

30 MAR 1938

LORD CECIL'S COUNCIL
SPEECH

See pages 10 and 11

OF POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC SCIENCEWHAT YOUNG AMERICA
THINKS

See page 6

HEADWAY

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

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NEWS AND COMMENT

No Effect

IN the House of Commons on December 16, Mr. Arthur Henderson asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether Italy's withdrawal from the League of Nations would have any effect on the policy of the British Government to seek to strengthen the League of Nations within all possible limits.

Mr. Eden: No, sir.

Britain's Settled Policy

MR. EDEN'S assurance was confirmed in the foreign affairs debate on December 21 by the Prime Minister, by Mr. Eden himself, and by other speakers.—Fundamentally all parties were agreed. The purposes which the League exists to serve are the purposes of Great Britain. The Prime Minister declared: "We have a definite objective before us. That objective is a general settlement of the grievances of the world without war." Mr. Eden

added: "The rule of law and its maintenance is a British interest." Mr. Attlee, for Labour, and Sir Archibald Sinclair, for the Liberals, were emphatic that Britain must follow a resolute and consistent League policy.

The Larger Hopes of Mankind

A BRILLIANT speech by Mr. Winston Churchill was loudly cheered on both sides of the House.

The general applause which followed it showed that it expressed the mind of the House. Its conclusion was:

He looked upon the League as a great addition to the strength and to the safety of this country. Since when could we afford to ignore the moral forces involved in the public opinion of the world? Moral force was, unhappily, not a substitute for armed force, but it was a very great reinforcement; and it was just that kind of reinforcement which might avoid the use of armed force altogether. For five years he had been asking the Government to make armaments—guns

aeroplanes, and munitions—but he was quite sure that British armaments alone would never protect us by themselves in the times through which we might have to pass. By adhering to the Covenant of the League we secured the good will of all the nations of the world who did not seek to profit by acts of wrongful and violent aggression; we also secured a measure of unity at home among all classes and parties which was indispensable to the efficiency of our foreign policy as well as to the progress of our defensive preparations; and we consecrated and legitimised every alliance and regional pact which might be formed for mutual protection.

And he believed that the spirit of adherence to the Covenant of the League and to the Pact which bore the name of a venerable American statesman, Mr. Kellogg, who was now in their thoughts, would win for us a very great measure of sympathy in the United States. This sympathy might have an effect on the interpretation put upon the laws of neutrality which in certain circumstances might be of enormous practical consequence to us. Could we be sure that even in the dictator countries these principles did not find an echo in many hearts? Could we be sure that even the dictators themselves might not from one reason or another respond to them to some extent? Nothing could be more improvident or more imprudent than for the Western democracies to strip themselves of this great addition to their means of self-preservation or to blot out from the eyes of their peoples ideals which embodied the larger hopes of mankind.

Mr. Eden whole-heartedly accepted Mr. Churchill's statement of British aims.

America Aroused

MR. ARTHUR LANDON, Republican candidate in opposition to Mr. Roosevelt in the United States Presidential Election last year, has sent a message of support to the President, saying:

You and I both know that the American people want peace, but they want a peace that will enable us to maintain the respect of the other nations of the world.

To this the President has replied:

Throughout our long history we Americans have rejected every suggestion that ultimate security can be assured by closing our eyes to the fact that, whether we like it or not, we are part of a large world of other nations and peoples.

As such, we owe some measure of co-operation and even leadership in maintaining standards of conduct helpful to the ultimate goal of general peace.

American opinion is deeply stirred. The peoples of the world, whose interest is peace, must make the keeping of peace their business. Mr. Landon belongs to the Middle West; his acknowledgment that isolation is not enough is significant.

Tribute to Lord Cecil

AT the Dorchester Hotel, on December 16, during the General Council, Lord Cecil was the guest of honour at a reception held by the League of Nations Union and the International Peace Campaign. It was a unique occasion. The purpose was to mark the award to Lord Cecil of the Nobel Peace Prize. The attendance of 500 included representatives of every side of British life. There were present visitors from 20 countries.

Viscountess Gladstone, who presided, said truly, in her charming speech, that no other man in the world was more beloved than Lord Cecil. M. Pierre Cot, French Air Minister, described how the hopes of millions who had never seen him centred in Lord Cecil. For them, he meant peace. Dr. Gilbert Murray declared that by resigning the external power of office Lord Cecil had gained the greater internal power of influence. Mr. Philip Noel Baker repeated the dying President Wilson's last words to Lord Cecil: "Make no concessions. We must win in the end." Sir Norman Angell praised Lord Cecil's directness of appeal to plain men and women.

Lord Cecil paid a remarkable tribute to President Roosevelt, saying that of all the men he had ever known the President had the strongest hold on the confidence and loyalty of the masses of his fellow-countrymen.

Italy Leaves The League

SIGNOR MUSSOLINI, speaking to a mass demonstration in the open air in Rome on December 11, announced that Italy had given notice to leave the League. He said:

We have wished, for long years, to offer to the world a spectacle of unheard patience. We had not forgotten, and shall not forget, the opprobrious attempt at economic strangulation of the Italian people perpetrated at Geneva.

But some people had thought that at a certain moment the League of Nations would have made a gesture of dutiful reparation. It has not done so. It has not wished to do so. The good intentions of certain Governments vanish as soon as their delegates come into contact with that destructive environment represented by the Geneva Council of fools, manoeuvred by turbid occult forces, enemies of our Italy and of our revolution.

The threatening voices which from time to time arise and which perhaps will again arise from the herds of the great democracies—(loud hoots from the crowd)—leave us completely indifferent. Nothing can be done against a people such as the Italian people, which is capable of any sacrifice whatsoever. We stand armed in the air, on the land, and on the sea, strong and tempered by two victorious wars. But above all we have the heroic spirit of our revolution which no human force in the world will ever be able to bend.

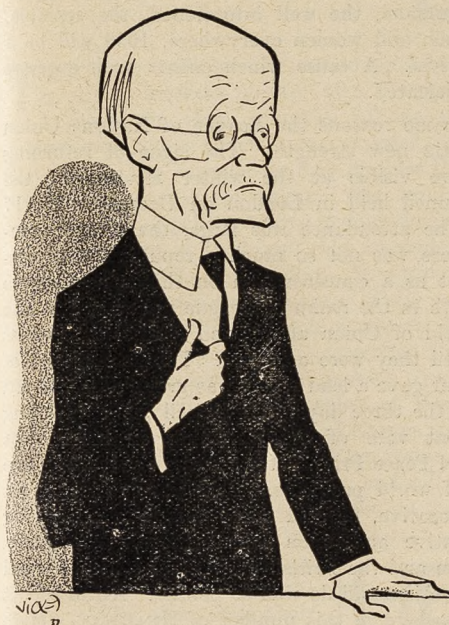
And Germany Approves

AN official statement by the German Government was issued in Berlin the same night:

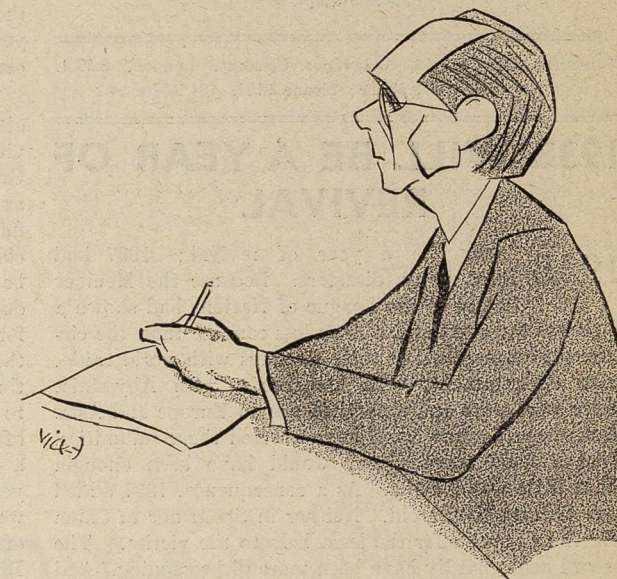
The League receives the reward of its political achievements and merit. At no period of its existence has it proved competent to make a useful contribution to the treatment of actual problems of world politics.

Whether the Powers remaining at Geneva still desire to make the League a serious factor in their politics is their affair. They have, however, no longer the right to put forward the League as the chosen representation of the world of States and as the highest organ of international co-operation. The Reich Government, in any case, in full agreement with the Italian Government, will not let themselves be moved from the conviction that the political system of Geneva is not only a failure but pernicious. A return of Germany to the League will accordingly never come into consideration again.

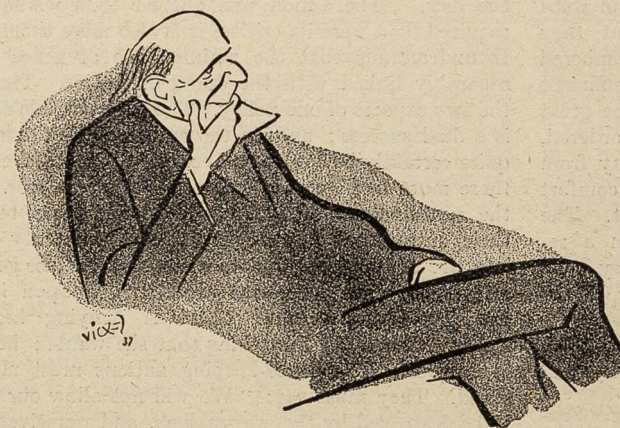
Leaders of the L.N.U.



the Chairman, Dr. Gilbert Murray



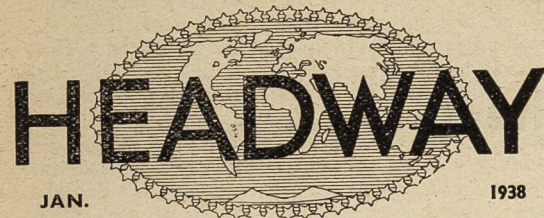
—and Mr. Philip Noel Baker



the President, Viscount Cecil



the Chairman of the Editorial Committee, Sir Norman Angell



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Telephone: Sloane 6161.

1938 WILL BE A YEAR OF REVIVAL

1938 WILL be a year of revival; 1937 had seen many disasters. Because the Member States of the League of Nations had shown a little less foresight and a little less courage than the circumstances required in their dealings with world trade, with disarmament, with Manchuria, with Abyssinia, there were wars and threats of war in Europe and Asia. A vigorous League could have averted those calamities. Just a little more vigour would have been enough. That little was lacking. As a consequence, 1937 added new failures to the old. Neither in Spain nor in China did the League offer the least help to the victim. The record could hardly have been more disheartening. And yet, in the end, the message of 1937 was hope rather than despair. The League Assembly brought together over fifty nations, not enthusiastic, perhaps, but resolved to support and strengthen the only international institution which embodies and serves the purpose of the world's peoples to live at peace with one another. The League's enemies betrayed an increasing nervousness; an indulgence in wild language revealed their doubts whether they were adopting the wise course and the safe course in isolating themselves from the organised attempt of the peace-keeping nations to substitute law for war. At the same time the League's friends, even those whose friendship had been limited latterly to phrases of tepid approval, began to close their ranks. They were not aggressive; both in word and act they were eagerly conciliatory. But they remembered their common interest; they remembered also their immense resources, which were amply sufficient to make good their defence. Committed to the great adventure of building a better future, secure, ordered, and prosperous, they were quietly turning away from any thought of a feeble surrender. They found comfort in a new note struck by American comment. The President, the politicians, the Press joined in a re-examination of the basis of United States policy. On Christmas Eve, for example, the *New York Times* published a leading article in which it said:

The United States and Great Britain are moving on parallel lines in an attempt to restore order, decency, and safety in the world.

This parallel course is as sensible as it is strong. Self-interest automatically suggests it and world peace requires it. In consulting with the British and proceeding as it is proceeding the United States is not pulling their chestnuts out of the fire. We have chestnuts ourselves, as the attack on the Panay brings vividly to mind. . . . It is possible without war, declared or undeclared, to impress upon outlaw Governments this new determination.

Without resort to the formal plan called sanctions, Governments whose citizens possess credits and materials, acting independently but in parallel, can properly withhold them. That surely must be their course if violations of international law continue.

The cause of the League is the cause of humanity, of goodwill and good sense, of the ordinary wishes of ordinary citizens in all countries. Because its appeal is to the humane, the well intentioned, the sensible, the plain men and women everywhere, 1938 will be a year of revival. A cause which enlists such support cannot be defeated.

For the same reasons the League of Nations Union also will gain new strength. The signs of returning vitality were visible at the winter meeting of the General Council held in London on December 16, 17 and 18. The attendance was large, the temper confident. There was not so much a repudiation of discouragement as a concentration on things needing to be done, both in the realm of League policy and in the domestic field of Union affairs, and a resolve to press forward until they were achieved. The first speech of the President gave a lead which was gratefully followed throughout the three days. Lord Cecil was responding to a fervent vote of congratulation on his receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize. He took the chance to make a survey of world problems. Bold yet cautious, firm yet unprovocative, he said many things whose saying was imperative and upon whose meaning members of the Union and the British people and others beyond Britain's frontiers will do well to ponder. A full report appears elsewhere in this number of HEADWAY. Here it is enough to call attention to some of the points he drove home. Peace must be defended and the peace which is defended must be just. To-day many critics of League and Union protest against the emphasis laid upon collective defence. Why, they ask, is peaceful change ignored? Their accusation is a travesty of the facts. Peaceful change is an essential part of the Covenant. Consistently, from the very first, the Union has stood for the prompt hearing and fair settlement of all genuine grievances. The difference between the Union and its critics is that the Union argued and worked long ago for measures which the critics are beginning to recommend only now, dangerously late in the day. The Union was quicker to see what was required than were its critics; it is also more thoughtful. It understands that the maintenance of peace is inseparably linked with the doing of justice. They are the two aspects of one policy. The only possible success is a dual success; and, in the end, a single failure will quite certainly be double and complete. Peaceful change there must be; genuine grievances must be met. But the peacemakers of 1937, in headlong haste because their enthusiasm has awakened nearly twenty years late, are unsound counsellors when they confuse genuine grievances with aggressive ambitions. Japan is not invading China because China is denying her her rights. China has something that she wants; her aim is conquest. The peace-keeping nations must make a stand. They must say: "We will not allow our world to be destroyed by the war-makers, and ourselves with it."

Lord Cecil's speech was an inspiration. Not less inspiring were the outspokenness of the General Council on the Far East and Spain and the ability and courage of the younger generation. The Union is alive.

A NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

PEACE IS THE VITAL INTEREST OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

By VISCOUNT CECIL

THE year opens in anxiety, not so much because there is any immediate menace of a European war as because the chief countries of the world have entered on a course which, unless arrested, must lead to that result. For however we may disguise the facts, the race in armaments has begun. The amount already being spent is appalling—three or four times as much as was being spent in 1913, and that amount was greater than had ever been spent before. Everyone agrees that the armaments race then was one of the causes of the war. To induce the taxpayers to accept the burden then war scares were fostered in the controlled Press, enmity between the countries was emphasised, comparisons of armaments figured in the speeches of War Ministers, war was glorified and the youth of Europe was taught to regard war as both splendid and inevitable. The same tendencies are in operation to-day, and will produce the same consequences. And yet it is certain that the overwhelming majority of the peoples long to live in peace and amity with their neighbours. Why then does their will not prevail? One great reason is that the forces which make for war are more effective than those which make for peace. War is traditional. Bureaucracies have been taught to accept its existence as axiomatic—more or less in all countries. It is bound up with the fetish of nationalism. To such an extent is this so that peace-loving governments often seem to regard peace as an unattainable counsel of perfection, and put it in an entirely different category to the defence of their territorial and commercial interests. Even our own ministers constantly draw a sharp distinction between British interests and peace. In defence of the former all risks must be run. For the maintenance of peace it would be foolhardy to enter upon any commitments, and yet our Government genuinely wishes for peace, and believes that it is doing all that is possible to support the League of Nations!

Nyon and Brussels

Other governments are just as bad or worse. Take two recent instances—the Conference at Nyon and the Conference at Brussels. The Nyon meeting was called because ships had been attacked by submarines in the Mediterranean. There was no hesitation. Within 48 hours it was agreed to send warships to patrol the danger zones and fire on any submarine that threatened or appeared to threaten a merchant vessel, and from that moment the submarine activity ceased. Unquestionably, the Nyon action involved risk. Suppose that, as a

consequence, an Italian or a German submarine had been sunk! One remembers the horrified rejection of the proposal for similar action to stop the invasion of Abyssinia! Or compare the proceedings at the recent Brussels Conference. Here the question was what could be done to stop the Japanese invasion of China already condemned at Geneva as an indefensible aggression and breach of treaty. A carefully drawn resolution disapproving of Japan was with some difficulty passed. But when the Chinese delegate proposed not military or naval action, but merely that the powers represented should agree not to buy from Japan and so furnish her with funds to pursue the war he found no support. At Nyon the British Government took the lead, and it was their lead which brought success. At Brussels they did not even express sympathy or support for China. It is possible that in any case they would not have secured the co-operation of other countries, notably of the U.S.,

without whom no economic pressure on Japan is practicable. But if that be so it is far better that the fact should be known.

Accept Responsibility

Each country has a perfect right to decide on the foreign policy which it deems best. But each country should be ready to accept openly responsibility for that decision. For unless that is done it is left in doubt what really happened, and it may be that months afterwards, as in the Manchurian case, it is authoritatively stated that the U.S. were ready to go on and it was the

European powers who held back. Personally, I believe that if the co-operation of America in international affairs is desired—and I, for one, deeply desire it—it must be sought on the ground of peace, of the substitution of law for war, and not on the ground that the national "interests" of this or that country are threatened.

The message then that I would give to my fellow members of the Union is that peace as such must be recognised as the vital interest of the British Empire, of far greater importance than the protection of its commerce or of its territorial possessions. It is not a question of action for Abyssinia, or China, or Czechoslovakia. We must urge with all our power that it is our interest and the interest of the whole world that war must not be used for the furtherance of national policy, that the remedy for national grievances must and should be sought by pacific means, and that until that principle is accepted and enforced as part of international law there is no hope for enduring peace among the nations of the world.

HEADWAY
wishes its readers a
Happy New Year
in which the world
shall turn its face
resolutely towards
a peaceful future.

American Student Opinion

By BERNARD FLOUD

President B.U.L.N.S.; Secretary F.U.I. pour la S.D.N.

At the beginning of December I returned from a visit to the United States. Six weeks of that time I spent in lecturing, under the auspices of the International Student Service, to schools, colleges and Universities in New England, New York and Pennsylvania. I also had the pleasure of meeting and working with many of the officers of the national student societies located in New York City. I was therefore able to get some kind of an impression, though necessarily a very incomplete one, of the state of American student opinion at the present time.

Until very recently American student opinion on international affairs has been dominated by the Oxford Pledge, a pledge which expresses the complete pacifist position. It was around this pledge that the annual Student Strike for Peace grew up, a strike supported in 1937 by 500,000 students all over the country. But recently, and particularly since the development of the situation in the Far East, there has been a growing realisation that the complete pacifist solution no longer meets the situation, and that a more positive and active attitude is needed. The same is true of the isolationist position, although this particular tendency has probably never been as strong among students as in the country as a whole.

The Spanish War has undoubtedly played a large part in this development, especially as there have been many students fighting as volunteers in Spain; but this particular issue was naturally more influential among the radical and progressive students than among others. The Japanese aggression against China, however, seems to have aroused the interest of the vast majority of students, whatever their political views may be; there is constant and eager discussion of the subject, and a genuine realisation that the United States must play her full part in any solution of the problem. Nor is the interest merely academic; students are playing a large part in the movement for individual boycotting of Japanese goods, and large sums of money are being raised in support of the relief scheme for Chinese students, launched by the I.S.S. and other international student organisations.

There is still, however, a great deal of confusion on these matters and great differences of opinion. But it is possible to make one valid generalisation; there is undoubtedly a steady trend away from pacifism and isolationism towards the acceptance of a collective security position. The majority of the responsible

leaders of the national student organisations—and the same is true of the national youth organisations—now support the principles of collective security, and the mass of the membership of these organisations is also feeling its way in this direction. But acceptance of collective security does not necessarily mean acceptance of the League of Nations as it exists at present. Suspicion of that body is still very strong, and while many students will agree that it is the only available machinery of international co-operation, there is a strong section which would prefer to abandon the League and to demand the implementation of the Briand-Kellogg Pact in its place.

Apart from the attitudes of isolationism and pacifism the greatest single impediment in the way of acceptance of collective security is the deep and almost universal distrust of the Foreign Policy which Great Britain has pursued in recent years. Even those sections of opinion

which are most favourable to all that is British confess that they are unhappy and bewildered. The story of Abyssinia, Spain, and now China all seem to the American students to prove that Great Britain is not only weak, but that she is deliberately conniving in the destruction of the influence of the League of Nations and in the betrayal of democracy throughout the world. Since it is clear that the entry of the United States into world affairs in

close co-operation with other nations would depend to a very large extent on the co-operation which could be obtained between that country and Great Britain, it is obvious that this suspicion as to British foreign policy is doing incalculable harm to the cause for which we stand.

The further development of the movement in support of collective security, among American students, and also in the States as a whole, will depend to a considerable degree on the policy which our own country pursues in the course of the next few months. The Brussels Conference, and particularly Mr. Eden's speech in the House of Commons prior to the Conference, was a bad beginning, and had a deplorable effect. To overcome the effects of this incident and to wipe out all the ill-feeling and distrust of past years will inevitably be a slow process. But, given that Great Britain will pursue a policy truly in accordance with the principles of the League of Nations and collective security, there is every reason to believe that, within a comparatively short time, American student opinion will be won wholeheartedly and firmly for the only policy which can successfully defend the peace of the world.

A Good Resolution for 1938

I will buy my Books on World Affairs from the L.N.U. Bookshop—

15, GROSVENOR CRESCENT, S.W.1

WHAT THE UNDER THIRTIES ARE THINKING

By A Member of the L.N.U. National Youth Committee

It is a difficult thing to speak about the general mind of a generation, but in these urgent days there are certain acute common problems facing "under thirties" in almost all nations, and consequently there are certain common attitudes and points of agreement which constitute the outlook of a large part of our generation. It is a very important part, moreover, in so far as it is thinking about vital common problems and thinking internationally.

I have visited recently such places as Bishop Auckland—once an important centre of coal mining—now desperately depressed and stripped of its youth; Sheffield, busy with engineering works where thousands of young men and women are employed; and St. Ives, where the natural beauty of the surroundings, the apparent remoteness of the world's affairs, make it difficult to be preoccupied with the future we face.

It is not my intention to express the point of view of an organisation. I will set forth, as best I can, some of the points of view expressed by young people of all religious beliefs and political convictions up and down our country.

What strikes young people most to-day, when they look at world events, is the contradiction between all the rules and ideals they accept in their own groups and societies, in their Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Church Guilds, in the Boy Scout and the Girl Guide Movements, and the negation of these rules and ideals in the practice of governments.

Was it not only last summer at the Jamboree in Holland that Japanese and Chinese Boy Scouts were singing their national songs round the camp fire? What does all our talk of world citizenship mean if the shambles of Canton, Nanking, and Shanghai are the next rendezvous of Japanese and Chinese Boy Scouts after the camp fire?

Are we responsible? Can we play any part in saying "Yes" or "No" to this?

So we start off again thinking what we can do, what are our responsibilities. In these discussions it often occurs to me how surprised many of our prominent elders would be to discover what really matters to "under thirties."

There never was such an amount of agreement about practical issues among young people. We are united on the need to organise the defence of peace and concern ourselves with the problems of social justice, the lack of which leads to the belief that war is preferable to a life which is no life.

This understanding of the need to co-operate is expressed in different ways, according to the organisation in which the speaker finds himself or herself active, but proof that it exists is the activity which it produces.

This opinion of the outlook of our generation is deliberately general and rather impersonal. The following three examples will show what these general ideas mean in practice.

In September of 1937 the British Youth Movement, covering over 1,000,000 young people, was asked to send a delegation to the World Youth Congress, the purpose of which was "to provide an opportunity for youth in all countries to exchange ideas on international affairs and to reach agreement upon a common plan of international co-operation for the prevention of war and organisation of peace."

There went to that Congress 50 delegates and 50 observers from the most different religious, political and social organisations. That would be remarkable in itself. It was more remarkable that the delegates, appointed by their own organisations, met on several occasions beforehand and constituted a common platform from which to give the contribution of British Youth to the Congress.

Last summer, as a result of that congress, a World Peace Camp was organised outside Paris in which 700 young people from 36 different nations lived together for two weeks. From Britain went 200 "under thirties" from villages and towns, many of whom had never been abroad before.

If I were asked what characteristic I considered distinguished my generation in its ideas and emotions, I would say "International loyalty to people of our age, a feeling and an idea, which, whether it be idealistic or practically organised, is capable of tremendously powerful expression."

The two examples given indicate the background of this feeling, the third indicates its practical expression.

During the first year of the war in Spain, in fulfilment of this loyalty, a few, but comparatively powerful, youth organisations co-operated to send three ships of milk and food to the suffering children of Spain. By later generations I believe these ships will be remembered as an historic precedent. Later last year, when the need became greater and the understanding of the situation increased, a self-denial week was organised. People were asked to give up cigarettes, cinemas, and small personal expenses, in order to send more milk to refugee children. The Archbishop of York, the Duchess of Atholl, and Lord Cecil started the campaign by giving cases of tinned milk. On this occasion a far larger number of organisations took part, and in many ingenious ways conducted activities among their members to raise money and make more than an individual contribution.

Now the same thing is being done all over again, with the small resources of "under thirties" to send bandages and medical supplies to the youth of China.

How many have taken part? It is difficult to say, but probably more than have ever worked together before to carry into practice the ideas of a generation.

I believe that such ideas are more important than is yet realised even by those of us who have participated in the work.

LORD MAYOR'S FUND FOR THE RELIEF OF DISTRESS IN CHINA

By RACHEL E. CROWDY

A FEW weeks ago the British Red Cross Society, the China Association, and the Conference of British Missionaries issued an appeal for the relief of distress in China. Some days later the Lord Mayor of London was good enough to open a Fund in support of that appeal.

The response of a generous British public has been good. Nearly £80,000 has been raised, but that is not enough. Most of the money subscribed has already been spent to meet the urgent needs of the moment.

£50,000 have gone in cash for the Committees which, under the British Ambassador and the Governor of Hong Kong, are administering relief on behalf of the Fund; £18,000 have already been spent on drugs, anaesthetics and antiseptics.

10,000 blankets, 1,200 great coats and thousands of woollen garments have already left this country for their Far Eastern destination. But this can only have been a drop in the bucket, a grain of sand in the desert.

No one can tell what the number of refugees may be. In Shanghai alone there are over 100 camps—one camp caring for as many as 35,000 people.

In other coastal towns and in the interior there are hundreds of thousands more refugees and to-day the frightened civil population of Nanking has joined the lost legion of the homeless.

From every village where fighting and bombing has taken place come more and more refugees into the camps. There is no rest for the old, no food for the young, no peace from pain, no covering from winter cold.

Then there are the wounded. We are told, on a conservative estimate, that there are at least 100,000 of these in China to-day and that the supplies of the Mission and other Hospitals are exhausted.

Operations to be performed without anaesthetics. Wounds and no antiseptics with which to disinfect them. No gauze or bandages or wool with which to cover them, to say nothing of the lack of vaccines which might help to stem a tide of infection from cholera, typhus, dysentery and smallpox.

For such numbers as flood the hospitals to-day the monthly needs are, we are told, no less than 4 tons of chloroform, 5 tons of ether, 10 tons of cotton wool, 400 lbs. of iodine crystals and 100,000 ampoules of anti-tetanus serum, to say nothing of splints and instruments and drugs.

The Lord Mayor's Fund is appealing for woollen clothing of every kind for men, women, and children. This clothing, by the kindness of a British shipping firm is being sent freight free to Hong-Kong, from whence it is distributed to hospitals, camps, and refugee centres both in the interior and at the coastal cities, wherever the needs are greatest.

But it is money that is wanted most of all, for that can be transformed to meet the special needs which can be known only to those who, being on the spot, are in daily touch with changing conditions.

Both money and clothing should be sent to the Lord Mayor's Fund for the Relief of Distress in China:—

**121, Westbourne Terrace,
Paddington, London.**

HOLIDAY PLANS

Christmas Holiday Lectures for boys and girls on "World Problems of To-day."

Europe to-day. The Far East. Spain. Rival theories of Communism, Fascism and Democracy. The League and the I.L.O., etc.

Speakers and Chairmen include:—Commander Stephen King-Hall, the Hon. Harold Nicolson, M.P., Chang Su-Lee, William Steed, the President of the T.U.C., Arnold Forster, Lord Cecil and the Headmaster of Rugby. London: January 3-6. Fee: 5/- (2/6 for Members of Junior Branches)

Conference of Educational Associations: Tuesday, January 4th at 10.30 a.m. Major Frederick Norman White, C.I.E., M.D., on "The Work of the League of Nations for Health and Human Welfare." A meeting for teachers at University College, Gower Street, W.C.1

The International Conference of Leaders has been postponed until April 22-25 to allow for larger representation from other countries.

EASTER

The Easter School on Contemporary International Affairs will meet from April 14 to 19 at Wills Hall, The University of Bristol. Subject:—"Prospects for Peace and Social Justice in 1938."

Full particulars of all these meetings from the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. (Sloane 6161).

U.S.A.

It is proposed to organise another visit to the United States and Canada in the spring of 1938, probably sailing by R.M.S. QUEEN MARY on April 20th.

EDUCATION OR AGITATION

By THE SECRETARY OF THE UNION

SCENE: *An interlude at a Christmas Party. The host, a life-member of the League of Nations Union (L.N.U.) is talking with three of his guests. From right to left they are: An ardent Nationalist (A.N.), a Responsible Statesman (R.S.), and a Ginger Groupier (G.G.).*

A. N.: So Italy has left the League and the League is really dead at last. Good riddance of bad rubbish, I call it. A lot of foreign devils, you know. You can't trust them a yard. Now our Government will perhaps look after British interests and stop bothering about other people's business.

R. S.: If the League were to die to-morrow every sensible person in the world would have to seek to replace it by something of the same sort. There may be parts of its constitution which don't function properly while its present weakness lasts. But it is still an international institution with definite and important duties. They concern every aspect of human inter-dependence: economics, culture, health and social conditions, as well as politics. We could not do without it. And it is far from dead.

G. G.: I do not see how Italy can be allowed to leave the League of her own free-will unless she first clears out of Abyssinia: all her obligations under the Covenant have to be fulfilled at the time of her withdrawal. The League should expel her under Article XVI.

L. N. U.: Anyhow, her disappearance from Geneva leaves a more healthy League. It should look upon itself as the nucleus of the World Commonwealth that is to be, the vehicle of infinite promise for the future. It should therefore make quite sure of its collective defence against attack from the anti-League triangle. It should offer definite material advantages to its member States. And it should become the object of the loyal devotion of all its citizens. In all these ways it would be a sort of halfway house from the British Commonwealth to the world-wide League conceived by the Covenant.

R. S.: Meanwhile there is still a danger, as the Polish foreign minister said the other day, that the Geneva institution may be split by conflicting ideas for its immediate future. Some countries, notably in South America, would amend the Covenant by leaving out all provision for collective action against aggression. Their line is this: try to settle their disputes peacefully, but don't attempt to prevent an outbreak of war by threatening the aggressor with "sanctions." Other countries are all for treating the League as being, first and foremost, a defensive alliance. Perhaps the best way to avoid a split is to keep the Covenant intact, but to regard any obligations to use force against any aggressor anywhere as "frustrated" or in suspense so long as the amount of force available is insufficient to ensure success.

L. N. U.: I agree that there is no obligation under Article XVI for any State to take part in any action which may involve armed resistance by the aggressor, unless that State has the support of others sufficiently strong to make the aggressor's failure almost certain.

A. N.: The League had better have its teeth out at

once and have done with it. In fact, sanctions be damned. Why not say so bluntly?

R. S.: Because, in modern war, defence has such an advantage over offence, that an outbreak in Europe will probably be prevented even by an uncertain prospect that the growing might of Britain will be used for the League against the aggressor. Besides, regional pacts could lessen the uncertainty and pretty well ensure the security of Europe until the 'sanctions' of the Covenant become reliable as the League becomes world-wide. And that is what we hope to achieve by a new general settlement.

G. G.: I have no patience with all this talk of 'uncertainty.' After all, there are less than 250,000,000 people in the anti-League triangle, and more than five times as many in the League itself. Nothing is wanting but the will to work the Covenant. The people everywhere want peace. Why won't the Governments let them have it?

R. S.: Yes, the people want peace, and so do all (or nearly all) the Governments. But the people want peace in such diverse and inconsistent ways. What has Mr. Lansbury in common with Lord Davies, the Peace Pledgers with the New Commonwealth? Why doesn't your League of Nations Union try to persuade people to want peace in the same way? And to want the same sort of peace: not a mere absence of war, but positive, constructive, creative peace, organised by the League.

G. G.: I call that fine. Let's start a campaign. Let's have processions, mass demonstrations, petitions, every sort of agitation.

L. N. U.: Such tactics are not enough. Surely we want something on a grand strategic scale. Education, in fact, before agitation. We must make people understand that national interests are part of world interests, that only by promoting and defending world interests can our own national interests be properly served and safeguarded, that the League and all it stands for concern us far more deeply than much else that also belongs to our honour and vital interests. When we have brought about such a complete change of mind among peoples of all classes and all parties, agitation to get League principles applied will be as spontaneous as it was over the Hoare-Laval business.

R. S.: It might even be unnecessary.

A. N.: I am getting scared. The L.N.U. will be a danger to all I stand for if it acts in the faith that the still small voice may have more in it than the rushing mighty wind, or the earthquake, or the fire.

G. G.: I must say I feel a certain sympathy with that old chap Naaman in the Bible. I like doing something big and sensational. I really enjoy agitating among those who will follow my lead, even if they do tend to belong to one political group.

R. S.: Everyone will sympathise with young people who feel like that, especially in these difficult and dangerous days. But older people ought to know better than to suppose that Governments are going to be influenced by agitations confined to their political opponents.

L. N. U.: Thank you for the tip for 1938.

LORD CECIL'S SPEECH AT THE GENERAL COUNCIL

We Stand for Justice and the Supremacy of the Law

AT the first session of its winter meeting, held in the Conway Hall, London, on Thursday, December 16, the General Council of the League of Nations Union adopted a resolution recognising the great services to the cause of peace rendered by its President, and congratulating him on the award to him of the Nobel Peace Prize. In his reply, Viscount Cecil said:—

At this moment, when a great deal is being said about the League, it is of importance that this profoundly impartial Committee, existing in a country more or less outside the main currents of national and political controversy in Europe, appointed to judge merely on the question of what is valuable work for Peace, should have arrived at this conclusion, that work for Peace will best be performed by work for the League of Nations. And they emphasise their finding by referring to the work that I have done about the League itself, and also—and this has been very prominently insisted upon in Norway—the work done on behalf of the International Peace Campaign.

Anything said in favour of the International Peace Campaign is said in favour also of the League of Nations Union. Not only is there no controversy between them, or ought to be no controversy between these two bodies, but they exist in order to forward precisely the same policy with precisely, I hope, the same enthusiasm. Therefore, when the Nobel Committee say that, when they refer to the International Peace Campaign as being part of the motive of the prize they are in fact giving a vote of confidence to the League of Nations Union in this country.

The League of The Covenant

The League of Nations the Committee approve of is the League as defined in the Covenant. Both the League of Nations Union and the International Peace Campaign stand for that League, and that League only. They don't propose to transform that League into a Geneva debating society. They believe that the whole purpose of the League the only thing that gives it its interest to the peoples of the world and the peoples of Europe, is that it is an attempt to establish peace. That is essential. The League indeed may be defined as an agreement among the members of the League to keep the peace. If we may translate it into language which is familiar to all of us, it is an attempt to bind the nations over to keep the peace of the world. That is the purpose of the League. It is not merely to facilitate and improve international relations; that is only part of its work and its only value is because it will ultimately lead people to keeping the peace. It is shocking that I should have to insist upon such a proposition after all these years, but it does seem to be lost sight of; but it is quite essential, and one cannot doubt that the reason why Signor Mussolini has left the League is because he is afraid it might succeed in keeping the peace. That is the truth. The countries which object to the League object to it on the ground that it is going to limit their nationalist power to break the peace whenever they choose.

What is the alternative policy? Well, it takes different forms. It takes the form of the Peace Pledge Union, it takes the form of isolation, it takes other forms and other variants of those two forms. But fundamentally it rests on the belief that you can secure peace by international discussion and nothing else. I never have been able to bring myself to believe that in the present condition of the world that is a reasonable theory. It seems to me quite unreasonable to suppose that an aggressive power, urged to aggression by strong motives, for after all no power will engage in aggression except for strong motives, will be persuaded to abandon that policy by a discussion with other

powers at Geneva or anywhere else. It never has happened. I don't think it ever will happen. No doubt you are going to have negotiations. If there is a real grievance you may have negotiations to set right that grievance. You may have discussions and, long before the actual crisis arises you may have—and I hope we shall have—a great effort at world education on behalf of peace. But in the end when the decision is come to to take aggressive action. I know of no case in which peace has been got simply by discussion. Wherever peace has been broken—Abyssinia, Manchuria, Spain, wherever you look—the failure to maintain it has been by discussion, by remonstrances, by urging the wickedness and dangers of aggression. Where the peace has been kept it has always been in every case because either expressly or impliedly, it has been said to the would-be aggressor: if you advance further you will have to meet not only your immediate opponent but the whole force of the civilised world.

Of course, if you are going to try to enforce any law you must take care that the law is just. There are a certain number of our critics who are always saying that the League of Nations Union and its spokesmen are always talking about sanctions, and never will talk about remedies, or justice. For the League of Nations Union I want to say in the most specific and definite way that that charge is absolutely untrue. Just look at our history. What have we done?

When the Treaty of Versailles was signed there were two classes of grievances which the defeated Powers might have. One was that the terms of peace were unduly harsh. That is a grievance which it is certainly proper to consider, but is evidently not so clear a grievance as the other one, which was that the Victorious Powers had not carried out their part of the agreement.

That was a very serious challenge and was made continuously by Germany and others with reference to Disarmament. Those Powers said over and over again and with great energy, and, as I and other members of the Union always thought, with great justice, that it was a very serious grievance. We had promised Germany that as soon as she had disarmed we would disarm, and Germany said—and with great force—you have not done it. Not only have you not disarmed, you have not taken any clear and definite steps towards that end.

Who Worked For Justice?

Who urged that? Was it our critics? Not at all. I do not remember Lord Lothian saying anything about it. The people who urged it were the members of the League of Nations Union. We urged it here; we urged it abroad. We urged it in the Federation of League of Nations Societies. I remember very well going on behalf of this Union to meetings in Paris to discuss what particular proposals we should make and to urge on the League to fulfil the pledge to Germany. We drew up a scheme—a scheme which I still think was by far the best scheme that has ever been produced for the purpose. It is interesting to me, in view of some things that are said about the International Peace Campaign, that the person who was foremost on behalf of the French in advocating that scheme was my co-President in the International Peace Campaign, M. Pierre Cot. We advocated that scheme in every way and we got a resolution

passed by the Federation of League of Nations Societies. We continually urged it in our meetings here; we urged it in our meetings abroad; and if our policy had been pursued and carried through in 1932 with energy and candour, I firmly believe we should have had at any rate a measure of disarmament agreed to by the Powers of the world.

I am not going through the history of the League, but if you look at the attitude we took about Silesia, about setting up a new system or a system for carrying out the partition of Silesia, the attitude we took about the Saar, the attitude we have continuously taken about Minorities, I say that our attitude has always been on behalf of justice in international relations. We have urged every change and every reform that seemed to us at all practicable in order to carry that principle into effect.

We now know from the mouths of the Dictators themselves that their object is not to make this or that change in the Covenant of the League of Nations, but to abolish the whole system of the League at Geneva.

Let us look at these facts plainly and see what they mean. I am tired of sitting down in silence while these charges are made against the Union and while there has been an attempt to canonise as if were some of the less reputable Powers in Europe. When I am told, as I have been recently by the public press, that none of these questions—re-arrangement of colonial possessions—is to be a matter of negotiation and concession but is claimed as a matter of right for which no consideration is to be given, then I say that is not a basis on which I personally am prepared to discuss anything of that kind. For my part, I am quite sure we have got to stand and make a great stand. Even if we have before us, as it may well be, a long arduous fight, we have got to make a great effort to lay down once again the essential, the fundamental, principles for which we stand. Justice for all by all means. I do not believe a perfect settlement is possible, but if the one that exists is imperfect, by all means let us do our best to correct it and improve it, on the ground of justice, on the ground that that is a thing that ought to be done. If more than that is asked, then we must say: Well, what contribution are you prepared to make, not to us, but to the general well-being and the maintenance of the peace of the world.

The Worst Type of Barbarism

We stand for justice for all, and above all we stand for the supremacy of the law, the rejection of the principle that because a nation desires an extension of its territory—this is now boldly put forward—it has a right to enforce that extension of territory by violence and that means by killing a large number of the inhabitants of the territory concerned. Read the official defence for the action of Japan. It is astounding. China was not prepared to treat us with sufficient friendliness, we are therefore going in to invade China and to destroy the Chinese and to beat them to their knees. That attitude of mind is absolutely destructive of any hope of permanent peace in the world. As far as I am concerned, and as long as I am left alive in this world, I will struggle against that conception with all the strength that I possess. It is pure anarchy, the worst type of barbarism; and unless we can get our international relations put on a sounder principle than that we may abandon for ever all hope of peace.

It is our duty to minimise that force, to use it as little as possible, and above all, to see that it is never used except under the control of some impartial and international authority.

We are now taking a very reasonable attitude with regard to the attacks on our shipping in the Yangtse. I have not a word to say in criticism of the remonstrances that have been made. But I do want to say very strongly that, in my view, the attack on China in itself was a far greater danger to us and our interests, to put it no higher than that, than any attack on our shipping or even on the lives of our individual subjects. It is not that I don't want to protect the lives and property of British subjects. Of course, that must be done. But do let us once and for all get into our minds that British interests are not mainly a matter of territory and commerce. They are mainly a matter, as are those of every other country, of maintaining the supremacy of the law in international affairs and that in itself includes the defence of the legitimate interests that we have.

Our Duty At This Moment

What is our duty at this moment? We are told that the whole existence of the League is threatened. Mussolini has actually left the League and perhaps thereby put it out of his own power to do as much injury to peace as he has been able to do in the past. At any rate, it has not made the situation any worse, but undoubtedly it will be seized upon by the critics and the extraordinarily bitter, though as I think truly unreasonable, enemies of the League in this country to say, as I daresay they have been saying: "That finishes the League. It is dead."

I am not the least alarmed by that statement. It has been made so often and with such very little result, but I think it does make a challenge to us, the League of Nations Union, the International Peace Campaign, and the other bodies who are fighting for peace through the League of Nations. We have a great weight of responsibility. We have done a great deal, both in this country and all over the world, to maintain the conception of organised peace. We must take care that we do not imperil that cause, that we do not weaken our power to stand for it, that we do not give opportunities for damaging criticism from outside either by slackness or by the still more insidious danger which affects all people who are fighting for a cause, the danger of fighting among themselves. We must make it our business to assist, not merely to tolerate, but to assist with every ounce of strength we have, every effort, every enterprise that exists to push forward our policy irrespective of whether it comes within our organisation or outside it. I venture to make that appeal because I know that those persons who are most keen, who are most wholehearted supporters of ours have, according to the common knowledge of humanity, that special besetting sin to try to exclude everybody who does not agree with them in every particular.

We must close our ranks. We must fight with greater energy than before. For a long time we had it all our own way as far as public opinion in this country was concerned. We had practically no opposition for ten years. That was an unwholesome state of things because it was an unreal state of things. There were many people who disagreed with us but they did not venture to say so. Now they have come out into the open. They will join with our opponents, men and women who, until now it may be, have said that they are in favour of our plans. We must not be discouraged. I am quite certain that sooner or later our ideas must prevail. Otherwise civilisation must perish. I am perfectly confident of the ultimate result. What I am not confident about is whether we can achieve that result with sufficient stability to prevent the next war.

Decisions By The General Council

Principal Resolutions adopted by the General Council of the League of Nations Union at its Meeting in London, December 16—18, 1937.

THE FAR EAST.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union—
Deeply regrets that even after the unanimous condemnation of Japanese aggression by the League of Nations and the United States the nations represented at the Brussels Conference have failed to take concerted action to stop that aggression;
Considers that this failure implies such a lack of corporate international sense in many nations as renders civilisation liable to destruction;
Nevertheless the Council notes that H.M. Government have declared their readiness to co-operate with other countries similarly placed to meet the obligations arising from the treaties which they have signed;

Calls upon H.M. Government definitely to announce their readiness to adopt diplomatic, economic and financial measures to stop Japanese aggression on condition that sufficient support be forthcoming from other States to make these measures effective; and in the meantime

Urges H.M. Government, in accordance with the unanimous request of the League of Nations, to give to China such help as is practicable, especially by diplomatic and financial aid and supplies of food and medicine; and further

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

SPAIN.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union—
Strongly condemns the action of certain Powers in fomenting by armed force the domestic troubles of Spain, and the shamelessly insincere diplomacy by which that action has been prolonged;

Regrets the failure of the patient efforts of H.M. Government to secure the cessation of all such foreign military intervention, the withdrawal of all foreign forces at present in Spain, and the cessation of the illegal importation of munitions so that an opportunity may be created for the negotiation of peace;

Considers that these efforts have manifestly failed, since, after interminable delays and evasions, the war still bears the character of an international conflict; and

Considers therefore that the Spanish Government should have restored to it forthwith those facilities for obtaining military supplies to which it would be entitled under the normal working of international law.

COLLECTIVE SECURITY.

The motion submitted jointly by the New Commonwealth and the Executive Committee was adjourned for consideration at the next meeting of the General Council in June, 1938.

MILITARY AVIATION.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union—
In view of the repeated statements of the British Government that military aviation could be abolished if civil aviation could be controlled, internationally, and in the knowledge that plans for the internationalisation or international control of civil aviation were laid before the Disarmament Conference, by, amongst others, the Governments of Sweden, France and Spain;

Urges upon H.M. Government the necessity for an immediate meeting of the Air Commission to discuss these plans, in the belief that the internationalisation or international control of civil aviation in Europe is the most immediately practicable step towards the reduction and final abolition of military aviation and the institution of an Air Police Force.

BOMBING AND BURNING OF OPEN TOWNS.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union—
Finds itself in complete agreement with the Prime Minister's statements of October 8, 1937, that "cruelty and barbarity, mutilation and death of non-combatants, destruction of property, starvation and misery are the inevitable accompaniments of modern warfare," but that "the real crime against humanity goes farther back than that; it lies in having resort to force at all in flat contradiction of engagements solemnly entered into, without even an attempt to settle differences by peaceful discussion and negotiation";

At the same time the Council feels that in advancing the cause of peace and disarmament this country should be above reproach; H.M. Government should therefore be asked to indicate its readiness

without reservation, to abandon its use of air weapons for whatever purpose as part of a general international agreement.

COLONIAL TERRITORIES.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union—

(a) Earnestly desiring that the functions of the League of Nations as a peacemaker should be actively developed; and
Believing it necessary that steps should be taken to consider the grievances and disabilities under which certain nations claim to be suffering;

Re-affirms its proposal for the setting up of International Commissions to ascertain the facts relating to those claims;
So far as Germany's colonial demands are concerned, the Council is of the opinion that this subject can most usefully be examined as part of the negotiations for an all-round Peace Settlement, the conditions of whose signature by all the nations concerned should be membership of the League of Nations and the acceptance of an agreement for the limitation and international supervision of armaments.

(b) Believing that demands for colonies as distinct from Mandates will continue only so long as certain Powers continue to hold colonies; and

Being convinced that the Mandates System for colonial territories is superior to national administration without international control;

Advocates the transfer of non-self-governing Colonial territories held by Great Britain and other Powers to the Mandates System, subject to three fundamental principles:—

- (1) Any change must be conditional upon the free consent of the populations concerned;
- (2) It must not injure the existing interests of such populations; and
- (3) It must secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of all Members of the League.

Further, the General Council—

Fearing that international relations may continue to be disturbed by jealousies so long as the administration of colonial territories is entrusted to individual Powers, even under Mandate;

Looks forward to a system of direct international administration of all colonial territories as the ultimate solution of the problem.

MINIMUM AGE OF ENTRY INTO EMPLOYMENT.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union—

Profoundly convinced that the adoption of the age of 15 for entry into employment as a minimum world standard is urgently desirable;

Recalling that a very large number of Governments gave their support to the revision of the two Minimum Age Conventions at the XXIII International Labour Conference;

Urges H.M. Government to take the necessary steps to ratify these revised Conventions.

PREFERENCES FOR STATES RATIFYING CONVENTIONS REGARDING HOURS AND/OR WAGES OF LABOUR.

The General Council—

Requests the Executive to consider and report upon the practicability of urging upon the League a scheme whereby States, whether members of the League or not, who had ratified I.L.O. conventions regulating hours and/or wages of labour, would grant a special preference to those who had so ratified the convention as against those who had not done so.

REFUGEES.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union—

Views with alarm the imminent closure of the Nansen Office for Refugees, and fears that the decision to defer the Refugee problem for consideration by the Assembly in the Autumn of 1938, may only result in inaction, and the protracted misery of thousands of defenceless people.

It therefore

Urges H.M. Government to press for the establishment at the conclusion of the mandates of the Nansen Office and of the High Commissioner for Refugees from Germany, of a single international Administration, under the League's authority, to protect the interests of all Refugees for whom the League has assumed or may assume any measure of responsibility.

Welcomes the adherence of this country to the Convention of

October, 1933, relating to the International Status of Refugees, and the arrangement of July, 1936, regarding the status of refugees from Germany; and

Urges H.M. Government in the United Kingdom to adopt a liberal attitude to the administration of these undertakings and in their immigration policy generally in the territories which they control.

ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Welcomes Mr. Eden's statement to the Assembly of the League of Nations that this country is anxious for measures of international economic co-operation, and assures the Government of the support of the League of Nations Union for this policy; and

Urges that positive proposals may be put forward by H.M. Government without delay;

In particular, the General Council attaches extreme importance to the conclusion of a commercial treaty between this country and the United States.

LEAGUE RADIO NEWS SERVICE.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union—

(a) Notes with satisfaction that the Governments members of the League of Nations voted unanimously at the 1937 Assembly the credits necessary for a development of broadcasts concerning League of Nations activities from the League's shortwave transmitter "Radio-Nations";

Urges the societies supporting the League of Nations in those countries capable of receiving the broadcasts from Radio-Nations to do everything possible to ensure a large body of listeners to that station's programmes either by—

- (1) Asking the local broadcasting service to re-broadcast the Radio-Nations transmissions;
- (2) Encouraging the purchase of wireless receivers capable of receiving the shortwave (15—50 metres) programmes;
- (3) Making widely known the programmes transmission hours and wavelengths of Radio-Nations;

Urges also societies supporting the League of Nations in those European countries which are not capable of receiving the broadcasts direct by wireless telephony from Radio-Nations, to invite their national broadcasting services to explore the possibility of receiving these same programmes from Geneva on the international telephone circuits or in the forms of recordings;

Recommends also a widespread use by societies supporting the League of Nations of the recordings made by the League Secretariat of important speeches at Geneva and explanatory material as broadcast from Radio-Nations;

Expresses the hope that the broadcasts from Radio-Nations will not be confined to happenings within the League organisations, but will explain objectively the situation, or possible situation of, the League through its Covenant in respect to all current matters of world importance.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union—

(b) Believes it to be most desirable that the League of Nations should provide a regular radio service of news on matters of world importance, intended to be heard by the peoples of the world in their own languages, and that all States Members of the League should guarantee to make this service fully and immediately available to their own people; and

Instructs the Executive to do all in its power to ensure that further steps in this direction are taken so soon as they become practicable.

UNION FINANCE

The General Council adopted the ten Recommendations printed at the end of the Report as Appendix I in the Final Agenda, with the following changes:—

Recommendation VI to read —

That the Council's Vote be discontinued; that the present proportion of subscriptions continue to be paid to Headquarters; that Headquarters continue to obtain money direct from Branch members when necessary; and that friendly applications for help be made to branches which can afford to send donations, provided that the Executive shall devise and employ some incentive to every branch to raise its proper share of the income of Headquarters should that share exceed the proportions of membership subscriptions paid to Headquarters, together with any other moneys contributed to Headquarters by the members of the branch.

Recommendation VIII to read as appears in statement of subscription rates printed elsewhere in the present number of HEADWAY.

UNION MEMBERSHIP

Terms of Subscriptions

MEMBERS who make a single payment of not less than £25 shall be described as Life Members, and shall be entitled to receive HEADWAY, the monthly journal of the Union, regularly by post, as well as pamphlets and similar literature issued by the Union.

MEMBERS whose annual subscriptions are not less than £1 shall be described as Foundation Members and shall be entitled to receive the literature to which Life Members are entitled.

MEMBERS whose annual subscriptions are less than £1, but not less than 5s., shall be described as Registered Members, and shall be entitled to receive HEADWAY;

provided any member who has paid an annual subscription of 3s. 6d. before January 1, 1938, and who wishes to continue to subscribe at that rate and to receive HEADWAY regularly by post, may do so.

MEMBERS who subscribe at the standard rate of 2s. 6d. annually shall be described as Subscription Members and shall receive the monthly *News Sheet* or, alternatively, the *Quarterly News*, insofar as their respective Branches will distribute copies;

provided that the Executive Committee shall have power to modify these rates of subscription in the case of members of Branches in Wales and Monmouthshire or in Universities and Colleges.

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: Freenet, Knights, London. Telephone Number: SLOane 6161.

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

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

COUNCIL'S VOTE

The following Branches have completed their Council's Vote payments for 1937:—

Albury, Acocks Green, Basingstoke, Bradford-on-Avon, Coniston, Colwall, Chipperfield, Chelmsford, Epping, Glastonbury, Godalming, Glens'ord, Herne Bay, Headington, Hemel Hempstead, Huntingdon, Herts. D.C., Henleaze, Headingley, Horsforth, Hornchurch, Hemingford, Leamington, Melbourne Congregational Church, Milford-on-Sea, Minehead, Olton, Plumpton, Petersfield, Ryde, Redditch, Somerton, Sutton (Sussex), Stockton Brook, Sedge Fen, Skipton, Stroud, Scarborough, Tettenhall, Tring, Tanworth-in-Arden, Little Weldon, Waterperry, Winscombe, Wareham, Water Orton.

Forthcoming L.N.U. Publications:

1. **Social Justice Through The League.**
2. **Colonies and World Peace.**
3. **What The League Has Done, 1920-38.**

A New Edition of a Best Seller.

SPECIAL APPEAL for £100,000

DAME SYBIL THORNDIKE'S MATINEE

THE matinee of the "Trojan Women," kindly arranged by Dame Sybil Thorndike in aid of the Union's special appeal for £100,000, was held at the Adelphi Theatre on December 7. A large and representative audience filled the theatre. It was a revelation to those in the foyer to see the long queue awaiting tickets, despite the fact that by the day before the performance over 1,100 seats had been sold.

In a great and moving presentation of a great play, Dame Sybil Thorndike, Lewis Casson, Margaret Rawlings, Ann Casson, William Devlin, Evelyn Hall and Zillah Carter made a profound and lasting impression.

To quote the dramatic critic of the *Daily Telegraph*: "The tense silence which followed the fall of the curtain for an appreciable time before the applause broke out showed that we had not been misled. This is a performance to remain in a playgoer's memory when the names of most other plays and players are forgotten."

The translator, Dr. Murray, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the L.N.U., in his speech at the conclusion of the performance appealed to his audience: "Try by sympathetic imagination to cross the gulf of time and get the tremendous message which Euripides, his heart almost broken by a time not unlike our own, has sent across the years to us."

There will be a substantial amount resulting for the Appeal Fund, and the publicity obtained for the cause of the League and the message of the play unite to make the work abundantly worth while.

The "Trojan Women" was chosen by Dame Sybil Thorndike, she having presented it in 1919 at the inception of the Union. To-day she is a member of the National Advisory Appeal Council, and is doing everything in her power to help forward the Appeal.

REASONS FOR THE SPECIAL APPEAL

The financial crisis through which the Union is passing necessitates the raising immediately of a sum of not less than £20,000 to meet the overdraft and commitments. The work of the Union is gravely imperilled just when its activities are most needed. The complex international situation has had grave reactions on its work. It is hoped to raise sufficient money so that additional Regional Representatives may be appointed. The areas covered by our present representatives are much too large. The objectives would be to quicken the existing and to create new organisations. This, if achieved, would result in a revival of weak and struggling branches, create others where none at present exist, and thereby be the means of a rapid and permanent increase in our members, which is the surest foundation for securing that public opinion which is so vitally necessary.

AUTOGRAPHED MATINEE PROGRAMMES

This programme, described by the *Manchester Guardian* as "an illustrated souvenir programme of

unusual quality," consisted of 26 pages and cover. It included a cartoon specially drawn by David Low, two pages of introduction to the subject of the play by the translator, Dr. Murray, a drawing of Dame Sybil Thorndike by Kapp, a reproduction of the head of a "Trojan Woman" by Sava, and full-page photographs of Sybil Thorndike, Margaret Rawlings and Lewis Casson, and an inset with a front-page cover photograph of the chairman.

A few copies of this programme, which were sold for 2s. 6d. at the theatre, are still available. Anyone wishing to do so may obtain a copy autographed by Dr. Murray and Dame Sybil Thorndike by sending 5s. to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

LEAGUE BROADCASTS FOR JANUARY

THE broadcasts from Radio-Nations given by the Information Section of the League Secretariat will in the New Year, be extended and the transmission times will be changed. Details are not yet settled.

During January, 1938, the broadcasts from Radio-Nations will continue on the present schedule.

Each Friday evening—that is, January 7, 14, 21 and 28—the following four transmissions will be given:—

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 ..	Omnidirectional
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

Each of these transmissions is intended for reception on the evening of Friday in the area indicated.

An additional transmission is given each Monday morning for Australia and New Zealand at hours which vary according to the time of year. During January these transmissions will be given at 08.00 G.M.T. on HBO, 26.31 metres, and at 08.30 G.M.T. on HBJ, 20.64 metres.

The subjects of the talks each week are chosen by the Information Section of the League Secretariat, and they cover the activities of the League from day to day as well as the outstanding political events which concern the League of Nations. From time to time the statesmen or delegates taking part in the League's work come themselves to the microphone to talk about their tasks.

Reports and comments on the broadcasts from Radio-Nations are always welcomed by the Secretariat.

PEACE AT THE GLASGOW EMPIRE EXHIBITION

By ISHBEL, Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair

THE Peace Tower and Peace Section connected with it at the Paris Exhibition was a great idea, and its immediate success and the number of its visitors were yet other cheering proofs of the fact that the minds of the ordinary people of all nations are set on Peace and how to help in attaining it.

It is good news to hear that it is now practically certain that there will be a Peace Pavilion at the Empire Exhibition at Glasgow next summer under the auspices of the League of Nations Union, in co-operation with other Peace Organisations, which will endeavour to carry on a similar work of enlightenment as that undertaken in Paris, and which will proclaim to all visitors the message of Peace which the Commonwealth of British Nations would fain bring to the world. As ever, money is needed if the project is to be carried out. An Appeal is being made for about £5,000, which would make the Pavilion and its furnishings a worthy representation of Peace. Nearly half has been promised, but there must still be many to whose imagination and vision such ideas and such an opportunity make appeal. If any such would help they may send subscriptions either to me at Gordon House, Aberdeen, or to Miss M. A. Bune, 136, Wellington Street, Glasgow, C.2.

In addition, I hope it may be possible to introduce one of the most beautiful forms of a Peace Memorial of which I have heard. A Peace Garden is now being planned and carried out between Canada and the United States of America as a Memorial of the Centenary of Peace between the two countries during which time their 4,000 miles of frontiers have been unguarded by fortresses or soldiers and no warships have sailed in their great frontier inland seas.

At the Annual Convention of the Association of Gardeners of the U.S.A. and Canada which took place in Toronto in 1929, one of the members—Mr. Henry J. Moore—made the daring suggestion that there should be established a Garden dedicated to the cause of international goodwill and as a Memorial to the 100 years of unbroken friendship between the two countries.

The idea has taken shape. The Governments of the two countries took up the idea and gave grants towards the cost of forming the Peace Garden, and the Provinces of North Dakota and Manitoba situated on either side of the middle of the continent, agreed each to dedicate some land for the lovely purpose, and set apart some 2,200 acres in the Turtle Mountains.

When the Garden is finished, it will be a great park. Roads and paths are being constructed. Two lakes, one on each side of the border, have been created. Central buildings and a great amphitheatre which will seat several thousands of persons are being erected, and now the whole district is known as "The Garden of the Good Neighbour."

Wild life is to be protected there from the hunter. Herds of deer are in the woods, and flocks of wild duck and partridges and pheasants, and singing birds of all kinds, are encouraged.

THE IMPORTANCE OF KNOWING HOW TO LEARN LANGUAGES

THE only satisfactory method of learning a foreign language is the direct method. In other words, you must learn French in French, German in German, Spanish in Spanish and Italian in Italian. That is the Pelman method, and it is the only way.

It naturally follows from this that the old-fashioned method of memorising long lists of foreign words is entirely abolished when you learn a language by the direct way. You get to know each word by using it, and by using it in different ways and relationships. No long months trying to memorise lengthy vocabularies and dreary rules! You are guided naturally and instinctively, as a child is taught to quickly grasp words and their meanings, their fitness, their use—and their pronunciation.

Another consequence is that it practically eliminates the difficulties and drudgeries of learning complicated grammatical rules and exceptions. It teaches you not only to read a foreign language, but to write, speak and understand it thoroughly and efficiently. It enables you to listen with enhanced pleasure to wireless programmes from foreign stations, to read foreign newspapers and magazines, and to enjoy the masterpieces of French, German, Italian and Spanish literature, many of which have never been translated.

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Write or call to-day to:

Pelman Institute,

114, Languages House, Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C.1

PELMAN (OVERSEAS) INSTITUTES: PARIS, 80, Boulevard Haussmann. NEW YORK, 271 North Avenue, New Rochelle. MELBOURNE, 396, Flinders Lane. JOHANNESBURG, P.O. Box 4923. DURBAN, Natal Bank Chambers (P.O. Box 1489). DELHI, 10 Alipore Road. CALCUTTA, 102 Clive Street. AMSTERDAM, Damrak 68. JAVA, Malabarweg, Malang.

WE ENTER 1938

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AMERICA AND THE NEUTRALITY LEGISLATION

By K. D. COURTNEY

THE present conflict in the Far East has brought home to everyone the necessity for American co-operation if effective economic pressure is to be exerted upon Japan, and while Japan is perhaps the typical case in which action on the part of U.S.A. would be essential, yet it is certain that a major war anywhere would raise the same question: "What part will America play?"

It may be well, therefore, to recall the neutrality legislation which has been adopted in U.S.A. to govern American action in the event both of international and civil war in any part of the world.

NEUTRALITY: A PARADOX.

Neutrality is a legal conception and the rights and duties of neutrals in relation to belligerents began to be recognised as international law developed in the 16th century. It was natural that this doctrine of neutrality should be adopted by the U.S.A. as soon as it became a nation, for it has always been desirous of avoiding foreign entanglements, and throughout its history isolationism has found expression in a policy of neutrality. But by a curious paradox, the defence of the rights of neutrals has more than once led the U.S.A. into war, so that the policy of neutrality, in its original form, regarded as a safety measure, has proved self-defeating.

THE NEW "NEUTRALITY."

This was recognised after the great war by the strong isolationist party in the United States and attempts were made to work out a new "Neutrality" policy whose object should be not to maintain trading rights, but to keep America out of war. The wheel has indeed gone full circle; so far from defending the trading rights of America, the more radical advocates of the new neutrality would sacrifice them all to keep the country out of war.

In 1934 and 1935, after the failure of the Disarmament Conference, and as the threat of war in Europe appeared to America to be coming closer, agitation for legislation which would prevent America from being drawn in became more insistent. It was strengthened by a large section of public opinion which was convinced by the investigations of the Nye Committee that insistence upon the right to trade with belligerents during the world war had introduced a powerful profit motive which was what eventually took America into the war.

As a result of continued agitation on the subject, and after the passage of stop-gap measures in 1935 and 1936, the present neutrality legislation was accepted by Congress and came into force in May, 1937.

WHAT DOES THE NEUTRALITY LEGISLATION PROVIDE?

(1) *Export of Arms, Munitions, and Implements of War.*

Whenever the President shall proclaim the fact that a state of war exists (and this is to apply throughout the Act to civil as well as to international war) an embargo shall be placed upon the export, *direct or indirect*, of arms and munitions or implements of war to all the belligerents. This embargo upon the export of arms is "mandatory"; that is to say that once the President has declared that a state of war exists the embargo

follows automatically—he has no discretion as to its application.

(2) *Export of other Articles and Materials.*

When, having declared the existence of a state of war, the President finds that a restriction on the shipment of certain articles or materials other than munitions is necessary for preserving the peace of the country or protecting its citizens, any American vessel is prohibited from carrying such articles to the belligerent countries. Moreover, no articles or materials whatever shall be transported until they have actually been paid for by a foreign government or national.

This section of the Neutrality Act constitutes what has been called the "Cash and Carry" policy, for it provides that any belligerent country must pay cash for any goods it purchases from U.S.A. and must transport them in its own ships. It will be observed that this proviso is not "mandatory" but leaves discretionary power to the President; once he has proclaimed that a state of war exists, it is left with him to decide whether it is necessary or desirable to place restrictions upon the sale and shipment to the belligerent countries of goods other than arms and munitions.

During the discussion of this measure, a strong difference of opinion developed as to the amount of discretion that should be given to the President, with the result that it was enacted for two years only and expires in May, 1939.

(3) *Financial Transactions.*

The purchase or sale of securities or the making of loans and extension of credits to any belligerents or the solicitation of contributions in the United States is prohibited, except for the collection of funds for medical aid or food by some humanitarian organisation.

(4) *Other Provisions.*

The Act forbids any American vessel to carry arms to belligerent States or to any State where civil war exists. It forbids American citizens to travel on vessels of any state named in the proclamation except under rules prescribed by the President; and makes it unlawful for American merchantmen to be armed. In the discretion of the President it prohibits the use of domestic ports by submarines or armed vessels of the belligerents.

Finally, this Act, like the two preceding ones, carries a provision whose importance has hardly been noted in connection with this legislation. It provides for a National Munitions Control Board and a system of registration of firms manufacturing and trading in arms and munitions, together with a system of export and import licences, which sets up an effective basis for the regulation and control of the arms industry.

(5) *Exceptions.*

(a) The Act is not to apply to Latin American countries engaged in a war against a non-American state, so long as the American Republic is not co-operating with a non-American state or states in such a war.

(b) The President is permitted to make special exceptions in regard to articles dealt with under the

"Cash and Carry" system on the land or lake frontiers of the United States. This of course applies to Canada and means that Canada would be in a position to re-export to Great Britain.

It will be seen that the weakness of American Neutrality policy consists in the fact that it is simply designed to keep America out of war and makes no attempt to discriminate between an aggressor country and its victim. It was largely on these grounds that a strong body of public opinion opposed the Neutrality Legislation, and it was this public opinion which secured those exceptions which give the President discretion in certain cases, so that it would be possible for him to use his powers in such a way as to discriminate to some extent against an aggressor nation, and even to co-operate, or at least not to conflict, with action that the League of Nations might be taking.

NEUTRALITY LEGISLATION AND THE JAPANESE WAR.

The Japanese invasion of China followed a few months after the coming into force of the Neutrality Act; it was the first test of the new policy and has demonstrated the difficulty of making rigid rules to fit any and every situation. The isolationist party of America have persistently called for the invocation of the Neutrality legislation with all that it involves. The President has, however, so far not declared that a state of war exists and there is nothing in the Neutrality Act which obliges him to do so, nevertheless it is presumed that if Japan made, as she has not yet done, a formal declaration of war, the President would have to "find," to quote from the act, "that there exists a state of war between two Foreign States."

The question as to the effect that the neutrality legislation might have upon the fortunes of the two belligerents is naturally one for experts, for it would depend upon the nature and quantity of the imports of the belligerent countries, both as regards munitions and other goods, from the U.S.A. It is here that the haphazard nature of the "neutrality" legislation jumps to the eye, for in some wars it might favour the aggressor nation and in others the victim.

The President is indeed in a difficult position; if he invoked the neutrality legislation by declaring the existence of a state of war, he would be accepting a principle and a practice with which, as his Chicago speech would seem to show, he is not in sympathy—the principle, that is, of isolation and the practice of making no distinction between the aggressor state and his victim. On the other hand, if he were to invoke the Neutrality Act and use his discretionary powers under section 2, it would appear that the Act might be operated against Japan by making it impossible for her to obtain the goods, including oil, which she normally buys from U.S.A.

It would probably be a mistake to expect any immediate change in the predominantly isolationist character of American foreign relations, but it is becoming increasingly felt in America that the policy embodied in the Neutrality Legislation does not fit the present situation.

It remains to be seen what effect the gradual realisation of this fact, and Japan's repeated attacks upon neutral shipping, will have upon public opinion in U.S.A. and whether it will lead to a modification of the present form of its "Neutrality."

HELLENIC TRAVELLERS' CLUB

SPRING CRUISES 1938

£77 0 Glasgow or Plymouth, Gibraltar, Toulon for the Riviera. February 7th-14th.

£42 0 Toulon, Messina for Taormina, Piraeus for Athens (optional visits to Eleusis, Corinth, Sunium), Dardanelles, Constantinople, Mitylene, Smyrna (for Ephesus or Pergamos), Alexandretta for Antioch and Aleppo (special tour through Syria and Iraq to Ur of the Chaldees), Famagusta, Cyprus, Haifa (for Palestine and Syria), Port Said for Egypt, Malta, Toulon. February 15th-March 17th.

During this Cruise, there will be a discussion on "The Relation of the Christian Church to the Whole International Situation," in which the following have already expressed their intention to take part: The President of the Club, The Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, Viscount Dunedin, the Earl of Iddesleigh, Lord Polwarth, the Bishop of Southwark, Bishop Palmer, the Dean of Durham, the Dean of Chichester, Dr. Frank Buchman, Sir Percy Alden, the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Gregory, and the Rev. Dr. Workman.

£23 2 0 Toulon, Messina for Taormina, Nauplia for Mycenae, Piraeus for Athens (optional excursions to Eleusis, Corinth, Marathon), Dardanelles, Constantinople, Chanak for Troy or Gallipoli, Kavalla for Phillipi, Thasos, Delos, Malta, Palermo, Toulon. March 18th-April 4th.

£25 4 0 Toulon, Messina, Itea for Delphi, Githeon for Sparta, Piraeus for Athens (optional excursions to Eleusis and Corinth), Dardanelles, Constantinople, Rhodes, Nauplia for Mycenae, Malta, Naples. April 5th-21st.

£77 0 Naples, Plymouth, Glasgow. April 21st-28th.

The prices named above include specified shore excursions and the cruise from port to port excepting on the outward and homeward cruises. The above prices are increased slightly owing to advance in cost of fuel, etc.

The following will lecture on the above Cruises:—Viscount Dunedin Lord Dickinson, Lord Davies, Bishops of Derby, Liverpool and Southwark, Lady Violet Bonham-Carter, Sir Ernest Benn, Sir Arthur Crossfield, Sir Walter Layton, Sir George Paish, Sir Leonard Woolley, Dame Rachel Crowdy, Dean of Durham, Canon Wigram.

Plan of the steamer and Rules of the Club, also booklet of Hellenic Travellers' Club Cruise through Egypt on Nile steamer, leaving London on January 4th, will be sent on application to Miss Edith Crowdy, C.B.E., Secretary, 74, Albany Court-yard, Piccadilly, London, W.1.

LIBERALISM AND CURRENT PROBLEMS

ADDRESSES at 8.15 p.m. in the
MANSON HALL, 26 Portland Place, W.1
(Near Broadcasting House)

January 18th

IS A SLUMP COMING?

by Mr. R. F. HARROD, M.A.
Chairman: Mr. MILNER GRAY, C.B.E.

February 15th

THE PROBLEM OF OUR DECLINING POPULATION

by Professor A. M. CARR-SAUNDERS, M.A.
Chairman: Miss ELEANOR RATHBONE, M.P.

March 15th

THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE

by Mr. B. SEEBOHM ROWNTREE, C.H.
Chairman: Miss MEGAN LLOYD GEORGE, M.P.

Single Tickets (2/- and 1/-) and Syllabus on application to the Lecture Committee, Liberal Party Organisation, 42, Parliament Street, S.W.1. (Whitehall 8762), or at the Hall on the evening of the Lecture.

His pipe burns well, he's hale and bluff,
A TOM LONG smoker, sure enough.

READERS' VIEWS

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

THE LEAGUE OF THE PEOPLES

SIR,—The League of Nations is dead. Long live the League—of what? The mental make-up of the governments of the world is not ready to take the message of peace. Our rulers are governed by traditions of commerce, of military lore, of diplomacy. The peoples want peace; the labourer wants work, not fighting. Whenever they have been asked, the answer has always been peace, disarmament, security. Millions of signatures of the common people have reached the League, all for peace. What, then, must the League live on as? Surely the League of the Peoples.

Nothing can save our civilisation but the fulfilment of the people's voice for peace. Underneath and above must flow this influence around the petty aspirations of the national rulers with their tribal instincts. One does not stay a disease by cultivating its microbes.

Long live the League of the Peoples!

The Council must be composed of delegates of peace societies. What nation would dare to fly in the face of collective public opinion?

G. S. OFFA.

Horley, Surrey.

ECONOMIC APPEASEMENT

SIR,—In the October number of HEADWAY you record with approval Mr. Eden's offer to Germany at Geneva, in September. I expected some comments upon your note in later numbers, but as none has appeared perhaps you will allow me, even now, to make some observations.

Mr. Eden began by pluming himself on the fact that our import market is the largest in the world, taking no less than 18 per cent. of the world's imports. Are we really such very noble fellows to accept so many foreign goods? It never seemed to occur to Mr. Eden, though it must have done to all his hearers, that we import those things because we need them, and that it is highly advantageous to us to do so. We are the world's largest creditor. How else are we to be paid our debts? But Mr. Eden felt sure that this was "a real contribution to the prosperity of international trade." No wonder we are sometimes charged on the Continent with hypocrisy. Then Mr. Eden went on to make what he evidently considered a very generous offer. Having shown that all colonial territories (ours, as well as those belonging to other countries) taken together produce only about 3 per cent. of the world's supply of raw materials, he said that our Government is ready, without prejudice to the principle of colonial preference, to enter into discussion for an abatement of particular preferences in non-self-governing colonial territories where these can be shown to place undue restriction on international trade.

So now we know just how much our Government will do towards lowering the barriers to international trade. It will consider whether we can make it just a little bit less difficult for the "have-not" countries to obtain just a little bit of 3 per cent. of the raw materials which are essential for the maintenance and sustenance of their populations.

What humbug it is. Can anybody seriously suppose that such an offer will have the smallest effect upon the difficulties with which the world is confronted to-day? Is it surprising that Hitler has already laughed it to scorn? If this really represents our attitude, the sooner we are ready for war the better.

ALFRED BEESLY.

Letcombe Bowers, Wantage.

ADMIRAL LAWSON ANSWERS

SIR,—In HEADWAY, for December, 1937, Mr. H. J. Prickett asks me three questions. May I reply?

Question 3: "Is not the only solution to this problem one which replaces the use of the ineffective method of physical force by the far more powerful and effective method of spiritual and moral force?"

My reply is that both forces are necessary for the education of mankind, effectiveness being the result of their proper combination. In the present epoch—mankind may be regarded as not yet beyond the period of first dentition—spiritual force cannot be applied to great communities if there is no physical force—policing—held in readiness. There is, perhaps, a perceptible spiritual advance in the last 2,000 years. But one would suppose that many thousands of years must pass before policing becomes no longer necessary.

Question 1: "Is it possible for any effective international police force to-day to be purely defensive?"

My reply is—Yes, in Europe, provided that a sufficient number of nations combine to create a properly organised Air Police: otherwise, No.

For details, I must refer Mr. Prickett to my own writings on the subject of such an organisation. I realised, some years ago, that, if we are to have an acceptable and effective international police, we must take care that their functions are purely defensive; and in framing my proposals I have been most urgent in excluding aggressive, punitive, and retaliatory action, and in confining Air Police to their one true function of restraint of the criminal law-breaker.

Question 2, therefore, needs no reply.

R. N. LAWSON.

Rockleaze, Evercreech, Somerset.

WHEN SANCTIONS?

SIR,—I read in the current HEADWAY, page 232, that "the Union advocates sanctions only in cases where the number and resources of the governments co-operating on the League's behalf is sufficient to make it reasonably certain that the would-be aggressor will abandon his intention so that war will not break out at all."

Am I to understand from this paragraph that the policy of the Union is to resist a weak aggressor, but to allow a strong aggressor to have his will? If not, what am I to understand? And have any potential aggressors who at present might feel themselves rather weak been told of this policy? If so, could any better inducement be offered to them to rearm?

A. MACARTNEY.

All Souls' College, Oxford.

HULL PEACE WEEK

SIR,—Mr. Rymer seems to resent my remarks about the Hull Peace Week.

My point was this: The main criticism we have to meet is that, although we aim at a most desirable ideal—world peace—we do not understand the immediate problems of national defence in the world as it is to-day. In other words, we are regarded as a kind of religious sect, exclusively concerned with moral problems.

Everybody inside the Union knows this criticism to be untrue, but the view is none the less widely held by its opponents, e.g., readers of the *Daily Express*. These are the people whom we have to convert, or at least we have to compete with them for the allegiance of the general public.

Hence to over-stress the moral or sentimental side of our case merely plays into the enemy's hands; he can argue—and he does—that we stress that side to draw attention from the alleged weaknesses on the practical side.

For instance, if an ardent isolationist asks us: "Would you fight to-morrow for Belgium?" it is useless to tell him of the advantages of international co-operation in general or to describe what sanctions might have done for Manchuria or Abyssinia if they had been fully applied. He has heard all that before and knows—or thinks he knows—the answer. Is it not better to show how weak our Empire would be strategically with aggressive Fascist powers in command not only of the Mediterranean but also of Belgium and the Belgian Congo? Hence the advantage of defensive alliance with France and Belgium and next the removal of danger from the alliance by giving Germany the chance to come round to our side? In this way we can reason back to the League idea from the practical problems of the moment.

What I had in mind then, was that we should turn the tables on our opponents; that we should keep abreast of the political events of the day, take our stand as plain, practical people (even if our convictions are mainly based on moral principles), and mercilessly pillory the Glorious Isolationist as the dreamer he is.

In conclusion, please let me make it clear that I have the greatest respect for the organising experience of Union officers such as Mr. Rymer; I merely put forward one point of view to be accepted or rejected as they think best.

Hull.

S. E. FOSTER (B.Com.).

OPEN AIR MEETINGS

SIR,—The General Council, in June, 1937, adopted a resolution urging branches to make every effort to hold open-air meetings, and asking that advice should be issued to branches on this subject.

Six months passed, then quite by accident, I came upon a roneoed paper which, I believe, has been circulated from Grosvenor Crescent. The advice it contained is good, although there are many omissions.

It is with the introductory paragraph that I quarrel. After six years' experience of street-corner work in London for the L.N.U., I was horrified to read as an opening sentence, in a paper which was to arouse interest in this form of propaganda, "The least effective form of open-air meetings . . . are street-corner meetings."

The paper then goes on to make a cheap jeer at Fascism, with which we are not concerned, but from whose methods of popular propaganda we might learn much.

Concerning pitches, it is better to hold small meetings on street-corners, where questions are sincere and people are really seeking guidance, than to spend time in places like Hyde Park where the majority of one's audience is out for fun. This is true in London, and probably true in other large towns.

Does the writer really mean that the Union cannot find efficient open-air speakers unless they pay a fee? Do Union speakers really only go to fetes and garden parties where the audience is already converted?

In London, there has existed for six years the London Open-Air Speakers' Group, which has held an average of 50 street-corner meetings each year. This is also being done in other areas. We do not require fees, we want help from headquarters, more speakers, better organised meetings.

I am asking rather a large amount of your space, but I am very anxious to contradict the impression conveyed by the circular. When will the Union realise that its public is not in halls and garden fetes, but in the street? This public will not find an academic Union; a vigorous, realistic L.N.U. must go out to the people.

Chelsea, S.W.3.

ETHEL A. WAITE,

London Open-Air Speakers' Group.

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," says 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 ideas 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."

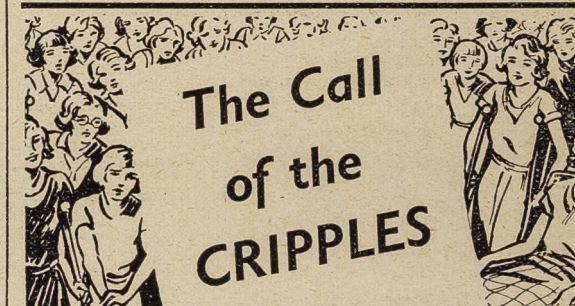


Photo by Howard Coster.

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