? May it not be that—in this case—“the longest way round is the only way there”? I have always thought so. But let us not make it too long! What is there of “sacredness” in the *foolish* parts of a *status quo* based on war-gains?

B. BURNE.
Park Avenue, Hull.

A PROTEST

SIR,—I really must enter a protest against the publication of the article which appears under the title “The New America” in the June issue of your paper.

The League of Nations was established to promote the peaceful settlement of human quarrels by goodwill and arbitration. These are certainly not the methods of Mr. John L. Lewis, for whose greater glory Mr. Brown's article appears to be mainly designed. I cannot find a line in it which tends to promote the professed aims of the L.N.U.

From being a missionary of peace and goodwill HEADWAY would seem to have become the admirer of stupid and useless strife.

It was with grave doubt that I renewed my subscription to the local branch of the League this year, and the nascent doubt as to the wisdom of that proceeding increases.

Egham.

OSWALD EARP.

[NOTE.—The opinions expressed in contributed articles to HEADWAY are not necessarily endorsed by the paper. Mr. John Brown, who has special qualifications for the task, did not commit HEADWAY or himself to approval or support of any party or section in the United States. His purpose and HEADWAY's was to help forward a British understanding of the present American situation.—ED.]

CHRISTIAN CIVILISATION ?

SIR,—The reason as to whether or no we shall honour our pledge of promised protection to a nation in need is plainly

indicated in April HEADWAY, under the heading “Union Calls for Inquiry.”

I quote the following passage: “Such barbarities would constitute a menace to the whole of our Christian civilisation and fearful of the effect which the condonation of them would produce on the relation of white and coloured peoples throughout the world. . . .” In other and plainer language, we must “honour” our pledge because if we do not it may be the worse for us. What a noble incentive!

If I were to stay my pen because of intellectual inability to write of international affairs, then I should consider my attitude one of moral cowardice. But where spiritual values are concerned then the voice of the humblest “nigger” is surely worth listening to. And does not our intellect alone tell us that this latter valuation is the only long last one?

And yet we dare to write and speak of “our Christian civilisation!”

Hawthorn, Victoria,
Australia.

CAROLINE ALLEN.

WHAT IS YOUTH ACCOMPLISHING ?

SIR,—Mr. Ewan P. Wallis-Jones has a vigorous title under which to write in your June issue—“British Youth Marches On”! He says “British Youth, in its millions, is organising in one vast campaign for peace and social justice,” and so on. They must surely march and organise silently, like ghosts, in the night! Have they ever been known to pass out, as propaganda, the results of their learned discussions at conferences, assemblies, camps and research groups? Dare I suggest that the principles of those results, for example, the support of the I.L.O. and disarmament, have always been part of the Union's objective and policy? Dare I point out that they have, consequently, always been embodied in the undertaking given by anyone becoming a member of the Union?

The measure of support forthcoming for the League by the United Kingdom government depends almost entirely upon the number of members of the L.N.U. Unlike political party organisations, the Union cannot be turned from its objective by electioneering fads and fancies. Unlike any other organisation, it cannot turn to a fundamental objective which is not, essentially, the support of the League, because that is the Union's objective.

Where was this section of British Youth in 1932—the year of the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments, they may remember—when London called for Youth Group speakers and helpers for open-air meetings and demonstrations? Where are they to-day, when after five years' struggling, striving and appealing, there are not more than four Youth Groupers willing to answer the call for propagandists to any part of London?

“To secure the whole-hearted support of the British public for the League of Nations” is the Union's chief objective. Less academic discussion and more action could prove Mr. Wallis-Jones' statement, “we are young, eager and determined; we are prepared to make any necessary sacrifices in establishing what we know to be right and just. The cannon-fodder has started to march for its rights,” which now appears a myth; and that Youth Groupers do accept the privilege and responsibility of Union membership.

Beaufort Mansions, S.W.3.

VICTOR J. NADHAR.

WE VOTERS HAVE THE MEANS

SIR,—Neither you nor I know any voter inside or outside the League of Nations Union who does not want an end to the economic causes of poverty and war. We know, however, that we do not agree on the methods, but are emphatic on the results we want.

These results may be stated thus: *We demand an end to the economic causes of poverty and war.*

It is not enough that we voters know these facts. It is not enough that Governments know these facts—we must have authority and means to Demand the Results we want. The British Constitution (at present) gives us as voters this authority and the means. This authority lies in what is called the Increment of Association—in short, collective action, and that is also the means.

Therefore let us demand as voters that our M.P.s call on H.M. Government in our name to set the *Specialists* to work at once, to produce the results we want. If our M.P.s fail to do this at once, we will as voters, set up and vote for those Parliamentary candidates who will.

London.

“NOBLESSE OBLIGE.”

BAPTIST REPORT

SIR,—Lt.-Col. E. G. S. Trotter, like a number of other people, has fallen into an error about the Report of the Baptist Union Committee on War. He says in his letter in June HEADWAY: “Again the report passed by the Baptists at their last Conference at Manchester.” The published report is only a majority verdict of a Committee: it has not yet been put to the Council of the Baptist Union, let alone to the Assembly. It is only fair to our denomination to recognise that this report, at least so far, has no official status whatever. Had it been put (as it should have been) to the Baptist Union Assembly at Manchester it would have stood a good chance of rejection.

G. LLOYD PHELPS,

Assistant Secretary of the Baptist

Pacifist Fellowship.

Walthamstow, E.17.

“NO VISITS TO CERTAIN CAPITALS”

SIR,—I would express slightly otherwise the excellent idea of Mrs. Mary H. Baily.

Those who are convinced that certain governments are responsible for the destruction of the capital of Spain should refrain from patronising the capitals of the new Goths and Vandals. Instead we may visit the new Herculanaeum and Pompeii when possible. Not peoples, but governments, are responsible.

CHARLES G. STUART-MENTETH,

B.A.Oxon.

Gower Street, W.C.1.

ART HAS NO FRONTIERS

SIR,—I disagree profoundly with the letter of Mrs. Baily in the May issue of HEADWAY, in which she suggests that in order to express our disapproval of Italian policy in Abyssinia, we should cease to visit Italy for the purpose of studying art and archaeology.

Quite apart from the fact that art and archaeology have no frontiers, and that Italy stands pre-eminent in Europe as regards both, I still disagree with your correspondent. Of what use will it be if a handful of Union members deprive themselves of making useful contacts with Italians in order to express their disapproval of Mussolini?

There is a great deal too much whipping up of hatred of certain nations by a certain section of the Union just now. What is wanted is for us to show that in spite of our hatred of recent Italian policy, we do not bear a grudge against the entire nation. This was the very spirit which, after the war, did so much to poison Anglo-German relations, the grievous results of which are only too apparent to-day.

R. L. P. JOWITT,

Sec., L.N.U., Berks, Bucks, and Oxon.

THE BIBLE FOR ALL MEN

The Bible Society has had another good year. Once more the circulation amounted to more than

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volumes of Holy Writ.

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Since smokers learned to say “TOM LONG”
A smoker's choice is rarely wrong.

HERE AND THERE

British education and philosophy have lost one of their most richly endowed personalities in **Professor J. L. Stocks**, Vice-Chancellor of Liverpool University. He was in his early fifties, but already he had made a permanent mark on University life at Oxford and Manchester, and, during the past year, at Liverpool. He had shown great gifts of initiative and control. In large measure due to him is the equality with men undergraduates now enjoyed by women students at Oxford. It is one of the soundest reasons for confidence in the future of the League and of the League of Nations Union that their cause should be able to enlist the devoted and active service of a man of such abilities and character, who was continually subject to the claims of other affairs. At the annual meeting of the **Withington** Branch, held only a few days before his death, tribute was paid to the fine service which Professor Stocks had rendered the Branch as Joint President with Mr. Leonard Behrens.

At **Claughton-on-Sea** a most successful week-end school was held from May 28 to May 30 under the auspices of the Essex Federal Council. Among the speakers were Dr. Gooch, who gave a remarkably fine address on "The World Outlook," and Lady Layton, who spoke on "Central Europe and the League." The subjects of other addresses were "International Affairs" and the "Colonial Question." Members from all parts of Essex attended and the general opinion expressed was that the conference was the best of its kind ever held by the E.F.C.

The **Kensington** Schools and District Junior Branches of the L.N.U. are having an exhibition of the work of the League, at Kensington High School, St. Alban's Road, W.8, on Friday, July 16, from 3 to 7 o'clock; and on Saturday, July 17, from 10 to 1 o'clock and 2 to 6 o'clock respectively. There will be refreshments at moderate prices and a variety of entertainments. Short addresses will be given by Lady Layton, Lord Meston, Mr. Geo. Innes, Mr. Alec Wilson, and others. Admission 2d., including entertainments. Tickets (1d. each) will be issued to school parties (age over 8) on application (in advance only) to Mrs. Alec Wilson, 85, Abingdon Villas, W.8.

The **Londonderry** Branch is to be congratulated on having organised a very successful Peace Week—the only effort of its kind so far in Ulster. As much publicity as possible was secured, and many meetings in schools, clubs, institutes and churches, were held. As a result of the Peace Week, new members have been enrolled and the branch has come into contact with sections of the population it had not previously reached. The prospects for branch work are now much more hopeful.

"I am absolutely convinced in my own mind that the danger of war in Europe is very much less than it was a year ago." This was the heartening view expressed by Mr. Vernon Bartlett in a recent speech at Messrs. Montague Burton's factory, **Leeds**. Public opinion did count—even in dictatorship countries—for dictators had to worry about their popularity just as much as Hollywood film stars. It was necessary to strengthen the expression of public opinion against war, and we should also have the courage to take risks to prevent war.

A Peace Week is to be held in **Wilmslow** from July 12 to 18, and the local branch of the Union is taking the initiative in calling the organising committee, on which many local societies and churches are represented. One special feature will be the schools poster competition, after which the posters will be exhibited in a "Peace Shop" during the week. The programme will include a poster parade and procession, open air meetings, a display of folk-dancing and a pageant of peace.

The members of the Youth Group at **Rushden** were responsible for an excellent tableau which won first prize in the local Coronation

Procession. People along the route applauded quite spontaneously when this striking tableau passed, and special mention of it was made in the local press.

Preston Peace Week, May 30 to June 5, had the support of the members of all political parties and religious denominations. The Mayor acted as president, and the Vicar of Preston as chairman. A master of the Grammar School and his wife were the able joint-secretaries. The programme included several public meetings and a Peace exhibition. One special feature which attracted attention was the Mile of Pennies in the Market Square.

The **Headingley** (Leeds) Branch reports a record membership of 1,501 for 1936. This is now being considerably increased by a weekly house-to-house canvass which has recently produced 49 new members from an estate of 165 houses.

WELSH NOTES

WELSH COUNCIL ANNUAL CONFERENCE AT CARMARTHEN

The Annual Conference of the Welsh National Council of the Union was held at **Carmarthen** on Friday and Saturday, June 4 and June 5. A large gathering of Branch representatives from all parts of Wales and Monmouthshire attended, and all are agreed that in the annals of the Welsh Council there has not been a more vigorous or a more successful Annual Conference. The Carmarthen Branch of the Union, its officers and members, the town of Carmarthen and its inhabitants, led by the Mayor, all united in giving a wholehearted welcome to the Conference—truly a memorable Conference. The Carmarthen Branch, its officers and its committee, are heartily to be congratulated upon the excellent arrangements made for the Conference as well as upon the success of their crusade on behalf of the Union in Carmarthen and the surrounding area.

Mr. Dudley Howe, J.P., C.C., the retiring President of the Welsh Council, presided over the meetings of the Council and of its Executive Committee, and these meetings were well attended and transacted a large amount of important business. The Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph was unanimously elected President of the Council for the coming year. The public meeting of the Conference, which was held at the Guildhall on the evening of Friday, June 4, attracted a crowded audience, and the address given by the speaker, Mr. Geoffrey le M. Mander, M.P., was greatly appreciated. The Lord Bishop of St. Davids presided.

The proceedings were brought to a close on the afternoon of Saturday, June 5, with a fine Festival of Youth, held at Castell Pygyn, at the kind invitation of Mr. O. Picton Davies, who presided, and entertained the 700 guests to tea. The schools of the town and district provided an excellent programme organised by Mr. Sydney Davies, B.Sc., of the Carmarthen Grammar School, and Mr. Ernest Evans, of Peniel, Carmarthen.

The Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph was unanimously elected President of the Council for the coming year.

The public meeting of the Conference, which was held at the Guildhall on the evening of Friday, June 4, attracted a crowded audience, and the address given by the speaker, Mr. Geoffrey le M. Mander, M.P., was greatly appreciated. The Lord Bishop of St. Davids presided.

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OVERSEAS NOTES

CANADA

The following cable was sent to the Prime Minister of Canada, in London (Mr. Mackenzie King), from the Fifteenth Congress of the League of Nations Society in Canada, held at **Hamilton**, from May 26—28, 1937:—

Fifteenth Conference League Nations Society in Canada feels bound to call the Prime Minister's attention to the insistent demand of many of its Branches and of the Conference itself that Canada should accord wholehearted support to the League and pursue no



MAJOR A. J. C. FRESHWATER,
Deputy Secretary L.N.U.

policy in London or Geneva impairing collective security or reducing the League to a consultative body. (Signed) INCH.

SWITZERLAND

At a Peace Assembly of 2,000 people organised by the **Geneva** I.P.C. Group, on May 20, 1937, the following resolution was adopted unanimously:—

The Great Assembly of the Forces of Peace, organised by the I.P.C.,

Profoundly moved by the bombardment of open towns and the massacre of the civil population,

Declare that it is the duty of the League of Nations to bring to an end the international war which is devastating Spain.

Demand that the Swiss Government act without delay to secure the respect of the Covenant of the League,

Undertake to intensify their work for peace according to the principles of Collective Security and the Covenant of the League.

COUNCIL'S VOTE

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

For 1936:—

Brandon, Kings Heath, Kirby Muxloe, Kirkoswald, Seaton, Wooldale and New Mill.

1937:—

Aylsham, Banbury, Bozeat, Brackley, Brandon, Capel, Coltishall, Cunmor, Deddington, Dorchester, Feltwell, Framlingham, Gamlingay, Handsworth, Hilton, Hemsby, Ipswich, Kempston, Oxford Federation, Ramsey, Runton, Sturmer, Walton-on-Naze.

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

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

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

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

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

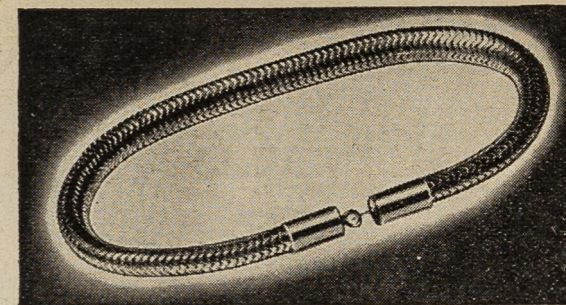
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* 3s. 6d. or more a year. (To include HEADWAY, or, if preferred, one of the subsidiary journals of the Union, by post.)

ORDINARY MEMBERS: 1s. a year minimum.

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



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JUSTICE AND PEACE — OR CHAOS AND CATASTROPHE

By the Secretary of the Union

THE British Commonwealth of freely associated Nations is held together by a common kingship and an invisible bond of ideals. The Coronation Year, 1937, has impressed on all the world this remarkable fact, first stated by General Smuts. The source of the British Empire's strength is in the hearts and minds of its citizens. Much the same is also true of the larger Commonwealth or League of Nations which English-speaking men (including General Smuts) had so large a share in building. The power of the League to remove national grievances by a process of peaceful change, and to prevent war from breaking out at all, depends upon the support of the League by individual men and women. The greater their sense of world citizenship and the more intense their loyalty to the League, the greater will be the League's authority. To strengthen this authority is the common policy of all His Majesty's Governments.

But there is no denying that the League has been gravely weakened by recent events in Manchuria and in Abyssinia. Something like a panic has overtaken many whose hopes were centred in the League. Leaders in Church and State have played with the idea that, while the League may continue to work for human welfare (to improve labour conditions, hygiene and the like) it should no longer be concerned "to safeguard the peace of nations." The League, they say, should not try any more to avert aggressive war by letting the aggressor know beforehand that a preponderance of power is ready to maintain the supremacy of the law. If their advice were followed, the world would, in Mr. Eden's words, be turning its back on an endeavour which is the only alternative to catastrophe and chaos.

The pro-chaos party is made up of *isolationists* like Lord Beaverbrook; *defeatists*, who used to believe in the League, but who now turn their backs upon it in the supposed interests of Germany without realising that Germany's real interests are bound up with those of the League; and *pacifists*, who are pacifists for reasons of politics rather than of conscience. Against this triple alliance—this unholy alliance of isolationists, defeatists and political pacifists—is ranged the League of Nations Union, entrusted by its Royal Charter with the task of educating and organising public opinion of all parties and all faiths in order (i) to secure the whole-hearted acceptance of the League of Nations by the British people; (ii) to foster co-operation between the peoples of different countries; and (iii) to advocate the

full development of the League for promoting justice and protecting peace. The Union has been at work for many years, mainly in the fruitful field of education, but not without occasional excursions into the wilds of political agitation. But those excursions are not what the League's enemies pretend. The Union has never taken an extreme pacifist position. It has never advocated the one-sided disarmament of this country. It has never ceased to be patriotic. But it has taught that British interests can best be served by serving the world of which Britain is a part; and that, even as loyalties to England, to Britain and to the British Empire supplement and support one another, so all these patriotisms should be supplemented, not supplanted, by a world loyalty or, for the time being, by a League loyalty.

In the interests of economy and efficiency the Union, in all its activities, has made the fullest use of such help as other bodies were willing to give. For example, the direction of its work in the schools has been shared by representatives of all the great associations of teachers and of Local Education Authorities. Fifty-five nation-wide women's organisations are represented upon the Women's

Advisory Council of the Union. Representatives of the Trades Union Congress sit with employers of labour on its Industrial Advisory Committee. Its work in the Churches has been controlled by a committee where Roman Catholic priests sit side by side with officers of the Salvation Army, leaders of the Free Churches and clergymen of the Church of England under the Chairmanship, first of a Presbyterian Minister and now of an Anglican Dean.

Thus the Union has acted both as a federation of societies and as a society of individuals. Its co-operating societies, as well as its individual members, have been represented on the committees of many of its Branches whose business it is to direct the local work of the Union.

There was a time in the history of the Union when Branch members complained that they had not enough to do, since the League's enemies would not come out into the open. Apathy abounded, but it was benevolent and elusive. That time has passed. There is work ready to be tackled by every member of the Union. The triple alliance has taken the field and the issue has been joined between the forces of justice and peace through the League on the one hand and those on the other, of "chaos and catastrophe."

WAR IN SPAIN

By

FREDA WHITE

(Author of "The Abyssinian Dispute")

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