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**ARE WE ARMING
THE LAW?**

See page 44

**I.L.O. HELP FOR
THE WORKER**

See pages 45-47

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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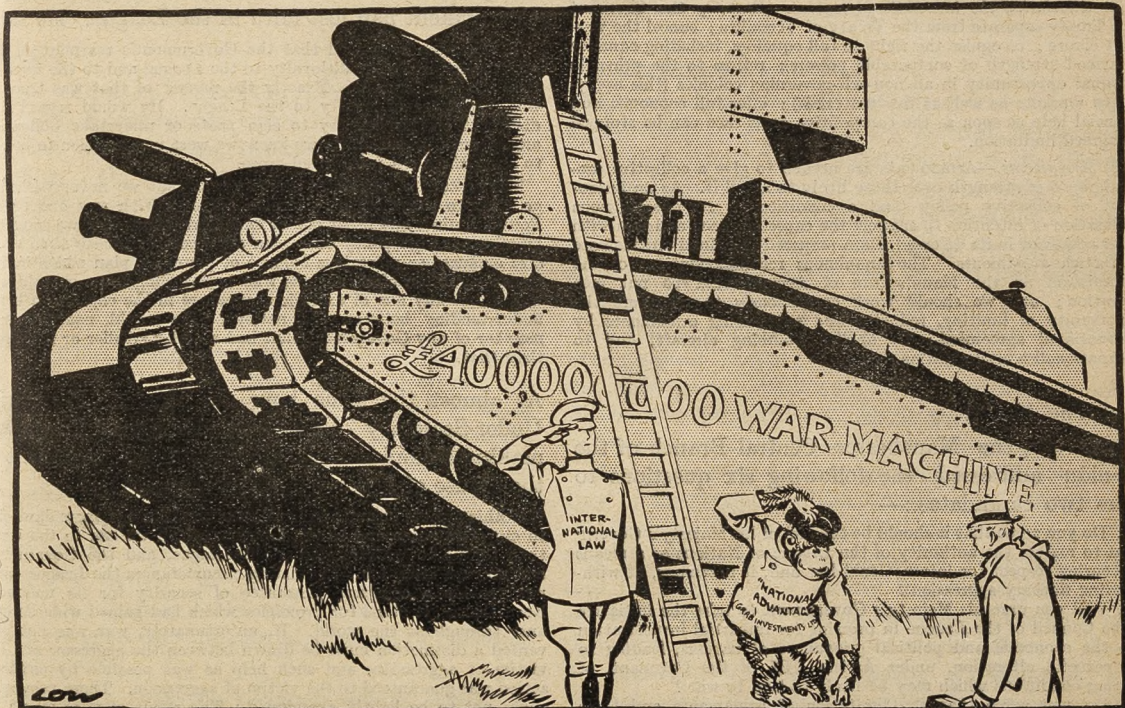
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IT ALL DEPENDS ON WHO'S GOING TO DRIVE.

(With acknowledgments to the "Evening Standard")

NEWS AND COMMENT

Oxford

Is the League dead and is the Union a spent force? These questions are often answered with a confident and noisy "Yes." And yet when an election comes along the candidates usually make haste to declare their loyalty to the League and to conciliate the Union. At Oxford the local branch of the B.U.L.N.S., politely asking the candidates' views, secured answers from which we extract the following:—

Sir E. Farquhar Buzzard: I have a strong belief in, and have always supported, the League of Nations, and I am confident that by a system of collective security alone can the peace of the world be maintained. I regard war not only as a blot on modern civilisation but as an incredibly stupid instrument for any nation to use in the age in which we live. You will find in my memorandum the expression of my opinion that in the present circumstances the Government's rearmament policy is inevitable if the system of collective security is to be effective.

Professor F. A. Lindemann: After the War one had hoped that a system had been established which would make peace secure for a generation at least. No one can now doubt that the machinery of the League is inadequate; that it may hold out a promise of security which in fact will not be implemented. Either the Covenant of the League of Nations must be reformed so as to make it effective, or we must cease to rely upon it in international affairs. In the present dangerous circumstances, a series of regional pacts, within the ambit of and in harmony with existing commitments, appears to afford the best hope of warding off from Europe the unspeakable calamity of another world war.

Sir J. Arthur Salter: (1) *How to make the collective security system more effective.*—Build up collaboration between countries with a "will to peace," while working for the inclusion of others. Make it clear that countries loyal to the League can and will act together to restrain aggression. Consult together as to policy in case of specific dangers of aggression and deter aggressors by the prospect of unity among League countries. This common action must be prepared beforehand and built up gradually, and it cannot at once apply to all regions of the world. This task of recreating the political conditions under which the League can work is more important than so-called "reform." The League needs the motive force of a collective will more than changes in its machinery.

(2) *Alleviating the international tension.*—Embody the Covenant in a Treaty separate from the Treaty of Versailles; cancel the war-guilt clause; recognise the right to full equality, including equality of armed strength of comparable powers; return to the principle of equal opportunity in all non-self-governing colonies (this applying to markets as well as raw materials); offer full economic and financial help as soon as the competitive arms race can be stopped by agreed limitation.

(3) *Armaments.*—Armaments are needed to give a collective preponderance of strength over those likely to assail it. As an instrument of collective policy (and a condition of an unambiguous declaration of intention to support the cause of peace and join with other countries in its defence), I am prepared to defend our increase in British armaments. The unanimous recommendations of the Commission on the Manufacture of Arms should be put into operation; and we should work continuously to recapture the opportunity of limiting, reducing and supervising armaments by international agreement; to abolish bombing aircraft, and to internationalise civil aviation.

And The North

In Gorton, the Manchester Central Branch of the Union addressed the following six questions to the two candidates:—

1. Do you agree that it should be the aim of his Majesty's Government to restore the authority of the League of Nations as a means of securing respect for international law and, if necessary, of withstanding military aggression?

2. Will you urge his Majesty's Government to take the initiative in the Council of the League in pressing for impartial investigation into the economic and political grievances of nations, leading to the peaceful alteration, under Article XIX of the Covenant, of existing conditions which may be likely to lead to war?

3. Do you agree that the limitation of armaments and their ultimate reduction by international agreement should be a main objective of British foreign policy?

4. Do you agree that the British national forces should never be used for any purpose inconsistent with the Covenant or for any purely national interest other than the defence of British territory?

5. Do you agree that the British national forces should be used, to an extent compatible with our geographical position, to co-operate loyally and effectively in support of the Covenant and in resistance to any act of aggression?

6. Will you press for legislation to make effective the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Private Manufacture of and Trading in Arms, so far as national control of the trade is concerned?

Mr. Wedgwood Benn (Labour) answered all the questions in the affirmative, without any qualification.

Mr. A. Spearman (Conservative) said "Yes" to questions 1, 2, 3, and 6. To question 4 he replied: "Yes, unless there were special circumstances, such as protecting the transport of our food supplies in the event of a war in which we were not involved." His answer to question 5 was "Yes, provided it was for collective action by the whole League and the League included a sufficient number of world Powers to make it effective."

Why do the enemies of the League and the Union, continuously vocal in the Press and sometimes in the House of Lords, fail to appear when plain men and women are being asked for their votes?

Faith in the League

VISCOUNT HALIFAX, Lord Privy Seal, and on occasion Mr. Eden's deputy at the Foreign Office, showed his sympathy with the Union by finding time on Wednesday, February 24, amidst the press of his official duties, to address an L.N.U. meeting at Southampton. His speech reassured many doubters who had begun to fear that the Government had lost faith in the League. He said:

It had been suggested that the Government's rearmament programme implied some disloyalty to the League and to the ideas for which it was founded. Exactly the reverse of that was true. It was in defence of loyalty to the League. He would regard it as dishonest of this country to sign pacts or undertake obligations arising out of them unless we knew we were in a position to be able to carry them out if the need arose.

The essence of collective security was that we never wished to go back to a system of exclusive alliances with any one or two Powers against any other one or two Powers, but that we sought to build our foreign policy on a plan more comprehensive than exclusive alliances or precarious balance of power—a plan which invited the co-operation of all nations who were willing to co-operate with us without any line of exclusion anywhere in the cause of a better understanding between the nations. He would not remain a member of any Government that had a policy smaller or less broad than that.

At almost the same hour the Earl of Plymouth, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was making a similar declaration for the Government in the House of Lords. He said:

Nothing would be more destructive of confidence or more damaging to our good name and to the influence which we had in the world than for us to withdraw from the League, and the Government had no such intention. In existing circumstances the League could not provide a complete guarantee of security for its members. Nevertheless, it stood for principles which had gained wide acceptance throughout the world. If, unfortunately, war was not prevented a distinction must be drawn between the aggressor and the victim of aggression, and such help as was possible by common action was guaranteed to the victim of aggression. These principles ought not to be lightly abandoned. The result of that would be to give the world over to the law of the strong. The League had never had a fair chance, but instead of withdrawing we should try

to strengthen and restore the authority of the League, and that was the policy of the Government. They would do everything they could to preserve its existence.

A strong and enduring League of Nations remains Britain's foreign policy.

The League Case To-Day

ON the evening of Wednesday, February 24, the first of five special lectures and discussions on "A Constructive Peace Policy: What the League of Nations Union Advocates," drew a crowd which filled the Caxton Hall, Westminster. Lord Allen of Hurtwood presided; Viscount Cecil was the lecturer; Major Sir Cyril Entwistle, K.C., Member of Parliament for Bolton, opened the debate. The topic under immediate consideration was "Collective Security: Can It be Made to Work?" Lord Cecil's argument is fully developed by his own pen in "An Open Letter on Putting Force Behind the Law," a leaflet published by the L.N.U.

That the discomforts of a singularly unpleasant late winter London night should have been braved by so many men and women was a tribute to the chief speakers; it was also evidence of the widespread lively interest in the League and its fate. Conclusive proof followed in the vigorous discussion. For an hour an eager and probing controversy went on, many more members of the audience desiring to speak than the time available permitted. What was said revealed, first, a general belief in the theory of collective security, and secondly, a similarly general determination to translate the theory into practice. Vast numbers of quiet men and women think the League can be made to work, wish it to be made to work, and are prepared to do what is to make it work.

Refugees

JUDGE MICHAEL HANSSON, President of the Nansen International Office for Refugees, pays a visit to England between March 15 and March 20. On March 16 he will address a League of Nations Union luncheon at Pinoli's Restaurant, in Wardour Street. Judge Hansson is engaged on a task which no man could perform satisfactorily, he having been asked by the League Assembly to wind up the International Office by December, 1938.

To-day the refugee problem is less vast and urgent in a few countries, especially France; elsewhere the passing of the months has merely made it more difficult. The termination of the French Mandate over Syria has exposed the many thousands of Armenians living in that country to deeper anxieties and, perhaps, new dangers. In Greece, whose state of suppressed crisis is described in a special correspondent's article in the present number of HEADWAY, distress is less sure of relief. German Jewish refugees fear the partial shutting of Palestine against them.

It is tragic that the League's efforts should be threatened with an untimely end when much work still cries out to be done.

Charter for Youth

FROM April 23 to 25 delegates from over 30 National Youth Organisations, including the Youth Groups of the Union, together with delegates from the local youth assemblies throughout the country, will meet at Manchester for the Second British Youth Peace Assembly.

The Assembly will discuss a CHARTER FOR YOUTH. Reports, which will be submitted by members of different youth societies, deal with: Youth in Industry, Unemployment, Juvenile Delinquency, Malnutrition and Health and Sport, Education, Agriculture. It is expected that a member of the Youth Department of the International Labour Office will speak at the opening session. A number of men and women who are experts in social welfare have already shown interest in the Charter.

Many of the Youth Committees of 36 nations represented at the Geneva World Youth Congress are already working on the production of a similar charter in their own countries. There is no surer foundation for peace than a happy, healthy and secure youth.

L.N.U. American Visit

THERE is still time to book for the L.N.U. visit to the United States. The party sails in the "Queen Mary" on March 31 with a crowded and attractive programme, which will bring its members back to Plymouth on April 20, Liverpool on April 25, or Southampton on May 1. Several readers have written to ask who was the author of the account of the Union's last American tour, published in February HEADWAY. He was Mr. J. P. Arkell, of Cheltenham.

The Christmas Lectures

OTHER correspondents of HEADWAY have expressed a complimentary interest in another recent contribution—the report of the Christmas Holiday Lectures at the Regent Street Polytechnic. It was the work of a 15-year-old London schoolgirl and was itself evidence of the knowledge and alertness with which the 300 children listened to and criticised what was told them.

In the audience the numbers of boys and girls were almost equal. Most of the entrants in the subsequent HEADWAY essay competition and all the five prizewinners, whose essays are printed on later pages of the present issue, are girls.

Here a reassurance may be added. The appearance of the Soviet Ambassador's name in the list of speakers has been made a subject of complaint. In fact, M. Maisky, was a model of discretion. He told his hearers how vitally important was peace and how careful they should be to get at the facts for themselves in all problems of world affairs. Then he answered questions. Being a diplomat, he dodged some difficulties; the children were not slow to criticise what they considered evasions. But there was no propaganda.



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ARM THE LAW

LOOK to the end! If the end be right and the means provided be sufficient for the attainment of that end then the policy is wise. No nice calculation of means can redeem a choice of the wrong end. When the end is right, means which either fall short of what is necessary or go beyond it are a mistake. These commonplaces are wearisomely familiar. Their repetition ought to be a waste of time. But the public debate on the Government's arms programme shows that it is not. The proposal to spend £1,500,000,000 on military preparations during the next five years is discussed in many quarters as haphazardly as passionately. What are arms for? What quantities of arms? Often these questions are not asked, or are asked and left unanswered. Yet they are fundamental.

Peace is the argument. Occasionally the contention is made that only by non-resistance can the evils be suppressed for whose defeat arms are provided. In an unarmed world, it is alleged, aggression and oppression would cease. Governments and parliaments, however, and most ordinary men and women hold the contrary opinion. Arms, they believe, must be in readiness to deny violence the facile plunder whose lure it would otherwise find irresistible. Not every individual keeps the law for conscience' sake; sometimes he abstains from crime because profits are impossible and penalties are sure. Nations, perhaps, have less difficulty in persuading themselves that their bad actions are prompted by good motives. But to nations there may come moments when only the certainty of meeting with armed resistance restrains them from an attack on a neighbour such as no equivocation could excuse. Arms are a requisite of security. They are also, of course, instruments of war. The problem of public order, both within each separate nation and within the community of nations, is how to build up a system in which much the more powerful arms shall always be ready to enforce the law and never to break it.

Peace of any lasting kind, on any stable foundation, is much more. It is justice, prompt and full; it is neighbourly understanding; it is work in friendly partnership; it is unconstrained growth. In a world long at peace, shaped by the habits of peace, and assured of its power to defend peace, the force behind the law will retreat into the deeper background. Nations, adjusting their differences, will think of arms as seldom as the law-abiding citizens of a civilised country think of the police in their normal dealings with one another. But those days are still hid in the future. The international community lags far in the rear of the national. Until a world ordered for peace has traced much further the course of its logical development peace will continue to depend for

its survival upon the existence of a sufficient quantity of arms devoted to the right purposes.

What quantities of arms is the less important question. Its answer is governed by the answer to the other question, what are arms for? But some truths remain unaltered, no matter how the purpose is defined. The armaments of any nation are small or great, modest or extravagant, threatening or merely prudent, less in their actual size and cost than in the proportion they bear to the armaments of others. The world of to-day is not the world of fifteen years ago, or ten, or five. In 1932 the annual arms bill was approximately £1,000,000,000; to-day the total is little less than £3,000,000,000. Here is a disastrous change. Unless the nations not only exclaim with horror at their own folly but also set to work at once to reverse the trend of events and to repair the damage already done, ruin will not be escaped. The evil, however, is a collective evil and the cure must be a collective cure. Let British policy be what it may, an undefended Britain could not pursue it resolutely and consistently. The famous Annex F to the Treaty of Locarno is often quoted; its words will repay one more thoughtful reading. "Each State Member of the League," it says, "is bound to co-operate loyally and effectively in support of the Covenant and in resistance to any act of aggression to an extent which is compatible with its military situation."

What are arms for? It is here, on the issue which overshadows all others, giving them its own colour, whether bright or dark, for good or ill, that intense and widespread anxiety has been aroused. Are Ministers arming the law? Are they equipping the nation to make good its obligations under the Covenant? Are they strengthening the only system which holds out any sure hope to a frightened world—the friendly settlement of disputes, peaceful change, collective defence? There ought to be no doubts. The honour of Britain is pledged to a full League policy with an emphasis and repetition unparalleled in her history. Not only has she signed and ratified; her governments, one after the other, have confirmed the bond in King's Speeches, in State papers, in formal declarations. In the same sense British interests speak not less loudly. Peace is Britain's deepest, permanent interest; and, since Britain is a world power, the only peace which can satisfy her is peace everywhere. In a world abandoned to violence either actual or threatened, in other words, in a chaos of unrestrained competitive armaments, the British Commonwealth would be an anomaly—geographical, political, and economic—and though all the Britains should spend all they have on ships and aircraft and guns it could not survive. World justice, in the words of St. Augustine, makes States something other than robber bands; it means arming the law and not the litigant; to it Britain is every way committed. Yet there are doubts. In the House of Commons debate on the armament programme Ministers were strangely shy of saying the plain, brave words about the League which the situation imperatively demands. Some amendments have been made elsewhere, notably by Viscount Halifax and the Earl of Plymouth. But more is required. The sweep, and precision and vigour of the Government's League policy must match the same qualities in its arms policy. It must speak and act in the one matter as resolutely as in the other. Only by so doing can it work effectually for peace; only by so doing can it give Britain real defence.

THE NEW DEAL IN THE I.L.O.

By BERNARD MOORE

Geneva, February 21

ONE of the most significant developments at recent meetings of the I.L.O.—a development which was to be remarked at last week's session of the Governing Body—has been the increasing co-operation of certain elements of the Government Group with the workers' representatives.

The reason is not difficult to find. During the past few years the I.L.O. has received two new recruits whose industrial policies force them into supporting the workers' claims. One is Soviet Russia, which for obvious reasons cannot be expected to support the representatives of "capitalist" governments and employers; the other is the United States, whose New Deal compels support for I.L.O. activities likely to protect the working of the New Deal from the competition of other countries.

Coupled with this, there have been governmental changes among members of the Governing Body. Political and industrial developments in France have brought about an astonishing change in the attitude of the French Government delegate, and the same is the case, too, with Spain.

The effect of these developments was to be seen at last week's meeting, when two unexpected decisions were reached solely through the voting of a sort of "popular front" consisting of these new elements in the Government Group and the Workers' Group.

First of these decisions was the adoption of the agenda for the 1938 International Labour Conference. Even the Workers' Group were mildly surprised when their proposal—a proposal usually made for form's sake—to include six items instead of the customary four on the agenda was adopted. Later, following representations by the Director of the I.L.O. and government members of the Governing Body, the workers agreed to reduce the agenda to its usual proportions, but the fact remains that further evidence of government co-operation with the workers had been provided.

The four items which it was eventually decided should form the 1938 agenda are:—

The recruiting, placing and conditions of labour (equality of treatment) of migrant workers;

Technical education and apprenticeship;

Regulation of contracts of employment of indigenous workers;

Regulation of hours of work and rest periods in road transport undertakings.

The second occasion when Government support secured acceptance of the workers' claims was when Mr. Arthur Hayday, the British Workers' Delegate, urged that a preparatory conference of governments, employers and workers should be convened this year with a view to securing reduced working hours in the coal mining industry.

Basing his argument on a resolution recently adopted by the Miners' International Federation, he pointed out that several of the principal coal producing countries, including the United States, France and Belgium, had already introduced the shorter working week in the industry. The old argument against ratification of existing international conventions that simultaneous

action was essential, had therefore been disproved. If it were possible for these countries to take unilateral action, the time must be ripe for the conclusion of an international agreement.

Here again, government support helped the Workers' Group, and it was with the unexpected majority of 13 votes to 8 that the Governing Body decided to convene a Preparatory Conference in October this year.

Coal mines were very much to the fore in the discussions. Recent serious accidents in mines have convinced the International Labour Office that steps should be taken to secure international agreement on safety measures in coal mines. Although this was one of the subjects removed from the proposed agenda of the 1938 Conference, a tacit agreement was reached, nevertheless, that it should be discussed in 1939 and should be submitted to the single-discussion procedure under which a decision would be reached that year. Meanwhile experts will visit the principal coal-producing countries with the object of submitting recommendations to the Conference.

In all its discussions nowadays, however, the I.L.O. is meeting with difficulties of a political nature due to the absence of Germany and Italy from Geneva. The knowledge that these two important industrial countries will take no part in deliberations at Geneva or under the auspices of the I.L.O., and cannot therefore be relied upon to participate in international efforts to improve working conditions, is an effective check to real progress.

This is especially the case in the negotiations now in progress for the Conference on Hours of Work in the Textile Industry which is to be held in April, in Washington. It is fully realised that, without Germany and Italy, the scope of the Conference must be very seriously limited. It was for this reason that the United States Government, at whose invitation the Conference is being held in Washington, has undertaken to approach the two Governments through diplomatic channels with the object of securing their presence if only as observers. Little hope that they will accept is felt in I.L.O. circles, however.

The same difficulty was met with in the discussions last week on Freedom of Association of Workers. The Workers' Group was anxious that formal recognition of the right of workers to associate in trade unions should be accorded in an international resolution. But it soon became evident that the present position in Germany and Italy would make any resolution completely anodyne, so the committee appointed to consider the question was forced to play for time. Instructions were given to the International Labour Office to draw up a full report on the situation, "together with a list of practices which are considered contrary to the exercise of the right of association and which, on that ground, should be prohibited," for the Committee's consideration in the future.

Not a little surprise was expressed in I.L.O. circles when it became known last week that the United States Government was not prepared to pay for the Washington Textiles Conference which is being held, at its invitation,

in April. The general rule in such cases is that the inviting government pays the difference between the cost of a Conference in Geneva and in the selected place.

The fact is that the United States Government is having some trouble in Congress over the voting of the budgetary appropriation for the I.L.O. Anti-Geneva elements are criticising the cost of belonging to the organisation, especially the cost of sending and maintaining delegates in Geneva. The Department of Labour has thought it wise not to press for further funds, although the amount required, I understand, is only about 15,000 dollars.

All this was small comfort, however, for the Governing Body which had to go through its budget with a small tooth-comb last week to find the necessary funds.

The subject of the agenda of last week's meeting, which is likely to have the most important political repercussions was that of migration. The Polish

Government delegate, who has already raised this question at League meetings, was insistent that the problem, a fundamental one for Poland, should be discussed and discussed immediately on an international basis.

One of the reasons for this, he said significantly, was that his government was anxious to test whether the I.L.O. could be of any assistance to Poland or whether "it would continue to be" an organisation designed to assist a certain number of highly industrialised countries.

Outcome of the discussions in which the Argentine delegate expressed his government's willingness to receive immigrants was that a conference is to be held to discuss the status of immigrants, equality of treatment, etc., while soundings are to be carried out among interested governments as to the possibility of creating an international organisation for the placing of immigrants in special colonies.

Britain Falls Behind In The Factories Bill

By WILLIAM A. ROBSON, B.Sc., LL.M., Ph.D., Reader in Administrative Law in the London School of Economics.

THE new Factories Bill which the Home Secretary has introduced in the House of Commons may appear to many people to be a piece of industrial legislation concerning only the people of this country. That is an entirely erroneous view; for although the internal effects of such a measure are of primary importance, the international aspects which loom in the background are of great ultimate significance.

The conditions of employment prevailing in the various countries must, of course, be a matter of universal interest in any civilisation in which foreign trade plays a prominent part, for the simple reason that the competitive position of each country is affected by that factor. The Treaty of Versailles formally recognised and crystallised that interest by establishing the International Labour Office. The I.L.O. represents an attempt to persuade the member States to adopt a series of common minima in regard to labour conditions, to raise the standards of industrial legislation throughout the world to the level of the more advanced nations, to substitute a coherent system of accepted principles for the rule of the jungle which obtains between countries, no less than between individual employees, in the absence of an ordered co-operation. It seeks to eliminate the exploitation of labour as a factor in international competition. Moreover, the International Labour Office offers a measure—admittedly incomplete—of collective security in the economic sphere to those countries which are willing to raise the level of employment conditions by endeavouring to obtain a similar movement elsewhere. In short, the I.L.O. aims at achieving in the international field precisely what national regulation attains within any one country. But it must be remembered that, since there is no super-national legislative assembly, there can be no compulsion to attain this end. The moral pressure exerted by influence or example, and the passing of conventions and recommendations by the annual conferences held by the I.L.O. can do much, but

in the last resort the adoption of higher industrial standards is a voluntary act.

It follows from this that a large new measure such as the Factories Bill will be eagerly scrutinised all over the world. People will ask to what extent it conforms to the most up-to-date standards evolved through long deliberation and patient research carried out under the aegis of the I.L.O. And this is a question which we ourselves should also ask when we consider the Bill, not only for idealistic or humanitarian reasons but also out of self-interest. As a world economic power literally dependent for our bread and butter on foreign trade, it is a matter of vital moment to us that the goods produced by our workpeople should not be, undersold in the markets of the world. Hence we have a substantial interest in doing our utmost, by precept and example, to promote the observance of international labour standards over the widest possible area. For insofar as these matters are not regulated by an international code, they are likely to set up frictions and resistances which tend to clog the machinery of international exchange. The goods from a country having inferior conditions of employment are denounced as being produced with sweated labour; the rivalry of such a country is dubbed "unfair competition"—we do it ourselves with the Japanese; and the usual consequences of this are the introduction of restrictions, quotas, tariffs and subsidies. We are painfully familiar with the effects of these in reducing foreign trade.

When one looks at the Factories Bill in this light one has the impression that these considerations were not present to the minds of those responsible for framing its provisions. This is scarcely surprising when it is remembered that while it is the Ministry of Labour which is responsible for negotiating with the International Labour Office, and is therefore coming in frequent contact with the representatives of foreign countries, the Home Secretary is for purely historical reasons respon-

sible for introducing new legislation relating to factory workers. The Factory Department of the Home Office does the job of inspection supremely well. But it knows very little of what is going on in the rest of the world, and there is no particular reason why the Home Office should be in charge of new legislation.

The Bill contains numerous clauses which do not measure up to the standards which the more advanced countries have adopted. Thus, it provides that the total hours for women and young persons shall not exceed 48 in any week or 9 in any day exclusive of meals and rest. Clause 70 permits overtime for these classes of workers to the extent of 100 hours a year, so long as it does not exceed 6 hours a week or occur in more than 30 weeks in a year. This very incomplete movement in the direction of the 48-hour week compares with a statutory 40-hour week in France; a 7-hour day for all industrial workers in the Soviet Union; and a 48-hour week for all industrial workers in nearly 20 countries which have ratified the relevant I.L.O. convention. The segregation of women and young persons for separate treatment in the matter of hours is a relic of the 19th century which most countries have abandoned in favour of legislation dealing with all workers equally. Many nations secure for their workpeople by law the payment of overtime (where permitted) at special rates of pay, varying from 25 per cent. to 100 per cent. over normal rates. Australia, Chile, Norway, Yugoslavia, Germany, Austria, and Canada are among the countries which have legislation of this kind.

Take again the question of the employment of women before and after childbirth. The first International Labour Conference adopted in 1919 a draft convention granting a compulsory period of 6 weeks' rest before childbirth and 6 weeks afterwards; and the woman is to be paid out of social insurance or public funds benefits "sufficient" for the full and healthy maintenance of herself and the child. This is now in force as a minimum in 16 countries and some of them have gone far beyond it. Our law merely prohibits employment during 4 weeks after childbirth. It was transferred unchanged last year from the Factory Act, 1901, to the Public Health Act, 1936; and the new Bill makes no further advance.

It would require too much space to deal in turn with all the various matters which form the subject of I.L.O. conventions; 49 conventions have been adopted by successive conferences, and Great Britain has ratified only 21 of them, as compared with Belgium (23), Bulgaria (29), Chile (33), Cuba (23), Irish Free State (21), Italy (21), Luxembourg (27), Nicaragua (30), and Uruguay (30). So far as I can see, the new Bill does not add to the number embodied in our legislation.

In addition, one must also consider labour legislation passed by other countries not acting in pursuance of I.L.O. conventions. Here again we have been gradually falling behind in many respects, and the new Bill in some cases does little or nothing to remedy our deficiencies. For example, about 20 countries confer on manual workers a legal right to an annual holiday with pay, varying in length from 4 days to 12 days. Our law is silent on the subject. Many countries, including France, Italy, U.S.S.R., and Finland, prohibit workers from carrying or lifting weights over a specified maximum. The new Bill declares that a young person shall not be employed to lift or carry a load so heavy as to be likely to cause injury to him; but it is left to the dis-

cretion of the Home Secretary to prescribe the maximum weights by regulation.

One welcomes the new Bill as a long-delayed legislative reform which is badly needed. But in its present form it cannot be regarded as a substantial contribution to the movement towards international regulation represented by the International Labour Office. Throughout the 19th century Great Britain stimulated and inspired almost every Western country to follow her path-breaking footsteps in the field of labour protection. We blazed a great trail along which all the nations of the world came in due course. To-day, the pioneer is no longer in front but merely trying to catch up with the main body. If we wished, we could once again take the lead.

FROM THE UNION BOOK SHOP

THE L.N.U. YEAR BOOK, 1937. 6d.

"THE WHOLE COVENANT," An Open Letter by Viscount Cecil on Putting Force Behind the Law. 1d.

"GOOD WORK THE LEAGUE IS DOING." A leaflet on Humanitarian Services at Geneva, by Dr. Gilbert Murray. 2s. per hundred.

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OFFICIAL LEAGUE PUBLICATIONS

Just out:

International Trade in Certain Raw Materials and Foodstuffs by Countries of Origin and Consumption, 1935. (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1936. II.A.26.) 146 pages. Price 4s. (\$1.00).

This volume is an attempt to secure, with the help of Governments, more satisfactory information than has hitherto been available for the use of business men and others on the movement of goods from producing to consuming countries.

Statistics for 35 important raw materials and foodstuffs are given. They show the quantities exported by the main producing countries and indicate, on the basis of the imports statistics of 42 important consuming countries, where these commodities have been actually consumed.

To be published in March:

Prosperity and Depression: A Theoretical Analysis of Cyclical Movement. (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1936. II.A.24.) About 250 pages. Price about 6s. (\$1.50).

This book, written by an economist of international reputation, deals with the problem of the business cycle and the recurrence of periods of prosperity and depression.

Part I gives an account of the principal lines of thought which have dominated the discussion of this question up to the present: monetary theories, over-investment theories, under-consumption theories, harvest theories, psychological theories, etc. All these theories are analysed from a common viewpoint with the object of bringing out the many points at which they are in line with one another in spite of verbal differences. Attention is at the same time drawn to the incomplete nature of many explanations put forward; and the vital conflicts of opinion are placed in the foreground.

The way is thus prepared for Part II, the object of which is to evolve order out of the chaos of conflicting views, and to present a synthesis which can command the assent of more than one school of thought. The author splits the business cycle into its four phases, and is thus enabled to make appropriate use of a number of explanations belonging to theories which superficially are antagonistic. Certain new instruments of analysis find a place in this connection—in particular, the author's theory of the demand and supply of investible funds, the effect of which is to facilitate exact discussion in a field where incomplete and loose thinking are all too common.

The final chapter on the international aspects of the trade cycle is an attempt at combined treatment of two branches of modern economic theory which up till now have developed on separate lines.

It may be added that the lucidity of style and clarity of exposition of the work will make it of interest to many who are unfamiliar with the general literature on the subject.

CHRISTMAS HOLIDAY LECTURES

Prize Winners In "Headway" Essay Competition

In mid-January a course of Christmas Holiday Lectures on World Affairs was delivered at the REGENT STREET POLYTECHNIC, LONDON. The Education Department of the League of Nations Union made all the arrangements, and those who attended were most of them members of Junior Branches of the Union. Their ages were between 14½ and 18 years. HEADWAY offered a first prize of £2 2s. and four other prizes of 10s. 6d. each for the best short essays on "What Interested Me Most in the Christmas Holiday Lectures." It promised to print the five winning essays. These appear below. The first two prizes (£2 12s. 6d.) are divided between IRIS MURDOCH and PAULINE HOWE; the three other prizes (10s. 6d. each) are awarded to ELIZABETH PORTEOUS, VERA FOX, NORA BELOFF.

IRIS MURDOCH, *BADMINTON SCHOOL, WESTBURY, BRISTOL.*

WE are told that to-morrow's world will be ours to do what we like with. But it will be an extraordinarily difficult world, and the question is, what are we to do with it? There are many and various creeds, which, according to their exponents, have only to be universally supported to produce a Utopia—but as one of the speakers remarked, we should be wary of believing blindly and without knowing the facts.

In this respect, the Christmas Holiday lecture course proved especially valuable. Each speaker could provide us with that increasingly rare commodity—facts. These facts were not always uncoloured by personal opinion, but the opinions were varied enough to produce a mental equilibrium.

After hearing so much about the foreign policies of other countries, it was very interesting to hear an expert speak on our own policy. Britain should work, said Lord Eustace Percy, for a world where wealth and opportunity were so exactly distributed that war would be to no one's advantage. So far he had the approval of his audience. But he distrusted Russia, and deprecated "unlimited commitments," urging that Britain's guarantees should be limited to the regions where her interests, her responsibilities, and her range of action coincided—namely, Western Europe and the Mediterranean. This was arguable. However, the speaker went further, saying that Britain should not tie herself up to any country, and not ever irrevocably to the League. He fell into a common error in regarding the League as a separate entity, and not merely the united personalities of all the nations. If Britain wants the League to be effective, she can make it so, if she has the courage not to withdraw just when her support is most needed.

The range of opinion was wide and the speakers were all good-naturedly prepared to be "heckled." They were optimistic, and nearly all of them supported the League as the primary instrument for world peace.

PAULINE HOWE, *KESWICK SCHOOL.*

IT cannot be too strongly emphasised that the happiness of our generation depends upon the interest we take in the shaping of world problems. We who attended these lectures realised this, and were given first-hand information based on experience.

The first speaker, Mr. Vernon Bartlett, gave a clear account of the happenings of 1936, with special reference

to the difficulties faced by the League of Nations. He spoke optimistically; though last year's arms expenditure was five times greater than that of the pre-war period, yet Italy's conquest of Abyssinia and the war in Spain have shown how negligible is the gain of war. His was a fair explanation, coloured by personal experience, but free as a historian's from prejudice.

Of all the speakers, Mr. Sen was the most obviously bound up with the development of his country, and he gave a description of the movement for Rural Reconstruction, in which he plays an important part.

We heard the most perfected speeches when Dr. Gilbert Murray—"the most distinguished statesman permanently out of office"—took the chair, and Professor Laski spoke about "Democracy, Fascism and Peace!" With his opening words "Fellow Students," we became his equals, and his speech was interesting for its enthusiasm and prejudice-with-fairmindedness. He thought out both good and bad points in democracy emphasising the duties of citizenship "to rule and to be ruled in turn," and showing why "as a society we are, though limited, a democracy." Though his prejudice showed in his criticism of Fascism, he succeeded in justifying, to a large extent, the violence of both Mussolini's and Hitler's policy during the last year; it is only by waging a successful war or by pursuing a policy of violent persecution, that a dictator can distract his people's attention from a decaying economic situation.

The lectures ended with private sessions, in which the policies of Germany, Russia, and Great Britain were put before us by Dr. Rösel, M. Maisky, and Lord Eustace Percy. It was the speakers' spirit of tolerance that left a lasting impression of fair judgment for the creeds and achievements of others; and it is on that basis of universal tolerance and liberty that we can establish a permanent peace.

ELIZABETH PORTEOUS, *CROYDON HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.*

I ENJOYED Vernon Bartlett's lecture on "What Happened in 1936," the best of the Christmas Holiday Lectures.

Perhaps it was because I had not looked forward to it so much as I had to some of the others, but it was impossible not to enjoy a lecture so full of interest.

It was such a change to hear an optimistic view of the past year, for all around are people saying that war is inevitable, and what a joy it was to hear Mr. Bartlett say that war is further away than before.

It was also interesting to know that you were listening to someone who had spoken to Signor Mussolini, for very few people seem to have been so privileged, and even more than that to get information on the Spanish war from one who had been out there, and could tell something about the Government's side, for we are always hearing news from the other point of view. But although his lecture was so full of information, it was spiced with jokes here and there which kept everyone expectant.

To sum everything up, I enjoyed it because it gave us events which had taken place in 1936 and, instead of giving us just the plain facts, we were able to look back on these events from all points of view—thanks to Mr. Bartlett's clear explanations.

VERA FOX, *PARLIAMENT HILL SCHOOL.*

THE Christmas Holiday lectures were, I think, most successful. It is not often that we are fortunate enough to hear such distinguished speakers talking with authority on such interesting subjects which concern us all. Also, straightforward answers were given to most questions, and these helped especially to clear up several points on which we were rather vague, and also enabled us to see that there are usually two points of view at least to most questions.

The first lecture, "What Happened in 1936," by Mr. Vernon Bartlett, was the easiest to follow. Mr. Bartlett is an especially fluent speaker. He stated his facts in a most simple, direct manner and without any prejudice. His sense of humour, too, was much appreciated by his audience.

GROWTH OF A WORLD IDEA

TO THE EDITOR OF "HEADWAY."

SIR.—Every year, almost from the beginning of HEADWAY, I have been allowed in the March issue to call attention to the annual world broadcast of the Welsh Children's Message of Goodwill.

Preparations are now nearly completed for the 16th annual broadcast of the Message from the Schools of Wales by the principal radio systems of the five continents on "Goodwill Day," May 18.

One secret of the growth of the Welsh Message to a genuinely world-wide movement is the kindness which has been shown to it, through the years, by the Ambassadors and Ministers of countries abroad attached to the Court of St. James, by the High Commissioners for the Dominions, by Directors of Education in all lands, and by the Directors of Broadcast Stations throughout the world. The readiness of all in co-operating, each in the language of his own country, has been at once an encouragement and an inspiration to the schools of Wales to continue to send out, year by year, their greeting of goodwill.

Happily, this remains one of the efforts for international co-operation upon which there is little or no depression caused by the troubled international atmosphere of our time. The 1936 response was a record!

As readers of HEADWAY know, the text of the Message changes every year. The English text of the 1937 Message is as follows:—

"Boys and girls everywhere, we, boys and girls of Wales, send you once again our message of hope and good cheer.

"In a world in which there is so much strife and so much suffering we are glad to think that, on this Goodwill Day, greetings are being sent through the air from children to children and that over the five continents and across the seven seas youth calls to youth that it wants to live for Peace.

"We are glad, also, that in so many countries foremost men and women, not yielding to despair, are bidding people in all lands rebuild the walls of Peace. Faith and firm resolve can do it. Let us say to the whole world it must be done.

"And on this day, and in this notable year, we would dedicate ourselves with you all to the service of mankind.

"Science has made us neighbours: let goodwill keep us friends."

A copy of a 20-page illustrated booklet, with the 1937 text in Welsh, French, German, Italian, Spanish and Esperanto, may be obtained for 3d., post free, on application.

—I am, etc., GWILMY DAVIES.

League of Nations Union,
10 Museum Place, Cardiff,
Great Britain.

Professor H. J. Laski's lecture on "Democracy, Fascism and Peace" was in direct contrast to Mr. Bartlett's talk. Professor Laski is so concentrated in his method of speaking that the younger members of the audience found it difficult at times to follow his train of thought. Also, Professor Laski, being so "Left Wing," was unable to give us an unbiassed opinion on Fascism.

However, Dr. R. G. Rösel was able to give us the other view of Fascism—as a true Nazi sees it. Dr. Rösel insisted on the principle of "Deutschland über Alles" rather too much for the majority of the audience, and at times the atmosphere was rather strained.

M. Maisky, the Russian Ambassador, was notable for the amazing lucidity with which he answered our questions. He is a very happy choice as representative of his Government, for it is evident that he holds a most friendly attitude towards Great Britain.

In the last lecture, the Rt. Hon. Lord Eustace Percy, M.P., gave us a very sane outlook on "British Foreign Policy." He holds the views of many Englishmen who desire peace.

All the speakers stated that their main desire was to see peace in the world, and yet they all had different ideas as to the way of obtaining it. I consider the lectures were invaluable, for they will surely help us, the younger generation, to have wider sympathies and to be able to co-operate in finding a way to peace that is acceptable to all.

NORA BELOFF, *KING ALFRED SCHOOL.*

THE Christmas Holiday lectures have been both interesting and instructive, and we are indebted to those who organised them; most of all, perhaps, for enabling us to meet Mr. Maisky, the Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. We know very little about Russia as it is to-day. Impartial and well-informed critics are rare, while prejudice and biassed enthusiasm are dangerously misleading. Yet it is in this country that the greatest experiment of modern times is being enacted, and the whole trend of world history may depend on its success or failure.

Immediately before Mr. Maisky, a German Nazi, Dr. Rösel, had been addressing us. He read us an uncompromising selection of quotations from the Führer's speeches, and then proceeded to inform us that Herr Hitler abjured the use of force, that the Germans loved democracy, and that the Nazi party was sympathetically interested in the Jewish nation. He evidently overestimated the credulity of his young audience.

Mr. Maisky spoke briefly but earnestly of the necessity for peace, and warned us against adopting creeds and opinions without sufficient study and reflection. He indulged in neither invective against the enemies of Russia, nor in extravagant eulogies of the qualities of his leader. When asked what Communism had done for Russia, he did not enter into a discussion on abstract theory, but quoted a few significant statistics which rendered further commentary superfluous. Questions of every kind were put to him, he answered them all patiently and concisely. Thus we occupied over an hour of his time. At last he turned to go amidst another outburst of enthusiastic applause. He had impressed us all as a great statesman, the worthy representative of a great nation.

GLASS HOUSES AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY

By JONATHAN GRIFFIN (author of "Alternative to Re-armament")

GR^{EAT} BRITAIN has become an exceptionally vulnerable country. That is the fact, above all others, which no foreign policy or defence programme can afford to ignore. Anyone who doubts this should consider these facts:

(1) We are largely dependent on imported food, all our ports, with their approaches, being within range of air attack from more than one near-by Great Power.

(2) If it came to an exchange of bombs, the bombers of more than one near-by Great Power would have much less far to go than ours: which means that they could raid us perhaps twice as often in a given time, that they could manage with much less petrol and more bombs, and that we would have less warning of their approach; and

(3) No country in or near Europe presents an objective comparable to London.

Great Britain, then, though still relatively safe from invasion by a land force, is now not only vulnerable, but *much more vulnerable* than any near-by Great Power to air attack upon her cities and supplies. What follows?

First, if I wanted to produce a disastrous war, I would hasten to equip an especially vulnerable country, centre of a coveted empire, with more and more menacing armaments: because this policy combines on a large scale the three classic inducements to aggression—opportunity, a prize, and fear. That is precisely what our Government is doing. For the last two and a-half years it has been feverishly building more than twice as many bombers as interceptors, while it has allowed the anti-aircraft guns to remain of 1918 pattern and has done next to nothing about other non-menacing means of reducing vulnerability! Recently it decided to build up-to-date anti-aircraft guns, to give London a balloon barrage, and to set up a food department (whose functions are as yet vague); but the effect of the present policy as a whole is still to add to an especially vulnerable country, centre of a coveted empire, mainly menacing armaments.

Secondly, unless the vulnerability of Great Britain is decisively reduced, Great Britain's contribution to collective security cannot be made reliable. Either it will always be withdrawn when an aggressor threatens to meet sanctions with war, or any would-be aggressor will think so; in either case it will not prevent war. What is worse, though we know an indefinite foreign policy is unlikely to prevent war, any definite commitment may well increase the danger of war as long as one of the parties to it remains exceptionally vulnerable. For a desperate nation, confronted by an alliance of any kind (even an alliance directed against aggression only)

will tend to strike overwhelmingly and suddenly at its most vulnerable member. The fate of Denmark in the nineteenth century warns us of this. And this applies to every definite foreign policy proposed—to collective security, to a Western Pact, even to imperial defence. You cannot keep off attacks, even from limited areas, by erecting threats when you yourself are especially vulnerable. Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones—not until they have converted the glass into Triplex.

For these and other reasons I believe the L.N.U. ought to adopt, as part of its programme, the policy of *mainly non-menacing national defence*. That is: instead of relying, as now, mainly on competitive counter-menaces while remaining avoidably and glaringly vulnerable, Great Britain ought to concentrate mainly on measures that will reduce her own vulnerability without menacing other countries. These measures must include:

(a) The storage of at least a year's supply of essential foodstuffs in small stores dispersed about the country.

(b) The provision of up-to-date anti-aircraft batteries.

(c) Those measures of "passive defence" which do not involve serious regimentation of the general public, such as the duplication and protection of essential services on a scale apparently not yet contemplated; and

(d) Encouragement of research, not on bombers and bombs, but on bomb-proof architecture, "agrobology," anti-aircraft guns and searchlights, and other methods of reducing Great Britain's vulnerability without threatening other countries.

I am not claiming that this policy will give "adequate defence against air attack," in the sense of preventing all bombers from getting through or promising much protection to people in places directly hit. If war from the air is let loose, irreparable damage is likely to be done, and the case for trying to prevent war by collective security remains undiminished. But I do claim that it will (a) reduce the number of bombers that could get through, and (b) prevent the effects of air attack from involving (e.g., through starvation) perhaps hundreds of thousands of people in places not directly hit; that it will thus *reduce Great Britain's vulnerability to a point where it will promise no chance of a quick victory to a sudden aggressor*; and that, therefore, it will render war much less likely to come or (at worst) less hideously destructive. Lastly, as we have seen, this policy of *defences instead of menaces* is now the essential condition of getting collective security.

Do not pigeon-hole this proposal. If this argument is substantially sound, action upon it is urgent.

INTERNATIONAL COLONIES?

By LEONARD BARNES, M.C., lecturer in the University of Liverpool

author of "The Duty of Empire," former member of the Colonial Civil Service

OPINION within the peace movement has already reached a point at which it discerns that the Colonial problem is much more than what Hitler calls the problem of equality of colonial rights. If we are to speak of have-nots, they are not Germany, or any other country with an itch for colonial possessions; they are the indigenous inhabitants of colonies. Our problem is not how to share the prestige of Empire with countries at present Empireless; it is how to secure the abandonment by international agreement of the whole theory and practice of Imperialism.

Administratively speaking, I can see no insuperable difficulties in establishing an international Colonial Office in Geneva, staffed no doubt, to begin with, largely by officials seconded from national colonial departments, but including a stiffening of League and I.L.O. officials to inject into the new organisation a genuinely international outlook. This organisation would perform such routine work, at present performed by national colonial departments, as could not be appropriately transferred to the local administrations in the colonies. It would supervise the observance by those local administrations of the terms of the "sacred trust"; it would control capital investment, the disposal of natural resources in colonial territories, and the allocation of contracts for colonial public works; and it would make such appointments to the several colonial services as could not suitably be filled by native candidates.

The orthodox objection to proposals of this kind is that British, French, Dutch and Portuguese ideas and traditions of native policy all differ from one another, and that therefore any attempt to unify and centralise administrative responsibility for British, French, Dutch and Portuguese colonies could only result in unworkable friction and confusion. For my part, I see little substance in this objection. True, the native policies of different Imperial powers differ from, and are sometimes inconsistent with, one another. But it is equally true that the native policy of any one country is never self-consistent. The British, for example, not only apply different native policies in the same colony at different times; they also apply opposite and contradictory native policies in different colonies all the time (e.g., Kenya and Nigeria). We do not, however, think it necessary to have different Colonial Offices in London to correspond with such differences in native policy.

Another frequent objection is to ask who, if colonies are internationalised, is to pay grants-in-aid to those more than usually poverty-stricken territories which have no financial reserves and are unable in any given year to balance their budgets. And here I think the answer is, in general terms, that no grants-in-aid need or should be paid—not, at least, if we use the phrase grant-in-aid in the usual Treasury sense of a sum paid by the home Exchequer to cover a budget deficiency in a colony. In a League system the problem would be met by capital expenditure on new economic development so planned as to obviate the occurrence of budget deficits, and would therefore fall under the heading of investment. This implies, of course, that the League organ-

isation would need to be armed with powers to issue stock internationally, and that all League members would be free to participate equally as investors.

To the above outline I would add this. The League organisation should from the outset regard itself as directing only a brief phase in the life of colonial peoples, a phase consciously transitional to native autonomy. A clear, though not inexorably fixed, time-scale should be drawn up, providing for, say, a minimum tutelage period of five years for the more advanced colonies, and a maximum of 15 years for the less advanced. It would be of the utmost importance to secure the co-operation of the Russians in drawing up such a time-scale. We too often forget that by far the most significant work of preparing relatively primitive peoples for autonomy has been done inside the Soviet Union.

So much for the position at the centre, at Geneva. Now as to things at the circumference, at the colonial end. Assuming the existence of a League organisation on the lines explained, and assuming also the common operation in all colonies of the main principles of the present mandates (viz., paramountcy of native interests, the Open Door, and no militarisation), the problem of the colonial end boils down, broadly speaking, to the staffing of the public services. Existing legal systems and arrangements as regards languages used in schools, law-courts, and so on, would remain, not necessarily intact, but much as they are. It is no uncommon thing even to-day to find nationals of States other than the controlling power employed in education and in the medical and technical services of colonies. This principle could and should be extended to the administrative service, and indeed all services should be open to all members of the League on the same terms, subject to the proviso that the primary object should be to "nativise" the services at the quickest rate compatible with a not too arrogantly European conception of efficiency. The proportion of natives employed in the public service should steadily increase, and the proportion of candidates appointed from Geneva, should steadily dwindle.

If international agreement on these lines were politically possible, such a scheme would, I believe, be workable administratively. But looking at the matter from the political standpoint in the light of the present and the prospective international situation, it would be hard to rebut a charge of Utopianism. As realists, we have to acknowledge that much the likeliest thing is that Empires will go on as they are until the next war. That, of course, is no reason why the peace movement should not go all out for internationalisation, while the going is good. In any case, the whole issue turns on the question of defence. If colonies are internationalised, you cannot expect the ex-Imperial owners to shoulder the whole burden of their defence. On the other hand, after Abyssinia, every colony in the world will prefer to be exploited and defended by its present imperial owner rather than trust itself to the League as a warder off of gas and high explosive. Here is the crucial dilemma. The League cannot solve the colonial problem unless and until it can dispose of a sufficiency of military force.

Greece and the "Ideological" Group

GREECE is at present ruled by a dictatorship, possibly less violent, certainly less popular, than those of Italy and Germany, but for the moment in full control of the country, and exercising a strict censorship on news. The Dictator, General Metaxas, was trained in Germany, and received there the nickname of "the Little Moltke." He was a leading supporter of King Constantine during the Great War, when that monarch endeavoured to keep Greece neutral, in defiance of the wishes of the majority of the people.

Since Greece has a man of pro-German sympathies ruling her as Dictator, and a King whose mother was a German, it might be supposed that she now belongs to the Fascist group of States. As if to confirm this idea,

VANDELEUR ROBINSON,

who recently made a tour of inquiry through the Balkans.

the Greek Government, about the middle of January, made an agreement with Germany for a loan of over seven million pounds, for the purposes of re-armament. It is a well-known principle of Power Politics that a State tends to favour politically the country from which it obtains its implements of war.

The situation, however, is not as simple as it looks. In the first place, the Metaxas Dictatorship is not very firmly in the saddle. It may, in the course of time, establish itself permanently; but there is a considerable chance that it may not. Unlike the Dictators of Germany and Italy, Metaxas has no popular following, no big demagogic party of his own, no coloured shirts to adorn his parades, no ardent disciples to hail him as Leader. The Greeks are blessed with a keen sense of humour, they are democratic, individualistic and argumentative, and their favourite amusement is the discussion of the political situation. So far from delighting his people with displays, as Hitler and Mussolini have been able to do, Metaxas has only irritated the Greeks by depriving them of their chief recreation. They miss the witty political cartoons of only a few months ago. They obey Metaxas simply because he has a police force under his control, his spies are everywhere, letters are opened, telephones tapped, and inconvenient persons are deported to remote and uncomfortable Aegean Islands.

The power of the Dictator depends for the present upon the support of the King, and for the future upon Metaxas' ability to "deliver the goods." If he is a failure, the King will turn him out; or else some professional revolutionary (such as the picturesque General Plastiras) will return to Greece by aeroplane and stage a popular coup, in which Metaxas will be overthrown, and possibly the King will go, too, if he has stood by Metaxas too long.

Although Metaxas is a retired General, the army does not love him. It preferred Kondylis, who died a year ago. If ever the King wants to dismiss Metaxas,

he can rely upon the support of the army; thus, the King controls the situation.

Greece's geographical position dictates that she be on good terms with the mistress of the Mediterranean. At present, that is still Great Britain, in spite of the deplorable events of last year. If Britain should yield her place in that sea to Italy, Greece would be obliged to salute the rising sun; but for many reasons, she wholeheartedly prefers the friendship of Britain, which has historical and sentimental roots, and is more disinterested than that of Italy. The British possession of Cyprus is not nearly so deep a grievance as the harsh Italian rule of the Dodecanese. If ever a war were to occur, and Metaxas should try to attach Greece to the German orbit against Great Britain, it would mean civil war and the overthrow of his Government; he would be unable to avoid the fate of the late King Constantine.

Greece's more immediate anxieties centre about Bulgaria. In 1913, Bulgaria was given a strip of territory fronting upon the Aegean; this she lost in the Great War. By the Treaty of Neuilly, Bulgaria was promised an outlet upon the Aegean; but it is not clear whether a territorial corridor or only opportunity for the commercial use of a port were intended. Greece and Bulgaria naturally interpret the agreement in opposite senses; and if Bulgaria were given a corridor now, it would have to cut through Greek territory, bisecting it as Prussia is bisected by the Polish Corridor. Moreover, since the exchanges of population and the planting of Greek Macedonia and Thrace with Greek refugees, the territory that would be given to Bulgaria is inhabited entirely by Greeks. Naturally, therefore, Greece, though willing to grant full facilities for the transit of goods, utterly refuses to part with territory. Yet the Bulgars continue to desire it.

A few weeks ago, the news that Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were going to sink their long-standing and obstinate differences, and conclude a Pact of Friendship, seemed to most people to herald a new era of reconciliation in the Balkans. In Greece, however, it was viewed with alarm. Here was Bulgaria, apparently settling her quarrels with Yugoslavia, but reserving her claims against Greece. Was Yugoslavia betraying the Balkan Entente? Greece drew closer to her other partner, Turkey, and hoped to get matters straightened out by mediation. Meanwhile, she expedited her re-armament by obtaining a loan from Germany, and thus (incidentally) redressed some of the difficulties of the clearing arrangements between the two countries.

Greece is essentially a democratic country. Its present Government is Fascist, but without a Fascist Party of any size. On the other hand, Communism is entirely foreign to the Greek mind, and only for special reasons did Kavalla and parts of Athens send fifteen Communist deputies to the recent Greek Chamber. Metaxas, however, must persecute Communism to justify himself in becoming Dictator; this is an old Fascist trick, dressed rather less convincingly than usual!

India Under the Constitution

A SHORT article on such a tremendous subject as India must necessarily be selective and full of unproved assertions. I can only apologise for its omissions and dogmatisms—keenly aware as I am of its shortcomings and of the bias that an ex-principal of a Law College in India, which was annually pouring out hundreds destined to be leaders among their fellow-countrymen, was bound to acquire.

Nationalism—or Swa-raj—has been the dominating spirit of India from the earlier years of the century. For some 400 or 500 years the White People had been ruling and exploiting the whole world. A turn in the tide occurred when Japan defeated Russia. The psychological effect of that victory has been incalculably and increasingly potent—and nowhere more than in India, because in India the seeds of modern education had been sown more widely than elsewhere, and that, too, among a people of whom many possessed brains as capable and imaginations as lively as any that might be found elsewhere.

Some years ago in an address to a London audience I heard Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, now Professor of Eastern Religions at Oxford, after recounting the advantages British rule had brought to India—e.g., Order, Peace, Science, Machinery, etc.—adding in an emphatic conclusion "But by far the greatest good of all has been the awakening of India to a sense of her own Manhood."

The paradox of the situation lies just there. Britain itself has been the principal channel of an Asiatic Renaissance, of which the almost immediate result has proved to be a demand for independence, for shaking off the leading strings of British Rule.

These preliminary considerations are by no means irrelevant to the main purpose of this article, which is to ask how the new Constitution, Part I of which is shortly to be set going, is likely to work. The answer will in historical fact be determined during the coming months and years by the degree to which the explosive forces that are being let loose will find legitimate and healthy scope for their development. To make even an approximate guess as to what will happen, three things are necessary (a) A knowledge of India, historical, geographical and ethnical, and its own bundle of problems; (b) A knowledge of the details of the Act that is to be set in motion; and (c) An appreciation of the probable reactions of statesmanship and public opinion in both India and Britain when difficult situations arise.

Even assuming a sufficient background of knowledge of the external facts, and that assumption I venture to make, I dare not say dogmatically that this or that will occur. Rather examining the data, I shall aim at resolving the full question "Will the Constitution Work?" into a few of a large number of subordinate and partial questions—for the reader himself to tackle.

Many think, for instance, that the whole genesis of the Constitution has been wrong. India demands self-determination, not to have a Constitution foisted upon her by an alien people. In fact, most of the steps—save for the brief interval of the Round Table Conference—were taken without Indian co-operation. Many of the provisions are positively obnoxious to the great mass of

Indian Public Opinion. In this country there has been continual insistence on the Responsibility of Parliament. I well remember the passion of an Indian student when he declared with vehemence "England has no more right to draw up a Constitution for India than India has to draw one up for England." The Congress have entered upon the elections and with widespread success. Only this year they have declared their intention of using their position, especially where they obtain majorities, to wreck the Constitution, and call a Constituent Assembly to make their own self-governing India. Will they attempt to fulfil their threat?

Even if they do not, will the Constitution work? In the Provinces perhaps yes, since a very substantial

By ARTHUR DAVIES

formerly Principal of Madras Law College

measure of real Home-Rule is given. But even there some of the "safeguards", especially those regarding the police and terrorism, may defeat their own ends by weakening the sense of responsibility in a Cabinet deprived of the full right to exercise what should normally be one of the most important of its functions. Much will depend on the personalities of the Ministers who come into power, especially in early days—and at least as much on the good sense of Provincial Governors and their conceptions of duty with regard to their "extraordinary" powers.

The Federation of All India (Part II of the Act), it is not too optimistic to say, will, if there is meanwhile no World War, become effective some 12 or 18 months ahead. The fears expressed about the Provincial Legislatures are intensified many times in considering the new Central Legislature. Nearly all "politically-minded" Indians (the most moderate as well as the extremist) declare that it is far worse than the existing Legislative Assembly. At present, though its members are irresponsible critics and have no chance of obtaining office, the Assembly may easily, and in practice does, express the mind of "nationalist-minded" British India. In the new Legislature Conservatism is enthroned permanently by the provision of many representatives of special interests and above all by the presence of a solid bloc from the Native States, not even elected but direct appointees of the Princes. It is being said that nothing less than an explosion will move this body. Is not the hopelessness of the situation for "nationalist" or "progressive" an ever-open invitation to such an explosion? And there is plenty of material for trouble in the dyarchic character of the administration, for the Army and Foreign Affairs are to be managed by the Viceroy without reference to the Ministers or the Legislature—and even in matters of trade discrimination the Viceroy is commissioned carefully to protect British commercial interests.

The above gives some of the possible strains and stresses that the new Constitution may undergo in consequence of its own inherent structure.

WINNING OVER THE WAVERERS

By N. WOOD

(Deputy Secretary's Department, L.N.U. Headquarters)

SEVERAL L.N.U. Branch Secretaries have written HEADWAY saying that they are finding it difficult to collect subscriptions because of the loss of faith in the League since the Italian conquest of Abyssinia. The following arguments which have been successfully used in persuading doubters, are offered in the hope that Branch workers may find them helpful.

The critic usually begins by declaring that "The Abyssinian affair shows that the League is no good, so it is useless to go on supporting it." Does that mean that *none* of the League's work has been or is worth while? The League of Nations has—as Branch workers well know—a noble record in humanitarian and social work. It has repatriated prisoners of war, fought disease, found homes for refugees, lifted Austria, Hungary, and other nations out of bankruptcy. It is improving labour conditions throughout the world, suppressing slavery, preventing the exploitation of children in industry, battling with the white slave and drug traffickers and protecting the backward races. Are these achievements valueless? Is it seriously proposed that Great Britain should stop supporting the League in all this work? It is important to remember that only the League could have done so much. These international problems cannot be effectively handled except by a permanent international organisation, which alone has the influence and authority to see that governments do carry out the pledges they make. The history of pre-war efforts to deal with some of these problems shows how ineffective was isolated action by individual states.

The critic, however, when confronted with this fine record often shifts his ground and pleads that while this non-political work is indispensable the League has failed in its major task of preventing war and should abandon its attempts to improve the political relations between governments.

But if nations gave up the political side of the League, and returned to the system of armed alliance and counter-alliance (armed isolation is not possible even for the British Empire in the modern world), how long would they agree to work together even in non-controversial matters? A return to international anarchy means intensifying the race in armaments, that race breeds fear and distrust, and in such a poisoned atmosphere co-operation between nations would become well-nigh impossible.

How difficult it was to get international action even on relatively unimportant matters in pre-League days is shown by the story of the White Phosphorus Convention. Before 1914 an attempt was made to call an international conference to discuss the abolition of white phosphorus, which it was generally agreed ought not to be used in the manufacture of matches because the workers ran the risk of contracting a horrible disease. But because of the absence of an international body, such as the League of Nations, years passed before governments could be persuaded to agree to the abolition of something everyone admitted ought to be abandoned.

The League has taught the nations the good habit of co-operation. If that good habit is effective in dealing with social problems, it ought to be efficacious in dealing with political problems.

Indeed, international co-operation has produced excellent results even in the political sphere. The failure of the League in Abyssinia and in Manchuria should not make people forget the successes of the League. The Saar, the dispute between Yugoslavia and Hungary, the war between Greece and Bulgaria and earlier successes, to say nothing of the numerous cases settled by the Permanent Court of International Justice, that are familiar to Branch workers but forgotten or unknown as far as the general public is concerned, show that the League can compose difficult disputes and stop war.

Even the story of the League's handling of the Abyssinian tragedy has moments of triumph and gleams of hope. After all, some 50 nations did proclaim another nation—and a great Power at that—an aggressor and did apply certain sanctions against her. That was something new in the history of the world, an unprecedented step forward in international morality. True, the collective action broke down because nations would not face the risk of war. But if Italy had known for certain that adequate and effective sanctions would have been applied and maintained by the Members of the League, she would no more have thought of attacking the Covenant than she would the British Empire. The moral of the failure is not that collective action should be dropped from the Covenant but rather that it should be improved and strengthened. "War can be averted and a stable peace permanently maintained if the nations which are Members of the League will now make plain their determination to fulfil their obligations under the Covenant and to take any measures required for the prevention or repression of aggression, including, if necessary, military action." That is the opinion of acknowledged authorities on international affairs like Mr. Winston Churchill, Lord Lytton, Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Archibald Sinclair and Lord Cecil as affirmed in the Union's declaration "Save the League: Save Peace."

The answer to those who doubt the League is that, in spite of defects and disappointments, the League does represent the one practical method we have of escaping from another world war. As Mr. Neville Chamberlain has said: "The alternative to the League is the method of armed alliances, and we all know where that leads."

REBUILD THE LEAGUE. The Easter School for the Study of Contemporary International Affairs will be held at St. Hugh's College, Oxford, from the afternoon of Thursday, March 25, to midday, Tuesday, March 30.

SOVIET RUSSIA. Following the interesting tour of last year, it is hoped to arrange two further visits to Soviet Russia, one in the early summer and another in August.

GENEVA. The plans for 1937 include Geneva visits in June (for the International Labour Conference), July, August and September, and full details of these will be available shortly. Inquiries about any of these activities should be addressed to The Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

HARD TIMES

An Open Letter from the Secretary of the Union to the Members.

My Dear Member,

THESE hard times demand an added measure of faith from those who profess belief in the League of Nations as the only practical means of organising peace and preventing war. But the world has seen many of the greatest causes rescued from a worse plight than ours by the staunchness of a few devoted people who have kept the faith and gone bravely on. We, at the centre of our Union, are inspired and encouraged by the news that reaches us from time to time of the zeal, enthusiasm and unselfish toil of our Branch members, and particularly of our Branch secretaries, who occupy the front line in our fight for peace. We salute you and we thank you.

Our admiration is the greater because of the records which you achieved last year. In Wales, where they believe that the cause of peace through the League can best be served by uniting under the leadership of our Union all the important groupings in the country, the number of members who paid their subscriptions in 1936 was actually greater than in any previous year. It is true that in England the number of paid-up members decreased by more than 6 per cent., and in Scotland by more than 15 per cent., as compared with 1935. But even here those who remained loyal to our cause increased their subscriptions on the average by 12 per cent. and so more than made up for those who left us as far as total income of the Union is concerned. Indeed, the Union's receipts from membership subscriptions last year were more than £3,000 greater than in 1935, and almost, if not quite, the largest on record. So long as that spirit prevails in our Branches, the cause of peace through the League cannot be defeated.

The immediate objectives on your part of the front for peace are three in number:

First, there is the strengthening of your Branch by the further increase in its paid-up membership. Nothing else has so great an influence upon your M.P.

and so upon the Government. Nothing else will do so much to ensure the use of the League in averting war and achieving instead a peaceful settlement in Europe.

Next, there is the launching of the Peace Week about which I wrote to your Branch Secretary in the middle of January. Suggestions have been prepared in this office for those who want to know how their Peace Weeks might be run. These suggestions include the enrolment of an extra large number of members during the week. Several Branches have already made a beginning. I am anxious to hear from the others as soon as possible. In some places, delay on the part of our Branch may lead to the loss not only of its initiative on this occasion but much of its permanent influence as well.

Then there is the Declaration that WAR CAN BE AVERTED, about which I wrote in this column last month. That title has now been substituted for the former heading under which I wrote: SAVE THE LEAGUE: SAVE PEACE.

While members of the Union and their friends outside the Union can best help to win the fight for peace by strengthening the Union, the governments of Members of the League and their friends outside the League can best help by strengthening the authority of the League. But that is not mainly a question of increasing the League's membership so as to make it universal. Far more important is it that the loyal Members of the League should go a good deal further than they have yet gone in the direction of pooling their sovereignty in certain matters of foreign policy, notably defence. They must, however, concert measures for promoting justice as well as for protecting peace in order that they may at one and the same time take from war its last excuse and make it sure to fail.

Yours sincerely,

MAXWELL GARNETT.

A CONSTRUCTIVE PEACE POLICY

Five Special Lectures and Discussions in the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on issues raised by the Union's Manifesto. The first lecture, "COLLECTIVE SECURITY: CAN IT BE MADE TO WORK?" was delivered by Viscount Cecil on February 24.

2. Friday, March 5. 8 p.m.

DO SANCTIONS MEAN WAR?

Chairman: Major-General Temperley, C.M.G. Lecturer: H. Wickham Steed.

To open discussion: Captain A. E. W. Thomas, D.S.O. It is said that the use of collective force under the League's auspices means that any war will be turned into a world war. Is this true? What should be the relation between economic and military sanctions?

3. Thursday, March 11. 8 p.m.

THE PROBLEM OF PEACEFUL CHANGE

Chairman: Major the Right Hon. Sir Archibald Sinclair, Bt., C.M.G., M.P. Lecturer: Right Hon. the Earl of Lytton, K.G.

To open discussion: Mrs. Edgar Dugdale. Is the League Covenant capable of providing machinery for making changes in the *status quo* in order to remove grievances that might lead to war? If not, how can they be removed?

4. Thursday, March 18. 8 p.m.

THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE AND THE PREVENTION OF WAR

Chairman: Brigadier-General L. C. P. Milman, C.M.G. Speakers: Professor C. K. Webster, M.A., D.Litt., and Major Anthony Buxton, D.S.O.

Can the League take effective measures to prevent hostilities breaking out so long as the unanimity rule applies? If not, what alterations are desirable?

5. Wednesday, March 24. 8 p.m.

THE LEAGUE AND A NEW PEACE SETTLEMENT

Chairman: Right Hon. the Viscount Cecil of Chelwood. Lecturer: Right Hon. the Lord Allen of Hurtwood.

To open discussion: W. Ewer.

How can the League system be used to provide a basis for a new and just peace settlement? What initiative can Britain take to bring the nations back to the League and restore its authority? Admission by ticket: 1s. for each lecture.

For tickets and further particulars, apply to L.N.U., 15 Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

READERS' VIEWS

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

L.N.U. ABOVE PARTIES

SIR,—I have had the privilege of attending a good many L.N.U. meetings in the London area during the past few weeks, and am seriously perturbed by the line which some of our leading speakers have been taking. Perhaps it arises from overzeal in attempting to follow Lord Allen's advice given in HEADWAY "that it is far more important for us to convert the unconverted—what we call the 'Right'—than to keep on re-converting the faithful."

The impression that some of these speeches would have made on me had I been ignorant of the objects of the L.N.U. would have been:—

(1) That the L.N.U. is a Conservative society, whose principal functions are to encourage recruiting and to raise support for the "National" Government.

(2) That we really believe that the "Pacifists" are the worst enemies of peace. I have several times heard them grouped with the "Isolationists" as the most dangerous opponents of the League system.

I am encouraged to read that the recent Council meeting in London has shown that rank and file members have in general no sympathy with such an interpretation of the Union's functions, but we of the "Left" must insist on two points.

(1) That it is *not* a waste of time to instruct us further in League matters, even though we are already "converted."

(2) That whereas we shall always support the League of Nations, and all that it stands for, the Union must not try us too far. We are generally most careful not to intrude our political views into L.N.U. meetings, and we really must ask our friends on the "Right" to be the same.

We need their support. The L.N.U. is above parties, but it would be fatal to alienate the "Left," already for the most part fully in sympathy, in order to attempt to gain a qualified or nominal support from certain people whose ideas of world citizenship are really utterly different from our own.

Harpenden.

G. W. SCOTT BLAIR.

CRITIC OF THE LEAGUE

SIR,—The immediate cause of this letter is a sentence in the leader of your issue of December, 1936. "In the words of one notorious propagandist," you say, "Ministers are asked to maximise Britain's forces and to minimise her commitments. Such a course, the British people see clearly, would only intensify the dangers it is alleged to avert." I say bluntly that the British people see no such thing, either clearly or in any other manner. One thing they do see—that the League, having been used through long years for the suppression of the German people owing to its indefensible linkage with the Treaty of Versailles, has become, to all intents and purposes, the organ of France. Enthusiastic League supporters, not realising this, continue to support an organisation which is nominally a League of Nations but is really an Anglo-French-Russian alliance of precisely the type that rushed us into the war of 1914-1918.

That the Continental countries are lined up in almost exactly the pre-War fashion is completely undeniable. But if another war does come it is absolutely dead certain that we shall not be able to apply against Germany the "sanctions" which were applied in 1914-1918. Italy, for one thing, is now on the other side. And every country which enters into another war will have its great cities smashed to smithereens, hundreds of thousands of its people killed and wounded, and its government destroyed.

The Isolationists, therefore, on whom you look with

such undisguised contempt, are not the unreal visionaries that they seem. They see that the only hope that we may survive the next ten years or so without London, Liverpool, Manchester, Bristol, Birmingham, Plymouth, and our other great cities in smouldering ruins, is that we should refuse to be tied to the apron-strings of either a German-Italian alliance or of a Franco-Russian alliance (thinly disguised as a League of Nations).

I should like to think that you would publish this letter, although I do not expect that you will be able to do so. At any rate, it may serve to bring a breath of reality into circles where cloudy idealism has for so long obscured the sight.

London, S.W.7.

JOHN ROWLAND.

MORE EVIDENCE WANTED

SIR,—The General Council has refused to support re-armament until the Government "makes clear" that the purpose of the armed forces is to fulfil our obligations under the Covenant. The Government can point to numerous occasions on which its spokesmen have committed it to that rather vague principle. Surely we must insist on more definite evidence of sincerity. The most definite would be a statement of its willingness to support France and New Zealand in advocating an International Police Force. If that is still "impracticable" to most of us, let us at least insist that it announces its intention to join in the use of whatever force may be necessary to defend any member of the League.

Minbu, Burma.

W. L. ROSEVEARE.

COLONY SETTLEMENT

SIR,—The issue of our great Defence Loan points to an awareness on our part that a certain day of reckoning draws near. "Dick" Sheppard's personal appeal to Herr Hitler has not helped to lower the Nazi war temperature even in a microscopic degree. But neither can any mere *word argument* and *appeal*, apart from that *argument-in-action*, that "dialectic way" about which we have recently heard so much.

While I think that Germans in Czecho-Slovakia present the chief of danger spots, there is no doubt that the German Colony problem is also looming pretty large. And here, certainly, we must be ready for some kind of general "argument-in-action." On the one side, Germany now makes an "impossible" open demand for a return of those 10 or 12 colonies which are so graphically described in the big post-War book on the German ex-colonies, available in every free library in Germany. It is plainly as likely here that anyone outside Germany should agree to that sweeping demand as it is likely that any inhabitant of Germany would discuss "Access to Raw Materials" as a substitute for giving back the colonies themselves.

If this problem then is to be settled apart from the ordeal of armed conflict, in any case firstly, it agrees with right reason that a German colony settlement should come in as an integer of settlement of the whole world on this colony theme. Any *new* colony, that is, should be visualised as a new argument-in-event for a peace settlement of the world touching all the colony sphere. Then secondly, in particular, in my view, as I have already suggested, one can read some *reasonableness* into Germany's claim on these lines:—

The typical colony settlement of modern times was Cecil Rhodes's mostly peaceable occupation of Rhodesia under the terms of the Charter of the South African Chartered Company. I think here I recall the story that Rhodes himself settled finally with the natives, coming with a light cane in his hand and not a pistol or a sword! Now, we could

say to Germany: The course of world events has infinitely complicated the working of those ex-colonies since their transfer from Germany. You cannot here re-write the world's story with a mere gesture or decree. But, on the lines somewhat of the suggestion made by Sir Claud Russell in *The Times*, I think that one could grant *equality in essence* between Germany and Britain, by working up for Germany the opening towards an essentially and abidingly peaceful occupation of a sphere of Mid-West Africa on the lines somewhat of Rhodes' Chartered Company's occupation of Rhodesia. In the terms of this Charter of Occupation would be included a *typical* European Charter of Native Rights. I know that there is plenty else to be included, in the way especially of compensating for frontier rectification that affects the present holder of colonies who have no Mandated Territories from Germany. Anyhow, Sir Claud Russell's suggestions ought not to be overlooked.

RICHARD DE BARY.

Horton, Wimborne.

CO-OPERATION

SIR,—What should be the Union's occasional, or even frequent, co-operation with other societies who are genuinely anxious to establish the reign of peace and law in the world? My contribution to the consideration of this question shall be strictly limited to stating what came within my own personal experience in the small part I took in the work of the "Peace Ballot" last year—1,500 calls in South-East London. The most strenuous effort I made was in one of the largest of the South London boroughs, where not one of the Union's branches, nor any committee, possessed even a ward register. Had not the Labour Party taken pity upon the forlorn situation, the local position in the "Peace Ballot" result would have been ludicrously—even disastrously—paltry and disappointing. That experience—as a sixteen-year member of one branch within the London Federation—prepared me to hear and applaud Lord Cecil's challenging words at the December meeting of the General Council:—"The Union must be willing to co-operate with others in this great work for peace."

I am not a member of the Labour Party, but am willing to act with the members of any or no party.

THOS. HILDITCH.

Upper Norwood Branch,

and for the third year a member of the London Federation Branches Committee.

CHILDREN'S LEAGUE OF PEACE

SIR,—May I bring to your notice the Children's League of Peace, founded by J. K. Collett, of Penarth? We give an attractive badge and card to any child who will promise to wear the badge and pray twice a day for peace. I enclose samples. I am glad to say I have distributed a thousand of these and am prepared to distribute another thousand to those children who will send me their promise to do this with their name and address.

Ardlui, Hendford, Yeovil.

C. PITHER.

WORLD MACHINERY

SIR,—The possibility of giving to the League of Nations the elementary machinery of international government should be discussed by the League of Nations Union. The proposal might be brought before a World Peace Conference. Such addenda to the machinery of the League of Nations will include (1) The provision of an international police force; (2) the provision of a League president with executive powers; (3) the provision of a definite Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly; and (4) the necessary amendment of the League Covenant.

S. J. CANTOR.

(Member of the Victorian Branch of the
Prince's Park,
Kew, Victoria, Australia,
L.N.U.)



A Great Christian Philanthropist

The seventh Earl of Shaftesbury was a mighty philanthropist. Among other benevolent institutions he founded, with the late John A. Groom, "John Groom's Crippleage and Flower Girls' Mission." To-day, at Edgware and Clerkenwell, John Groom's Crippleage is carrying on the traditions of the founders by caring for and training 320 crippled girls to make artificial flowers, thus enabling them to become partially self-supporting. These girls come from all over Great Britain, and are admitted without votes or payment of any kind. To train and maintain them costs much money. There is a long waiting list for admission. Must we turn a deaf ear to their appeals? YOUR help is greatly needed. One of many Press tributes:—

"At Edgware a sigh would be out of place, but few could pass on unmoved. Imagine crippled girls cut off from the joys of active life . . . all sufferers, but all happily absorbed in creating beauty."—*British Weekly*.

In addition to the Crippleage, Holiday and Orphan Homes are maintained at Clacton-on-Sea. Will you send something—NOW? Invite your friends to join in. LEGACIES greatly needed. Latest Report sent free on request.

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(Dept. 20), 37 Sekforde Street, Clerkenwell, London, E.C.1

MILL HILL SCHOOL, LONDON, N.W.7

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

About eight Scholarships are offered, varying from £100 to £60 p.a., and two of the fixed value of £80 p.a. Ministerial Exhibitions of the value of £100 p.a. are also offered for the sons of Ministers. Candidates who do not win Scholarships may be accepted for admission to the School without further examination, provided that their work is of sufficient merit. For further information and application forms, apply to the Bursar, Mill Hill School, London, N.W.7.

WANTED—AN EXPERIENCED ORGANISER

with knowledge of the League of Nations and speaking ability, to fill vacancy as Organising and Travelling Secretary to the Northamptonshire Federal Council of the League of Nations Union. Salary £300 per annum, Car and Office provided.—Write at once, enclosing stamped addressed foolscap envelope for Application Form—to be completed and returned by first post on March 10th—to COUNTY SEC., ARCADE CHAMBERS, NORTHAMPTON.

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HERE AND THERE

UNION BRANCHES

Those who attended the annual meeting of the **Scarborough** Branch were urged not to despair in face of the present international difficulties. "The world is saved by disappointed idealists who keep on trying," said the speaker.

At the annual meeting of the **City of London** Branch, various suggestions were put forward for future work. Among the proposals was one for the formation of language classes so that members would be better able to make foreign contacts.

The **Fellowship** (London) Branch was able to do some very useful work in connection with the North St. Pancras By-Election. In co-operation with the local Branch, the Fellowship workers tried to make "Peace" the main issue at the Election. A questionnaire was submitted to both parliamentary candidates, together with an invitation to answer this at a public meeting. The candidates readily accepted the invitation. The Union workers then gave the meeting as much publicity as possible. The meeting was a great success, the hall being crowded. The chairman included in his speech a statement of the present policy of the League of Nations Union.

The officers of the **Earlsdon** (Coventry) Branch have introduced a novel competition. At a whist drive, organised by the Branch, those taking part were asked to guess the amount of money raised to date in response to Headquarters' special appeal.

Bury is to hold a Peace Week from April 11 to 18, and the organisers are very busy now making preparations. The co-operation of many local organisations has been enlisted, and small committees have been set up to deal with the various activities that are contemplated. Besides letters and articles in the local Press, one rather unusual means of publicity is being used. The Branch has arranged for a number of cafés to use special menu cards advertising the Peace Week.

An interesting meeting was held at **Godalming** when Mr. Anthony Mouravieff dealt with the problem of the German demand for colonies. The speaker did not agree that the handing over of colonies would provide the solution to European discontent. Throwing tit-bits to Dictators would not appease them. Peaceful changes could only be made under the League system.

The **Buckingham** Branch is to be congratulated on the splendid results of its membership canvass. Following a "Peace Sunday," nearly seventy new members were enrolled. This in a small Branch, whose paid-up membership last year was under 100, must have meant considerable hard work.

The Social and Literary Guild connected with the **Harlesden** Congregational Church organised a very successful "Banquet to the Nations." The banquet was served in a hall decorated with posters and coloured illustrations representing different nations. The programme that followed consisted of speeches, songs from many nations, and a parade of costumes. Those present enjoyed themselves in a truly international atmosphere.

The **Ealing** Junior Branch has been able to report many and varied activities during 1936. One feature of the year's programme has been the weekly meetings at which the League and international subjects have been discussed. Special visits to places having some international significance were arranged. Some of the members were able to join the L.N.U. Camps, and contacts have been made with other Junior Branches both at home and abroad. The junior members were also of great help to the senior Branch during the Ealing Exhibition.

Headquarters has received an encouraging gift from a member living in **Paris**. Finding that she was to recover £5 from income tax payments, this member decided to send the money to help our funds.

The **East of Scotland** District Council is organising a Spring Week-End School for the beginning of March, and an interesting series of lectures has been arranged. The school is to be held at Waverley Hydro, Melrose, from Friday evening, March 5, to Monday morning, March 8. Among the subjects to be discussed are Colonies, the I.L.O. and Economic Frustration, and the speakers include Mr. Charles Roden Buxton, Sir Thomas Holland, and others. Further particulars about the school may be had from Mr. James R. Leishman, Organising Secretary, 3 Rutland Square, Edinburgh, 1. Terms for the week-end (including lectures), £1 13s.

WELSH NOTES

The Annual Conference of the Welsh Council of the League of Nations Union is to be held this year at **Carmarthen** on Friday and Saturday, June 4 and 5. This is the first visit of the Council's Annual Conference to the county of Carmarthen, and a record

attendance of Branch representatives from all parts of the Principality is expected.

The Welsh Council's Executive Committee met on February 2, under the chairmanship of the Rt. Hon. Lord Davies. The following resolutions on international questions were adopted by the Committee:—

Spain.—"The Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council of the League of Nations Union, impressed by the danger of war in Europe resulting from the present situation in Spain, urges H.M. Government to refer the whole situation to the League of Nations under Article XI, at a special meeting of the Council."

Raw Materials.—"The Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council of the League of Nations Union welcomes the setting up by the Council of the League of Nations of an International Commission to study the question of free commercial access to and the distribution of raw materials, and especially that the U.S.A. has accepted a place on the Commission."

"It trusts that Germany will also consent to become a member, and that the Commission itself will be the forerunner of a General Conference on economic problems from which no economic questions will be barred—a policy, in the interests of world peace, which the Welsh National Council of the League of Nations Union has consistently advocated."

Danzig.—"The Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council of the League of Nations Union has heard with dismay of the surrender on the part of the Council of the League of Nations to the terrorism in the Free City of Danzig, practised on the non-Nazi minority loyal to the principles of the League and entitled under Statute to its protection, and it profoundly regrets that H.M. Government should have acquiesced in the surrender."

Dispute Between Turkey and France.—"The Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council of the League of Nations Union welcomes the settlement at Geneva of the dispute on the Province of Alexandretta, and congratulates Mr. Eden on the success of his efforts in mediation."

The Welsh Council's Geneva Scholarships Examination, this year, was held on Saturday, January 23; 105 candidates had been entered from 25 county and secondary schools. The Council's National Essay Competition was held on Monday, January 18, and, this year, 77 central and elementary schools entered.

Branches in Wales and Monmouthshire are busy with their plans for the continuing of their membership campaigns and for their "Peace Weeks." Special efforts are also being made this year to organise "Daffodil Days" in every town, village and hamlet throughout the Principality.

OVERSEAS NOTES

CANADA

The League of Nations Society in Canada has made another contribution to the organisation of Canada for peace action by establishing a committee of national participating organisations. It has been suggested that this committee be known as the "Peace Action Committee of National Organisations." Twenty-nine national organisations, representing between them a very large percentage of the Canadian people, are now eligible for participation as national corporate members of the society.

The first meeting of the Committee which will, in the absence of Sir Robert Falconer, the President of the Society, be presided over by Dr. H. M. Tory, Past President, will have before it a request from the National Executive Committee, that it join in a call to peace action in Canada on a programme involving a representative national peace action conference, the establishment of local peace action councils or committees and the development of the Society's National Study Project.

SOUTH AFRICA

The following resolution was passed by the Council of the S.A.L.N.U. on December 5, 1936:—

RE-ARMAMENT AND THE MEETING OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE

"In view of the alarming increase of world expenditure on armaments and of the consequent re-organisation of defence in South Africa:

"The Council declares its conviction:

"That the only legitimate uses of national defence forces are

"(a) Self-defence in case of attack; and

"(b) Support of international law.

"That increase in defence measures in all countries adds to the risk of war, whereas the international supervision, limitation and

consequent reduction of armaments would decrease the risk of war.

"The Council therefore begs the Government:

"To continue to support the strengthening of collective security as embodied in the Covenant of the League of Nations."

EGYPT

Plans are being made to organise a big meeting in Cairo in April at which it is hoped the Earl of Lytton will appeal to the Egyptian people, and particularly the educated classes, to form an Egyptian League of Nations Society with aims similar to those of the L.N.U.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

In its report for the years 1935-36, the German League of Nations Society in the Czechoslovak Republic lays stress on the difficult times through which it has been passing, largely on account of the change in the status of the Sudeten German party and also on account of the death of the Society's first President, the late Dr. Wilhelm Medinger. Nevertheless, the Society is doing its utmost to obtain support for the League of Nations and to spread the knowledge of its work and aims.

COUNCIL'S VOTE

The following Branches have completed their Council's Vote payments

For 1935:—

St. Annes-on-Sea.

For 1936:—

Ashted, Broadstone, Bishop Stortford, Brigstock, Bournville, Barlaston, Cobham, Cowes, Corsham, Camberley, Dorking, Dewsbury, Dedham, Deal, Debenham, Elsenham, Eston, Finchingfield, Frant, Gosfield, Harpenden, Harlow, Hallam, Leamington, Liverpool, Leatherhead, Mistley, Midhurst, Newendon, Newcastle West End, Rotherfield, St. Asyth, Sevenoaks, Stafford, Tamworth, Tiptree, Tunbridge Wells, Worthing, Wakefield, Whitstable, West Mersea.

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

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