

NUTRITION MOVEMENT HAS
ONLY JUST BEGUN

See pages 70, 71

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN—
AN APPRECIATION

See page 65

HEADWAY

BRITISH LIBRARY
8 APR 1937
OF POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC SCIENCE

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

51083

Vol. XIX. No. 4

[The Journal of the
League of Nations Union]

APRIL, 1937.

[Registered with the G.P.O. for transmission
by the Canadian Magazine Post] Price 3d.

H. M. Haile Selassie Appeals to the League

I denounce to the League of Nations and to the world, three acts of barbarity committed in February, 1937, at Addis Ababa or in its neighbourhood.

(1) The assassination of Ras Dasta, of Dedjasmatch Beyene Mered and of many other chiefs and officers taken prisoners on the field of battle.

(2) The putting to death of thousands of persons during the three days following the attempt on Marshal Graziani.

(3) The systematic massacres of the Ethiopian population. The *Times* (of London) estimates the number of victims at 6,000; according to reliable information I may state that the number of victims is much larger.

All these crimes are violations of the rules of public international law embodied in 1907 in the Fourth Hague Convention respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land. The Powers' signatories to the Hague Convention "animated by the desire to serve the interests of humanity and the ever progressing needs of civilisation have thought it important to revise the general laws and customs of war either with a view to defining them with greater precision or to confining them within such limits as would mitigate their severity as far as possible."

Accordingly, they proclaimed that "the inhabitants and the belligerents remain under the protection and the rule of the principles of the law of nations, as they result from the usages established among civilised peoples, the laws of humanity and the dictates of the public conscience. . . ."

Ras Desta, Dedjasmatch Beyene Mered and numerous other Chiefs and Officers taken prisoners on the field of battle were immediately executed. This is a murder committed in defiance of Article 4 of the Fourth Hague Convention of 1907 which says "prisoners of war are in the power of the hostile Government and not of the individuals or corps who capture them. They must be humanely treated. All their personal belongings, except arms, horses, and military papers, remain their property."

Article 23 of the same Convention forbids "to kill or wound an enemy, who having laid down his arms or having no longer means of defence, has surrendered at discretion."

The summary executions are deliberate crimes, the application of a policy of terrorism loudly proclaimed by the Government of Rome.

In December, 1936, two of the sons of Ras Kassa, Dedjasmatch es Aberra and Asfa-Wossen, and in January, 1937, a third son of Ras Kassa, Dedjasmatch Wond Wossen, were also publicly executed in order to terrorise the Ethiopian people.

All these valiant chiefs were entitled to the generous treatment which civilised Governments and the Hague Convention grant to combatants betrayed by the fortune of war.

On the day of the attempt on Marshal Graziani, a ghastly hecatomb was ordered by the Italian authorities. Without any inquiry or trial thousands of Ethiopians were put to death. This was not a punishment but collective vengeance. The Italian troops encircled the place of the outrage and all the Ethiopians within this circle were killed. Among the victims were several priests and several Moslem religious chiefs.

In the three days which followed, a reign of terror and murder was organised by the Italian authorities. The soldiers, assisted by Italian civilians, who were supplied with arms, were incited to massacre the Ethiopians—men, women, and children. I possess details of these scenes of horror. With rifles, pistols, bombs, cutlasses and truncheons distributed for this purpose, groups of Blackshirts and workers went through all the quarters of the town killing all the men, women and children they met. Others with flame-throwers and petrol tins set fire to the tukuls and houses, massacring all those who attempted to escape.

These are not cruelties committed on a battlefield in the heat of the strife, but murders, pillages and destructions ordered in cold blood and executed methodically under the direction of the Italian authorities in the capital of my Empire. The victims were not armed men but inoffensive men, women, and children whom it was the duty of the Italian occupying authorities to protect in virtue of international rules.

The massacres of February, 1937, will leave an indelible stain of blood on the Italian aggressor.

Such are some of the crimes perpetrated against the unhappy Ethiopian people. In the name of my oppressed and desolate people I denounce them solemnly to the League of Nations and to all the countries of the world.

Members of the League of Nations, you know all the horrors let loose upon my people. Will you do nothing to stop these massacres? Remember the solemn obligations you entered into towards the Ethiopian people, the honouring of which I once more claim. Will you allow a defenceless population to be exterminated? Will the dreadful misfortunes which, as a result of the aggression against my Empire, have befallen Europe, and the fresh violences which are being prepared against other peoples by the same aggressor or with his complicity, leave you unmoved? Will you always forget us? What crime have we committed to be abandoned by you? After our terrible trials, is your conscience at rest?

I ask for the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry to place on record all the horrors committed in Ethiopia by the Italian Government.

CONTENTS

	Page		Page
H.M. Haile Selassie Appeals to the League ...	61	Nutrition Movement has only Just Begun. By Viscount Astor ...	70
News and Comment ...	62	The International Peace Campaign. By Viscount Cecil ...	72
The League's Purpose is Peace (Editorial) ...	64	How the League is Building a Better World. From Our Own Correspondent ...	73
Sir Austen Chamberlain: An Appreciation by the Earl of Lytton ...	65	Czechoslovakia Bids for Peace. By C. A. Macartney ...	74
New Hopes of Freer Trade. By E. V. Francis ...	66	Readers' Views ...	76
Defence in the Air is Not Enough. By Air Commodore L. E. O. Charlton ...	67	Here and There ...	78
Security, Arbitration, Disarmament. By Gilbert Murray ...	68	War Shall Not Be. By the Secretary of the Union ...	80

NEWS AND COMMENT

Abyssinia

ON February 19 Marshal Graziani, the Italian Viceroy of Abyssinia, was wounded by a bomb at Addis Ababa. There followed an orgy of violence. The Italian authorities have not permitted the world to learn all that happened. But enough has been reported from a trustworthy source to reveal that during the next few days perhaps the most dreadful pages in recent history were written in blood. The appeal of the exiled Emperor of Abyssinia to the League to hear and judge is printed on the first page of the present issue of HEADWAY. That his voice has been heard is proved by a rising chorus of horrified protest.

Union Calls for Inquiry

THE League of Nations Union has spoken in the following resolution:—

Profoundly shocked by the apparently well-attested reports of massacres committed by the Italians in Addis Ababa, feeling that 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, the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union trusts that H.M. Government will support the request of the Emperor of Abyssinia for a full and impartial inquiry into the facts by the League of Nations.

In a letter to the *Times*, the Archbishop of York, the Dean of Winchester, the Earl of Lytton, Viscount Cecil, Lord Allen of Hurtwood, Sir Norman Angell, C. R. Attlee, Lady Violet Bonham-Carter, Miss Isabel Fry, Viscountess Gladstone, H. Stanley Jevons, D. Lloyd George, Gilbert Murray, Sir Arthur Salter, H. G. Wells, Sir Archibald Sinclair, and Leslie Weatherhead, after a reference to the reports which "do not seem to leave any reasonable doubt" that "thousands of men, women, and children who had nothing whatever to do with the attempt were killed by Blackshirts and workmen," declare their "conviction that such unspeakably cruel and unjustifiable excesses are not only a stain on the honour of the people responsible for them, but a menace to white rule in Africa and to the future of Christian civilisation."

Raw Materials

THE League Committee for the study of the problem of raw materials has held its first meetings. All the chief colonial powers were represented. Japan sent a delegate, Italy and Germany did not. The intricacies of the subject might have thwarted the interest of a public ready to believe that the problem is supremely important.

Here the few, vocal enemies of the League in Great Britain stepped in to help. The Secretariat at Geneva, they shouted, was proposing to give away the British Empire. This was because materials to make possible an informed discussion had been brought together in the normal, efficient League way. The indignant critics failed to notice the official statement: "These various proposals and suggestions are only mentioned in the Secretariat's memorandum as indications, to acquaint the experts with ideas now current in the world." Their outcries assured a sympathetic hearing to the difficulties of the problem and an understanding how long delayed any concrete results must be.

Guns or Butter?

SIR FREDERICK LEITH-ROSS, delegate of Great Britain, and Sir Henry Strakosch, delegate of South Africa, made the same suggestions to the committee. They thought:—

It quite likely that certain countries found difficulty in obtaining raw materials, not because of the policy pursued by those who controlled the supply, but because their own commercial policy was at fault.

Sir Henry Strakosch implied that an economic system which preferred guns to butter could not complain if its position in the normal markets of the world was somewhat anomalous. Argentina required to import industrial products and found no difficulty in doing so. The problem of foodstuffs was neglected. The lack of these was just as important to some countries as the lack of industrial raw materials was to others. This was the case of Great Britain, which was, however, also a large importer of raw materials. Account had to be taken of the population of each of the producing countries. He advocated a suitable investigation to determine the

requirements of raw materials per head of the population at different periods.

Such authorities as Sir Frederick and Sir Henry do not speak at random on the subjects to which they have given years of study. What they had to say at Geneva was not obstructive. But it was a warning. The vast and intricate problem of raw materials cannot be solved offhand by even the most sincere goodwill. It calls for the careful assessing of a thousand factors. It presents a task worthy of the most persistent efforts of the League and a task no other agency could hope to complete.

Nutrition

VISCOUNT ASTOR, in the present issue of HEADWAY, describes work of the first importance for the health and consequent happiness of mankind which a Mixed Committee of the League is doing under his chairmanship. The resources of science and agriculture are not fully used to give humanity enough food and the best food. Nutrition is being studied at Geneva with the practical object of repairing that failure.

The Report for 1936 of the British Medical Research Council makes appreciative reference to the work of Lord Astor's committee, and adds the comment:—

Probably the most significant action which emphasises the new importance attached to nutrition is the recent announcement that His Majesty's Government is determined to regard the improvement of physical fitness as a fundamental point of policy. It is true that this policy was at first largely interpreted by the public mind from the angle of physical exercise, but further discussion in Parliament and in the Press has shown how very widely it is now appreciated that proper nutrition is of even greater importance.

State Idolatry

IN an Encyclical addressed in the first place to the German Episcopate, but also to all Roman Catholic Bishops throughout the world, the Pope declares:—

Whoever detaches race, or the nation, or the State, or the form of State, or the Government from the temporal scale of values and raises them to be the supreme model and deifies them with idolatrous worship falsifies the divinely created order of things.

The immediate result of this pronouncement has been a violent retort in the German Government press; the Italian Fascist newspapers have taken the same tone.

University M.P.s

IN March HEADWAY appeared the statements on British Foreign policy and the League of the three candidates in the Oxford University by-election. Sir Arthur Salter, the strongest supporter of the League, was returned with a majority over both his opponents.

The combined English Universities has followed the lead of Oxford; their by-election also has been

won by the independent candidate who made his belief in the League the first point in his appeal. Speaking after his success, Mr. T. Edmund Harvey said:—

It is evident that those who recorded their votes for me were desirous of affirming their conviction of the need for more active constructive methods for securing international peace, closely linked with the development of the League of Nations and also more far-reaching measures of reconstruction at home to secure social justice.

The Washington Textile Conference

ON October 29, 1919, the First International Labour Conference was held in Washington, and a new phase in the advance of world labour and social conditions began. Washington once more is to see a further milestone passed on this road of social advance, for President Roosevelt has invited the Technical Tripartite Conference (of Government, employers' and workers' delegates) on the textile industry to meet in the United States capital on April 2.

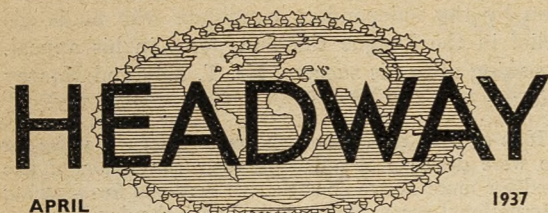
This conference will be an important new departure in I.L.O. activities. The practice of convening Preparatory Technical Tripartite Conferences to investigate the possibility of applying the 40-hour week to a particular industry before this question actually came up for discussion at the full annual Conference, has recently been adopted by the I.L.O. with success to a number of industries.

The Washington Textile Conference, however, is to do more than investigate the single question of a 40-hour week. It is to establish the precedent of convening delegates from the Governments, employers and workers of all countries interested in textile questions, "to review the general situation of a world-wide industry in order to explore the possibility of improving its social standards." The 40-hour week will presumably, however, be the chief subject of discussion.

The I.L.O. has prepared a most detailed report to serve as a basis for these discussions, which deals with questions of production, consumption, employment, and tariffs. The report reveals the fact, unrealized by many, that the textile industry is really a low-wage industry; textile wages in most countries being lower than those prevailing in industry generally.

So far, the following 12 principal textile countries have decided to be represented at the Conference: U.S.A., Great Britain, India, Canada, Belgium, Finland, France, Japan, Latvia, Netherlands, Poland and Yugoslavia. The chief British delegates will be Lieut.-Col. Muirhead, M.P., Government delegate; Mr. Thomas Ashurst, employers' delegate; and Mr. Arthur Shaw, workers' delegate.

The reduction of hours of work in the textile industry is on the agenda of this year's I.L.O. Conference, which meets at Geneva in June.



EDITORIAL OFFICE:—15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.
Telephone: Sloane 6161.

The Purpose of the League is Peace

WHEN the League of Nations, depending on the strength of its loyal members, is prepared and resolute to defeat an aggressor, aggression is improbable. Peace is made more secure. And that is the first purpose of the League. Not victory in war, but the prevention of war. Amidst the present threatening dangers, the pressure is heavy to dwell wholly upon the threats now darkening the world. It must be resisted. Any resort to force, even though the only object were to create the conditions in which a dispute could be settled by peaceful means and the scope of action were far removed from what might properly be called war, would be in its measure a League failure. Complete League success will not be achieved until war is not only theoretically renounced, as in the Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact, but practically eliminated.

Arms are needed. The need will long continue. While great nations are dominated by men and parties who glorify war, who declare that perpetual peace neither can nor should be the world's future, who see in killing and being killed the supreme test and crowning virtue of humanity, who with boastful phrases on their lips seek opportunities to plunder the weak, a refusal to arm the law means the surrender of civilisation to crime. The analogy often drawn between force behind the League and a police force is inexact in several respects. Nevertheless, in the international realm, as in the national, the emergency may arrive when the duty to fight for justice is imperative. In the one and in the other the safeguard against some dangers is the certainty of defeat. To-day it is fashionable to pretend that only because they have grievances are nations inclined towards aggression. Experience does not support so comfortable an opinion. It has not been the weak and the oppressed who have attacked their neighbours. Admittedly, the governments who make war always offer excuses for their conduct. Japan in Manchuria and Italy in Abyssinia, for example, both did so. But what they said in their defence was very like the plea of the wolf against the lamb in the fable. And, in possession of the coveted booty as they are, their temper is not less belligerent now. A seeming prize to be seized, and the supposed power to seize it, exert most unhappily a much stronger influence in world affairs than many men and women of goodwill would like to believe. Not until the understanding becomes general that such prizes are nearly always of dubious value, and such power commonly a snare, will a peaceful world order find arms superfluous.

Arms are not yet superfluous. The work of the League, however, is directed towards their diminution and ultimate disappearance. Their shrinkage is the surest proof that the League is growing stronger. Their recent increase is evidence of a League weakening, which

even its best friends cannot deny. All-round disarmament by world treaty is one of the essential tasks to which the League is pledged by the terms of the Covenant itself. The attack upon the problem must go on. Altered circumstances may suggest changes in the line of approach. During the Disarmament Conference a little bolder leadership on the part of one Great Power would have been enough to save the world from its present nightmare. That the chance was lost was an historic disaster. An even worse mistake, not to be forgiven in its guilt and scarcely to be retrieved in its results, would be an abandonment of effort. With obstacles crowding closer and rising in a more formidable array, the resolve to reach the goal must be not relaxed but reaffirmed. Such a re-affirmation does not forbid a new plan of campaign. In place of direct advance and frontal assault, a steady, systematic accumulation of support and a strategy of envelopment and erosion may now be the wisest course. Arms would be made to appear irrelevant amidst the building of a peaceful order. The League purpose is not the defeat of an aggressor but the prevention of aggression. The peaceful future for the world which the League exists to secure is desirable not merely for the negative absence of war, but because of the opportunities it will offer for the development of every creative gift and the enjoyment of every good thing. Even in the present hour of unfulfilled hopes and clouded prospects, the League may be served best by the application of a vigorous stimulus to all its constructive activities.

An institution demonstrates its value by the work it performs. The severest critics of the League do not deny that much of what it contributes to the betterment of human existence in Twentieth Century conditions could not be sacrificed without disastrous loss to the whole world. Of course, they say, the case of the world's health, the pooling of the resources of science, the struggle against the drug traffic, and other social evils, the defence of the worker, and the guarantee of working conditions must continue. Let the League go; these benefits of an organised world community whose various sections are in close contact and continuous communication can still be preserved. But can they?

In a shrunken world the permanent betterment of one section is always difficult and often impossible unless the reform is extended to the whole. However little the expansion may commend itself to minds habituated to the close, familiar confines of the traditional caves, we are all to-day citizens of the world. The only unit of world advance is the world unit. Effective organisation must be on the world scale. If not the League, then another League under some other title is a necessity if the nations are to give their members the kind of life with its opportunities and enjoyments to which their common humanity entitles them and on which their increasing knowledge will insist. Bilateral negotiations are not only tediously slow, they are a hopelessly inadequate method of bringing into line a score of different interests. The world method is dictated imperatively by a world which is growing into a unity. Elsewhere in the present number of HEADWAY some few fugitive particulars are set down of how the League is meeting primal human needs. The League is organising the common life which the nations are being compelled, League or no League, to lead. The fuller and richer that life the stronger the League and the more powerfully the nations are driven to banish war from their scheme of world relations.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN: An Appreciation

By THE EARL OF LYTTON, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee of the L.N.U.

THE death of Sir Austen Chamberlain has removed from the public life of this country an outstanding figure whose merits as a statesman it will be the task of future historians to weigh. To speak of his work in the various high offices he has held would be out of place here. I only wish to speak of him in the capacity in which I was privileged to know him in the later years of his life—as a member of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union.

Our Union is not so much a non-party organisation as an all-party organisation. It contains men and women whose mentality is non-party and who are prepared to put their loyalty to the League above all other political ties, but it contains also, and in far larger numbers, men and women who are definitely partizan and who join us as representatives of their respective parties. It is one of the great strengths of the Union that this should be so, and the Union will suffer greatly if it ever loses its all-party character. It is this quality which prevents our platforms from ever becoming propaganda agents for any one political party, and the fact that whether in our innermost councils or in our public utterances we are always speaking in the presence of those who disagree with us in party politics forces us to cultivate the patience and tolerance which are so necessary in the pursuit of international co-operation. It is easier to make allowances for the opinions of other nations if we have been obliged to make similar allowances for the differing political opinions of our own members. At the same time the necessity of recognising political differences prevents our organisation from losing touch with realities which is the danger of a purely non-party attitude.

Sir Austen Chamberlain was definitely a party representative on our Executive, and in addition he had his own definite views about the possibilities and the limitations of League action in international affairs. He was not only a Conservative in politics, but he was a statesman who had helped to form the opinions of his party on League affairs. He never believed in the obligations of a system of collective defence unlimited by geographical considerations or the requirements of national interest. He was an opponent of the policy of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance or the Geneva Protocol of 1924. He believed in Regional Pacts, and his greatest achievement in the international field was the Treaty of Locarno. He was also a devoted friend of France, and his French sympathies led him to share French apprehensions of danger from Germany.

These views were known to us all, and we always knew where he would stand where any of these issues were involved. In spite of that, he was a most valuable

member; indeed, it would be true to say that his value was increased by that very fact, because we knew that we had in our midst a most powerful exponent of a point of view that was widely held. But apart from his personal opinions, Sir Austen had qualities that won our admiration and respect. He was a most regular attendant at all our meetings, he read and studied all the papers he received. He was ever watchful and allowed nothing to pass without comment through inattention. His long experience of political life, and the authority with which he spoke as an ex-Foreign Minister, not only helped us in our decisions but also in our procedure. He was an excellent debater, an eloquent champion of his own point of view, and a courteous opponent when he disagreed. Our debates on world affairs were thrillingly interesting and instructive when he took part in them, and have lost a great deal of their interest since he left us.

My own feeling was, and I think most of my colleagues would share this view, that not only did we all gain much from Sir Austen's counsel but he, too, gained something from his association with us. During the years in which he attended our meetings he became markedly more sympathetic with opinions and policies he was at first disposed to differ from. I am convinced that such differences as we had with him over the subject of the Peace Ballot would never have occurred if he had been able to attend our meetings when the subject was first discussed and the procedure drawn up; but, unfortunately, his membership of the Joint Committee on the Government of India Bill took him away from us for nearly two years, and when he rejoined us the arrangements for the National Declaration were practically completed.

Throughout the Italo-Abyssinian crisis his co-operation with us was cordial and helpful. He supported all our demands for resistance to Italian aggression until the German re-occupation of the Rhineland took place, and if he drew back then it was only because he felt that the League could not afford to quarrel with two Great Powers at the same time, and he regarded the German menace as the greater of the two.

In the last years of his life Sir Austen acquired a unique position as an Elder Statesman in the House of Commons, where he was listened to with respect by all parties. He was a great friend to the cause for which our Union stands, and his going from us is a loss which we all deplore. In the difficult years ahead of us we shall often wish for his help and guidance, and even those who disagreed with him will miss the charm of his personality and the interest and eloquence of his speeches.

New Hopes of Freer Trade

By E. V. FRANCIS

THE German colonial campaign and the League inquiry into raw materials again focus attention from widely different angles upon the need for removing the economic hindrances to a renewal of the kind of international co-operation that existed in pre-depression days.

To understand this problem it is necessary to bear in mind that the recent improvement in the economic condition of most countries has been due to the almost automatic operations of natural forces. An initial acceleration of activity in the major industrial States like the U.K. or the U.S.A. has led to an increasing demand for the products of the agricultural and raw-material producing countries. The effect has been not only to restore an economic balance within the countries concerned, but also to set the industrial and agricultural countries of the world in a new equilibrium.

As a result of the rise of commodity prices the farmer, planter and miner can now produce his goods with the confidence that they can be exchanged at a fair and profitable level in relation to the cost of manufactured goods. There is now no need to burn coffee, plough in cotton and wheat, or restrict production in order to avoid losses. The tide has turned and all these commodities have regained their rightful place in the economic firmament.

The way to the organisation of production on a basis of plenty can now be realised if only the nations can be persuaded to throw open their markets to new trade.

Moreover, since it is becoming evident that the limits of economic expansion within national boundaries are drawing near, it would appear that a revival in international trade is not only the way to prosperity but also the condition of continued recovery.

The nations which have showed considerable awareness of this responsibility are the Scandinavian and the Low countries. As early as 1930 they got together with an ambitious scheme for establishing a freer trade regime within the territorial limits of their group. They were agreed upon the desirability of closer economic relations and the establishment of a regional low tariff area. But unfortunately the grant of reciprocal tariff concessions involved in this project conflicted with the most-favoured nation rights of other countries with whom commercial treaties had previously been made.

It meant that Scandinavian and the Low countries could not grant any tariff concessions to each other which they did not grant to other most-favoured-nations. Since the latter would not submit to any mitigation of their rights in this way, the main project for regional free trade fell through. Accordingly the Oslo Convention which was finally signed fell far short of the original intentions of the signatories.

Thereafter the impact of the depression set up a wave of economic nationalism which swamped all efforts made in the direction of freer trade. Now that this wave has ebbed and the failure of the earlier attempts at national self-sufficiency is becoming apparent, the opportunities

for a renewal of concerted economic co-operation on an international scale have brightened considerably. A most significant commentary on this new development is the fact that the signatories of the abortive Oslo Convention have recently met at the Hague in an endeavour to revitalise the principle of commercial liberalism which originally inspired their group efforts.

They have again declared their intention to promote the common trading interests of the Scandinavian and the Low countries within the limits of their present treaty obligations. But they realise that any movement towards free trade within the group must necessarily depend upon the benevolence of other countries to whom they have granted most-favoured-nation rights. Since Great Britain is the most important of these countries, it is obvious that the adoption of a less rigid interpretation of the most-favoured-nation clause by this Government would remove one of the greatest obstacles at present standing in the way of most promising development in world-trade; a development on which, incidentally, the blessings of the Economic Committee of the League have been bestowed.

It would be false to assume, however, that Great Britain holds a dog-in-the-manger attitude. On the contrary, its interests also lie in freer trade. But it happens that British trade commitments are so widely spread throughout the world that any delimitation within the Scandinavian area of so fundamental a principle as the most-favoured-nation clause must necessarily be considered in relation to possible repercussions upon British interests in say, China or the Argentine.

However, the magnitude of the problem need not for ever defer hope. The British Government is itself exploring the possibility of freer trade with the United States and any success in this direction would react most favourably upon the policy now being pursued by the signatories of the Oslo Convention.

If the growing spirit of freedom in French economic policy be thrown as a makeweight to the Anglo-Saxon group, it is evident that the three major powers constitute by themselves a potential nucleus of foreign trade expansion.

It is evident, then, that two important movements are afoot among the great and small alike for closer international economic relations. Although the problems facing the two groups are by no means similar, their objects are identical, and in the long run, complementary.

Considerable initiative has already been shown by the individual countries concerned. The next step should be to establish co-operation with the outsiders, so that these new hopes may be effectively translated into an international movement for economic progress. Only through the medium of yet another world economic conference will it be possible to make the necessary synthesis. Its convocation is more urgent now than is generally realised.

Defence in The Air is Not Enough

By AIR COMMODORE L. E. O. CHARLTON, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.
Author of "War Over England."

MR. JONATHAN GRIFFIN'S article in HEADWAY for March very well epitomises that most interesting book of his: "Alternative to Re-armament."

The argument he advances is so apparently sound; and the deduction which he draws so comforting to our sense of personal security, that there is little wonder he commands a large following.

We are uniquely vulnerable to air attack; we do keep our national larder and store cupboard at a perilously low ebb; and the British Commonwealth of Nations is a rich prize for the aggressor in a land-hungry world. No one, moreover, can dispute the necessity of the measures for reducing vulnerability which Mr. Griffin advocates in paragraphs (a), (b), (c), and (d) of his recent article, though it is surprising that no mention is made therein of interceptor aircraft, which, surely, are a type ideal of non-menacing armament. They form, in fact, the back-bone of air defence!

I wish most heartily that this non-menacing system of national defence were fallacy-proof. But, alas! for one main reason alone, leaving out all other considerations, such as, for instance, our ability to make adequate contribution towards collective security in a practically unarmed condition, this policy must fail of effect. The melancholy truth is that the bomber is king!

It is insufficiently realised that air power is entirely offensive in character; that it exists for the sole purpose of attack; and that, regarded defensively, it ceases to possess *raison d'être*. The main lesson of the Great War was the immense superiority of the defence against assault on the ground by overwhelming numbers. With air warfare the situation is reversed. At no time did the enemy dispose of more than 40 Gothas for his raids on London and the South-East Counties; and yet, opposed by never less than 400 fighters of our Home Defence, he was not deterred in his attempt to defeat us then on our home front. Is he likely, with far better means at hand, to forgo the huge advantage which a bombing offensive bestows, secure in the knowledge that we have deliberately deprived ourselves of the only weapon of retaliation? For one thing, he would be absolved from building up his own screen of defence, and with the added energy thus set free could, by that amount, apply it to an increase of his bombing fleet. A bombing attack, resolutely carried out, cannot at present be prevented from reaching its objective in spite of loss!

A further consideration offers. An army on the defensive can repel attack over and over again without losing morale. Each repulse is a victory for the defender, as the history of unsuccessful sieges proves. But a country and an air force continuously subjected to air bombardment is altogether in different case, because in the one instance there is no human *chevaux de frise* to protect the populace, and, in the other, no power to turn the bombers back. The people will be apt to lose heart, seeing safety nowhere, and the defending air force, blamed for incompetence, and powerless to do more than take a slow toll of the enemy, will lose morale. The most natural of all mortal desires is to hit back, blow for blow, and a suffering population, knowing that this

reaction is denied them, could hardly be restrained, and certainly not be blamed, for demanding peace at any price. In this connection the boxing-ring provides a homely illustration. The heavyweight who covers up continually, refraining from attack, is bound to be defeated even though it be on points instead of by a knock-out. And in the same way a country which, although shielded by a passive system of defence, throws away the super-weapon of retaliation must eventually acknowledge itself the beaten side.

There is yet another aspect to consider. How does Mr. Griffin propose that our Colonies and Dominions should be defended? For the heart of the Empire is no more vulnerable than they! And hostile air power can be applied elsewhere than at home! Are we to be shorn of our overseas possessions for the sake of a problematically secure home country? Do we rely, then, on collective security to offset grab and smash when the policy put forward effectually prevents us from making adequate contribution towards it? Are we alone, among all the nations of the League, to be in the position of a poor relation supported by our better-armed relatives who happen to be less vulnerable than we?

In my opinion, we shall be infinitely more tempting to aggression if we relinquish the ability to attack in our turn. By all manner of means let us add to our powers of resistance, especially in the matter of food supply and petrol storage. Alas! we can never diminish our vulnerability to air bombardment, the constantly increasing size of our metropolis and our geographical position forbidding it. All that we can hope for is that by the might of air power we can make aggressive tactics simply not worth while.

SUMMER SCHOOLS and TRAVEL, 1937

GENEVA

- June -- Visit to International Labour Conference, June 12—20.
July -- Youth Groups' Expedition, July 17—25.
August -- Junior Summer School for Boys and Girls.
Geneva Institute of International Relations.
Young Teachers' Conference.
International Student Conference (B.U.L.N.S.)
September .. Visits to the League Assembly.

SOVIET RUSSIA

- London—Leningrad—Moscow :
June 5—27: Travel in Tourist Class. Cost, £38 18s.
August 7—29: Youth Visit. Third Class. Cost, £23.

Leaflets describing these activities may be obtained from the Secretary, League of Nations Union, to whom inquiries should be addressed.

Security, Arbitration, Disarmament

By GILBERT MURRAY

I HAVE sometimes wondered, in thinking over Edward Grey, whether any biographer could really describe his singular character, so as to make him intelligible to posterity. In this book Mr. Trevelyan succeeds in doing so brilliantly. At first sight, Grey seems a simple character. A Whig country gentleman, attached to the generous principles of his party, strictly honourable, a little cold, never biased by personal feeling or swept away by enthusiasm, and often, like other country gentlemen, pining for his country home with its fishing and its birds. The picture is in a sense true, but leaves out everything of interest. Is it an ordinary lover of the country who writes as follows to Mrs. Creighton, from Itchen?

The beauty has been overwhelming; pear and apple blossom overlapped, and the profusion and splendour were more than human capacity could appreciate. I used to feel . . . a sense of waste because I could not enjoy at once all that was spread abroad; till one day the overwhelming egotism . . . of this point of view occurred to me and I thought that God might be contemplating it all.

Or to his wife Dorothy:

It's one o'clock and I have just got here and I feel as if my heart was too full and might burst. The place is so sacred. . . . I feel as if I must keep coming in every half-hour to write to you. I have been on the bridge and eaten my figs and thrown the stalks into the river. I can hardly breathe for the sacredness of the place. It is very strange that you aren't here.

It is a poet who writes and feels like that, a man whose sense of beauty is an intense emotion, and an emotion which he does not care to control, as he habitually controls the ordinary emotions of politics. Yet it seems to me that there was a pure similar quality in his political life also. Lots of politicians are honourable and truthful; but there was a quality in Grey which turned these respectable virtues into something radiant. It was not merely that you felt him to be "straight." You could not imagine him affected by the ordinary temptations that lead politicians astray. Neither office, nor rank, nor celebrity, nor riches, nor pleasure had any power over him. There was at least a touch of the saint in him, as well as more than a touch of the poet.

I remember the extraordinary compelling power of his speech on August 3, 1914, at a time when I knew him but little and was feeling, like most Liberals, that on no account ought we to be dragged into war. "Gaunt from weeks of toil and deepening misery," as Mr. Trevelyan puts it, he had had no time to prepare his speech. He described his actual state of mind afterwards in a letter: how he remembered all his tenure of the Foreign Office, and "on a wave of emotion saw the whole sorrowful passage of time, hope doubly blasted, Dorothy's death, and now this universal darkness of which he seemed the central point. He almost burst into tears." Yet he felt no nervousness, no doubt. "A fairer speech was never made by a party to a quarrel," says Trevelyan, "nor a more effective." I only remember how, listening, I was convinced against my will. I felt that every word was true, that the speaker hated the thought of war as much as I did, and that my vehement hope for peace could no longer be cherished. It was a speech without a single appeal to

emotion, without invective or sarcasm, or even any noticeably telling phrase. Only a man of the rarest qualities of character could have spoken like that.

A statesman who, to put it no higher, always behaves like an honourable man in the muddy waters of international policy, produces inevitably rather a striking effect. He puzzles the disciples of Machiavelli and Bismarck and the many "strugforlifers" who float on that turbid tide. If one tries to think of the points in Grey's 11 years at the Foreign Office that illustrate his character, I should select: first, his absolute refusal in peace time to sign any secret treaty (in war, of course, most treaties have to be secret); next, his refusal to tempt any nation to join in the war. I once raised the question of Greece, and he said: "Suppose we had persuaded Greece to come in, should we have been able to defend her?" For the same reason, he abstained from giving any pledge of support to Belgium beforehand. If he had, he "would have instigated Belgium to resist, and then been unable to save her." When nations of their own motion proposed to join us the case was different. He was often attacked for this scrupulousness; but he knew that "to throw to the winds all consideration for others is wrong even in wartime, and is not even the road to victory." For one thing, it creates needless enmities, whereas Grey's policy had given us friends in every part of the world! The Ententes with France and Russia, initiated by Lansdowne and developed by Grey, were dictated by the same principle. They were not alliances against any one. They were friendships formed by settling in a friendly spirit, one by one, all the concrete points of difference which we had with our two principal rivals. It was Grey's hope to go on and form a similar friendship with Germany, but one difficulty was that we really had no particular concrete differences to settle; another that Germany wanted only one concession from us, and that one which we could not give: a pledge to stay neutral while she made war upon France. Another point upon which Grey differed from many Continental statesmen, and had always the support of America, was that he really minded cruelty and human suffering. Macedonia, the Congo, the Putumayo, always found the British Foreign Office alive to their wrongs.

As to Grey's policy in 1914 there is one important document here printed for the first time. It is sometimes urged that if we could have let the Germans know for certain that Great Britain would with her whole force come to the help of Belgium and France, they would not have made the war. Grey warned them, Haldane warned them, but—for perfectly valid reasons—never in positive and unconditional language. We have now a very important letter from the King to Grey, showing that he, too, had given a warning:—

. . . he (Prince Henry of Prussia) asked me point blank whether in the event of Germany and Austria going to war with Russia and France, England would come to the assistance of the two latter Powers. I answered undoubtedly yes, under certain circumstances. He professed surprise and regret, but did not ask what the certain circumstances were."—(FROM KING GEORGE, December 8, 1912.)

It seems curious that Prince Henry did not ask! The Germans preferred to speculate on the smallness of

the British Army, the threatened rebellion in Ireland, the imagined rebellion in India, the strength of the English peace feeling, the indifference of the Dominions, and all the other slender possibilities which their own hopes magnified into colossal facts.

Some of Grey's words about the problems of pre-war policy seem highly apposite to-day:—

There is an impression in some quarters that free governments, owing to the changes of party, cannot have the same trustworthy and reliable foreign policy as autocratic governments. I believe that to be wrong—as regards ourselves certainly wrong.—(City Speech, October 21, 1905.)

The initiative of the United States in this matter (Disarmament) would be very welcome to us. (1907.)

The step was taken . . . but Germany considered any such proposal as an insulting interference with her sovereign rights.

In 1906, 1908, 1912, 1914 the one great demand which Germany made on us was for neutrality. The collective defence of peace was what Imperial Germany could not endure, and the same idea is still dominant to-day. During the war it changed its direction. Many handsome offers were made to France and Italy if they would make a separate peace and leave England isolated.

The end to be worked for is a just, fair, and reasonable peace, for only so can a settlement be enduring. (1917.)

Sometimes I fear that in the civilian world, even if the Prussians are beaten in war, the Prussian spirit will have conquered the world.—(To W. K. RICHARDSON, 1917.)

I gather that the President's friend considers there is no chance of the United States Government countersigning any agreement for preservation of future peace.—(To SPRING RICE, January 2, 1915.)

If, on the other hand, Germany would enter after this war some League of Nations where she would give and accept the same security that other nations gave and accepted against war breaking out between them. . . . —(To SPRING RICE, June, 1915.)

What a world of missed opportunities, what a tragedy of disappointed hopes, is called up by these few sentences! Some day it would be interesting to tell the story of Grey's contribution to the foundation of the

L.N.U. He was working for the League of Nations in 1915. He charged me to make some soundings about it in America in 1916. In 1917 there were two societies supporting the movement in England, each regarding the other as somewhat schismatic and both considered suspect by "Military Intelligence V," when some of us persuaded Grey to become President of the whole movement provided that the two societies joined. He responded without hesitation, and from that time on the future of the movement was assured. It would be hard to state too strongly the debt which the supporters of the League owed to Grey, in those early years, not merely for his wise guidance, but also for his unhesitating faith.

Mr. Asquith once said to me that Grey was like a good horse climbing a mountain. He knew exactly where his feet were placed and exactly where he meant to place the next step and the next but one. Beyond that, he did not commit himself. It was thus about the League. We know only too well the politicians who "support the League of Nations," but continue to think and act just as if no League was there. Grey, with his 11 years' experience of traditional diplomatic methods used with the utmost good will, came to a point where he saw definitely that such methods would not do. A League of Nations was "the only possible substitute." The League was not merely a good thing, it was the only thing. Having once seen that truth, he knew exactly where his feet were placed and what the next steps must be. He was never flurried and he never faltered. Almost his last important League speech was an appeal to the Conservative Government not to reject the Geneva Protocol: amendments might well be desirable, but the more proposals we rejected the harder it would be ever to find agreement with the other League Powers. Security, Arbitration, Disarmament: to solve that threefold problem was the paramount need.

And so it still remains.

Grey of Fallodon by G. M. Trevelyan, O.M. (Longmans, 16/-).

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION
 AT THE
ROYAL ALBERT HALL
 On **FRIDAY, APRIL 30th, at 8 p.m.**

LORD CECIL <small>(Gt. Britain)</small>	M. HAMBRO <small>(Speaker, Norwegian Parliament)</small>	M. ROLIN <small>(Senator of Belgium)</small>	Dr. ALICE MASARYK <small>(Czechoslovakia)</small>
---	--	--	---

will speak on

**EUROPE'S RALLY
 TO THE LEAGUE**

AND THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE CAMPAIGN

At the Organ: **Mr. Llewelyn Bevan, L.R.A.M., A.R.C.O., A.R.C.M.**

Seats (numbered and reserved) 1/- to 10/6, and a limited number of free tickets, to be obtained from the League of Nations Union, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1. Early application is essential. Doors open 7 p.m. No seats reserved after 7.50 p.m. Particulars at Railway stations of reduced return fares. Special terms for parties.

NUTRITION MOVEMENT

By VISCOUNT ASTOR, Chairman of the League of Nations Committee on Nutrition,

IN January and February, HEADWAY published two articles entitled "Wise Eating for Painless Living" and "More Health-giving Foods Are Needed." Mr. Vandeleur Robinson dealt with some of the salient facts which have arisen since malnutrition was recognised as a world-wide problem. He referred to the preliminary work conducted over a period of years by the Health Section of the League; to the debate on Nutrition in the Assembly of 1935 followed by the setting up of the Committee of which I am Chairman; to our Interim Report to the Assembly last September, and also of the so-called "London Report" or more properly the report of the Technical Committee of international experts under the Chairmanship of Dr. Mellanby, which laid down standards of Nutrition.

These two Reports set out the case for action. Science has explained to the world the difference between energy foods, body-building foods and health foods. We know now that malnourishment, especially eating an insufficient amount of the protective foods such as milk, vegetables, fruit, particularly by the young and by mothers, leads definitely to bad physical conditions in later life. Not only so. A child that has been wrongly fed may never recover. He or she may never have the fullest and best physical development. We know, for instance, that a percentage of malformed pelvises which lead to dangerous complications in childbirth are attributable to malnourishment in early life. Many more illustrations could be given.

My committee did not have to take evidence on this aspect. The case had already been amply made out.

But as so often happens, Science and Discovery constantly move ahead of public—even of professional—opinion. Doubtless many, even medical officers, who walked through our industrial cities last century were satisfied with the workers' houses, with their ventilation and sanitation. Now with a higher standard and more knowledge, we condemn whole districts of these same dwellings as slums. In the same way to-day many of the reports as to the absence of malnutrition are based on an out-of-date standard that is no longer admissible in the light of modern knowledge.

In our Interim Report we emphasised the urgency of the problem—that malnutrition was a social evil even in wealthy countries (such as the United States and Britain) and must be a far more serious one in poorer nations. We invited Governments to acquire fuller information about the exact state of nourishment of their own people and if necessary to take the necessary steps to remedy matters.

At Geneva, last September, this report was fully debated. The Assembly accepted and endorsed our recommendations and the Committee was reappointed with instructions to present a Final Report next summer. This will deal with the economic, the agricultural, and the commercial aspects which may have to be faced.

One of the first things we did in 1936, at one of our early meetings, was to recommend that all governments set up National Nutrition Councils. When my Committee recommended the establishment of these new

ad hoc bodies we were purposely vague. In a world where the forms and mechanism of government and administration are so diverse it would not have been wise or expedient to lay down too specifically how these councils were to be constituted, or what they should do. We hoped they would co-ordinate and stimulate effort.

In February last I presided at Geneva over the first Conference of representatives of these bodies. The following 11 countries were represented: Belgium, Great Britain, United States of America, France, Hungary, Latvia, Norway, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia, Poland also had an observer.

There were three main points on our agenda:—

(1) The composition and functions of National Nutrition Councils; (2) The need for surveys and for the collection of more accurate information and data in each country as to the state of nutrition or malnutrition of the people; (3) Education and propaganda.

The delegates at this conference interchanged experiences and compared notes. They, like the members of my Committee, had had to feel their way. The members of the Secretariat concerned with nutrition and I were, as onlookers, most encouraged by the indications of life and of zeal and the proofs of real activity in so many countries. This confirmed our impression that the question of nutrition is likely to be as important a social and political problem as have been Housing, Public Health, Factory legislation, etc.

Now a national policy on nutrition may depend upon action taken by such various departments of State as those dealing with Agriculture, Trade, Finance, Health, Education.

In most countries the Councils include officials from these various departments. It is clear that an interdepartmental committee of civil servants might be almost ineffective if the Government or the Ministers primarily concerned were obstructionist or uninterested or reactionary on nutrition. So it seems essential that National Nutrition Councils should include an adequate number of independents, members who would represent consumers, the interests of the poor, or even middle classes, to whom cheap food is a matter of vital necessity. For instance, Women's Organisations could advantageously be represented. Such members would feel free and be able to press for an unbiased and sympathetic consideration of matters of policy affecting the cost of living of millions.

The tendency of producers, whether industrial or agricultural, is naturally to think more of themselves than of consumers. Where a protectionist policy exists the temptation is increased. A Council of civil servants and of representatives of Agriculture or Commerce might in certain cases fail as a Nutrition Council.

Malnutrition is frequently due to ignorance, but much more often to poverty and lack of purchasing power.

In Britain to-day there are literally hundreds of thousands of individuals who simply have not the income, or whose parents have not the income, wherewith to provide the necessary dietary especially of the "protective foods." With a declining birth rate it is short-

HAS ONLY JUST BEGUN

former Parliamentary Secretary to the British Ministries of Food and Health.

sighted to prejudice the future welfare and physique of children in large families. Yet that is what is happening in certain occupations or in the distressed areas.

Our modern definition of adequacy in nourishment alters the datum line of "poverty" or of "necessity" hitherto accepted by social inquiries.

There was recently an interesting article in the Journal of the Royal Statistical Society in which the author, examines the numerous social surveys of Rowntree, Bowley, the Merseyside, Sheffield, and adjusts the diets in the B.M.A. Report and revises all the calculations to bring them into line with the Ministry of Health's Advisory Committee's pamphlets on milk and with the standards laid down by the international experts in their Report on "The Physiological Bases of Nutrition." He then shows that in his view the cost in July, 1936, of the net minimum diet for children aged 1—6 years, was 3s. 10d.; and for children aged 6—14 years, 5s. 5d.; and that a man, wife with a child of 4 and one of 10, would have to spend 21s. 9d. per week on food. This revised nutrition standard is above those of previous surveys, and for the above-named family "the revised estimate exceeds former standards by amounts varying from 6s. 2d. to 7s. 6d. weekly, and the excess of the revised standard increases with the number of children." It is urgent that we should acquire fuller official information about the living conditions of the masses and there will have to be material alteration in the commonly accepted minimum dietary.

The League Scientific committee, consisting of men of world-wide reputation of different nationalities, are unanimously agreed on the requirements for a healthy diet. Their report was circulated to learned societies in most countries to see whether owing to climate or other cause there should be any variation in the principles laid down by them. The standard has been accepted with but little change. It is most important that these national learned bodies should also be represented on the National Nutrition Councils for it would be unwise for these Councils to set out a separate basis of physiological requirements. Confusion would be inevitable if there were two standards in the same country. In Britain, the Minister of Health has wisely put Sir Frederick Gowland Hopkins, Professor Mellanby, Sir John Orr, and Professor Cathcart on his Nutrition Council.

National Nutrition Councils ought to have the right of initiating investigations and of publishing their views. This does not mean that they should have executive powers. Far from it. But if a Government or Minister reserved the right of suppressing any inconvenient recommendation made by this council, or if the Council could only act if and when advice was sought, and further, if its members had not the power to publish their views, the value of these bodies would inevitably be largely diminished, might even be nullified.

We also accomplished one most useful task. Our delegates included Dr. Stiebeling, from Washington, and other experts who, in Scandinavia or Czecho-

slovakia or elsewhere, had made surveys. They sat round a table as a sub-committee for three days. At the end we were able to produce an agreed basis for surveys of family budgets, dietaries, etc., which should enable Governments in future to have statistics and classifications arranged in similar groupings and under identical headings. Obviously data which are comparable are twice as useful as those which are compiled on unrelated bases.

After the last Assembly the League Secretariat sent an officer to make an extended tour through many countries in Europe to collect information and stimulate activity. In some cases he was unable to awaken interest when explaining the importance of nutrition in child welfare. But in a few instances, as soon as he pointed out that sound nutrition would produce stronger soldiers for war, the whole official attitude altered! Sad, isn't it? Yet are we sure that we ourselves are quite blameless? Do not many M.P.'s and public men accept without protest the disquietingly high percentage of children who have some preventable ailment or defect (not present at birth) at the tender age when they enter the elementary schools? And do not these same persons wax indignant and become active on learning of the large number of men rejected for the army through physical unfitness?

Recognition of the importance of nourishment is already having far-reaching results. Recently, I visited a modern central school in a southern county with an airy canteen where over 400 children daily received a mid-day meal (paid for). Every up-to-date Local Education Authority when erecting new schools or adapting existing buildings should bear this aspect in mind.

My League Committee goes out of existence after September next, but the Nutrition movement has only just begun. I hope that the fruitful conference held at Geneva this winter will be not the first and last, but the first of recurring annual meetings at which methods and experiments can be compared, and where the more backward countries can learn from the work achieved elsewhere.

One of the things which attracted me when I was originally invited to preside over this Committee was the realisation of the far-reaching benefits (additional to those of improved health and welfare) which might follow the future adoption of up-to-date nutrition standards.

If people eat more, world agriculture must benefit. Further, if governments intend to see that adequate quantities of the right (health-giving) foods are available for the less well-to-do sections of their people, they must import certain foodstuffs from lands where soil, climate, or some other factor leads to cheaper production. In other words, as Nutrition develops, agriculture will benefit, and world trade expand. As world trade increases, prosperity will tend to return and become more general, and people's minds will turn more and more to commerce, and so less and less to war.

The International Peace Campaign

By VISCOUNT CECIL, President of League of Nations Union and Joint President of International Peace Campaign

WHAT is the International Peace Campaign? Those who ask that question should have been in Geneva last week. There, they would have found assembled the Council of the I.P.C. or, to give it its French name, the Rassemblement Universel pour la Paix, or R.U.P.

It consisted of representatives of the National Committees from 25 countries, including almost all the European countries except Germany and Italy. True, Russia was not represented. But she is a supporter. France, Spain, Belgium, Holland, Czecho-Slovakia, the Scandinavian countries, and some of the Balkans and the Baltic countries, besides of course the British Empire, were there, among others. It was noticeable and satisfactory that both Austria and Hungary were represented, though they are supposed to be under dictatorship influence.

In addition, there were present delegates from some 20 international societies, including the Women's International Co-operative Guild, which claims some 80 million members, the World Alliance of the Churches, the great ex-Servicemen's organisations known as C.I.A.M.A.C., and the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, of which our League of Nations Union is a member. Each of the National Committees is made up of representatives of a number of organisations which are interested in peace as well as in the other objects for which they exist, like Churches, women's societies, youth organisations, industrial, educational, social and welfare bodies, etc. Some 200 organisations are included in the British Committee; some 40 in the Norwegian Committee, and so on. So that though the I.P.C. does not contain any individual members, it speaks in peace matters for many hundreds of millions of men and women.

Another feature of the I.P.C. is that it stands not vaguely for Peace but for four precise principles of peace policy. They are:—

- (1) Recognition of the Sanctity of Treaty Obligations;
- (2) Reduction and Limitation of Armaments by International Agreement and the suppression of profit from the manufacture and trade in arms;
- (3) Strengthening of the League of Nations, for the prevention and stopping of war by the organisation of Collective Security and Mutual Assistance;
- (4) Establishment within the framework of the League of Nations of effective machinery for remedying international conditions which might lead to war.

The uncompromising clearness of the Four Points is one of their greatest attractions.

Another essential principle of the I.P.C. is that its organisation shall not be used for any political purpose. That has now been made part of its standing orders. But it was always essential. In this country we have gone so far as to exclude from the British Committee all party political societies. We have done that to avoid any suggestion that it has any party bias. Of course if we could have been sure that all the political parties would have joined it equally, no such suggestion could have been made. But that could not be guaranteed. Some of us remembered what happened in the

Peace Ballot. One of the party organisations refused to join in it with the consequence that an impression was created that it was being run by the other two parties. We were anxious to avoid any repetition of that difficulty, the more so because there was set about a very fantastic slander that the I.P.C. was of Communist origin. I do not know where that slander started. In any case, it is absolutely without foundation. It is true that the I.P.C., especially on the Continent, does not exclude any one body on the ground of its other political opinions provided it is prepared to work genuinely and wholeheartedly for the Four Points and does not attempt to use the organisations for political purposes. In consequence, occasionally a Communist is found in its assemblies. There was one out of the hundred or so persons who were present at Geneva the other day. But he showed himself an admirable colleague, distinguished by the moderation of his views. Surely a Communist cannot be more harmlessly engaged than in the advocacy of peace!

Another fear has been expressed that the I.P.C. may become a rival of the existing peace societies and especially here of the League of Nations Union. I am convinced that this anxiety is baseless. The business of the I.P.C. is not competition but co-ordination. That is why it has precluded itself from having any individual members. Nevertheless, I have heard devoted members of our own Union expressing doubts on this point. They cannot get over the impression that any new peace organisation must be a threat to the prosperity of those which already exist. The contrary is the case. The strength of the I.P.C. depends on the strength and prosperity of its constituent societies, and whatever influence the I.P.C. may have must be used to increase their membership. The only possible competition would be in finance. But it ought to be easy to arrange that there should be no overlapping in that respect.

Another criticism is that, since the I.P.C. cannot extend its activities to the dictatorship countries, its main usefulness as a peace-keeping institution is gone. No doubt it would be very desirable if we could urge our views in Germany and Italy. In the meantime, we must hope that the inhabitants of those benighted lands will hear from neighbouring countries and in other ways the sound doctrine we believe in. Certainly if we can convert the rest of Europe, if we can build up in the other countries an organisation strong enough to create an overwhelming public opinion in favour of peace through the League of Nations, that will ultimately spread even among Nazis and Fascists. It is impossible nowadays to create an impenetrable cultural barrier round any country, and experience shows that in the end any such attempt merely produces a factitious interest in the opinions which it is desired to exclude. Our course, then, as peace advocates, is clear. Here is a great international movement designed to spread throughout Europe and the world that policy which we hold to be essential for the future of civilisation. Let us see to it that nothing is wanting on our part which will encourage that movement to the utmost.

HOW THE LEAGUE IS BUILDING A BETTER WORLD

(FROM OUR GENEVA CORRESPONDENT).

Geneva, March 21.

MEETINGS have been fixed during April and May of half-a-dozen unromantic committees which will carry on between them the work of the League's "side shows." For these efforts to organise and direct humanitarian and technical activity throughout the world the League receives little credit, but by themselves alone they more than justify the existence of the League.

Slavery, the production and marketing of sugar, the traffic in opium, nutrition, world statistics, finance and the legal aspects of the repression of terrorism will all be dealt with. Some of these subjects have been before the League ever since it was founded and obviously are likely to be before it for all foreseeable time; the struggles against the drug traffic, slavery, and the traffic in women have grown into the texture of present-day civilisation.

The extraordinary difficulties met with in attempts to discover even the facts about these plagues are well instanced by the troubles which the Slavery Committee will have to face when it meets on April 5. For some time this committee has been endeavouring to secure from its members (representatives of the big colonial powers) authority to obtain information not only from the colourless and often quite mendacious Government reports, but also from private citizens and unofficial societies. The Mandates Commission has this right, without which its work would be farcical; but the determined opposition of several governments, notably that of Portugal, has prevented the privilege being given to the Slavery Committee. Now the Portuguese delegate has told the League that it will be impossible for him to attend the meeting of the Committee, as the date is not convenient. The Secretariat offered several other dates, but they were all equally inconvenient to the Portuguese.

As the Soviet expert on the Raw Materials Committee remarked a few days ago in another connection: "There is a French proverb that the absent are always wrong, and it is not for us to try to disprove it."

A more auspicious start seems to be indicated for the other big meeting scheduled for April 5—the London Sugar Conference. Strictly speaking, this is not a League meeting—being a kind of ghost of the World Economic Conference, but it is the first international gathering at which Germany has agreed to be represented since she walked out of the League and the Disarmament Conference in October, 1933.

The Sugar Conference, if it is successful in drawing up and having enforced a new scheme to control the production and marketing of sugar throughout the world, will probably be followed by a series of conferences dealing with other commodities.

On April 12 there will open the meeting of the Mixed Committee on Nutrition—one of the more recently created organisations of the League. It was set up at the suggestion of Mr. Stanley Bruce, the Australian High Commissioner in London, who had been appalled by the fact that while it was difficult to sell Australian foodstuffs there were millions "in a dreary state of sub-health" from lack of those very foodstuffs. The com-

ARMAMENTS

The Race and the Crisis

FRANCIS W. HIRST

A book for the times which every intelligent citizen should buy and study.

Of vital interest to all taxpayers, to all members of the Defence Services and to all who may be compelled to serve in war. It surveys the growth of armaments up to the present time, explains how and why the crisis came, and describes the present size and cost of the world's Armies, Navies and Air Forces. It subjects Mr. Churchill's panic statistics of German rearmament to critical examination. The only comprehensive book on the most important problem of the day which supplies the essential facts at a reasonable price.

5s. net

Of all libraries and booksellers

COBDEN - SANDERSON
1 Montague Street, W.C.1

THE BIBLE SOCIETY HAS PLEASURE
IN ANNOUNCING ITS

CORONATION EDITIONS OF THE SCRIPTURES

	Price
BIBLES. With Coronation Design in Gold.	
No. C 10 Ruby 32mo, leather cloth, red edges ..	2/6d.
No. C 20 Minion 16mo, Central References, leather cloth yapp, art-gilt edges	4/0d.
NEW TESTAMENT. With Coronation Design in Gold.	
No. C 30 Nonpareil 16mo, leather cloth, gilt edges	1/3d.
NEW TESTAMENT. With Coronation Design in Silver.	
No. C 35 Minion 32mo, leather cloth, coloured edges	6d.
GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN. With Coronation Design in Gold.	
No. C 40 Long Primer 24mo, printed in paragraphs, boards	6d.

These editions, which may be had in either blue or red bindings, are specially recommended for distribution in Day and Sunday Schools and other Youth Organisations.

They may be ordered through any bookseller.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
BIBLE SOCIETY,

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

mittee has already made several important surveys of a fact-finding nature. Actually the key to this problem is to be found in a declaration made by one of the Workers' delegates to the I.L.O., who pointed out that once workers' wages were raised, and the price of food reduced by the cutting of tariffs, then the question of nutrition would solve itself. This is undoubtedly true, but it is not quite the whole story, for the Nutrition Committee, in its research work, has found many gaps in the public's knowledge of the food which it ought to eat. It is only fair to say that the experts themselves have not always been in agreement—members of the committee, for example, found it impossible to convince the French expert that wine had no nutritive value, but was simply "a social anaesthetic." Furthermore, the Nutrition Committee, by exposing present evils, can indirectly supply much help to public opinion seeking to compel governments to raise the standard of life of their people.

These meetings—save for the London Sugar Conference—have been, or will be held in Geneva. At the other end of the world, another League Conference has recently been held—at Bandoeng, in Java, where there has been a meeting of the representatives of authorities

of Far-Eastern territories in an endeavour to do something to "clean up" the traffic in women and children in the Far East. Miserable and disgraceful though this trade is in the West, in the Far East it is even worse—it has become in recent years something that threatens all social order.

Apart from such directly humanitarian enterprises, the Secretariat also carries on, through its Economic and Financial sections, another "side-show" known only to technical experts. This is the research in economic and financial questions.

The work done both before and during the depression reached an amazing standard of accuracy, both factual and prophetic. A crying scandal is that so little attention has been paid to it by those who direct the policies of the nations.

That is, however, true of nearly all the technical and social work done by the League. If the advice, the practical suggestions, and the experience that the League and its staff have acquired were really put to work, the world would be a very much better place. There are many shocking examples of waste in our system. Few are having a more terrible effect than the waste of these brains of which nearly every country is guilty.

Czechoslovakia Bids for Peace

By C. A. MACARTNEY, of All Souls College, Oxford, an authority of International reputation on Central Europe.

ON February 21 it was announced that an agreement had been concluded between the Czechoslovak Government and the "activist" German parties in Czechoslovakia: the Social Democrats, Christian Socials and Agrarians, which are generally regarded as willing to work with and for the Czechoslovak State. The main points of the agreement are as follows:—

1. The Government will allot public works, subsidies, etc., according to need, and will see that local employers and workers get the orders in the first instance everywhere, including the German districts.

2. In distributing social relief, not only the figures of population but also those of unemployment in each district shall be considered.

3. Subject to the *conditio sine qua non* of loyalty to the State, an attempt is to be made to introduce, in larger measure than heretofore, a "just proportion" in the admission of members of national minorities to the public services.

4. Certain alleviations are to be allowed in the official use of minority languages. A prospect is also held out of further educational facilities for all minorities in Czechoslovakia, the Germans, Magyars and Poles being specifically mentioned.

To assess the importance of this agreement, it is necessary to recall that the German population of Bohemia and Moravia is very nearly half as strong as the Czech. Moreover, in the old Austria, the Germans were long the principal class, standing above the Czechs politically, culturally and, since the Bohemian industries which supplied a large part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy were mainly situated in the German districts, materially also.

Under Austrian rule, the Czechs were painfully fighting their way towards equality; but since Czechoslovakia was formed, not equality but supremacy has been their aim. Their rule has not been brutal, and its national character has been in part both disguised and really modified by the counter-impact of social interests; German parties, formed on a class basis, have shared in the Government, as they do to-day, with their Czech opposite numbers.

But a steady national pressure has also been exerted against the Germans, with unhappy results on the latter, both material and psychological. They have resented their degradation to the position of a "minority" in the Czechoslovak national State, and the fact that their language is not admitted to an equal footing with Czech. They have suffered heavy material

THE I.L.O.

THE Union is organising a party to Geneva to study the work of the 1937 International Labour Conference. It will leave London on the morning of June 12 and will include members of the Trade Unions, employers' organisations, and other persons interested in international labour legislation. The fee (third-class throughout, and one week's full accommodation in Geneva) is £10. It is hoped to arrange an extension to visit the Paris Exhibition on the return journey. The cost of this extension would be £2. Further details can be had on application to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

Wanted—Women Writers!

By MARGERY TUDOR

(A Successful Woman Journalist)

How often one hears women say longingly, "If only I could write!" The tone in which the wish is uttered suggests that they have not the slightest hope of fulfilling it, that they think it is really a tremendous presumption.

This desire for self-expression is natural and commendable. To make one's ideas take definite shape and to widen one's outlook are excellent aims to which everyone is entitled. Every woman should be able to express herself winningly. One of the most completely satisfying pastimes is to be found in writing. That it is also remunerative adds to its attractiveness.

The happiest women I know are two free-lance journalists. They have found what so many people lack—the power to break the monotony of their everyday routine and to link themselves to a wider mental life. Both of them took up writing merely as a hobby and, when need arose, they were able to make a very comfortable livelihood.

Do you want to write? Why not try to put your ideas to profitable use? Granted that you have a little natural ability, the mastery of a few fundamental rules will enable you to produce articles and stories for which editors will pay you good prices.

There are many markets open to women writers. How big is the field may be realised when one considers that nearly a hundred principal magazines and periodicals are devoted entirely to feminine matters.

In addition to these publications, there are dozens of daily and weekly papers with women's pages and magazines innumerable that contain women's sections. Each journal makes its own special appeal. Catering for this appeal is a matter of training—not a very arduous one when it is guided by established writers.

At the Regent Institute you will find successful authors and journalists ready to give you the full benefit of their knowledge and experience. Women's journalism is one of the special features of the postal tuition, and so thorough and practical is the training that many students sell their work after a few lessons, while keen women pupils have been enabled to cover the fee several times over before completing their courses.

You will have individual attention. Your latent literary gifts will be discovered and directed into profitable channels. You will be encouraged to work along the lines that appeal to you most.

Mr. Harold Herd, the Director of Studies, will tell you whether you have any aptitude for journalism. He will not urge you to enrol if he sees no promise in your work. Why not write to him to find out just where your chances lie?

Post the following coupon in an unsealed envelope (½d. stamp), or write a simple request for the prospectus, addressed to The Regent Institute (Dept. 219S), Regent House, Palace Gate, London, W.8.

THE REGENT INSTITUTE (Dept. 219S) Regent House, Palace Gate, London, W.8

Please send me a copy of "How to Succeed as a Writer"—free of charge and without any obligation.

Name

Address

READERS' VIEWS

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

TIME TO AWAKE

SIR,—The German Colonial problem has been so obscured by statistics that a return to general principles is surely desirable.

Colonies arise from inequalities in civilisation. The more civilised States, claiming the right to colonise, should be actuated by two main motives:—

- (1) Self-interest from the economic standpoint;
- (2) The desire to govern the colonies in the highest interests of their native populations.

It is difficult to deny the general statement that in so far as states are civilised they all have equal rights to colonies, though the expression of this right may of course be limited by particular circumstances.

As a matter of justice, therefore, quite apart from statistics, Germany in common with the rest of the European family has a right to have colonies. It is because this fundamental principle has not been recognised that the German attitude has hardened and the colonial problem remains a possible cause of a future war.

It is high time to awake out of sleep! Let the British Government cease its sophistical and Imperialistic arguments and tell Germany that it is willing with her co-operation to face the very serious practical questions involved, viz.:—

- (1) What colonies can be allotted to Germany?
- (2) Can we assume that a solution of the colonial question will be the first step towards a new European peace settlement?

"At Locarno," said M. Briand, "we spoke 'European,' a new language which we ought certainly to learn."

When, one wonders, shall we return to this attitude?

5 Tennyson Road, Kettering. W. A. PAYNE.

WHY ARM?

SIR,—We wish to place on record our conviction that the Union must on no account allow itself to be manoeuvred into support for the rearmament programme of the present Government or of its arms loan.

Until the Government enters into pacts of non-aggression and mutual assistance with the other Powers loyal to the League, it cannot possibly know what is the level of armaments necessary to defend collective security. Until such guarantees for the defence of collective security are given, British rearmament can only be designed to further our own interests without regard to the security of others.

Such a policy can only bring war and disaster to ourselves and should be strenuously opposed by all L.N.U. members and lovers of peace.

S. BIRKBECK (Chairman).
R. C. FISHER (Hon. Secretary).
A. E. EATHERLEY.
F. M. J. TAYLOR.
L. S. HARTLAND.
C. G. BURR.

League of Nations Union,
(County Hall London) Branch.

WINNING OVER THE WAYERERS

SIR,—I can confirm from personal experience that many who formerly were convinced supporters of the League of Nations Union are expressing grave doubts regarding the efficacy of the League in recent times—and I fear that in many instances the answers of Mr. N. Wood are hardly likely to dissipate their doubts.

Professor Zimmern has said: "The League is a standing agency for facilitating common action by States animated by the co-operative spirit. In so far as they are desirous of co-operation, the League is available for

their use. When this team spirit is present in full measure the League organisation functions with a minimum of friction and the League becomes almost a confederation. But when this spirit wanes, and competition and jealousy resume their sway, the League's action dies down until it is reduced to routine tasks."

The statesmen responsible for the League Covenant would appear to have attempted to combine two conflicting objectives, viz., a voluntary co-operation of States on the one hand and on the other hand a super-State equipped with legal and material force with which to coerce an unwilling State.

The League has fallen between these two stools.

On March 2, 1937, Mr. Eden, in the House of Commons said that "there had been ten League successes since 1931, but these had been overlooked and completely dominated by the two failures of Manchuria and Abyssinia." (He did not mention the other failure of the Chaco.) The significant fact is that each of the ten successes was the result of the League working as a co-operation of States; each of the failures was the result of an attempt to use the League as a super-State, armed with the "big stick." No prophecy has been more fully fulfilled than that of the Philimore Report issued in 1919: "We hesitate to recommend that collective action shall be taken in order to enforce an award. . . . We have felt in doubt whether States would contract to do this, and the still greater doubt whether when the time came they would fulfil their contract."

Nothing could be more calculated to raise opposition or stimulate suspicion in States—"the weak States apprehensive for their rights; the strong States for their prestige; and both alike for their dignity"—than any threat to their sovereign status, such as the ill-considered and futilely imperfect and inconclusive Sanctions clauses of the League Covenant provide.

Mr. James Maxton said the other day that he did not suppose that if he offered the Government advice it would necessarily be accepted. And I cannot flatter myself that any suggestion of mine is likely to affect the future of the League of Nations. But I do suggest that, just as the concert of Europe worked with a larger degree of satisfaction in preserving Europe from a major war for a hundred years from 1815 to 1914, and began its useful work as soon as the notion of a super-State equipped with an international army, having Wellington as its Commander-in-Chief, was dropped—so, if once the dream of a twentieth century super State, able by means of war to enforce peace, is dropped from the programme of the League of Nations and the League's motto becomes: Come, let us reason together, the team spirit, without which peace and concord are not possible, will have at any rate some small chance to emerge once again.—Yours, etc.

JAMES PHILLIPS

(Chairman of the Bradford Council
of the League of Nations Union).

WANTED—A HANDSHAKE

SIR,—I am greatly troubled about the complete change of emphasis which is to be seen in the attitude of the Union to the present issues of peace and war. I attended the annual meeting of this branch last week and listened to an address from Mr. Price Holmes in which he urged the importance of "collective security." He spoke of collective security as the ending of rule by the big stick. He stated that there were three possible alternatives before us. These were isolationism, pacifism—which he described as selfish—and collective security. Just think of describing the policy for which Christ lived and died as "selfish." It may be impractical, though I do not believe it so, or it may lead to

suffering which I quite believe it would, but it is not to be described as selfish. He spoke of collective security as the only policy for the League.

I want to suggest in all earnestness to the Union that there is a third alternative, which is for the League to ascertain what are the causes of war, and to remove them. Germany, for instance, seems to feel that there are certain good things in the world, and certain fundamental rights, even, which the other powers will not concede to her unless she fights for them. Let the League be the means of discovering these things, and the Union the means of educating public opinion about them so that the causes of war may be removed at their root. For the British Commonwealth of Nations to hold one-fifth of the world's surface and a goodly proportion of the raw materials of the world, and to say "Peace, Peace" with collective security against any Oliver Twist who wants a little more is not just, and is not the constructive peace policy for to-day.

Collective security is not the ending of rule by the big stick, it is the provision of a bigger one, and a war waged by the League will be no less ghastly and beastly than any other war. Some Union speakers are driving out of the Union the pacifists who are the backbone of any drive for peace, and are substituting a policy which supports the Government in its present rearmament policy and may lead us into the most terrible war yet. What we want is not a bigger stick, but a handshake and a Conference table. Let the policy of the Union be to build peace, and not to wage war, collective or otherwise.

HOWARD DIAMOND.

19, Manor Road, Beckenham, Kent.

WHY NOT 500,000 FRIENDS?

SIR,—In view of the present policy of the Governments in piling up armaments and the tendency of many Church leaders to support this policy, thus preparing the minds of the people that they may take their share in the slaughter of ordinary people, it is incumbent upon the rank and file of our Churches, as well as of the many who are not members of our Churches, to think out means by which this pernicious and Christless kind of propaganda can be counteracted and action taken towards this end. Is there anything that the Churches can do in this way?

In his sermon, broadcast from Croydon Parish Church on Sunday, February 7 last, the Bishop of Croydon mentioned a scheme which was tried out in one of the parishes of his Deanery last summer with the purpose of creating international friendship and understanding among the rank and file. Twenty-five visitors from France and Germany were entertained in the homes of people in the parish, and the Church Hall was made their headquarters. Outings and entertainments were arranged by the Church, and it proved to be a thoroughly useful and enjoyable fortnight; already members of this Church have paid return visits to the homes of those who came over last year.

Here, surely, is an opportunity for the Churches of all denominations. If two-thirds of the Churches of this country were to undertake this kind of work to the extent of putting up twenty-five visitors from abroad, there is no reason why 500,000 visitors should not be received in this country every year and the same number of visits made to the homes of our neighbours on the Continent. It is probable, as understanding between the individuals of the different nations increased, that the work of international statesmen would be considerably eased.

If any Church, or individual, would like to have further details of what happened here last year with a view to undertaking this kind of work, a letter to Mr. Geoffrey Smith, 33, Silver Lane, West Wickham, Kent, will produce some information as to how to set about the job of entertaining a party this summer.—Yours faithfully,

St. Mary's Vicarage, H. PERCIVAL SMITH.
The Avenue, West Wickham, Kent.



A Crowning Charity

Make a Coronation Offering

When you buy your rose on Queen Alexandra's Rose Day, you see an example of the work done by the 320 crippled girls at JOHN GROOM'S CRIPPLEAGE AND FLOWER GIRLS' MISSION.

John Groom's Crippleage was founded over 70 years ago by the Great Earl of Shaftesbury and John A. Groom to help crippled girls to become partially self-supporting by training them to make artificial flowers of all kinds. The cost of maintenance and training is heavy, and is dependent upon VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS. Funds are urgently needed NOW. LEGACIES are a Godsend. There is always a long waiting list.

JOHN GROOM'S CRIPPLEAGE
AND FLOWER GIRLS' MISSION
(INC.)

Please send a contribution—now. If preferred, come to the Crippleage at Edgware (any day except Saturday) and see the fascinating work—or write for a copy of latest report to JOHN GROOM'S CRIPPLEAGE, 37, Sekforde Street, Clerkenwell, London, E.C.1.

BRANCH SECRETARIES

—and others. Send your PRINTING orders to L.N.U. Members. Prices right for slender funds. Prompt deliveries. Good work.

—The Belvedere Press, 22 Gilbert Road, Belvedere, Kent. Telephone: Erith 2512.

ITALIAN MILITARY SECRETS

By H. Stanley Jevons.

GENERAL DE BONO CONFESSES

A Summary of His Amazing Revelations with Full Extracts.

TO PREVENT WAR UNDERSTAND ITS CAUSES.

THIS EXPLAINS ONE WAR.

Price 6d. (post free 7d.) from:—

L. N. U. Offices

Or from H. S. JEVONS, 143, Grand Buildings, Trafalgar Square, W.C.2.

HERE AND THERE

UNION BRANCHES

During the past year there has been a steady increase in the membership of the **Accrington** Branch. This has been largely brought about by the efforts of the workers in the house-to-house canvass. Also an excellent system of book-keeping has been devised so that no members are likely to be lost owing to lack of organisation. The Branch is continuing the canvass.

A very successful Peace Week was organised by the Branch at Bishop Otter College, **Chichester**. Although activities had to be confined to the college itself, some very useful work was done and interest in the League and the cause of peace greatly stimulated. The membership of the Branch was increased by half.

Following on the Brussels Congress of the I.P.C., the County Hall (**London**) Branch has been busy arranging discussions with other peace societies and professional organisations in other public offices, with a view to organising peace work among public servants as a whole. The Branch also held a well-attended meeting on the subject of "Air Raid Precautions," when interesting and informative addresses were given by Dr. H. Joules, of the Medical Peace Campaign, and Professor A. F. W. Hughes, one of the joint authors of "Protection of the Public from Aerial Attack."

Headquarters has received an encouraging gift of £12 from the **Plymouth** Branch. The money was raised by means of an "At Home," at which the secretary gave a talk illustrated by lantern slides.

The secretary of the **Fenwick** (Kilmarnock) Branch is to be congratulated on the splendid efforts he made single-handed to increase the membership in his district. The result of his canvass in a scattered parish was an increase of from 62 to 136 members.

The **Westminster** Branch has discovered an excellent means of raising funds. The proceeds of a "Bring and Buy Tea" amounted to £19, and the Branch very generously sent the whole of this sum to help headquarters funds.

It was possible to report healthy progress at the annual meeting of the **Harpden** Branch. A total membership of 649 was recorded and 46 new members were gained during the year. Mr. Michael Barkway, in addressing the meeting, said that we could not afford to leave the League "on the shelf," and he stressed the need of well-informed public opinion in support of the League. The League of Nations Union was the expression of that opinion.

When the Air-Raid Precaution and Anti-Gas demonstrations were being held at the Town Hall, the **Kensington** Branch took the opportunity of doing some propaganda work for peace. Volunteer workers distributed leaflets, which drew attention to the necessity for organising peace and urged support of the League of Nations. A World and Stars poster was displayed with the words "Prevention is Better Than Cure," and with a recommendation to join the Union.

Encouraging news comes from **Hertford**. Within the last year the Branch has doubled its membership.

The League system has not failed! That was the point stressed by Mr. Noel Baker in his address at **Ilkeston**. The League had proved by 1931 that it was actually able to stop a war. Subsequent failures were due to the fact that the Covenant had not been applied. If we wanted to end the arms race we must get back to the system of the League.

The Education Committee of the **London Regional Federation** desires to appeal to Branch secretaries and secretaries of Youth Groups to exchange ideas on peace movements with similar workers abroad. From France and Belgium, particularly, many requests have been received from teachers, students, and others interested in work for peace. Those willing to correspond are invited to apply to Dr. Florence Wickelgren, 87, Queen's Road, Buckhurst Hill, Essex, for French-speaking countries; and to the L.R.F. Office, 43, Russell Square, W.C.1, for other countries.

In response to Lord Cecil's appeal, last year, the **Handsworth** (Birmingham) Branch kindly promised a donation of £5 towards headquarters funds and sent the first part of this in December. Now, as the result of a successful Whist Drive, the Branch has sent a second generous contribution, making the total considerably in excess of the amount promised.

An interesting survey of the international situation was given by Mrs. Corbett Ashby in an address to the **Halifax** Branch. However necessary an increase of armaments might be, it could not take the place of a peaceful and constructive foreign policy. Supporters of the League of Nations Union were convinced that the world could not be saved by isolation or by anarchy, but only by international co-operation.

Speaking at a Wesley Guild meeting at **Streatham**, Vice-Admiral Drury Lowe emphasised the need for more faith and optimism in the

world to-day. It was no good talking of war as though it must come. People should be reminded of the many successes the League had already achieved. The recent failures had not been due to any fault in the League machinery, but to lack of the right spirit to work that machinery.

WELSH NOTES

Branches of the Union, in Wales and Monmouthshire, have been busily occupied during March with their annual meetings. In spite of the severe weather conditions, a number of successful public meetings were held during the month. A number of Branches are already proceeding with their plans for "Peace Weeks" and everywhere the "Peace Week" is being linked with a campaign for new members.

It is hoped that a larger number of Daffodil Days will be held this year than ever. The proceeds of daffodil days form a large part of the income of the Welsh Council, and these proceeds are needed urgently, especially this year, when the demands upon the Council's resources are heavier than ever.

The Welsh Council's Women's Advisory Committee recently met at **Wrexham**, under the chairmanship of Mrs. S. E. Davies, M.B.E., J.P. The meeting was addressed by Mr. Frederick Whelen and plans for forthcoming activities were made.

OVERSEAS NOTES

GENERAL.

The Geneva International Summer School, organised by the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, will be held at the Federation headquarters, 14, Avenue de France, Geneva, from August 25 to September 3, 1937. It is hoped to hold the courses in English, French, and German. Further particulars may be had from the Secretariat at the above address.

U.S.A.

L.N.A. Recommends Four Changes in Temporary Neutrality Law.—A statement has just been published by the American League of Nations Association, written by its President, Professor James T. Shotwell; and by Mr. Quincy Wright, on the subject of neutrality. The recommendations are:—

In order to make the foregoing procedure possible, the Neutrality Act of the United States should be amended to include these points:

- (1) To authorise the President to add materials useful for military purposes to the list of articles to which the embargo may apply. (The present Act covers only arms, munitions, and implements of war, and this phrase has been given a very limited construction.)
- (2) To authorise the President to participate with other States in imposing an embargo whenever a consultation is demanded under treaties to prevent war.
- (3) To authorise the President, after consultation with other States, to raise the embargo on behalf of the victim of aggression.
- (4) To remove that section in the present Act which provides special treatment for other American States in case they become involved in war. (This provision has the effect of placing a special penalty upon American States if they co-operate with the League of Nations in preventing or stopping war.)

SWITZERLAND.

The Central Committee of the Swiss League of Nations Society met in Berne, on Sunday, February 21 under the presidency of M. Zurcher (Zurich). The committee defined its attitude on the expulsion of the Italian journalist (A. Prato) and drew up a resolution in which the Federal Council is asked to take the necessary steps to prevent a recurrence of such an incident.

A resolution was also adopted regretting the decision taken to recognise Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia, and the fact that this decision was taken hastily without consulting parliament and with no explanation whatever to the Swiss people.

FRANCE.

After the meeting on January 10, 1937, of the Union Fédérale des Mutiles et Anciens Combattants, M. René Cassin, President of the Society, issued the following:—

"The Union Fédérale proclaims that, for the success of the difficult international negotiations which are so vital to the cause of peace it is necessary:—

- (1) To make known the moral unity and strength of France.
- (2) To strengthen the understanding between the nations who support co-operation and collective security.

The Union Fédérale makes a special appeal to ex-service men to contribute to the moulding of French opinion, and has decided to send

out periodically impartial information on foreign policy in conjunction with the French League of Nations Society.

TASMANIA.

The annual conference of the Tasmanian Section of the Australian League of Nations Union was held at the headquarters of the Branch on December 17, 1936. The following office-bearers were elected for 1937: President, Mr. W. F. Dennis Butler; Vice-presidents, Hon. McDonald, M.L.C.; Hon. E. Dwyer Gray; and Mrs. Erskine. Sec.-treasurer, Mr. W. A. Woods; Committee, Prof. Taylor; Mr. D. McLaren, Mr. R. Darcey and one representative from each Branch. At the conference it was stated that it is proposed to hold an All-Australia Peace Congress in Melbourne early in 1937, and it is understood that teams of speakers will tour Australian States and New Zealand to organise public opinion against war and war-makers.

CANADA.

This season the Toronto Junior Branch of the League of Nations Society in Canada has tried a new experiment in the Junior work and formed a Junior Branch study group for members who have left school but who want to keep up Junior Branch activities. It is quite a success. There is a group like it in Plymouth (England), and the two exchange ideas, etc. The Junior work is going on very well in Toronto. There are three new groups, the latest one of which has over 100 members.

COUNCIL'S VOTE

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

Allonby, Acocks Green, Bury St. Edmunds, Bournville Works, Bream, Burneside, Crawley, Crowborough, Erdington, Gomersal, Grays, Grange-over-Sands, Hexham, Hall Green, Hastings, Halifax, Inkberrow, Keswick, Reigate, Romsey, Rugby, Ross-on-Wye, Somerton, Stanhope, Stoke Ferry, St. Ives (Hunts), Stourbridge, Weymouth.

For 1937:—
Gledholt Methodist (Huddersfield), West Cranmore.

UNION MEMBERSHIP

Terms of Subscription

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ORDINARY MEMBERS: 1s. a year minimum.

LIFE MEMBERS: £25.

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

TOM LONG tobacco's made with skill,
You fill the pipe—it fills the bill.

TRAVEL & HOLIDAYS

It is undoubtedly to your advantage to look into the holiday and travel possibilities offered by the W.T.A. The 200-page Summer Holiday Booklet gives details of the W.T.A.'s Conducted tours at Home and Abroad, its Guest Houses in the British Isles — its Motor Tours and its own comprehensive range of Cruises — and specially caters for those interested in out-of-the-rut holidays.

ASK FOR THE

W.T.A.

PROGRAMMES of

SUMMER HOLIDAYS

W.T.A.

GUEST HOUSES

INDEPENDENT

TRAVEL

MOTOR COACH

TOURS

ROUND THE

WORLD CRUISE

ESPERANCE BAY

CRUISES

SCHOOL JOURNEYS

BOOKLET

THE WORKERS TRAVEL ASSOC. LTD.

75 Transport House, Smith Square, S.W.1 (Vic. 7430)

59 Queen Victoria Street, E.C.4 (City 6794)

32 Corporation Street, Manchester (Blackfriars 2855)

AND AGENTS THROUGHOUT THE BRITISH ISLES

MILL HILL SCHOOL, LONDON, N.W.7

An examination will be held on the 31st May (preliminary) at candidates' own Schools and 10th to 12th June (final) at Mill Hill, when several ENTRANCE SCHOLARSHIPS will be offered for competition to candidates who are over 12 and under 14 on 1st April, 1937.

About eight Scholarships are offered, varying from £100 to £60 p.a., and two of the fixed value of £80 p.a.

Ministerial Exhibitions of the value of £100 p.a. are also offered for the sons of Ministers. Candidates who do not win Scholarships may be accepted for admission to the School without further examination, provided that their work is of sufficient merit.

For further information and application forms, apply to the Bursar, Mill Hill School, London, N.W.7.

CADBURYS
MILK 2^{oz.} 2^{d.}
CHOCOLATE

War Shall Not Break Out At All

By the Secretary of the Union

ARM THE LAW: So read one of the three League of Nations Union posters for February. The other two quoted Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Eden to the effect that British arms will never be used for a purpose inconsistent with the Covenant of the League or the Pact of Paris. On this occasion the support of Herminius and Spurius Lartius did not save Horatius from some nasty knocks. Critics asked whether the Union meant to give a blank cheque for re-armament. They wanted to know what view the Union takes of the Government's present policy. No complete or final answer could be given, and none can be given, until the General Council of the Union decides whether it will adopt the new statement on British armaments now being prepared by the Executive. If adopted, this new statement will take the place of the resolution passed by the December session of the Council, when it was somewhat hurriedly pieced together from different proposals on the agenda paper.

Meanwhile, Branches of the Union are holding their annual meetings and members of the Union are being asked questions. It may help them to know that the following outlook on the re-armament problem, although it represents no more than a personal point of view, is shared, in its broad lines, by well-known supporters of the League of Nations in all three political parties.

We want above all things to see a new general settlement in Europe. Its terms, as was said on page 40 of the February HEADWAY, should include:

- That the League of Nations shall be equipped with effective machinery for promoting justice as well as for protecting peace;
- That Germany shall return to the League with complete equality of rights and obligations; and
- That German armaments shall be reduced, along with the armaments of other Powers, to however low a level will suffice for the uses sanctioned by the Covenant.

We believe that the positive side of the League's work, the task of creating and maintaining justice between individuals as between nations, is more far-reaching and will loom larger in the long run—if there be a long run—than the negative business of preventing war. In order, however, that there may be a long run, the maintenance of order is of paramount importance.

We are therefore disinclined to question the need for spending a very large sum of money as this

country's contribution to ensuring a preponderance of power for the loyal Members of the League so that the forces available for preserving law and order will remain overwhelmingly greater than those of any likely aggressor or group of aggressors. We deplore the circumstances that have made this expenditure necessary. But, as things stand to-day, the Labour Party and the Liberal Party recognise the need for it as clearly as do the supporters of the National Government.

Some uneasiness does, however, exist in the ranks of the Union because different Ministers do not always give the same reasons for British re-armament. Some recent speeches by members of the Government, like some of the phrases in the White Paper (Cmd. 4827) of March, 1935, are apt to mislead people into looking upon this country as engaged in an armaments race against all and sundry: against France and Russia no less than against Germany and Italy. In our view, it is unfortunate to represent other loyal members of the League as possible enemies rather than as Allies.

But Mr. Eden's Leamington speech was perfectly clear so far as it went. Lord Halifax, from a League of Nations Union platform, at Southampton, on February 24, said that the Government's re-armament programme was "in defence of loyalty to the League." Lord Cranborne, on March 2, defined collective security as meaning "that the forces which stand for a system of international law and order are stronger than those which are against"; and he added: "The real object is that the forces of law and order should be so strong that war will not break out at all."

This last statement of Lord Cranborne's contains the answer to Mr. Chamberlain's "honest-to-God" question whether our armaments should be used for any purposes in addition to those described by Mr. Eden, at Leamington. We want the world to be told promptly and plainly that British armaments may, and if the occasion arose would, be used as provided in Annexe F of the Locarno Treaties "to co-operate loyally and effectively" in the defence of any victim of unprovoked aggression just as surely as they would be used to defend the territories of the British Commonwealth or of France or of Belgium. By such a declaration this country would, we believe, have done its bit to ensure that (in the words used by Lord Cranborne) "the forces of law and order should be so strong that war will not break out at all."