

GENERAL COUNCIL STATES  
A LEAGUE POLICY

See pages 212 and 213

THE FACTS IN  
THE FAR EAST

See page 210

# HEADWAY

BRITISH LIBRARY  
8 NOV 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. 11

[The Journal of the  
League of Nations Union]

NOVEMBER, 1937.

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



Light In The Western Sky



## CONTENTS

News and Comment ... ..	Page	Page
The L.N.U. Plan for Peace (Editorial) ... ..	202	210
Mr. Roosevelt says the U.S.A. will Co-operate ... ..	205	211
Bring Germany into an Ordered World. By George B. Chalk ... ..	206	212
British Men and Women in China Appeal to the League of Nations Union ... ..	207	213
The Crisis of the Refugees. By John Eppstein ... ..	208	214
Great Britain and the 40-Hour Week. By R. A. Butler, M.P. ... ..	209	215
The Facts in the Far East. By a Special Correspondent ... ..		216
The League is Almost Impossible to Kill. From Our Geneva Correspondent ... ..		217
General Council—Viscount Cecil ... ..		218
General Council—Resolutions ... ..		219
Union Appeal ... ..		220
U.S. and Us. By the Secretary of the Union ... ..		221
Economic Recovery Continues ... ..		222
Readers' Views ... ..		223

## NEWS AND COMMENT

## The King's Speech

THE Government did not include in the King's Speech at the opening of Parliament any reference to the League of Nations. In recent years it has been the accepted form on such occasions to declare that Britain's world policy is built upon the Covenant. The change is much to be regretted. But it should not be taken too tragically. The Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary, and other leading members of the Cabinet continue to make profession of their faith in the League and its ultimate success and to be associated more or less closely with the L.N.U. and its work. In the House of Commons debate Viscount Cranborne, Under-Secretary of State, said if anyone was suspicious he could give them a categorical assurance that the League of Nations remained the basis of British foreign policy. This statement was welcomed with Ministerial cheers.

In any case, the authority of the Parliamentary majority, whose servant the Cabinet is, was obtained from the British people by an election pledge to join in "steady and collective resistance to all acts of unprovoked aggression." A retreat from that policy would need the approval of the electors. The opportunity to ask for such approval will not occur until the next General Election. Will the request be made? It is in the very highest degree improbable. Since the present Parliament was chosen no candidate who refused to pledge himself to the League has won a by-election.

## Is America Always Wrong?

UNHAPPY America! There are some people in whose eyes the United States can never do anything right. Except, of course, provide a permanent excuse for never doing anything.

The League is weak because the United States have not joined. The League cannot act because the United States will not act with it. Especially is the assured absence of American support, alleged over and over again despite the clear signs to the contrary in the Manchurian disaster, paraded with gleeful melancholy to explain a complete paralysis of statesmanship in the Far East.

The story had become wearisomely familiar before President Roosevelt made his speech at Chicago, on October 6. Since then it has been embellished with

a grotesquely illogical ornament. It is still repeated, but many of its most faithful admirers go on in their next breath to warn the League and Great Britain against those dangerous Americans. "We must be careful," they say in effect, "or we shall be led into reckless action." Unhappy America! She is accused of achieving the impossible in both lagging behind and rushing headlong in front at one and the same time. But the impossible in dispelling the suspicions of those critics who have adopted her as their pet excuse is seemingly forever beyond her reach.

## With You All The Way

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL had fairer and wiser and braver words to address to his constituents in Essex, on October 26. He spoke out against Japan's attack on China, and added:—

In this matter there is one simple rule. We must act in support of the United States. If they are prepared to act you are quite safe in working with that great branch of the English-speaking people. If our two countries go together in this matter, I doubt whether any harm could come to either of us. Alone we cannot intervene effectively. It is too far off and we are not strong enough. Our rule must be to give more support to the United States. As far as they will go we will go.

There is immediate, imperative need for a plain declaration from the British Government to the Government and people of the United States: "As far as you will go we will go."

## Defence Not Dangerous

WOULD a resolute defence of world peace by the members of the League, in fulfilment of their bond under the Covenant, provoke war? The excuse is continuously made that a strong League policy is too dangerous to follow. Those who think so would be well advised to ponder the following passage in a series of three articles on "Defence or Attack?" contributed to the *Times* by its Military Correspondent. That famous authority on modern war writes:—

Analysis of recent cases where aggression has prevailed shows how much the victims have contributed to their own undoing by foolish indulgence in attacks. It also suggests that a comparatively slight provision of up-to-date material—such as aircraft, anti-aircraft artillery, and machine-guns—would have sufficed to make permanent and general the temporary and local

stalemates which the aggressor repeatedly suffered. That provision would have made but a small drain on the resources of the Powers which had supported the principle of collective security, thereby removing the fear that they might be appreciably weakened in meeting other contingencies. And the cumulative effect of the collective contributions would have so strengthened the position of the target-State as to diminish any ground for the fear that the aggressor might turn on the helpers.

A warring nation which has its hands full is the less likely to reach out for fresh opponents; and, if it does, it is the less to be feared. By coming to see the strength of the defensive in modern war, the potentialities of carrying on a war defensively, and the practicability of limiting the effort involved, the world might be brought nearer than by any ideals to making collective security a reality.

Seemingly, the defence of all by all is not attended by the danger which the frightened ask the irresolute to believe.

## Colonial Problem

WHEN the Colonial problem is debated, how often does one hear the welfare of the natives cited as its chief factor? Very seldom. Those who want to realise what is involved ought to read "Tangled Justice," by Clifton Roberts. Here years of official experience are reduced to lucidly expressed principles; first that Government policy must be adapted to the paramountcy of native interests; and second, that this demands reform of justice. This means knowledge of and respect for native psychology. Is it possible for our code to be so harmonised with African principles so as to compel the respect of the natives rather than their fear, and thus give them justice instead of law? Modern penal reform should be applied; imprisonment and flogging diminished. It is startling to compare this book with Nazi administration of justice.

## What Germany Asks

WHAT Germany would consider a just settlement of her colonial claims has never been set out in precise detail by anyone with high authority. It may be said that there is no one with authority in Germany except Herr Hitler, and that he is obliged by his immense responsibilities to be most careful about when he speaks, and what he says. Nonetheless, to have a clear statement of Germany's demands would be extremely helpful. It would give reality to a hitherto vague debate.

Some approach to this desirable information is provided by reports from well-informed quarters on the Continent of the conversations in Rome during the recent visit to Signor Mussolini of Herr von Ribbentrop, who is both German Ambassador to Britain and Herr Hitler's most trusted adviser on world affairs. Germany, it is said, will ask for the return of Togoland and the Cameroons in West Africa—now held under League Mandate by France and Britain—and of Ruanda-Urundi, in Central Equatorial Africa—now held under League Mandate by Belgium. Further, a vast territory in Central

Africa must be internationalised and entrusted for development to Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy. These are Germany's lowest terms. Their final clause is their feature of highest significance and liveliest encouragement.

## Listen-In to the League This Winter

THE Information Section of the League of Nations Secretariat announces that the nightly broadcasts given from Radio-Nations during the session of the League Assembly have aroused such a favourable response among listeners that the same times and wavelengths are to be adopted for weekly transmissions from Radio-Nations throughout the winter of 1937-8.

The new schedule involves some extension of broadcasting time, and is expected to provide a convenient listening-hour in many different countries.

The weekly broadcasts will be given each Friday night, according to the accompanying schedule:—

Time G.M.T.	Wave-length	Language	Area served
	HBO		
19.00 ..	26.31 metres ..	English ..	British Isles
19.15 ..	11.40 mcs. ..		South Africa
	HBL		
19.30 ..	32.10 metres ..	French ..	Omni-directional
19.45 ..	9.34 mcs. ..		
	HBL		
24.30 ..	32.10 metres ..	English ..	Canada
24.45 ..	9.34 mcs. ..		United States
	HBL		
01.00 ..	32.10 metres ..	Spanish ..	South America
01.15 ..	9.34 mcs. ..		Central America

A weekly transmission will also be given each Monday morning for Australia and New Zealand.

## Branch Enterprise

WESTMINSTER Branch of the L.N.U. has set an example of enterprise which other branches must envy but are little likely to be able to imitate. It has snared Mr. W. N. Ewer, the famous diplomatic correspondent of the *Daily Herald* and one of the leading authorities of the day on world affairs. Snared is the right word. Mr. Ewer and the very few men who rank with him are always busy. The Westminster Branch has persuaded him to promise to address an open meeting on Armistice Day at 8.30 in the evening at Westminster School (Top School, Little Dean's Yard, Westminster). His subject will be "Whither Civilisation?" Mr. Ewer is not only almost uniquely well informed, he is a man of notable courage, never afraid to speak the truth and his mind. His speech should be an event.

## I.P.C.

THE first British National Congress of the International Peace Campaign was held in London on October 23 and 24. Some 800 representatives of several hundred societies attended. An account of the congress will appear in December *Headway*.





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

## THE L.N.U. PLAN FOR PEACE

IN a world adrift the League of Nations alone offers anchorage. A disinclination there may be in many quarters to accept the security which is offered. Some nerves break in times of crisis. The trembling victims of their own fears dare not take a decision. Any decision seems to them hideously dangerous. Rather than let go the anchor they allow themselves to be driven rudderless from one narrowly escaped collision to the next until they meet with a collision which they cannot escape and are sunk. They are not safe because they lack the courage without which safety cannot be had. But given the courage the safety is there.

Drifting away from the League and trying to forget it has been tried often. Always the threat has followed, swollen and insistent because of the flight. In China the avidity of Japan's present attack emerges directly from the success attending upon her earlier, tentative adventure in Manchuria. During 1931 and 1932 Japan advanced one step at a time. After each stride she paused. When no resistance was attempted she strode forward once more. To-day she is persuaded that no resistance will be offered either by the League Powers collectively or by Great Britain and the United States in a partnership outside the League. She may be wrong, but her error is not without justification in her experience. In Spain also an alternative to the League has been failure and the creation of dangers which need never have existed. The Non-Intervention Committee is excused as a theoretically imperfect piece of machinery which has, nevertheless, prevented the Spanish Civil War becoming too openly and unrestrainedly an international war. Actually its effects have been exactly the opposite. Because the Non-Intervention Committee was there pathetically anxious to accept insincere denials and explanations, the foreign governments who wished to intervene with troops and arms could move by stages towards their object without at first acknowledging what they were doing. The Non-Intervention Committee has facilitated intervention. The motives which prompted its appointment were some of them good, some of them bad, and some of them no more respectable than a feeble desire to avoid the pain of planning and putting into force a positive policy. Its results have been almost wholly evil, reducing for the aggressor the cost of war-making to a derisory utterance of some of the right words at some of the right moments and leading, month by month,

to new and graver risks. A rapid glance back over the history of the Spanish terror is enough to show any candid observer that the threat of a conflict involving the major part of Europe was nearer and darker in September and October of the present year, after the Non-Intervention Committee had spent twelve months upon the task of preserving peace, than it had been when the Committee was set up.

Only the League offers anchorage. In the Far East, five disastrous years have persuaded even those whom the obvious, inevitable consequence were unable to advise. They may not yet confess that they were blind in 1931 and '32, but their present insistence on the extreme seriousness of the situation is an implicit admission of their past mistake. In the matter of Spain the same conversion is in progress. What hopes there are of settlement, giving some measure of justice now and holding out a trustworthy promise of peace for the future, rest on the League. The Assembly did something for China. It convinced governments that something better than a platitudinous inertia was required, it declared the unambiguous judgment of the major part of mankind, it prepared the ground for co-operation of League Members with the United States and for utilising the Nine-Power Treaty, under which a conference is assembled in Brussels with the object of restoring peace in the Pacific. Similarly, the Assembly and the associated conference at Nyon revealed the potential force behind the law and the stiffening resolve in the last resort to confront a persistent aggressor with a collective defence. To it such belated successes as the Non-Intervention Committee is about to obtain are wholly due. Had there been no League the war-makers, both in the East and the West would have been pressing forward in a much less harassed frame of mind. Because there is a League brave leadership has the means of bringing the World into the haven where the vast majority of ordinary men and women in all countries would be.

In these circumstances, the importance is plain of the special meeting of the General Council of the League of Nations Union, held on October 12, in the Caxton Hall, Westminster. The resolutions there passed are printed in the present number of HEADWAY. So also are parts of the address delivered from the chair, by Lord Cecil. They both afford evidence of the severely practical temper in which the supporters of the League confront the many pressing dangers of the moment, the clearness with which they see that the League alone can save and assure world peace, and their determination that the League shall be used. The widely representative gathering brought together at short notice from all parts of Great Britain completed the impressive demonstration. In the debate a virtual unanimity was established. Behind each intervention was a candid acceptance of two fundamental truths. To reward aggression is to perpetuate it. If each act of violence is met with weak remonstrance followed by feeble retreat the inevitable sequel is a further act more violent and flagrant. Victories for peace, the only victories that are worth the winning, do not differ from others in this regard; they cannot be achieved without the necessary effort or at less than the inescapable cost. The supporters of the League, the members of the L.N.U., in their search for peace, are resolute enough to deserve it. And they have a plan.

## AMERICA ACTIVELY ENGAGES IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE

On October 5th at Chicago, President Roosevelt made a Speech which may mark a turning point in history. He said "The peace loving nations must make a concerted effort to uphold the laws and principles on which alone peace can rest secure." Here is the key passage in full.

THE political situation of the world . . . is such as to cause grave concern and anxiety to all peoples and nations who wish to live in peace and amity with their neighbours.

The high aspirations expressed in the Briand-Kellogg Pact and the hopes for peace thus raised have of late given way to the haunting fear of calamity. The present reign of terror and international lawlessness began a few years ago . . . and has now reached the stage where the very foundations of civilisation are seriously threatened.

Without a declaration of war, without warning or justification of any kind, civilians, including women and children, are being ruthlessly murdered with bomb from the air. In times of so-called peace ships are being attacked and sunk by submarines without cause or notice.

The nations are fomenting and taking sides in civil warfare in nations that have never done them any harm.

Nations claiming freedom for themselves deny it to others.

Innocent peoples and nations are being cruelly sacrificed to the greed for power and supremacy which is devoid of all sense of justice and humane consideration.

If these things come to pass in other parts of the world, let no one imagine that America will escape, that it may expect mercy, that this western hemisphere will not be attacked, and that it will continue tranquilly and peacefully to carry on the ethics and arts of civilisation.

If those days are not to come to pass—if we are to save a world in which we can breathe freely and live in amity without fear—the peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort to uphold the laws and principles on which alone peace can rest secure.

The peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignorings of humane instincts which are to-day creating the international anarchy and instability from which there is no escape through mere isolation or neutrality.

Those who cherish their freedom and recognise and respect the equal right of their neighbours to be free to live in peace must work together for the triumph of law and moral principles in order that peace, justice, and confidence may prevail in the world.

There must be a return to belief in the pledged word, in the value of a signed treaty. There must be a recognition of the fact that national morality is as vital as private morality.

There is solidarity and interdependence about the modern world, both technically and morally, which makes it impossible for any nation completely to isolate itself from economic and political upheavals in the rest of the world, especially when such upheavals appear to be spreading and not declining.

International anarchy destroys every foundation for peace. It jeopardises either the immediate or future

security of every nation, large or small. It is therefore a matter of vital interest and concern to the people of the United States that the sanctity of international treaties and the maintenance of international morality be restored.

In those nations of the world, he said, which seem to be piling armament on armament for purposes of aggression, and those other nations which fear acts of aggression against them and their security, a very high proportion of the national income is being spent directly on armaments. It runs from 30 to as high as 50 per cent. The proportion that we in the United States spend is far less—11 or 12 per cent.

I am compelled and you are compelled, nevertheless, to look ahead. The peace, freedom, and security of 90 per cent. of the population of the world is being jeopardised by the remaining 10 per cent. . . . The situation is definitely of universal concern.

The questions involved relate not merely to violation of specific provisions of particular treaties. . . . They also involve problems of world economy, world security, and world humanity.

It is true that the moral consciousness of the world must recognise the importance of removing injustices and well-founded grievances, but at the same time it must be aroused to the cardinal necessity of honouring the sanctity of treaties and respecting the rights and liberties of others and of putting an end to acts of international aggression.

It seems to be unfortunately true that the epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading. When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins in, a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of disease.

It is my determination to pursue a policy of peace and to adopt every practicable measure to avoid involvement in war.

No nation which refuses to exercise forbearance and to respect the freedom and rights of others can long remain strong. . . . War is a contagion, whether it be declared or undeclared.

We are determined to keep out of war. Yet we cannot insure ourselves against the disastrous effects of war and the dangers of involvement. We are adopting such measures as will minimise our risks of involvement, but we cannot have complete protection in a world of disorder in which confidence and security have broken down.

If civilisation is to survive, the principles of the Prince of Peace must be restored. . . . Most important of all, the will for peace on the part of the peace-loving nations must express itself to the end that nations that may be tempted to violate their agreements and the rights of others will desist from such a course. There must be positive endeavours to preserve peace.

America hates war. America hopes for peace. Therefore America actively engages in the search for peace.



# Bring Germany Into An Ordered World

## A LAWYER STATES THE CASE FOR AN IMMEDIATE APPROACH

By GEORGE B. CHALK

If we assume that freedom from international wars is a matter of primary importance for the peoples of the world at any time, as no doubt it is, then it may appear that the present is a favourable time for attempting an understanding between the German and the British Governments, such an understanding as might make the way clear for resumption of League membership by Germany. Time presses.

The modern German theory of the state should not stand in the way, because every state has, of necessity, relations with all other states, whether friendly or unfriendly, and peace is a general desideratum. Outside the League these important matters seem to be subject to confusion and chance, and ultimately to violence. It should be a truism that co-operation is essential, and success should correspond to the degree of co-operation.

The present political conditions and circumstances of Germany are probably, from the point of view of the average Briton, traceable to and explained by the loss of the war, and the ensuing economic pressure—met by various devices, but the pressure remains. The only law of war, outside of the League, seems to be *vae victis*.

Executions in Germany and Russia either without trial or with "weighted" or unfair trials must by this time have saturated the German and Russian mentality with the bitter lesson of anarchy as an alternative to law. Anarchy is parallel to war, which is, indeed, mere confusion in respect of every aspect of human life. The German people have seemed to resent very much certain happenings of this kind in Russia, but they must also remember the drastic happening a few years ago in their own country. Then every German must have felt that his position in society, and indeed his life, was in jeopardy should anyone be jealous of him and act as an informer—perhaps jealous for material advancement only.

The Germans have, in a pre-eminent degree, genius for social organisation, and in this way they make a real contribution to world progress, although it appears that organisation alone has in many aspects a deadening effect. Order, prevision, and abstract justice are precious to the German mind, as witness the "Schuldfrage" which agitated Germany (and rightly so) long after other nations had apparently ceased to consider the subject of any significance. Burke said long ago that you cannot indict a people.

The Führer's watchword when he achieved power was "Einigkeit" or Unity. He had seen a sudden experiment of democracy in a wide sense in Germany, but found a very Tower of Babel (between 20 and 30 political parties) confused, and relatively impotent. He proceeded to a *fait accompli* at the Rhine, and, although people here disliked the method, he assumed, and was justified by the result, that any other method for a purpose so reasonable was unpractical. Europe approved by silently acquiescing, and the static treaty had no longer efficacy. Bismarck had similarly produced

unity where previously there was diversity. Goethe desired to become a good European.

To-day there is a similar number of independent states in Europe, with conflicting interests, and a corresponding weakness in face of the threat of world war. What more natural than for Germans to think like this, and for the best possible reasons to desire peace and trade and to extend the principle of "Einigkeit" to the international sphere, and to join, and so to fortify, the League. The earlier objection (the Versailles Treaty) they themselves declare has disappeared.

Germany has seemed to indulge a rather sentimental futility in demanding for itself a high measure of justice—I mean to the people of Germany—after failure in war. Surely we all know that war begets war, and not peace or justice. Indeed, it never seemed to be in the power of the League to produce that type of abstract justice. It could envisage justice, and obviously could better ensure a greater measure of justice were all the nations in; but each great nation can add its strength and genius for this noble purpose, or can withhold them.

I shall not be understood except by those who deem peace a primary political good.

If Germany desires a colony or colonies, then, since the mandated territories are merely (as it were) trusts primarily for the inhabitants, who are protected by international law as represented by the League, she could not have them in any other way than under League auspices, unless there is serious retrogression from the principles stated, with the corresponding instability.

The common objection that we cannot traffic in the destinies of the black races will not stand scrutiny if we reflect that the peoples concerned are relatively unconscious of political changes, unless when those operate to the serious prejudice of the native in his home and his work, and that the general consideration when colonial territories were transferred *en bloc* at Versailles had little relation to the natives, but related chiefly to victory, or what we considered to be the "fruits" of victory, or the pains of defeat. On the other hand, it sounds peculiarly arrogant to suggest, as responsible people sometimes do in public, that it is not to be contemplated that Germany might again control West African territory, because she could then attack our trade routes in the Indian Ocean. Have we not trade routes everywhere? and is it to be supposed that Kaiser Wilhelm Land (in the Antarctic—forgotten, I believe, at Versailles) should satisfy German colonial aspirations? We shall have to take broader views if peace is the chief political asset—a question of values.

Again, it is arrogant to suggest that two or three of the victorious nations have a monopoly of colonising talent.

The arbiter on the question of mandates should be the League itself, and not the trustee nations appointed by and accountable to the League. I am aware that technical difficulties may be raised on this point, but they become unimportant in a peace perspective.

Colonial territories seem to mean for the German nation much more than trade, and to cover spheres for enterprise and development of resources, and for culture, and finally for the prestige of a great nation, and its self-respect *inter pares*.

The present approach to the old alliances or balance of power discloses weaknesses everywhere—the subordination often of every great purpose to mere expediency and fear, and what is called self-defence. Such a balance is always unstable immediately a new conflict of interests emerges, and the inevitableness of the adoption, sooner or later, of the superior principle of general law, and a progressive approach to a greater measure of international justice for peoples becomes more apparent. The Rome-Berlin axis is an excellent illustration when one considers the war histories of the two principal nations concerned, and their conflicting interests on the Danube and in Middle Europe. This is not merely a question, as the Germans seem to think, of friendship between two nations, but the greater question of progress towards justice through law. No one should deceive himself into thinking that law is itself justice, but it affords the best approach to that at least for nations.

Great Britain would much prefer Germany in the

League for purposes of law and justice and international peace to any flimsy entente or rapprochement between the Germans and us. Such an entente, however, might easily emerge in terms of certain common characteristics of the two nations.

For the reasons stated, friendly representations to Germany from this country by the ordinary diplomatic methods could very profitably be begun at once, and resumption of League membership should be urged. The considerations on both sides would be peace, law, justice, and some redistribution of territories and trade. If our minds remain static as regards these considerations, the history of the supposedly static treaty should indicate the consequences. Economic forces are always operating for change, and the great statesmen are those who can best gauge those forces and steer.

I desire it to be the glory of my own country that she should be ever in the van of the movement towards international peace, and, if necessary, we should make sacrifices to that end, which may not in deed be sacrifices, but the best endowment for our own posterity and for humanity. Without some readiness for sacrifice in terms of redistribution of trade and territory, progress is out of sight.

## British Men And Women In China Appeal To The League of Nations Union

*An appeal to the League of Nations Union for immediate action to defeat Japan's attack upon China has come to the L.N.U. from central China. It bears the names of 100 British men and women, most of them Christian missionaries.*

To The League of Nations Union, London, England.

GENTLEMEN: We appreciated your strenuous efforts in keeping up interest in sanctions against Italy during the Ethiopian war. Now another threat to world organisation for peace has occurred in Japan's unprovoked aggression in China.

We in China are, of course, interested in the welfare of China, but we are also interested in the development of a world community that is able to maintain peace for the good of all nations. So we might say that we have three objectives: First, we want to save China from the destructive effects of a long war carried on in her territory; second—we want to save China from possible conquest by Japan and the resulting setting back of her development probably for 50 years; third—we want to strengthen the world organisation for peace so that further aggressions upon weaker nations can be prevented in the future.

We, therefore, urge you to do all that you can as soon as possible to secure British action to encourage the League to apply economic sanctions against Japan. Failure in the case of Italy only meant that we learned better how to do it next time. And Japan is probably more vulnerable on the side of her exports than was Italy. On China's side, the imperialistic grab is a much greater stake than what was involved in Ethiopia. North China alone includes 100,000,000 people. Sanctions by the League should, therefore, be applied as quickly, as comprehensively, and as strictly as possible. It appears to us that the Japanese military party will only listen to one of two things. One is stronger military force, and the other is a serious stoppage of military supplies or a decline in her world trade that would cause

her business interests, which are not fundamentally in favour of the war, to demand that the military party stop its aggression in China.

Because of the world trade aspect of this question, and because action at the League will take time, another line of effort is also very worth while, and that is voluntary refusal by individuals to buy any Japanese goods as long as her troops remain on Chinese soil. It would be advisable for your organisation to promote such a popular boycott both in England and throughout the British Dominions. In each country public opinion should be centred upon two or three articles which constitute the largest imports from Japan. We do not have the reference material available here for deciding what these articles are, but some member of your organisation can determine that very quickly.

About 50 American citizens here have signed a telegram to President Roosevelt, urging him to call a Conference of the Powers signatory to the Nine-Power Treaty, which is the only multi-lateral, international agreement with consultative possibilities to which Japan is a signatory. This telegram urged such a conference for purposes of conciliation only. You might urge our Government to co-operate with the American Government in such a conference. Such a conference would be valuable before the meeting of the Council of the League because Japan can be invited to sit at the conference table.

If you have any questions or suggestions of ways in which we might co-operate, we shall be very glad to hear from you.—Yours in the interest of world peace,

A GROUP OF BRITISH MEN AND WOMEN  
(now assembled in Hankow).

Hankow, Hupeh. Sept. 14, 1937.



# The Crisis of the Refugees

By JOHN EPPSTEIN

WHATEVER the issue of the war in Spain, it is almost certain that thousands of political exiles from that country will stand in need of international assistance if they are not to become a serious burden to France. This unmentioned cloud hung over the debates on refugees at Geneva: it makes the negative result all the more regrettable. The opposition of a single delegation prevented the Assembly making any progress towards a constructive plan, to which the other delegations were favourably disposed, for the future protection of refugees.

This fact has naturally caused not a little resentment against the Russian Government, the more so as statesmen such as M. Blum and Lord Cecil had been at pains during recent months to make clear to M. Litvinoff that the interest taken in so many countries in the plight of those who had fled from Russia, in consequence of civil war and famine 17 years ago, involved no kind of hostility to his government. On the contrary, those with intimate knowledge of the Nansen Office could bear witness to the scrupulous care with which Judge Hansson and his advisers exclude any Russian *émigré* who is even suspected of political machinations from any part in its work. Nor would it be difficult to prove how the purely humane and disinterested activity of the Office has removed from hundreds of thousands of refugees the temptation or the occasion to engage in political agitation—by giving them some security in life and the means of earning their daily bread.

Even enlightened self-interest should have prompted the Government of Moscow to concur in the continuance of an international system which (to put its merits at their lowest) keep their exiles out of mischief, a system in whose direction they themselves have their share. But neither the arguments of humanity nor those of prudence have prevailed with a dictator whose uneasiness is reflected in daily arrests and executions; and the appeals to M. Stalin, of M. Boris Stein, the embarrassed and isolated Soviet delegate at Geneva, were apparently unavailing. It is, however, doubtful whether, had the matter been pressed to an issue in the full Assembly, the Soviet would have stood out *contra mundum*.

"His Majesty's Government," said Lord Cranborne, in the speech which concluded his arduous fight for the continuance and improvement of the League's work for refugees, "were unwilling to believe that the government which had opposed the resolution would really determine to frustrate the expressed desire of its fellow-members, delivering at the same time a serious blow at the League itself, by persisting in its opposition in the Assembly." But the matter was not put to the test: at the last moment, and without even consulting Lord Cranborne, the Rapporteur of the Sixth Commission, M. Grumbach, a French delegate who had himself voted for the report, produced a resolution, for which he had secured the support of three other delegations, designed to save the Russians from the embarrassment of a vote by adjourning any decision for a year, and asking the Council to begin all over again the preparation of a plan to assist refugees.

Compromise is one of the least admirable but not,

unfortunately, least popular deities of Geneva. M. Grumbach and his friends prevailed, nearly half the States Members abstaining from the vote. It is now for the French Government, which has assumed the heavy responsibility of postponing any decision about the continuance of League protection for 750,000 refugees—Armenian, Russian, and German—until two months before the liquidation of the Nansen Office and the German High Commission, to find a way of overcoming the obduracy of its Eastern Ally.

While it would not be honest to minimise the unfavourable impression which the Soviet's attitude made upon the majority of delegations at Geneva—an impression which supporters of the League in Great Britain cannot but share—it is important to be realistic in this matter. Everything which might be said about the vindictiveness of the Moscow Government towards refugees from Russia applies equally to the Government of the Reich in its attitude to refugees from Germany. It applies equally to the governments, such as the Italian and Yugoslav, who in Dr. Nansen's time were bitterly opposed to the idea of the League affording any protection or help to their political exiles. Alone of the revolutionary governments the Turkish has shown itself to be more reasonable and humane, raising no objection to the continuance of League protection for the Armenian refugees and its own financial contribution to that end. It must be remembered that the whole of the League's work for refugees (except those from the Saar) was originally undertaken *without* the participation of the governments from whose territories the refugees fled. Russia and Turkey were not members when Dr. Nansen first set to work; Germany was under notice to leave the League when the High Commission was set up to deal with the flood of Jewish and other refugees from that country, and the Nazi Government have never assumed any responsibility for its work. It may be asking too much of human nature to expect revolutionary or totalitarian governments to contribute to any form of assistance for those whom they have driven into exile. It may be that the use of the right of asylum can only be provided collectively by the remaining powers. That will mean one of two things. Either those governments whose political exiles come under League protection will be relieved from contributing their part of that section of the budget which is set aside for the work for refugees (a small amount) and would also abstain from the meetings of the Assembly, Council, or Committees at which this work was discussed; or a separate international organisation for assistance to refugees will be set up as the result of a diplomatic conference outside the League of Nations. The second alternative is now being seriously examined. But Lord Cranborne was probably right when he said that "international assistance for refugees cannot be effective except under the aegis of the League"; and supporters of the League in this country will undoubtedly continue their struggle during the coming year to make that assistance effective until the League's responsibilities in regard to these unhappy victims of political commotion are fully discharged.

# Great Britain and the 40-Hour Week

By R. A. BUTLER, M.P.

(Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Labour)

THE Socialists have been making much of the question of a 40-hour week which has been discussed both this year and in previous years at International Labour Conferences at Geneva. The argument of our opponents is that the attitude of the Government is one of uncompromising opposition to the introduction of the 40-hour week on either a national or an international basis.

I think I should begin by denying most emphatically that the National Government has been opposed in principle to the reduction of working hours either to 40 a week or to any other level. In fact, it would welcome the introduction in a practical form of such a measure.

What the Government has not been satisfied about is that the adoption of a 40-hour week on the basis on which it has hitherto been discussed at Geneva would, taking the broad view, result in any advantage to our industries and the workpeople in them: in fact, it has felt that it might well do our industries definite harm.

It will perhaps be as well if I give a brief account of past discussions at Geneva. The idea of the reduction of hours of work to 40 a week originated on the Continent at a time when unemployment was high, and it was suggested as a form of work-sharing for the definite purpose of relieving unemployment. In some quarters it was intended that weekly earnings of the workers should not be reduced by reason of shorter working hours, whilst in others it was accepted that earnings would be reduced and that the chief benefit to accrue from a 40-hour week would be the work-sharing which would result.

None of the conventions suggested has provided adequate provision for the safeguarding of earnings in the event of the reduction of hours to 40 a week, and throughout the discussions there has been a serious divergence of view on this point. The British Government has endeavoured to clarify this issue and to put the discussions on a more practical basis.

There are considerable difficulties in attempting to regulate hours without going into the question of wages. For instance, even if in other countries there were no reduction in earnings, the cost of a 40-hour week would be much greater in countries of high wage levels, such as ours, compared with those where lower wages are paid. There are also a considerable number of technical difficulties in the introduction of a 40-hour week to all industries, with all their varying working conditions.

It was in view of all these considerations that the British Government proposed that the employers' and workpeople's representatives in individual industries should meet with Governments to discuss the hours and wages in those industries. The Government gave its fullest support to the Tripartite Technical Conferences held during the last year to examine all the aspects relevant to the improvement of social conditions

in the three industries selected for examination, namely the printing, chemical, and textile trades. The last of these three conferences, that for the textile industry, was held at Washington in April.

Turning now to the 1937 Conference, it was a cause of grave disappointment to the Government that the Conference turned to the discussion of a convention for a 40-hour week for the textile industry, to be adopted immediately this year, without giving time for the consideration of the very full report of the Washington Conference.

Moreover, for many years it has been the policy of the British Government to encourage and help to build up in industry a vast machinery of collective bargaining between employers and employed. This policy has been highly successful, and there is such machinery in almost every trade, including chemicals, printing and textiles, the industries for which conventions were under discussion. In the various agreements arrived at by means of this machinery hours and wages are fixed in relation to each other, and there is never any question of fixing hours without regard to the effect on wages. Accordingly, we were bound to be more than a little hesitant in our attitude to the draft conventions suggested which attempted to deal with the regulation of hours without going into the question of wages.

We could not help feeling that as they stood they were likely to cause a reduction in wages and a rise in costs to an extent which would increase and not reduce unemployment, and we were not prepared to impose on the industries concerned by immediate legislation a fixed schedule of hours to which they had not agreed through their collective bargaining machinery. I say "immediate legislation" because the British Government was and is not prepared to ratify a convention which it does not propose immediately to enforce.

There was another feature in the draft conventions which was unsatisfactory, namely, the power to average hours of work over a period as long as a year. It was admitted that under this provision it would be possible for 60 hours a week to be worked at certain times of the year and 20 at others, without any overtime being paid in the former case.

I think these arguments will show that the Government has adopted the only possible line in relation to the discussions on the 40-hour week at Geneva, and that our policy is far from being one of categorical opposition to the reduction of the hours of work of workpeople in this country. By insisting that the discussions should stick closely to facts and be on an entirely practical basis, we have shown ourselves by no means unfriendly to the International Labour Organisation. Readers will realise how considerable is the Government's support of that very valuable organisation when I say that we have ratified more of its conventions than any other country except one.



# The Facts in China and Japan

BY A HIGH AUTHORITY ON THE FAR EAST

As the British, American and other Governments signatory to the Nine Power Treaty are preparing to consider in conference what collective measures they can adopt to halt Japanese aggression, many editorial writers and publicists are fearful of what the adjacent future may bring. There are, as they see it, obvious difficulties and dangers in any British or American efforts to interpose an effective veto on the military achievement of Japan's "forward policy."

But there is danger as well in a policy of drift which may allow Japan to succeed in carrying out another stage of her "divine mission" in the farther Orient. Except in its more immediate aspects, this side of the picture has as yet been given insufficient attention by the English-speaking peoples on either side of the Atlantic. It is generally realised that extensive concrete British and American interests are at stake. Among these are British investments in China, which are more than six times as great as American, and trade with the Chinese market, in which the American share is considerably greater. But when the intimate relationship between Hongkong and China is included it seems reasonable to hold, as the American public does, that the concrete British interests affected by Japan's aggressive policy far outweigh the American.

## Russian Influence

The Anglo-American interests threatened in the Far East extend far beyond investments and trade. A disquieting factor in this larger sphere is the influence on the future of China which may be the outcome of Russian assistance against Japan. Chinese unity, such as it is to-day, owes much to the helping hands of the British Empire and the United States. During the conquest of Manchuria, Washington and London took definite, even if unsuccessful, steps to restrain Japanese aggression, in which the Moscow Government had no part. But now the situation is reversed. The two Anglo-Saxon Powers have so far concentrated their efforts on averting too much damage to their citizens and investments, whereas Russia gives definite indications of playing a far more active role in support of Nanking.

Whether or not there are secret clauses attached to the recent Sino-Russian Treaty of Non-Aggression, it seems obvious that some degree of Russian "intervention" in the Far Eastern struggle is to be expected. The Moscow Government may follow the example of Italy in Spain by providing an expeditionary force of "volunteers," or it may fear to proceed to such extremes. But a steady flow of airplanes and munitions through Outer Mongolia, a flow entirely legal according to international law, appears to be inevitable. And few observers will be surprised if hundreds of "civilian" Russian pilots are simultaneously hired by the Nanking Government.

Whatever the outcome of hostilities in Northern China and the Yangtze Valley, Russian assistance of this nature must earn Chinese gratitude and enhance immeasurably Russian influence in China. The contrast between Soviet aid and Anglo-American detachment would be noted and remembered in thousands of Chinese villages and cities. There is no need to be alarmist here and

expect the highly individualistic, culturally conservative millions of Chinese to turn "Communist" overnight. But we cannot disregard the resultant probability of further Russian penetration of adjacent provinces and a growing intimacy between Moscow and any national government that remains in China. Such an outcome would seem likely to damage British interests more than American, in view of the incidence of Russian policy on the British Empire in the Near and Middle East. The long-range dangers which successful Japanese aggression may bring, on the other hand, concern the United States more vitally than Great Britain.

## The Achilles Heel

Japan has to-day an Achilles Heel to her position of power in her dependence upon oversea raw materials, foreign markets, and foreign trade. She is for this reason susceptible now to diplomatic and economic pressure from the Western Powers. If she can succeed by her "Continental policy" in obtaining an iron control over a large enough area of China which would provide an exclusive market for her exports and a supply of many essential raw materials, her present susceptibility to peaceful pressure will no longer exist. The Western Powers will then have no means of restraining her from any imperialistic course except war.

Japan at the same time has one outstanding advantage over Great Britain or any other European Power in her geographical situation. She lies thousands of miles from the power centres of any of her potential rivals. Her most dangerous rival, Russia, which must face her across 4,000 miles of sparsely populated territory, could no longer meet her on equal terms if she controlled a Sino-Manchurian bloc containing more than 100,000,000 people. In such circumstances her leaders would have an opportunity for empire-building unique in history. The conquest of Eastern Siberia would become a practical possibility, the 400,000,000 people of a shattered China would lie at her front door, and the Far Eastern territories of the Western Powers would be within her zone of absolute naval supremacy. Whether or not Japan would avail herself of so glorious an opportunity for territorial expansion can perhaps best be judged by the extent to which her "divine mission" is accepted by her people. The fulfilment of this mission could not then, in any case, be prevented by anything less than a Western coalition which included both the British Empire and the United States.

The end, is not yet in the Far East. Although future developments there are impossible to estimate, one factor which may have a direct bearing upon them should be remembered. This is the distribution of Japanese foreign trade. The British Empire, the United States, France, and Holland, all of whom are directly threatened by Japan's present course, purchase more than half of all Japanese exports. These Powers possess together accordingly a means of exerting a telling pressure on the Japanese Government if the need should arise, which lies in the comparatively simple procedure of imposing a Customs embargo on imports from Japan.

# The League Is Almost Impossible To Kill

## Reflections On The Assembly Of 1937

(FROM OUR GENEVA CORRESPONDENT).

Geneva, October 28.

WHEN the Eighteenth Ordinary Session of the Assembly adjourned indefinitely on October 6, and the 52 delegations left Geneva for their capitals, there was a good deal of optimism. It really looked as though the British Government was making ready to take action for the defence of peace both in Europe and in Asia. Lord Cranborne had given a definite undertaking that if foreign volunteers were not immediately withdrawn from Spain, then Britain would support France if the latter opened the Pyrenees frontier to enable the Spanish Government to obtain arms; and at the same time general encouragement was felt at the tone of President Roosevelt's Chicago speech.

This speech was particularly important because the British had been saying that of course it was impossible for the members of the League to do anything about the Far East as the United States was not going to do anything. This view was challenged by Geneva observers in close touch with Washington, and was speedily proved to be wrong—the speeches of President Roosevelt showing that American policy with regard to the Sino-Japanese War would be the same as it had been over the Italo-Abyssinian conflict—that is to say that it would always be one jump ahead of the League. It will be recalled that the United States applied sanctions against Italy before the League did, through the application of the Neutrality Act which was then valid. Later on, while the League was still engaged in its fruitless discussion of an oil embargo, the United States acted, placing a very severe limitation on oil exports to Italy. Similarly, Roosevelt is now moving towards sanctions against Japan long before anybody in the League has started.

It has become impossible, as a result of the Chicago speech, to say that the American attitude does anything to hinder Britain or the League in any action that it might take to carry out their obligations under the Covenant. Even the faint-hearts have seen this, and during the last day or two at Geneva it was no longer the American attitude which was blamed, but the state of France. France, we were told, was on the verge of a grave parliamentary and financial crisis. It was out of the question that she or anybody else could do anything for the Covenant. Since the Assembly, it has become clear that the Popular Front government still commands the full support of the French electorate, and that there is not going to be a crisis of the franc this time. Geneva will be interested to see what is going to be the new excuse for doing nothing. The Non-Intervention Committee will afford endless opportunities of delay about

the withdrawal of volunteers unless both Britain and France show themselves resolute and quick to act.

The Nine-Power Conference at Brussels, despite its name, will probably be attended by a score of states, and a twofold plan of campaign will be developed. In the first place an attempt will be made by the British and Americans alike to bring about a mediated settlement between China and Japan. This will be either mediation in name only, with the Japanese agreeing to cease hostilities when they have conquered all the territory that they intend to take, or mediation imposed from Britain, the United States and other Powers. In the second case, the peace-keeping Powers will have to make clear what they will do unless the Japanese leave China alone.

There is still hope in Geneva that vigorous action may be taken against Japan, still hope that the British people may persuade their government to move. Once this has happened, the road to the application of the Covenant will be open, although it must be realised that that road will be a hard one. Application of sanctions against Japan will be difficult—more difficult than it was against Italy—because the League, through its defeat and betrayals, is less strong than it was. It is pointed out here, however, as it has been time and time again, that if nothing is done now, it will be just that much more difficult to do anything in the future.

The League ideal is so strong, and so firmly a part of all democracies, that it has been almost impossible to kill it; on every occasion, however badly it has been hit, it has given those who wish to preserve it another chance. This, too, is another chance.

One of the strongest arguments against taking this chance has been that at the present time we have two conflicts going on at once—one in Asia and one in Europe—and that it would be better if we could wait and deal with them one at a time. Of course it would be better if we could, but a big lesson which the events of the past six years have shown is that there is almost certain always to be two conflicts going on at once—for as soon as trouble starts in Europe, the Japanese take advantage of it and start their own trouble in Asia, confident that any possible opposition that they might have from the Powers will melt into indecisiveness when one or more of the dictators of Europe gets busy on his own account. And so, for the time being, all that the Chinese are getting from the League is a limited amount of medical aid and a resolution recommending League members to consider ways in which they, individually, can help China. The Chinese hope that this may induce the Russians to send them some war material, but that is all the expectation they have at the moment.



# Viscount Cecil Puts the Case for a Courageous League Policy

**L**ORD CECIL, Lord Allen, Sir Norman Angell, were the chief speakers at the special meeting of the L.N.U. General Council held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on October 12. Full reports of what they said appears in "UNION," 3d. post free from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1. The following are passages from Lord Cecil's address:

You won't succeed in restoring peace merely by talking about it or even by passing resolutions or even by addressing carefully worded remonstrances to this Power or that.

You must accept the view that in certain countries there is a profound conviction that the only thing that matters in international relations is force. We may deplore that idea, deplore it bitterly, but it is a fact, and to talk to those countries in the language of sweet reasonableness seems to me merely a waste of time.

You must remember that these countries think that they have found out the proper system of government, and they despise our system profoundly just because there is in it so much more, as they think, so much more talk than action.

Unless you have behind your remonstrance, behind your resolution, some kind of coercive power, I cannot believe that you will ever succeed in restoring peace to the world. I feel that very strongly; and, if my words were capable of reaching the Government, I would say to them: "Make up your minds what you intend to do, do not deceive yourselves into believing that mere remonstrances, mere observations will secure your object."

## Act or Be Quiet

If you are not prepared to make a really effective struggle for peace, involving at any rate some measures of coercion, I think you had better be quiet than say anything about it at all. Of course, I most heartily agree with those who say that one of our chief objects, indeed our chief object, must be to avoid bloodshed. I entirely agree. But I do not think you will avoid bloodshed by encouraging those who are out to shed blood. I believe we must accept till someone suggests something better, we must accept the methods prescribed in the Covenant of the League of Nations. Remonstrances: certainly. We have already objected in China and in the Mediterranean. Negotiation: by all means. It is disheartening to negotiate with countries which do not keep any of the agreements that they make in the course of those negotiations. Arbitration: by all means. Let us press it if there is the slightest prospect of its being accepted for the settlement of these disputes. Diplomatic pressure: by all means. I think it is a very valuable form of pressure.

You do not, however, do any good by accompanying your remonstrances and your observations with civil speeches and ceremonial visits to the very countries that you are reproving for their actions. In the end you come to economic pressure. I am told that that will lead to military reprisals. If we are attacked by a foreign Power we shall have to defend ourselves as we have had to do in times past.

## Money for Bombs

You may dress it up in technical language, but what it means is this, that we are not prepared to furnish Japan with money which she is going to use for bombing people in China. If you were asked: "Ought we to help Japan

to buy bombs and guns and other things?" there is not a man or woman in the country who would not say: "Certainly not. Of course we must not do that." But if you buy Japanese goods you are furnishing her with money, and it seems to me that before your action can be made effective the obligation not to furnish her with the means of carrying on her war is clear and insistent.

## Peace in Spain

How can we best restore peace in Spain? If that be the only way of achieving our object, let us say that, unless other countries refrain from intervening, we cannot undertake that France and our own country will not intervene. If the Italians and Germans will not agree to withdraw foreign aid from the one side in Spain, I see nothing open to us, profoundly as I dislike the measure, except to allow the Spanish Government to buy whatever it wants to buy in order to resist attacks made upon it. But bear with me when I repeat that, just as the prevention of intervention seems to me only a palliative, such a measure is only a step towards what we really desire and what we should never for one moment allow to pass from our minds. What we really desire is the restoration of peace in Spain.

Intervention under the Covenant or under the powers of the Covenant is international action. We are not called upon by ourselves and unless we have sufficient support from other countries to take action. I say that not only because I do not think that under the wording of the Covenant we are bound to take action except with the assistance of others but because the essential condition of our action, whether we are going to apply economic pressure or diplomatic pressure or in the last resort even military pressure, is that it should be successful. We do not want to do it for its own sake. We want to do it in order to put a stop to the fighting. Therefore we must be quite clear before we enter upon any of these measures that we are going to receive sufficient support from other countries to make our action successful. I am, therefore, of opinion that before taking action we must count the cost. But, in counting the cost, let us remember that on one side of the balance sheet the restoration of peace is of such enormous value that if it can be achieved there is no cost which is too great.

## Never Again for Bits of Territory

We are not going to fight, I hope and trust, ever again in order to get this little bit of territory or defend that little bit of territory. That is not a right reason for incurring the horrors and dangers of war. But if we can by any action, however strong, build up a real security for peace, that indeed is worth any sacrifice we can make. Let us be clear. We shall not get peace except as the product of the enforcement of international law. We shall not get any law worthy of the name unless behind it there is in the last resort some force to sustain it. Peace requires the enforcement of the law, law requires a definite sanction behind it.

We shall need at least as much grit and determination and vigour as we have shown in the great crises of our history. I believe it is our duty. I believe it is our duty to our country and to our Empire and to humanity at large. The old tag is still true that "not once, nor twice in our rough Island story the path of duty is the way to glory."

# Text of the General Council Resolutions

"ALTHOUGH in neither case has there been any formal declaration of war, yet there are in fact two major wars in progress—one close at hand, the other far away in China." So said the Prime Minister, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, in his speech at Scarborough, on October 8. War in Spain and in China was the reason why a special meeting of the General Council of the League of Nations Union was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on October 12.

There attended delegates from 26 English Counties, Wales, and all the L.N.U. Districts in Scotland. Opinion was virtually unanimous. Some speakers wished to go farther and faster than others, but no one dissented from asking the British Government to do at least as much as was demanded by Viscount Cecil, who was in the chair, and Lord Allen of Hurtwood and Sir Norman Angell, who moved and seconded the resolutions.

The text of those resolutions follows:—

## I.

This special meeting of the Council of the League of Nations Union draws the urgent attention of public opinion and of His Majesty's Government to the fact that the present dangerous chaos in world affairs with its threat to peace is in large measure due to the failure during recent years to apply the principles and method of the League of Nations.

The Council recognises that the League can only effectively deter or restrain aggressors provided that the States who will loyally collaborate are sufficient to ensure adequate collective strength and resources for the purpose. The Council therefore welcomes the declaration of the President of the U.S.A., affirming that it is essential for the safety and progress of mankind that the rule of law should be established and maintained among the nations and that all peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort to this end.

(a) SPAIN.—The Council congratulates the Governments which have used their naval forces to give collective security against piracy in the Mediterranean. It believes that the policy of the States-Members of the League should be urgently directed to securing the immediate cessation of all foreign military intervention in Spain, the prompt withdrawal of all foreign forces at present there, and the cessation of the illegal importation of munitions so that an opportunity may be created for the negotiation of peace. If these conditions are not satisfied within a prescribed and short period, the Council considers that the Spanish Government should be given facilities for obtaining military supplies to which it would be entitled under International Law.

(b) THE FAR EAST.—The Council welcomes the fact that the League Assembly, by a unanimous verdict subsequently endorsed by the U.S.A., has clearly defined the responsibility for the present hostilities in China; and

Urges that His Majesty's Government should do its utmost through the Nine-Power Conference and otherwise to secure the fullest collaboration with the U.S.A. as well as with Members of the League, for taking effective measures to restrain Japan, making it clear that the United Kingdom will participate fully in any such action. These measures would in particular include:

- (i) Financial assistance to China;
- (ii) Supplies of food and medical requirements to China;
- (iii) Imposition of such economic pressure on Japan as will most speedily put an end to her aggression; and especially the prevention of all imports coming from Japan and the refusal of all military supplies, including oil, to that country.

(c) A GENERAL PEACE SETTLEMENT.—The Council further calls on the British Government to take steps to bring about a general peace settlement based on the principle of equality of status for all nations and their active co-operation in the cause of peace and disarmament. The Council would welcome the immediate establishment of suitable machinery to consider all serious grievances and to devise appropriate remedies for those found to exist.

## II.

### MINISTERS PROMISED WHOLE-HEARTED SUPPORT

The Council assures His Majesty's Government of its whole-hearted support in all effective steps which it may take in co-operation with other nations to restrain aggression.

## III.

### APPEAL TO BRANCHES AND MEMBERS

The Council believes that in the present crisis the support of public opinion for the League is essential to its success, and appeals to all Branches and Members of the Union to do their utmost to assure the Government of the adherence of the people of this country to the policy indicated in the foregoing resolution. In particular the Council recommends that the policy should be pressed by all legitimate means on Members of Parliament and Ministers.

[A great increase in the membership of the Union would be a tangible proof of public support for its policy.]

## IV.

### OLYMPIC GAMES AT TOKIO

The Council, aware of the universal horror and indignation aroused by Japanese aggression in China, suggests to young people and sportsmen in this and other countries that they should make their abhorrence of such proceedings known throughout Japan by an announcement in their respective countries that all arrangements for representation at the Olympic Games at Tokio in 1940 will be suspended.

### A NEW SERIES OF SIMPLE LEAFLETS

- 1.—COLLECTIVE SECURITY, OR, HELPING EACH OTHER IN DEFENCE.
- 2.—THE ALTERNATIVE TO WAR, OR, WHY FIGHT ABOUT IT?

From The L.N.U. Bookshop, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.  
2/- per 100.



# League of Nations Union

## Special Appeal for £100,000

THE League of Nations Union is asking for £100,000. A National Advisory Appeal Council has been formed to sponsor the appeal. The purpose is to enable the League of Nations Union to fulfil its supremely important task of educating public opinion. In its advocacy of the League, the Union has to bear many burdens which have strained its financial resources to the utmost. The members of the Appeal Council and those who have signed the message commending the appeal are widely representative of the country. Many of them have not been identified hitherto with the work of the Union. The general acceptance of membership of the Council is a most encouraging sign of awakened interest in the work of the Union and of faith in the principles underlying the League of Nations. Many individual messages of encouragement have been received which at a later date we hope to print in the columns of HEADWAY.

(1) *First Meeting of the Council.*—A meeting of members of the National Advisory Appeal Council was held on July 21, 1937, at the Dorchester Hotel, London, to consider the launching of the appeal. Lord Lytton presided and Lord Cecil addressed the meeting. Mr. Herbert S. Syrett explained the Union's liabilities and the immediate need for additional money. Among other speakers were Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Mr. Leslie Boyce, M.P., Mr. Charles Booth, Sir William Lobjoit, Mr. Austin Reed, and Mr. W. J. Hawkey (Director of Appeals).

A reception followed by Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Syrett.

(2) *Next Meeting of the Council.*—The next meeting of the National Advisory Appeal Council will be held at the Dorchester Hotel, in November. It will be addressed by the chairman of the League of Nations Union, Dr. Gilbert Murray. Plans for the autumn will be considered and a report presented. Major and Mrs. Lawrence Wright will hold a reception.

(3) *Promises of Help.*—Since the inception of the appeal approximately £10,000 has been obtained in gifts, deeds, and promises.

A matinée is to be given at the Adelphi Theatre on Tuesday, December 7, by Dame Sybil Thorndike.

A reception will be held by Mr. and Mrs. Austin Pilkington, at Liverpool, to meet Dr. Gilbert Murray, who will address meetings in Liverpool and St. Helens on November 15 and 16. An intensive campaign is being

launched in South-West Lancashire centring round these two meetings and the reception.

A luncheon was given by Sir Josiah Stamp, G.C.B., at the Euston Hotel, on Friday, October 15, to the leaders of the Free Churches. Proposals were accepted for an appeal, signed by these leaders, who are members of the National Advisory Appeal Council, to be sent to all Ministers of the Free Churches.

Other community and private luncheons, dinners and receptions, to help forward the appeal, are being arranged.

The national appeal for £100,000 is intended to unify the various appeals throughout the country for national, area and county work. If the appeal is successful it will prevent duplication of effort and ensure that all the work

of the Union is carried on in the most effective manner. An appeal is now being made in Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire. Early next year a special effort will be put forward in Birmingham and Warwickshire.

(4) *Trade Unions.*—Encouraging support, backed by financial assistance, is being received from many Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies, and Civil Service Organisations. A number of Trade Unions that gave money in 1936 have, in view of the present difficulties of the Union, again come to its aid. A number of Trade

Unions who had not previously subscribed are now doing so. This help is extremely valuable in itself and shows that the work of the League of Nations Union has the approval and support of the organised Trade Union movement. Last year over 300 Co-operative Societies subscribed to the Union; and leaders of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, the Scottish Wholesale Society, and the Co-operative Union have become members of the National Advisory Appeal Council.

All who desire to help forward the appeal, or requiring further information, are asked to communicate with the Director of Appeals, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

The Rickmansworth Branch has devised a bold scheme for helping the Union's Headquarters' Maintenance Fund. The branch has decided to launch a special drive for new members and will send the whole of the subscriptions so collected to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1. Headquarters will benefit immediately from the money received, and both Headquarters and the branch will benefit from the increase in membership in later years. As an added generosity the branch will send to Headquarters the whole of any other first subscription received during the period of the drive no matter how it may be obtained. No time is to be lost in securing the members, the date of the first "raid" being fixed for November 4.

# THE U.S. AND US

By The SECRETARY OF THE UNION

A BREAK in the war clouds over Europe has let through several shafts of sunshine.

The 18th Assembly of the League of Nations began on September 13th with gloomy anticipations. Two years ago Sir Samuel Hoare's clarion call to apply the principles of the League and prevent aggression against Abyssinia marked the high-water of League achievements and League hopes. With the Hoare-Laval proposals two months later the ebb set in. The 17th Assembly, in 1936, was at a far lower level than its predecessor; and, when the delegates met for the 18th Assembly, in September of this year, most of them expected that it would reach still lower depths of ineffectiveness and despondency.

These expectations were not realised. The quick success at Nyon, a League achievement in all but name, proved the case for collective defence against aggression. Piracy disappeared from the Mediterranean at the very moment when Britain, France, and other League Powers decided upon joint action for its suppression. As the Assembly settled down to work the spectacle of the 52 nations, 25 of them represented by their Prime Ministers or Foreign Secretaries, receiving reports and taking decisions on a number of matters affecting the common good of mankind—health, education, economics, social justice, and the like—brought home to the delegates how indispensable is a central world authority capable of supplementing national administrations in all those departments of government where human interdependence makes itself felt. And as the delegates went about their business, co-operating in these positive and constructive sections of the League's work, they gathered courage to handle its negative task of preventing war. The Assembly eventually surprised itself by a unanimous verdict clearly fixing upon Japan the responsibility for the fighting now going on in China.

The League's verdict was endorsed on the following day by the Government of the United States. As the Assembly adjourned came President Roosevelt's speech from Chicago. From the very centre of Middle-Western isolationism the President enunciated a new doctrine of American foreign policy: "The peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort to uphold the laws and principles on which alone peace can rest secure." "If civilisation is to survive," added Mr. Roosevelt, "the principles of the Prince of Peace must be restored." If properly followed up, the Chicago speech of President Roosevelt will take rank with the famous doctrine of President Monroe, and with some of the historic utterances of Washington, Lincoln and Wilson. The policy of the great Republic, the world's most powerful state—its choice between a concerted effort of peace-loving nations on the one hand and a policy of isolationism on the other—may well decide the issue whether or not there is to be another world war. More than any other country Great Britain can influence this decision. President Roosevelt said: "There must be a return to belief in the pledged word, in the value of the signed treaty . . . international anarchy destroys every foundation for peace." But in the minds of the American

masses Britain will continue to be classed as a non-believer in the pledged word or in the value of the signed treaty so long as our war debt to the United States remains unsettled. If our country is to move up into the class of peace-loving nations with which the United States is now ready to make a concerted effort we must first of all, and right quickly, conclude the commercial treaty which we have been negotiating with the United States for many months past. Then we must offer to pay the debt we owe. The cost to us under a new agreement might be no more than £10,000,000 or even £8,000,000 a year. How much more security would we get, and the world with us, from such a payment than from a similar expenditure in any other direction!

Closer co-operation with America and greater readiness to apply the League principles (our loyalty to which we constantly proclaim) are essential elements in British foreign policy if this country is to escape, and to help the world to escape, from the monstrous horror of another great war.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union, at its meeting in October, outlined how such a policy might end the fighting in Spain, stop Japanese aggression in the Far East, and bring about a new settlement with Germany and Italy. One great obstacle stands in the way of all these developments. The British Government are inhibited from giving the bold lead eagerly awaited by the rest of the peace-loving nations. What holds them back is the doubt whether the British people are ready to support them in a concerted effort for peace, or whether, on the other hand, our public opinion still dwells in the nineteenth century with Lord Beaverbrook and Mr. Amery, believing that any remote element of British territory is more worth defending than these League principles ("the principles of the Prince of Peace") which modern men like Mr. Eden regard as "the greatest gain of the battlefields of 1914-1918." Lord Hugh Cecil wrote to *The Times* the other day that "the sin of excessive nationalist sympathy and deficient Christian loyalty is a heinous and damnable one . . . we are punished for it as we deserve."

The League of Nations Union has been entrusted by its Royal Charter with the task of bringing the British people to a deeper sympathy with the whole human family and to a wider loyalty—a *world loyalty*—including but transcending national patriotism. Neither the League nor the British Government can play their proper parts in world affairs or render their full service to mankind until a larger proportion of British public opinion has really got hold of the lesson which the Union has to teach. The urgent need to-day is for a rapid extension of the Union's efforts up and down the country, and for the money to pay for this development. Meanwhile, the depression caused among the Union's supporters by repeated failures to apply the League system has left the Union seriously short of funds. Will you who read these words give this matter your careful thought and send whatever you can afford to our Treasurer, the Earl of Lytton, at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1?



# Economic Recovery Continues

The League Says Production Is Rapidly Increasing Almost Everywhere

FOR the sixth year, the League has produced its Survey of World Economic Conditions. Once again this has been prepared by Mr. J. B. Condliffe. On the whole, it is a cheerful document. One reads that the world is recovering; that production is rapidly increasing almost everywhere. In the words of the Survey: "At the present time, economic activity in all but a few countries has definitely passed out of the depression into the boom phase of the business cycle."

Last year's Survey indicated that, while the internal economy of each country seemed to be improving, international trade had not greatly increased. This year, although the increase in world trade continues to lag behind the increase of production, it is definitely improving. The tremendous fall between 1929 and 1934 was followed by a slight rise in 1935; the increase was more substantial in 1936; and in the early months of 1937 this tendency was accelerated. Moreover, there is a definite tendency towards the reduction of obstacles to international trade.

There is still nervousness from time to time, because, in the absence of fixed routine, economic events are largely dictated by political decisions and the anticipation of political decisions. Thus, the Hawley-Smoot tariff of the United States and the Ottawa system have not been greatly breached by bilateral agreements, and a group of states (Germany, Italy, Poland, the Balkan Kingdoms) artificially control their exchange rates and their imports, and ensure that the credits accruing from their exports are spent in accordance with Governmental policy, largely based on political rather than economic considerations.

Disillusioned citizens, having learnt by bitter experience the disastrous sequel to former booms, may take comfort from the cautious optimism with which the Survey points out that no cycle is quite like the preceding cycle, and that widespread governmental control of economic policies somewhat alters the conditions in which economic forces have to operate. Some countries control their exchanges by means of exchange equalisation accounts; some regulate their imports; Germany is thoroughly regimented under government control; and the economic planning in the U.S.S.R.—admittedly an agricultural country industrialising itself—was so successful in isolating Russia from tendencies prevailing elsewhere that industrial expansion continued even through the Great Depression.

It is difficult for the layman to discover how much of the returning prosperity has been artificially induced by re-armament programmes, which will have to be paid for later. In the words of a report issued on July 27 by the Federation of British Industries: "Unless the increase of expenditure on arms is relaxed, the peoples of many countries will be faced with a progressive reduction of the labour and materials available for civil requirements, leading to a further limitation of personal liberty and the impoverishment of their standards of life."

Armaments expenditure varies enormously in importance from country to country. Between 1933—34 and 1936—37, arms expenditure in the United States has

increased by 70 per cent., but is still only 11.4 per cent. of the total Government expenditure. On the other hand, in Japan the expenditure on arms has in the same period only increased by 21.4 per cent.; yet it now forms no less than 45.8 per cent. of the total Government spending. These Japanese figures, of course, relate to the time before the present attack on China.

The armaments nemesis is not yet upon us; and as for our recovery thus far, the Survey may be quoted again: "There appears to be a general consensus of informed opinion that, up to about the middle of 1936, economic recovery, except in one or two countries, owed comparatively little to the influence of re-armament... the extent to which production, prices and trade in most countries have, since that time, been affected by re-armament should not be exaggerated."

The period covered by the Survey begins in September, 1936, and in that month there occurred an event of outstanding importance. The leader of the "gold bloc" (France) at last devalued the franc. She was followed by Switzerland, the Netherlands, and others, whose currencies were either on gold or in some way connected with gold. Many other countries took the opportunity to peg their respective currencies, with the result that the great majority of the important trading currencies are now linked either to the dollar or to the pound sterling.

The French devaluation was accompanied by a remarkable piece of international co-operation. It was feared that the depreciation of the franc might begin an all-round competitive devaluation among currencies that had already abandoned the gold standard. A tripartite monetary agreement was therefore come to between France, the United Kingdom, and the United States, and was subsequently adhered to by other States in accordance with which the respective Treasuries maintain their currencies at a rough parity.

This monetary equilibrium is maintained by means of an exchange equalisation account in each country. This account acts as a "secondary reserve of gold and foreign currencies, designed to insulate the domestic credit system from disturbances arising from the ebb and flow of foreign short-term funds." The account buys and sells its gold and foreign currencies, so that although "there is no fixed parity with gold, nor any definitely fixed exchange parities, the speculative or merely nervous movements of short-term capital are intercepted by the operations of a special fund, without being allowed to influence the regular development of the national economy."

An incidental benefit of the devaluation of the former "gold bloc" currencies was a diminution of trade barriers. Thus, a French importer had to pay more francs for his purchases, because the franc was worth less; to save him from the necessity of passing on the increased price to his customers, the French Government in many cases materially reduced the amount of the import tariff, thus offsetting the enhanced price. Similar action was taken by other countries in like case.

The success of the tripartite monetary agreement seemed to open the way for much wider economic co-

operation; but the events of later months rendered this impossible. Nevertheless, "devaluation improved both the national economic situations and the international price relationships to a considerable extent." By the summer of 1937, marked improvement had occurred in Switzerland, the Netherlands, Belgium and Czechoslovakia, all of which had devalued their currencies in the previous autumn; there was also improvement, though slower (largely on account of political disturbances, strikes, and the first effects of social legislation) in France. Thus, the step taken in September, 1936, brought these countries into the tide of recovery. They have not, however, reached the same stage of recovery as the United Kingdom or the United States.

The Survey ends in July of this year, and the author points out that he is writing in a time of rapid change, when production is increasing almost everywhere, but there are signs of disequilibria. Rising prices are affecting the standard of living, creating new ills and new problems. The salient points of the Survey would seem to be that Government-controlled policies may avert or modify the future depression; that arms expansion will have to be paid for; and that meanwhile, recovery continues.

**World Economic Survey, 1936/7** (published by League of Nations: 6/- from the L.N.U. Bookshop, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1).

## COUNCIL'S VOTE

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

For 1937:

Bassett, Bildeston, Bournville, Berkhamsted, Biggin Hill, Brimscombe, Colchester, Hambleden, Hawkhurst, West Haddon, King's Langley, Oxford, Otford, Pangbourne, Slough, Scalby, Thame, Toys Hill, Wrotham.

## UNION MEMBERSHIP

### Terms of Subscriptions

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

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

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

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

Cheques should be made payable to the "League of Nations Union," and crossed "Midland Bank."

**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.*

# Peace Problems

## International Relations Since the Peace Treaties

By E. H. CARR

*Wilson Professor of International Politics in the University of Wales.* 6s. net.

"A very excellent book... He has described what has happened since 1919 in the very simplest and most objective terms. His book is a masterpiece of balanced exposition."—*Harold Nicolson (Daily Telegraph).*

"Is a model of its kind. It is concise, it gives the relevant facts, and it has no political thesis to serve... An invaluable aid to an understanding of the world of to-day."—*The Times.*

## Peaceful Change

An International Problem.

By C. K. WEBSTER, A. J. TOYNBEE, L. C. ROBBINS, T. E. GREGORY, LUCY P. MAIR, KARL MANNHEIM, H. LAUTERPACHT and C. A. W. MANNING (Editor). 5s. net.

"The book deserves to be read. Most of its contents are easy to master, and the perusal will help individuals desirous of playing their part in advancing the day when changes needed will be determined without resort to war."—*Times Literary Supplement.*

# MACMILLAN

## A THREEFOLD CHARITY

Recommended to the charitable readers of "Headway"

① **JOHN GROOM'S CRIPPLEAGE** at Edgware and Clerkenwell, where over 300 Crippled girls are making exquisite artificial flowers. Specially trained to become useful members of Society. Delightful homes at Edgware Way, where these unfortunate, but happy, girls can live in comfort and be "Mothered" and where Liabilities are turned into Assets!

② **JOHN GROOM'S ORPHANAGE** at Clacton-on-Sea for orphan girls. Two hundred girls, from babies up to 15 years, are maintained and educated under Christian influence and in delightful surroundings. Seven houses for those of school age, a "Toddlers' Home" and a Babies' Home, each in charge of a House Mother. Also a well-equipped Hospital. In addition, a large **Holiday Home** used mainly by crippled girls.

③ **THE FLOWER WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION & MISSION** Bermondsey and Clerkenwell. Services, Clothing, and Loan Clubs. The work of Woodbridge Chapel is maintained with organisation and societies for young and old.

### THE WORK NEVER CEASES

Why not visit the Crippleage—then you will appreciate fully what is being done and how urgent is the need for "a helping hand." Write to the Superintendent who will send Report with any information required. Please send donations to The Treasurer.

**John Groom's Crippleage and Flower Girls' Mission, 37 Sekforde Street, Clerkenwell, London, E.C.1**



## READERS' VIEWS

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

### ONE EXAMPLE

SIR.—Here is an example of the kind of thing to which those members of the L.N.U., whom Sir William Munday calls "School B," object.

Last winter a certain speaker, quite a distinguished person in his way, was advertised to give an address here in the local village hall under the auspices of the local branch of the Union on "The Reform of the League."

He dismissed the "Reform of the League" in about two sentences, the remainder of the speech being a diatribe against Sir Oswald Mosley and his insignificant band of Fascists and a politically partisan version of the situation in Spain, ending up with a proposal for an alliance between Britain, France—and Russia!!

The whole speech was impregnated with a bitter political bias from a Socialist standpoint. This same gentleman stood as a Socialist candidate at a by-election this spring, and it was satisfactory to read he was defeated by a large majority.

From inquiries I made after the meeting, I learned that he was not an authorised speaker from headquarters, but no one in the hall knew this unless they inquired specially.

This is a small example of the kind of thing which is making it very difficult for many of us to continue our support of the Union after many years of membership.

Pulborough, Sussex. FORMER BRANCH SECRETARY.

### LET US KNOW WHAT WE STAND FOR

SIR.—Sir William Munday was hardly treated in "Readers' Views" last month. While I should like to see a firmer policy than the present Government's, I agree with him that the majority of the general public are not prepared to take any avoidable risk of war. And a strong policy of collective security means a risk of war—so would almost any other policy in these troublous times—so why evade the fact?

It is no use reiterating the fact that the people want collective security—the Government knows that as well as we do—it is up to us to organise a body of opinion that knows the risks and believes them worth taking.

This means careful study and discussion, not only of the works of writers on League institutions and policy, but of those who write on the economic and military problems of national defence. A few genuine study circles would do more good than 100 "Peace Exhibitions" such as we had in Hull the other week, where the leading feature was a row of dolls dressed up to represent children of all nations!

No wonder we Union members get the reputation of being a set of woolly-headed idealists!

Hull, Yorks. S. E. FOSTER (B.Com. Lond.).

### "REWARD FOR GOOD CONDUCT"

SIR.—If a friend of G. H. Knight were forcibly to take possession of the latter's house, eject him and appropriate his belongings, would G. H. Knight let the burglar retain the spoil as a reward of subsequent "good conduct"?

Does the law tolerate that sort of reward? And how easy to repent under such circumstances! It might even pay to try a second time.

The whole question is a moral one. Italy was doubly the friend (!) of Abyssinia—firstly, by a treaty of Friendship; and secondly, as a fellow-member of the League of Nations and pledged to defend her integrity.

There never was a clearer case of guilt. Just as the burglar is made to disgorge his ill-gotten gains so should Italy be made to surrender Abyssinia.

League membership should be dependent on honourable upright dealing, and failure in that respect should mean loss of membership. May that good time soon come.

58, Arden Road, A. STRATFORD COX.  
Acock's Green, Birmingham.

### THE CRISIS

SIR.—The next three or four months may prove decisive in the history of Europe. In the midst of all the confusion and threat of war may I suggest that three short questions should be considered?

- (1) What settlement will satisfy Germany and Italy?
- (2) How far can we go to meet that demand?
- (3) Is the difference worth a war when we remember that, as our statesmen admit, war settles nothing?

To ask these questions is to begin to put an end to the thought of European conflict.

Now is the time for a peace conference—not after a ruinous struggle, the end of which no man can foresee—or, if that be impossible, an approach on the lines indicated by Lord Allen in HEADWAY.

Borrers Platt,  
Ditchling, Sussex.

DAVID A. PEAT.

### LAW AND JUSTICE MUST BE ARMED

SIR.—We progress. For some five years the New Commonwealth Society has kindled our desires for a Tribunal in Equity, to deal justly with all national grievances. The L.N.U. has treated this outburst with grave suspicion and buckets of cold water. I speak of that I know. Was I not once upon a time thoroughly soured by our noble and beloved Chairman?

But, cold water notwithstanding, the flame has spread even to our Executive. And now our Secretary outlines a tripartite Tribunal—Fact-finding Commission, Recommendation by League Assembly, and "Any action deemed wise and effectual" by the League Council. Very good. Sooner or later, we must have that which shall judge impartially over the nations. It may well be that the procedure proposed by the Union is destined to come into vigorous being.

It is easy to show difficulties. Fact-finding is none too easy, when each party cooks his facts to blend with his desires. But that objection would apply to any and every method for obtaining justice between disputing parties, and some method we must have.

There is, however, need for a word of warning. The creation of this tripartite Tribunal (or any other) will not of itself lead to all-round disarmament. Our Secretary is dangerously optimistic in this respect. Dangerously, because there is only one way of achieving such disarmament, and a further disappointment over disarmament plans would lead to yet more armaments. No paper agreement, no Court of Justice, no spoken or written word whatsoever can take the place of national defence forces. Only defence by a permanent, powerful international police can do this.

Justice, yes. Law, yes. These may postpone war by settling many disputes. But men will not disarm until Law and Justice are armed.

Rear-Admiral R. N. LAWSON, C.B.

Rockleaze, Evercreech, Somerset.

### EQUALITY OF STATUS?

SIR.—When Lord Allen and so many others use the expression, *A propos* of Germany, "on the basis of absolute equality of status between all nations" could you kindly explain exactly what they mean? If Germany now returned

to the League, in what respect would she be "on the basis of inequality of status" compared with the other members of the League? And in what respect are such of the other members of the League, who were on the losing side in the Great War, still "on the basis of an unequal status between all nations"? Oxford. SIR HERBERT KEALY, C.I.E.

### WAYS IN WHICH TO HELP

SIR.—At the numerous L.N.U. meetings I have attended, the audiences have been urged to work for peace, and have been filled with a tremendous enthusiasm to do so. But to ask people to work for peace is inadequate, unless the ways of carrying out this work are given, and at many of the meetings few (if any) practical suggestions were given.

The following are some ways which ordinary people can adopt:—

- 1.—Join the L.N.U., and get other people to join.
- 2.—Distribute for sale, or otherwise, L.N.U. literature.
- 3.—Read, and get others to read, books advocating League support. Purchase and distribute copies of these, as well as see to it that the public libraries and others possess copies also.
- 4.—Select as your daily paper one that gives consistent support to the League.
- 5.—Write letters to the editor of any paper which publishes false statements or unsound views.
- 6.—Make a point of attending and getting your friends to attend L.N.U. meetings.
- 7.—Write to M.P.s constantly urging support of the League and urging that armaments must be for League support.
- 8.—Arrange for as many poster boards and news cases as possible to be established in your district. They are silent canvassers.
- 9.—Arrange for poster competitions and essay competitions about the League in the schools, and arrange for a public view of the posters in the L.N.U. poster case in the district.
- 10.—Arrange for canvassing by your branch in new building estates, or canvass privately.
- 11.—Speak yourself, or urge your L.N.U. branch to arrange for speakers, at small meetings in connection with churches, guilds, etc.
- 12.—Wear the L.N.U. badge.
- 13.—Pass on HEADWAY to those who do not get it, and get them to subscribe (if possible).
- 14.—Miss no opportunities when occasions arise of advocating the League and pointing out that scoffing actually weakens the League and increases the danger of war. I urge the Union to issue a cheap pamphlet embodying these, and any other suggestions, so that the pamphlet may be distributed at important meetings, and the golden opportunities of enlightening thousands of people as to how best to work for the L.N.U. might not be wasted.

L. BOLT.

### A PEACE WEEK

A Peace Week, to take place November 14-20, has been arranged by the six Union Branches within the Wandsworth borough and the borough peace council. It will have for its basis the four points of the I.P.C. All kinds of organisations of different creeds and political parties are taking part in the week's activities. On Sunday afternoon, on Streatham Common, representatives of the Conservative, Liberal, Labour and Communist Parties, of the local Churches (of all denominations), and of the Guilds, P.P.U., etc., are to give speeches on "Why My Organisation Supports Streatham Peace Week." On Friday, November 19, at 8 p.m., there is to be a grand borough demonstration in the Tooting Central Hall. The speakers include Commander Fletcher, M.P., and Mr. A. M. Wall. (Reserved seats, 1s. each.) The full programme (post free 3d.) can be obtained from Miss G. E. Lee, 31, Rydal Road, S.W.16, who will also gratefully receive any offers of help.

## MYSTERIES OF MIND AND PERSONALITY

It is the Mind that Maketh Good or Ill,  
That Maketh Wretch or Happy, Rich or Poor  
—Spenser.

"In the shaping of man in His own image, the Creator endowed him with the gift of a divinely creative mind. The Mind," states Mr. Shelley Castle, "can also be the doctor as well as the architect and builder of one's life and greater achievements."

In his thrillingly challenging book, "The Great Discovery," as in his other works, Mr. Shelley Castle helps his readers to understand how to utilise their powers for health, success and happiness in life. Numbers of men and women have already gained remarkable personal profit by reading "The Great Discovery."

Some idea of readers' whole-hearted appreciation may be gained from these extracts from typical letters:—

Miss F. H., of Birmingham, writes:

"I would like to say in perfect truth that 'The Great Discovery' was of tremendous help to me. I have read it again and again, and feel it is worth its weight in gold."

Mr. R. N. (Antrim) writes: "I have thoroughly digested 'The Great Discovery' you sent me. It is the most amazing piece of work I have ever read."

Write for FREE COPY of "The Great Discovery"

Encouraged by these appreciations, Mr. Shelley Castle has decided to distribute another edition of 5,000 complimentary copies of "The Great Discovery." Thus our readers may write for a copy, which will be sent to them post paid by the Author.

This book will prove particularly interesting and useful to all who are desirous of overcoming any such personal handicaps as Depression, Nervousness, Lack of Self-confidence, Brain-fag, Sleeplessness or Restless Sleep, unaccountable spells of apathy, and mental inertia often accompanied by baseless fears of self and others, with their perplexing and energy-paralysing effects. It reveals the proved, practical ways and means of re-ordering the mental processes and infusing the mind with new confidence in self and the future. This valuable information awaits all who apply for a complimentary copy of "The Great Discovery," addressing the Author himself, Mr. SHELLEY CASTLE (Suite 262B), CASTLE HOUSE, JACKSON'S LANE, LONDON, N.6.



Photo by Howard Coster.

## FROM WORLD FORCE TO WORLD FELLOWSHIP

By GEORGE FREDERICK WATES Price 2s. 6d. (by post 2s. 9d.)

## WORLD VISION

By LESLIE J. BELTON, B.A., M.Sc. (Editor of *The Inquirer*). Price 1s. (by post 1s. 1d.)

## FROM PRIMITIVE TO MODERN RELIGION

By R. F. RATTRAY, M.A., Ph.D. Price 1s. (by post 1s. 1½d.)  
These two shilling books are the first of a new series issued under the general title "Uncensored Avowals."

THE LINDSEY PRESS  
Essex Hall, Essex Street - LONDON, W.C.2

Smoking opinion's mighty voice—  
One hears it say "TOM LONG'S my choice!"



# FREE LESSONS

## for

# New Writers

### What YOU Can Write About

**N**O matter how humdrum your life may appear to be, you have a wealth of material ready for use in contributions for the Press.

What are called "experience" articles are in big demand, and by "experience" is meant not only adventures, etc., but aspects of your work, your hobbies, places seen, incidents which are brought to mind by topical events. Every day you are seeing and doing things which in some way or other are potential "copy"—as material for MSS. is called.

Consider this list of titles culled from newspapers and periodicals:

- Strange Fares (By a Taxi-driver).
- The Birds in My Garden (By a Garden-Lover)
- Fair Play for the Family Doctor (By a Doctor).
- We Quarrelled! (By a Wife).
- Dull Music is Bad Music (By an Organist).
- How Much Can You Remember? (By a Psychologist).
- My Farm (By a Woman Farmer).
- It's Fine to be a Father (By a Father).
- Children's Holiday "Don'ts" (By a Schoolmaster).
- Damaged Money (By a Bank Cashier).

Articles of that kind are being constantly printed, the reason being that everyone is interested in people and their ways.

Not only is your experience full of material for articles; ideas are to be found everywhere—when you have learnt how to look for them.

A trained journalist cannot read through a single newspaper without being able to jot down ideas for articles. A walk along a street or a country lane or half an hour at a railway station can fill the mind with new material.

The Regent Institute offers practical correspondence tuition in article and story writing. Send for the interesting booklet, "How to Succeed as a Writer" (free and post paid), which gives full particulars of the courses.

### A Remarkable Offer to Readers of "Headway"

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Over £100 Earned

"In spite of the fact that my spare time is limited, I have made well over £100."

#### "Excellent Income"

"I am making an excellent spare-time income."

#### A Profitable Market

"I have been writing a series of books in collaboration with a friend. I should never have struck this profitable and specialised market without taking your Course."

#### "Very Successful"

"You will be pleased to hear that I am being very successful and find writing almost a full-time job now."

### Earning While Learning

#### Swift Success of Regent Students

Hundreds of students of the Regent Institute have earned money by the pen during tuition; some of them have recouped the fee many times over while taking the Course. The following extracts are typical of numerous letters received from students:

"My journalistic success is increasing every month."

"You will, I know, be glad to hear that I have sold my story to the Amalgamated Press for eighteen guineas."

"Since starting with you I have had something of mine published every week in one woman's magazine and a very good monthly has also accepted a great deal of my work."

"The Regent Institute has an enviable record of unbroken success," wrote the editor of a well-known weekly. "Their pupils have met with amazing success," said another editor in advising new writers to seek the aid of the Institute.

By posting the coupon you will have the opportunity of reading the first lesson of a Course that has enabled a great number of men and women to increase their income by writing in their leisure hours.

**Don't miss this valuable opportunity. Fill in and post the coupon or write a simple application for the specimen lesson and the booklet—NOW.**

#### THE REGENT INSTITUTE

(Dept. 219K), Regent House,  
Palace Gate, London, W.8.

I shall be glad to receive the following, on the understanding that I am not committed to any expense or obligation:

(a) A free specimen lesson of the Postal Course in Journalism and Short Story Writing.

(b) A free copy of your prospectus, "How to Succeed as a Writer."

Name .....  
(BLOCK LETTERS)

Address .....