

WHY NO HELP FOR CHINA?

See pages 230 and 231

FACING THE MUSIC

See pages 232 and 233

HEADWAY

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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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CONTENTS

	Page		Page
News and Comment	22.	Facing the Music: An Imaginary Conversation.	
Portrait of Dr. Gilbert Murray	225.	By the Secretary of the Union	232
The Trade Way to Peace (Editorial)	224	The Union Needs £20,000 Now	234
Youth Stands for Social Justice. By G. Carritt	225	National Sovereignty. By Edwin Ker	235
Does Oppression Pay? By Stephen Clissold	226	The First British Congress of the I.P.C. By D. B. Clulow	236
In the Middle of Europe. By Alec Wilson	227	Book Notice	237
Making Friends. By F. E. Figgurs	228	Readers' Views	238
Les Rouennais. By Freda White	229	"Let Us Not Be Afraid of Becoming Political." By J. R. Kingsford	240
Why No Practical Help for China? A letter to Headway from a Christian Missionary	230		
Dangers Ahead: No. 2. By a High Authority on the Far East	231		

NEWS AND COMMENT

Lord Cecil's Nobel Prize

VISCOUNT CECIL has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. From all parts of the world, from men and women of different races, speaking different languages, professing different religions, has come a shower of congratulatory messages. Everywhere there is happiness that recognition has been given to a truly heroic career in which high gifts have been devoted with endless labour and with invincible courage to a high ideal.

The Nobel jury, citizens of a small country, standing apart from the strife and passion of international rivalries, speak with the common voice of humanity. In some sort their verdict is the judgment of posterity. The rightness of the award no one questions. For once there is no doubt that the finding of the moment will also be the finding of history.

Surprise is expressed in many quarters that Lord Cecil did not receive the prize years ago. "Queer," exclaims the newspaper reader. "I took it for granted he'd had it." Here and there arguments have sprung up over the precise part of Lord Cecil's

work which influenced the Nobel jury. But such refinements have enjoyed little success. The plain man is not impressed by the claims of this movement or that, of one organisation or another, but sees only a tribute to Lord Cecil himself. And there are occasions when the plain man is right.

Brussels

ON November 3 a conference of nineteen nations met at Brussels. They came together to consider the armed attack of Japan upon China. Already the League of Nations had branded the aggressor. What was the position under the Washington Nine Power Treaty guaranteeing the territorial integrity and independence of China, to which the United States was a party?

Challenge to "Ideological War"

ON November 14 the Conference voted an admirable answer to Japan's refusal to be present and to her elaborate excuses for her aggression. Salient passages in the Note were:

The representatives met in Brussels are moved to point out that there exists no warrant in law for the

use of armed force by any country for the purpose of intervening in the internal regime of another country, and that general recognition of such a right would be a permanent cause of conflict.

... there is no ground for any belief that, if left to themselves, Japan and China would arrive in the appreciable near future at any solution which would give promise of peace between those two countries, security for the rights and interests of other countries, and political and economic stability in the Far East. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that if this matter were left entirely to the devices of Japan and China the armed conflict—with attendant destruction of life and property, disorder, uncertainty, instability, suffering, enmity, hatreds, and disturbance of the whole world—would continue indefinitely.

Though hoping that Japan will not adhere to her refusal, the States represented in Brussels must consider what is to be their common attitude in a situation where one party to an international treaty maintains, against the views of all the other parties, that the action which it has taken does not come within the scope of that treaty, and sets aside provisions of the treaty which the other parties hold to be operative in the circumstances.

Fifteen nations approved the Note. Only Italy objected. The three Scandinavian nations approved, but held that their distance from the scene of conflict and the smallness of their interests in the Far East made abstention the right course for them. A not unreasonable inference from such firm language was that at least Great Britain, the United States, France and Russia had thought out what they might have to do next. But it was mistaken.

Impotent Conclusion

JAPAN having retorted once more, bluntly and emphatically, "No," 18 of the 19 nations represented adopted another declaration. Only Italy dissented. All thought of action of any kind seemed to have faded from the statesmen's minds. They said:

The Conference is convinced that force can provide no just and lasting solution for disputes between nations. It continues to believe that it would be to the immediate and the ultimate interest of both parties to the present dispute to avail themselves of the assistance of others in an effort to bring hostilities to an early end as a necessary preliminary to the achievement of a general and lasting settlement. It further believes that a satisfactory settlement cannot be achieved by direct negotiation between the parties to the conflict alone, and that only by consultation with other Powers principally concerned can there be achieved an agreement the terms of which will be just, generally acceptable, and likely to endure.

As the tactful beginning of a delicate negotiation such generous sentiments might have served. But as an end—oh, lame and impotent conclusion! If the chairman or any two members of the conference report that they consider deliberations can be advantageously resumed, the conference will be called together again.

Now the question is returned to the League Advisory Committee of Twenty-three, on which sits a United States observer. It meets at the beginning of December.

Prime Minister and League

IN November HEADWAY reference was made to the omission from the King's Speech at the opening of Parliament of any mention of the League of Nations. The matter was very widely discussed. Several Ministers offered prompt explanations. On November 9 the Prime Minister, at the Guildhall Banquet, said:

There are apparently some people whose faith in the League is so shallow that unless they keep repeating its name aloud at frequent intervals they feel themselves liable to forget all about it. The faith of His Majesty's Government goes deeper than that. To us the League is not a fetish but an instrument, the value of which is in direct proportion to its effectiveness. At the present time its effectiveness is seriously impaired because some of the most powerful nations in the world are not members or are not in full sympathy with it, but our aim must be to strengthen its authority and thus so to increase its moral and material force as to enable it to carry out fearlessly and successfully the purposes for which it was originally founded.

Under the leadership of Mr. Chamberlain, as under that of Mr. Baldwin, the British Government is always ready to say the right thing about the League in its general statements of policy to its own people.

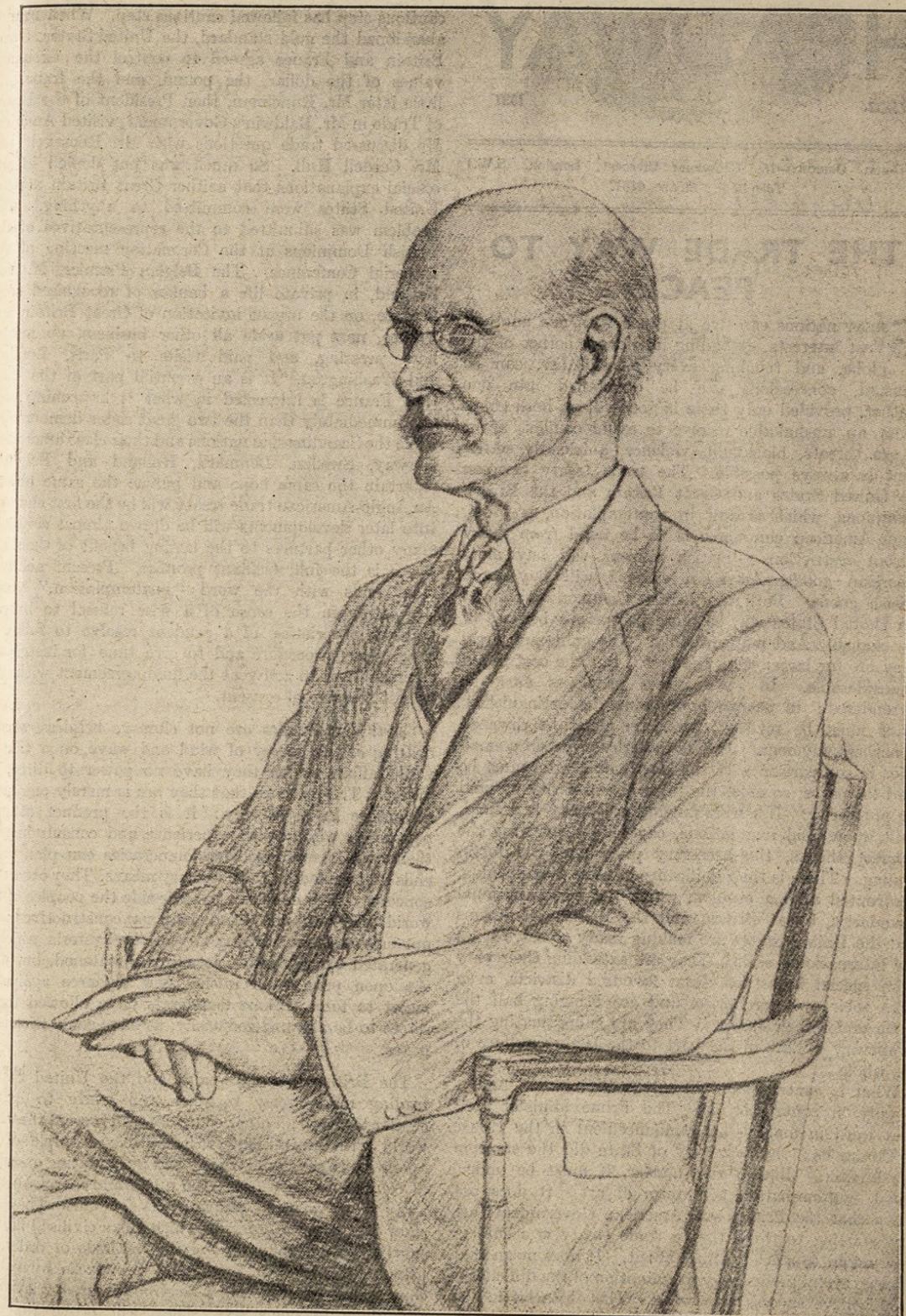
Peace on Show

NEXT summer an Empire Exhibition is being held at Glasgow. The organisers expect at least 15,000,000 visitors. An excellent site has been offered at a normal charge for a peace pavilion. A committee is now at work raising the £5,000 which the pavilion will cost. Half of the committee are representative of the L.N.U., and the Union, although it is prevented from contributing money, is giving effective help in many ways. The purpose of the pavilion, as accepted by the organisers of the exhibition, is "to provide a range of exhibits depicting the various aspects of the League's work, educational, political, economic, industrial, medical and humanitarian, with which the general public is too little familiar." Amongst those who are giving their support to the public appeal for funds are the Archbishop of York, Mr. Anthony Eden, Dr. F. W. Norwood, Major Attlee, M.P., Dr. J. H. Hertz (Chief Rabbi), The Marchioness of Aberdeen, The Duke of Montrose, Sir Archibald Sinclair, M.P.

The League at Lunch

DERSO and Kelen have made the League their own. For years they have studied it at close quarters, noting down its characteristics, finding just the right formula for its personalities. And, being talented caricaturists and cartoonists, they have produced an admirable, illuminating series of pictures. All the great men of Geneva to-day and yesterday are in their book of drawings, "The League at Lunch," petted, teased and exhibited. They make a distant, abstract, rather formidable institution wholly human. Copies can be had from the L.N.U. Bookshop for 7/6.

Dr. GILBERT MURRAY



The portrait of Dr. Gilbert Murray, painted by Francis Dodd for St. John's College, Oxford.



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

THE TRADE WAY TO PEACE

Great nations can live at peace with one another. Vast interests, extending into every corner of the globe, and touching every side of life, can be adjusted, concessions can be dovetailed into one another, provided only there is goodwill on both sides. Given an unshakable resolve to avoid conflict, never to use threats, blackmail, violence, a friendly settlement is always possible. The trade treaty between the United States and Great Britain and the British Dominions, which is now in contemplation, is proof. Anglo-American commerce is to be freed from many present restrictions. British citizens will buy more American goods, American citizens will buy more British goods. Both the British Commonwealth and the United States will be more prosperous because of the change. And more friendly. The gains are large. They are far larger than the cost. But the cost is not inconsiderable. In some places privileges must be surrendered; in others, hopes must be extinguished. Plans must be revised; resources must be diverted to new employment. Just as the price of peace, a small price in comparison with the inestimable gain, must be paid for peace, so must the price of prosperity be paid for prosperity. If a wide-ranging prosperity is desired, built upon solid foundations, capable of surviving the severest shocks, the necessary price must be forthcoming. There is the significance of what is happening. Confronted with a problem which transcends national boundaries, Great Britain and the British Dominions and the United States are making ready to solve it on the international scale. They are extending their view from special industries, from favoured districts, even from their own territories, and are bringing half the globe under their survey. They are subordinating the temporary welfare of the part to the lasting welfare of the whole.

What is contemplated is only a beginning. And it is only in contemplation. The Prime Minister used that word in making his announcement in the House of Commons; the Secretary of State did the same in Washington. But in this matter, it must be understood, contemplation is a term of art. It does not mean that the British and American Governments are just starting to think that a trade treaty is a subject they ought to start to think about. It does mean that after a careful preliminary examination of the difficulties they believe success is possible. The obstacles in the way are high and wide and many, but they can be surmounted.

How thorough the statesmen on both sides of the Atlantic have been in their preparatory approach the public already know. During the past two years cautious step has followed cautious step. When France abandoned the gold standard, the United States, Great Britain and France agreed to control the exchange values of the dollar, the pound, and the franc. A little later Mr. Runciman, then President of the Board of Trade in Mr. Baldwin's Government, visited America. He discussed trade questions with Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Cordell Hull. So much was not denied in the official explanations that neither Great Britain nor the United States were committed to anything. The problem was submitted to the representatives of the British Dominions at the Coronation meeting of the Imperial Conference. The Belgian Premier, M. Van Zeeland, in private life a banker of recognised competence, on the urgent invitation of Great Britain and France, next put aside all other business, no matter how pressing, and paid visits to Paris, London, and Washington. It is an essential part of the story that France is interested in what is happening only less immediately than the two great sister democracies, while the Scandinavian nations and their close associates, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland and Belgium, entertain the same hope and pursue the same object. An Anglo-American trade treaty will be the first chapter. Into later developments will be drawn almost certainly many other partners to the lasting benefit of them all. There is the full, brilliant promise. Present achievement ends with the word "contemplation." Contemplation in the sense of a wise refusal to outrun political proprieties, of a prudent resolve to follow a conciliatory procedure and to give time for instructed comment and to arrive at the final agreement with the largest measure of consent.

Great democracies are not clumsy, helpless wrecks drifting at the mercy of wind and wave on a tide of world affairs which they have no power to direct or divert. The pretence that they are is merely one more adventure in mythology: it is the product of propagandists who neglect experience and consult instead their own invention. The democracies can plan great ends and can adopt the necessary means. They can act in concert. They can draw to their side the peoples of the world. They can put in train immense constructive tasks, not only without exciting any of the hysteria which is generated by aggression, actual or threatened, but with the open purpose of raising new defences against a resort to force. Some democrats have allowed themselves to be alarmed too easily, as have some friends of peace.

The British Commonwealth and the United States, trading more freely together and ready to extend similar terms to all other countries, will present the whole world with an ultimately irresistible example of co-operation to set against many and intimidating examples of conflict. They will turn the minds and energies of men away from war and preparations for war. They will show that a world order, in which alone civilised life can survive, can be built up by the methods of order, by listening to argument, by meeting grievances, by making concessions, by accepting a neighbour's prosperity as an advantage to one's self. They will prove that the League way is the way which gives results.

Youth Stands for Social Justice

By J. CARRITT, Secretary,
Youth Committee, L.N.U.

"We are beginning faintly to understand..."

WITH these words, Mr. Harold Butler, Director of the I.L.O., began an important paragraph in his annual report for 1936. He went on to emphasise that it is no longer possible to dissociate the future of peace from the future of social justice.

Although in this he was only repeating part XIII. of the Treaty of Versailles, nevertheless nearly 20 years' bitter experience has not enabled us to understand it. In the past, the importance of working for social justice as well as for peace has been underestimated by members of the Youth Groups and perhaps by others also.

Consequently very few people indeed, if you were to stop them in the street, would be able to tell you what the letters I.L.O. stand for and whether the League of Nations in any of its departments is concerned with the social welfare and justice.

When we have talked about the I.L.O. we have too often talked only about its international aspects, a subject apparently far removed from our daily interests, or only about evil conditions in other countries. The I.L.O. was, therefore, pigeon-holed as "a good thing" but not a winner for interesting young people in the League.

In the Youth Groups we began faintly to understand our mistake at the World Youth Congress last year, when delegate after delegate from different countries stood up to explain that "young people facing unjust conditions of life, lost faith in themselves and life and became an easy prey to political adventurers who used them as their instruments to threaten world peace."

Such expressions as that called to my mind in Geneva an exciting occasion when I was teaching in a Nazi secondary school. The boys, all of them Hitler Youth, went on hunger strike against the bad food and at the same time yelled "Heil, Hitler" and denounced the "robber treaties." When asked how it was that the food had got worse under Hitler, they replied: "We are encircled, an economic blockade is conducted against us." This is merely a preliminary to what will follow if the excitements of Foreign Policy is too long substituted for bread and social justice.

At the World Youth Congress the American delegation proposed that the Youth Movement, in each of the 36 nations represented, should investigate the social and economic conditions of youth in their own lands and prepare a National Charter of Rights. Such National Charters have now been produced in a number of countries including Great Britain.* The reports on which the Charter is based deal with Youth in Industry, Youth on the Land, Youth and Unemployment, Education, Juvenile Delinquency, Health and Sport. They were prepared by members of different youth organisations which are co-operating in the British Youth Peace Assembly, and from them the 12 most essential points have been selected for the Charter. At a later stage the various National Charters will be coordinated and an international Charter drafted for submission to the I.L.O.

* "Youth in Britain," price 6d., published by British Youth Peace Assembly, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

There is nothing new in the youth movement being concerned with social justice. What is new is the collaboration which has taken place on a national scale and the treatment of the problems as international questions, relevant to the organisation of peace in general and to the work of the I.L.O. in particular.

It is not possible here to prove the urgent need to be concerned about health, conditions of work, training and the physical and moral welfare of the young generation. Leaders in the Church Youth Movement, the Boys' and Girls' Clubs, Factory Inspectors, Medical Officers of Health have emphasised the serious nature of these problems. It should not be necessary to prove that this is so, but people are amazingly ignorant of the conditions of life of the 6,500,000 young men and women under 25 years of age who are gainfully employed.

The L.N.U. and the I.P.C. and the N.P.C. have recognised the value of the work being done by the B.Y.P.A. in showing the connection between peace and social justice. In principle they have approved the Youth Charter.

Youth asks all workers in the peace movement to assist in the campaign for the Charter of Youth. In this work the Youth Groups are particularly concerned to advance the vital interests of the present generation, peace and social justice, by demonstrating the value to themselves of the I.L.O.

Arrangements for the Christmas Holidays

1.—CHRISTMAS HOLIDAY LECTURES FOR SCHOOLBOYS and SCHOOLGIRLS (over 14 years of age).

The Union is holding a second annual series of Christmas Holiday lectures on World Problems of the Day. The lectures will be held in London from January 3—7. Amongst the speakers will be Mr. Harold Nicolson, Commander Stephen King-Hall, Mr. Wickham Steed, Mr. Douglas Jay and Dr. Melville Mackenzie.

There will also be a display of films by the G.P.O. Film Unit.

2.—CONFERENCE of EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS.

The Education Committee of the Union is affiliated to the Conference which will meet at University College (Gower Street, W.C.1) from January 3—10. Members of the Union are entitled to attend any sessions of the Conference except those marked "Private."

The Union's own session will be held at 10.30 a.m., on Tuesday, January 4, when Major Frederick Norman White, C.I.E., M.D., will speak on **The Work of the League of Nations for Health and Human Welfare.**

3.—INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF TEACHERS.

The Education Committee is holding in London, from Friday evening, January 7, until Mid-day, January 11, an International Conference of Teachers to consider—

(a) International Problems of the Day, including especially, Collective Security, International and Social Justice;

(b) The Teaching of International Relations through existing school subjects and Training for World Citizenship.

The Public Opening Session, on Friday evening, January 7, will be addressed by, among others, Mr. Kenneth Lindsay, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education; and Mr. P. H. B. Lyon, M.C., M.A., Headmaster of Rugby.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

DOES OPPRESSION PAY?

— THE CASE OF SOUTH TYROL

By STEPHEN CLISSOLD

DR. REUT-NICOLUSSI'S article in HEADWAY describing the fate of the German-speaking minority in Italy is an interesting analysis of one method of attempting to solve minority problems—the method of forcible assimilation. All League supporters must roundly condemn such a method as morally and legally outrageous. Apologists of the forcible assimilation theory, on the other hand, proclaim the right of the State to frame drastic measures in order to achieve their ends. Ruthlessness, they argue, is the only effective way of getting rid of unwelcome minorities. But is it? Does oppression, in the long run, pay?

The casual visitor to the "Alto Adige," as South Tyrol is now called, may look round in vain for signs of an independent communal life. At first sight it appears that the whole district has been effectively Italianised. No German inscriptions or announcements are visible; new schools and administrative buildings in the approved Italian style are everywhere springing up; slogans on the walls of farms and cottages flamboyantly proclaim loyalty to the Fascist regime.

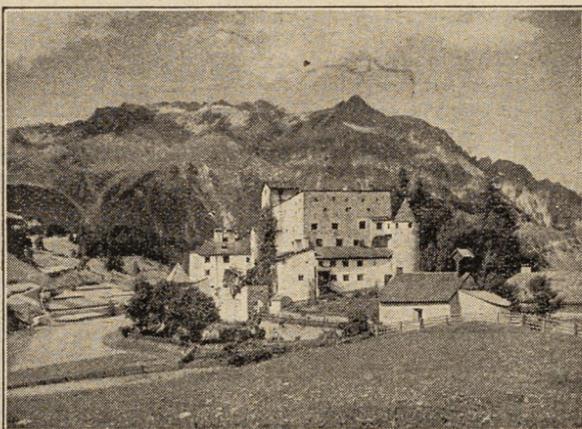
But beneath this shell of outward conformity the real outlook of the inhabitants remains almost unchanged. After spending some weeks in the country and talking with farmers, business men, priests, and doctors, I am convinced that the people have reacted vigorously against this campaign of Italianisation by becoming intensely conscious of their Tyrolean nationality and determined to preserve it to the last. Thus, in spite of official disapproval, new impetus has been given to the wearing of the picturesque Tyrolean costumes. Even the poorest peasant to-day makes it a point of honour to don the national dress on Sundays and festivals. Undeterred by notices displayed in many inns that "singing and music are forbidden," the villagers still keep alive their old traditional music. In fact, the last few years have witnessed a veritable renaissance in the composition and singing of folk songs.

The Italianising zeal of the Government is naturally concentrated chiefly on the upbringing of the children. If the soul of the rising generation can be captured the minority problem will automatically be settled. But the South Tyrolean children react as vigorously as

their elders. Although German is rigorously banned from the schools, children relapse at once into their mother tongue when once outside the class-room. Despite the Balilla and all the machinery for the training of youth, they still think of and refer to their fellow citizens as the "Welsch," the foreigners.

The first significant indication that the method of forcible assimilation was not proving so successful as its originators had hoped was provided by the remarkable echo which the Saar plebiscite found in South Tyrol. "This year the Saar is free, next year will be our turn," argued the simple peasants. But the months went by, and, instead of South Tyrol being allowed some say in its own destiny, the youth of the country was called upon to further

A TYPICAL GERMAN HAMLET IN TYROL



the second and even more convincing demonstration that the South Tyrolean were very far from being assimilated with the Italians. Rather than join their colours, over 1,400 managed to escape over the frontier and join their kinsmen in Austria. It is scarcely surprising that South Tyrol could not raise much enthusiasm for a campaign to bring to Africa those "blessings of Roman civilisation" which, in their experience, stood for little else than an intolerable burden of taxation and the suppression of their historic rights and culture.

Is it too much to hope that those responsible for framing the programme of forcible assimilation may come to realise that it simply has not worked? The minority has stubbornly refused to be merged into the majority. Some other way out must be found. The most satisfactory solution would undoubtedly be a revision of Italy's territorial frontier to coincide more closely with the ethnographical frontier, but in spite of her repeated declarations that frontier revision is desirable in the interests of European peace, it seems unlikely that Italy would be prepared to apply this principle to her own disadvantage. The least that may be hoped for is a more liberal treatment of her German-speaking minority which might win for her that loyalty which the programme of forcible assimilation has so conspicuously failed to achieve. And surely Italy cannot seriously expect the League to approve her "civilising mission" in Abyssinia so long as she persists in denying a section of her citizens at home their most elementary rights.

IN THE MIDDLE OF EUROPE

By ALEC WILSON

Mr. Wilson, who is well known throughout Great Britain as Senior Staff Speaker of the L.N.U., has summed up in a series of articles for HEADWAY the lessons of a recent tour which he made through Central Europe.

(I.) Czechs.

IN August, 1937, the Czechoslovakian L.N.U.—in collaboration with two other societies—organised a Summer School in the High Tatras which may have made a useful little bit of history. About 200 "students" came from 25 nations to spend a fortnight on an intensive study of political relations in the Danube Basin. These notes are an attempt to condense some of the impressions I formed during lectures, discussions, walks, and other contacts with numbers of interesting and intelligent people—mostly young.

The New Map

Our generation has made more—and more drastic—changes on the map of Europe than have taken place since the fall of Rome. Where, not so long ago, Con-

stantinople, St. Petersburg and Vienna divided between them a huge part of Central Europe, there is now a belt of new states clear across the Continent from the Arctic to the Mediterranean. These states, having struggled out from the disintegrated overlordships of the past, are now—somewhat painfully—learning the difficult arts of governing themselves, and passionately desire to be left free to continue the process. For my part, I suddenly saw a new unfamiliar fact upon the familiar map of our continent: I saw as a possibly vital factor in the structure of European peace, the existence of a round dozen of Governments which do not want again to come under the domination of any external influence whatever—and whose permanent interests are essentially bound in with the League of Nations.

"Demos"

Among these "new" states, none is more remarkable than Czechoslovakia. It is the keystone of the European arch. It is, geographically, the watershed; it is racially the link between "Frankish" and Slavonic Europe; it is politically the barrier of democracy against government by conquest. Out there, surrounded by a swirling fantasia of ideological politics—Red, Black, Brown, or Whatnot—it was exhilarating to discover a *democracy* that works! It is capitalist but without individual concentrations of vast wealth; its Socialists are in its Cabinet; its Communists are free to vote, and 30 of them sit in its Parliament. Czechoslovakia came through the world "slump" without revolution, either political or violent. It never even changed its finance minister—its Government just gradually did different things, adjusting itself experimentally to new situations.

Economic Policy

Nobody but Shakespeare has ever beached a ship on the coasts of Bohemia—so all external trade has to be conducted with, or through, the neighbouring countries. The new state inherited about 80 per cent. of the industrial equipment of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire—engineering, armament, glass, textiles, etc.—which has provided the basis for a large foreign trade, showing usually a substantial excess of export over import values. But agriculture is at the same time systematically protected by tariff walls; and this seemingly contradictory economic structure puzzled me until I learned that Czech policy is (a) to buy in their foreign loans; and (b) to invest some of their capital in the neighbouring countries of the Danube Basin, where fresh capital is urgently needed for industrial development. Politically, this

building-up of a successful "overseas" trade without any "access to the sea" is a valuable comment upon the so-called "vital" necessity of national seaports. But this industrialisation, while an asset in times of prosperity, became a liability during the slump, for a very special set of reasons.

Difficult Neighbours

Czechoslovakia is in a ring of particularly difficult

and sometimes irritable neighbours—(Poland, Hungary, Austria, Germany)—all of whom have "minority" grievances. When the Slump came, very many of the German citizens of Czechoslovakia blamed their distresses upon a maleficent Prague Government—much as Jarrow might have been tempted to do, had the British Government been of a different race. Most of these minority troubles are of the "cross-summons for assault" type; some are unavoidable; some are the sequel to an "Anti-enemy" bias at the Peace Conference. The dangerous ones are those exploited for illegitimate political reasons by parties who do not want settlement but distinction. Very often these grievances are chargeable not to Government policy at all but to antipathies of petty local officials.

To-morrow?

My contacts convinced me that many of the younger generation in the Danubian States want nothing better than to "let bygones be bygones," and to try to replace the "Petite Entente" by a "Grande Petite Entente." It is an aim to some extent forced upon them by the obvious menaces looming across frontiers—and it is an aim which depends largely upon the League of Nations for realisation. In this swing-over of policy, Czechoslovakia is among the leaders.

Christmas

What more appropriate gift for a supporter of the League at this Season of Peace than a Year's Subscription to HEADWAY?

Send the name and address and 2/6 to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1., and a copy will be posted every month.

With the first copy will be included a card of greeting.

MAKING FRIENDS

The Story of an L.N.U. Visit to France

By F. E. FIGGURS, Secretary, Overseas Committee, L.N.U.

In November a party of L.N.U. members from London Branches paid a most enjoyable visit to the Rouen members of the French League of Nations Society. They returned convinced that individual supporters of the League can effectively advance the cause of Peace by making friends with individual League supporters in other countries.

It was nearly a year ago that I first met Monsieur Lemesle. "All over Europe," he said to me, "all over the world, there are people like us, supporters of the League, working in the League of Nations Societies. But what do we know of each other? Oh, yes, of course, some members in each society know their colleagues in other countries, the leaders meet at the gatherings of the International Federation. But that is not enough. A League of Nations Society does not depend on an Executive Committee, however impressive or representative it be. Its life is in the provinces, in the towns where the actual work is done, and it is there that the ignorance of similar efforts in other countries is most profound. At Rouen, the L.N.U. branch, of which I am President, knows little or nothing of the British League of Nations Union. And your branches, what do they know of us?"

"I believe," continued Monsieur Lemesle, "that we can do something to end that ignorance; that we can by arranging visits from one country to another, visits of friendship from a branch in France to a branch in England, give to each other a deeper understanding of our several problems, and gain new courage and enthusiasm for our common task. Will you help me to find a branch of your Union that will exchange visits with the Rouen branch?"

That was last March, at the meeting of the General Council of the French League of Nations Society. Since then much has happened. In July, 15 members of the Rouen branch came to London where they were entertained by the Chelsea and City of London branches, and also by the Windsor branch. That first visit was a complete success. Then followed the return visit at the beginning of November; 11 members of the Union, from the Chelsea branch and others around London braved the horrors of a November crossing—their courage rewarded by a calm, sunny day—and spent three days in Rouen. The entertainment was so magnificent that we were ashamed; the success of the visit made us determined to go on. Profiting by the presence of Madame Kersten, the Secretary of the Belgian League of Nations Union, who cordially invited us to visit Belgium, we decided that next Whitsun we would pay a joint Anglo-French visit to one of the branches of the Belgian Union, probably to Ghent. So far as England is concerned, we hope to take a party that will represent primarily the branches, and that will reflect all the forces that are working in this country for the League of Nations.

The value of such visits lies in the opportunity offered to branches as such to see something of the work of League of Nations Societies abroad. Not every member of a branch can afford either the time or the money to travel, but all can share in the pleasure of entertaining the visitors on the return trip, and all can profit from the experience gained.

What can we gain from these visits? The pleasure of visiting a foreign town, of staying with friends, learning a little of the ordinary life, seeing the monuments under the guidance of those who know and love them, all this is gain from every point of view. We at Rouen were particularly fortunate, in that we were shown some of the great abbeys of Normandy by one of the most distinguished Norman architects, Monsieur Lanfry, and the monuments of Rouen itself by the town's chief adviser, Monsieur Millot. And were we to gain nothing more, that would itself be enough.

But there is a great deal more. Such a visit, especially when it is planned with such care as our hosts at Rouen showed, can unfold in a few days the life of a town. All the many activities of the port of Rouen, working on the general social structure of France, combine to produce that most typical, most important, yet most individual characteristic of France, the great provincial town. And none of us who were in the party can have failed to be impressed by the perfection with which the Rouen branch reflected the town. Every facet of that many-sided life seemed to play a part. It was evident that in the city of Rouen the League and the League of Nations Association were supported by the great mass of the people.

Naturally such a visit provides opportunity for political conversation; an international situation as tense as that of to-day must provoke discussion amongst supporters of the League everywhere. But perhaps even more important than detailed discussion of immediate policy, is the realisation of our community of purpose. For all peoples who desire peace—and who does not?—an attempt to understand the problems and difficulties of other peoples is a necessary discipline. All of us who live in the interdependent world should make an effort to visit our fellow-citizens in that world, and to receive them in our own country. But those of us who work for the success of the League of Nations can gain more than knowledge and understanding from such visits. We can gain new enthusiasm.

One of the foundations of our faith in the League of

Nations as an instrument for the government of the world, is the belief that on the basis of the Covenant, and on no other basis, is it possible for each nation to find a foreign policy that will at once satisfy all its aspirations and legitimate desires and be acceptable to all the other fellow members. At a time when the League is attacked daily, it is inestimable encouragement to find groups of men in every country holding fast to the same beliefs that inspire us, producing for their country a foreign policy that is complementary to and not in conflict with that which we design for our own, and looking forward to the same kind of organised peaceful world that we hope for. To find men in all

lands believing in the League and working for its success should be an incentive to us to redouble our own efforts.

There in outline is the idea behind these two visits of July and November and the proposed visit to Belgium next June.

The second object of the Union, as laid down in the Charter, is "to foster mutual understanding, goodwill and habits of co-operation and fair dealing between the peoples of different countries." How could we better carry out that task allotted to us than by forging links between the branches of the Union and branches of League of Nations Societies abroad?

LES ROUENNAIS

By FREDA WHITE, who was a member of the L.N.U. party

M. LANFRY shepherded us into the Abbey of St. Georges de Boscherville. "How beautiful!" I said. "It's white washed!" said he in severity of disapproval. Little I cared, enraptured by the line of the unspoiled Norman church. He explained it vividly: "But wait till we get to Jumièges," said another archaeologist to me. "It is his love."

Jumièges, in the November dusk. Cold sky and cold stone, a magnificent West front, one tall round arch of the central tower. A fallen chestnut leaf on the flagstones of the roofless nave, foundations of the vanished choir, a dark vault where Agnes Sorel once lay buried. M. Lanfry told it stone by stone, peopling the ruin with the memories of the great monastery, which sheltered Saints and schooled Kings. "That's Oriental; it must have come by way of Africa," he murmured in a caressing voice, gloating over an ingeniously masoned keystone. "Oui, c'est hardi!" said the other expert. We understood how privileged we were to see these things under the guidance of the savant who knows more of them than any living man.

We were gathered in the eighteenth century elegance of a room in the Mairie, where the Municipal Council was entertaining us to a Vin d'Honneur. M. le Maire came in, followed by the Councillors. Not at all one's notion of the mayor of an industrial city; much more like a silver ambassador. He made a brilliant League of Nations speech, laced with an irony which touched French policy in Abyssinia as sharply as British policy in China. Red wine and finger biscuits seemed to us much more civilised than a cocktail party. It was followed by a banquet, long and delicious, and including, to my interest, wild boar. "Oh, yes, they hunt the boar in our Rouen forests," said my partner, the president of the Anciens Combattants of the Seine inferieure. I looked at his sensitive face, and at our opposite guests, an English man and woman, and cast the colonial problem into the talk. Mr. Metcalfe wanted the German claims met with generosity rather than justice; Miss Atherton Jones preferred the return of colonies to the risk of war; M. Bérard did not want to offer strategic positions to Germany; I boggled at the thought of Africans under Nazi rule. There we were, the whole argument, and nationality no matter.

The importance of this reception of London branch

workers by Rouen branch workers lay perhaps in realising just where nationalism is in place and where it is not. The very savour of those Normans was their patriotism; not one of them but knew his or her city and its beauties by heart. They took delight in showing us Rouen; old houses, old carvings; the cross marked in the cobbles of the market where Jeanne d'Arc burned. We looked at it in silence; there is, after all, not much that English people can say faced with Jeanne's martyrdom. They illuminated their city for us, giving us an imperishable memory of court and church, loveliest of all of St. Ouen, flying buttress, rose window, crowned tower. We were all given personal hospitality; nothing could have been more exquisite, nor more French, than the kindness of M. and Madame Brière to me. This is nationalism as character and grace in living; where it goes wrong is in the politics and economy of international relations. Dr. Lemesle, who was the moving spirit in this visit, is in his person an astonishing instance of the universal, and so presumably the international man. Massive, slant-eyed, abounding in energy, he recalls some portrait of Ghirlandaio. We were told he is a great doctor, and a chess champion; we could observe that he collects old furniture, and new pictures, writes books, serves peace. His theme was this: "The League of Nations is breached; the governments have abandoned it. It exists now in the hearts and minds of the people, who believe in its principles and work for it. We soldiers of peace—nous, militants—we must know each other, share our experience, join our resolve." It is profoundly true; to feel it expressed as we did was most moving. We owe the Rouennais not only varied pleasure, but strengthened faith in a cause which overleaps frontiers.

SYBIL THORNDIKE

MARGARET RAWLINGS LEWIS CASSON

IN

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Why No Practical Help for China?

A LETTER TO "HEADWAY" FROM A CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY

S.E. China,
September 27, 1937.

I AM writing this from one of those Chinese ports, hitherto used advantageously by other nations, that have now been sealed from the sea and threatened from the air at the sole will of Japan. May I submit the following considerations to your readers. I contend that the great majority of neutrals living in the Far East—whether doing government service, business, or engaged in professional or missionary activity—would endorse what I have to say.

First of all, it should be understood by now that this so-called "incident" is a major war. In each country (and this is even more true of Japan than of China) the entire population has been placed under emergency authority and mobilised for war service.

As war, for each side it is a desperate venture, and as war, neither side can offer an armistice. Oriental "face," which has helped many a past squabble to fizzle out, is the factor that will prolong this horrible struggle to a more horrible and calamitous conclusion. This war is the logical final challenge and trial of strength to a long, exasperating era of diplomatic fencing; opinion knew it had to come sooner or later; it is here upon us unprepared and finds us ready only to belittle its enormous importance. In importance it is a crisis of life and death to both Japan and China; maybe, too, to other nations. After it is over things cannot be the same.

Let us suppose that China succeeds with or without outside assistance, in beating off the Japanese armies, what will follow? There will be an immediate and final end to the menace of Japan either to China or to the East in general. China will quickly become Japan's equal by every modern standard: Japan will regain her huge trade in China, along with other nations. China will become the most lucrative field for investments. The present causes of friction between Japan and China will be removed by treaty, leaving these two countries on friendly terms.

I believe every nation desires China to win this struggle. No warring party in any previous war in history has enjoyed more universal goodwill than China now enjoys. What I and many others here would wish to ask is this: "Why is this universal sympathy for China not expressed in some practical way?" When we remember that we need not invoke sanctions or succour a hopelessly inefficient country, speaking from a military standpoint (such as Abyssinia was when she faced a modernised Italy), in order to tip the balance of the struggle in China's favour; when we remember China's universal popularity and the great likelihood there would be of widespread agreement—then we marvel at the present weak and indifferent attitude of the British and American Governments in face of Japanese threats to their future prosperity in China seas, and to China's very existence. It cannot be fear of being involved in war, as, unlike the Spanish conflict, the Sino-Japanese war contains no ideological motives. There are no obscurities or cross-purposes. The only issue between the two

parties is the ancient one of invading Romans and resisting Britons.

One of the few answers remaining is that certain of the Powers are extremely worried at the Japanese menace, and that these are only too glad to find a country which will fight on their behalf the war that was inevitable to curb Japanese recklessness. We can imagine the official relief in Moscow, Sydney, Washington, London. . . . "China if not strong enough to win is at least able to shatter Japan's surplus strength, and this will all take place far from the combustible European arena. . . ." Such a policy is dangerous, immoral and enormously costly.

(1) The first great cost will be the *moral calamity* that for the third time in recent years a peace-desiring nation (and a League member) is threatened by a military power and refused collective protection. It would also be China's second great betrayal by the other three-quarters of the human race in five years. If we do not want a return of the old intolerant, anti-foreign atmosphere that used to be China, let us show ourselves a little less selfish and heartless.

(2) The second loss would be the material damage done to China, by a long, one-sided trial of strength, whatever the outcome. It is in nobody's interest to see China brought back to where she was before 1927, least of all Japan's. Under the Chiang administration her progress since that time has been such as to evoke universal applause. Improvements have been made in all material structures, as well as in such things as unification, international mindedness, friendship to foreigners whether missionaries or traders. With the awakening foreign confidence in China, money had begun to pour into the country; bright days were ahead. Then, like a bomb, comes more Japanese interference, with its mission of stupid and indiscriminate destruction of all that has been so laboriously and successfully created.

(3) Thirdly, a policy of non-intervention, or what is falsely named non-intervention—namely, an arms, trade, or shipping embargo to be applied against both belligerents (since in effect such action would amount to intervention in Japan's favour, to China's disadvantage) would be highly dangerous to the Powers. That policy—takes no account of the calamitous possibility of a Japanese victory. Nobody can know for certain that China will not suddenly crumple at the feet of her invader. What would be done then? There would be no more hope of accord between whatever remained of China and her devourer. Nothing is more certain than that a Japanese victory will *not* bring peace in the Far East. The Japanese Premier announced that his aim was to "force China to her knees until she has no more spirit left in her to fight." If he succeeds how will even the whole world contain his dangerous, ambitious pride puffed out to still vaster amplitude? How will such a Japan, more militaristic than ever, keep at peace with the great Powers?

A word now to those traders who nurse a hope that the Japanese victors will keep a little door open for them in China. Those with experience on the spot do not believe it; the story of Manchukuo, as well as speeches of Tokyo statesmen a year ago, deny it. Incidents now taking place deny it; I will mention one of these. Britain's strength in her China trade is Hong-Kong; Japan is creating not one but several "Hong-Kongs," flying Japanese flags on islands she is seizing from China down the coast from Shanghai to below and near Hong-Kong itself. These are chosen strategically at the openings to ports; they are fortified. I ask if these

are to be given up at the end of the war! Obviously until China builds a fleet, or until the Powers intervene for the future of trade in the East, these will remain a stranglehold on all trade going into China.

We cannot understand the weakness of the Foreign Office in this crisis. The facts are surely known. Britain for years mildly acquiesced in every atrocity, every illegality and every defiance by the Japanese military and navy. That British official representatives should continue to do so at the present time is shocking and amazing to all China residents who see clearly what is happening and what will still happen.

Dangers Ahead, No. 2: by a High Authority on the Far East

In November HEADWAY was published an article by a high authority on the Far East. It explained the "divine mission" which is being preached to the Japanese people and whose consequence may be an attempt to conquer first China; secondly, Eastern Siberia; and thirdly, the Eastern Asiatic territories of the Western European Powers.

THE ominous possibility inherent in the present situation cannot be overlooked by responsible statesmen, even though its menace is not immediate. It is necessarily of more vital concern to the United States than to Great Britain for a very obvious reason. Since only the outskirts of the British Empire lie on the Pacific its heart could not be threatened by any developments on that ocean. Whatever might happen there in the future, the Empire would be safeguarded by geography in Europe, Africa, and the Middle East. But the United States is compelled by geography to remain a Pacific Power until the end of time, and to confront squarely any Asiatic Empire that may spread over its opposite shore.

British Difficulties

It seems obvious accordingly that both the British Empire and the United States have compelling reasons to undertake the positive protection of their national interests in Eastern Asia. But adequate protection of these interests now is impeded by political obstacles exceedingly difficult to surmount. Britain's difficulties are generally understood in America. The present state of Europe and the situation in the Mediterranean undoubtedly prejudice seriously any effort to implement a strong policy in the Far East. The adoption of such a policy meets an internal obstacle in a certain sentimental attachment for the traditional friendship of the two island Empires which still sways a potent section of the British public, the same section which is most likely to react favourably towards any nation which heralds its purpose as "anti-Communistic."

Some of the difficulties which face the American Government are well understood on this side of the Atlantic, for example, the growing "isolationism," which derives much of its recent impetus from a contemplation of post-Hitler Europe. That this isolationist sentiment may be blind, or at the best short-sighted, that it may be heedless of to-morrow and concerned only with the avoidance of trouble to-day, is beside the point. It exists on a nation-wide scale and exerts a paralysing influence on American foreign policy.

Another general reaction of the American public is of great importance in the present instance, since it affects so directly the prospects of Anglo-American co-operation in the Far East. The American people have long had a mistrust of European statesmen, a feeling that they are liable to "be left holding the bag" whenever they participate in co-operative action. Their belief that they were "fooled" at Versailles and victimised in the matter of the War Debts makes them suspicious that if they undertake joint action with foreign nations to protect common interests, they will find themselves "paying the piper" while the foreigners reap the benefits. There is a widespread feeling in the United States, which is only partly justified by the facts, that Mr. Stimson was "left out on a limb" by Sir John Simon during the Manchurian conflict. This feeling was one of the principal factors which impeded the imposition of an embargo on oil during the Ethiopian war; then, when the Hoare-Laval Agreement burst into headlines, our national reaction was that once again we had barely escaped being "used" by British and European statesmen.

American Difficulties

In the present instance, despite the fact that Anglo-American relations have never been better in history, the American people are opposed to taking the lead to protect interests which are primarily British, such as Anglo-American investments at Shanghai. Unless they attain a fuller realisation of the extent to which their own larger interests are involved, and unless they can feel assured that the British Government will be prepared to go as far as the American in any situation that may arise in the Far East, they will continue to impede effective action by the Washington Administration.

Popular isolation sentiment and suspicion are thus the two principal factors which make the United States appear to await a British lead, regardless of the fact that a long-range view must indicate that the American interests threatened are basically more vital than the British. The resulting situation would appear to call for tact and above all, frankness on the part of the British Government.

FACING THE MUSIC:

— An Imaginary Conversation

BY THE SECRETARY OF THE UNION

SCENE: A private room in the principal cafe of a provincial town. Branch Secretaries and members of Branch Committees are assembled to meet a Speaker from Grosvenor Crescent who will be addressing a Town's Meeting later in the evening. The Chairman of the Town Branch enters with the Speaker and takes the Chair.

Chairman (to Speaker): Well, we have not much time before I have to take you off to dine. What have you to say to us?

Speaker: Nothing, except to thank you all for the fine work you are doing in these difficult days. I came to answer questions.

Chairman: Questions, please.

First Branch Secretary: The November HEADWAY explained why we must get more members for the League of Nations Union so that the Government may feel sure of having a big majority on their side if they go ahead and apply League principles to prevent another world war from breaking out. But the Rural Dean says the League has failed, that people are losing interest, and that he's going to give up praying for the League in Church.

Speaker: Have you reminded him how President Roosevelt declared last month that "if civilisation is to survive, the principles of the Prince of Peace must be restored"? And how the British Prime Minister replied: "We believe in the principles for which the League was founded and our policy is directed to make these principles effective"? And how General Smuts wrote in his Armistice Day Message to the Union: "Let us not be disheartened by present failures, for the Covenant is a long-range business like Christianity itself, like all the great human causes"? The League is bound to triumph in the end, if only because all countries are members of a family of nations which, in this shrunken modern world, can no longer be governed as completely independent sovereign states without the help of some central authority. Why not pray and work that the League's triumph may come before instead of after another world war?

Elderly Man: What is the good of theorising about the League being bound to triumph in the end? It isn't practical politics. Remember Manchuria, the Disarmament Conference, Abyssinia, now China again, and even Spain.

Speaker: Do you recall Orville and Wilbur Wright, the first men who flew? They had convinced themselves that flying was possible. But for a long time they met with failure after failure. Well, they did not give up trying; and so their story is like that of most pioneers of great human causes.

Elderly Man: But the Wright brothers were not idealists. They were practical men.

Speaker: So we say now, knowing how at last they won through. While they were unsuccessfully experimenting they were regarded as anything but practical. The so-called "realist" or "practical man" is often he

who practises the errors of his forefathers; a short-sighted man, who discounts the future at a high rate: a politician who cannot see beyond the next General Election. There is something far more permanent about the principles of the Prince of Peace than about such so-called realities as the absolute sovereignty of pigmy states, their selfish interests and their precious prestige.

Second Branch Secretary: Our Minister says that the League of Nations Union in advocating sanctions is advocating war. He is sure that policy cannot be squared with the principles of the Prince of Peace.

Speaker: What a pity that the lawyer to whom the parable of the Good Samaritan was first told, did not ask whether, if the Good Samaritan had come upon the scene a few minutes earlier while the thieves were still at work, it would have been his duty to pass by on the other side! Perhaps the answer would have been "No."

Second Branch Secretary: But is our Minister right in saying that a policy of sanctions would mean that our country would join in every war that came along?

Speaker: Like the Irishman who, when he saw some men fighting, asked if this was a private fight or whether anyone could join in! No, the Union advocates sanctions only in cases where the number and resources of the Governments co-operating on the League's behalf is sufficient to make it reasonably certain that the would-be aggressor will abandon his intention so that war will not break out at all. The Abyssinian war would never have taken place if Signor Mussolini, knowing what would happen if he tried to seize Malta or Egypt, had been equally certain of defeat were he to attack Abyssinia.

Second Branch Secretary: But isn't it true that we shan't have peace unless the League ensures that the law which it enforces is, first of all, just? Mustn't the authority of the League be gradually increased until it can remedy legitimate grievances of whatever nations by a process of peaceful change?

Speaker: Yes, indeed. Then no nation would think it worth while to run the risk of using war as an instrument of its national policy. But if, for lack of public support, League ideals are abandoned and League principles never applied, wars will break out in the future as they have done in the past. If that happens, it cannot be long before the British Empire with its world-wide interests is dragged in.

Third Branch Secretary: The Headmaster of the Grammar School here thinks the Union is too political. It ought to stick to education, he says. It will be a frightful blow if he resigns.

Speaker: If the Headmaster could see the Union from inside he would realise how most of its solid work is in the field of education. From outside the appearance is different because the Press selects for comment those resolutions of our Executive or General Council that bear immediately upon world affairs. But if the Union never dared to say even in quite general terms how the broad principles which it teaches ought to be applied to

particular cases, we should seem to lack courage and would lose our hold upon the interest of our members.

Fourth Branch Secretary: How about Local Peace Councils? One has been formed in our neighbourhood. Ought our Branch to affiliate?

Speaker: In 1924, when Sir Oswald Mosley was Chairman of the National Peace Council (then known as the National Council for the Prevention of War) he tried to get our Union to affiliate to his Council. The Union decided by an eleven-to-one majority to remain independent but to co-operate in furtherance of the Objects set forth in our Royal Charter. But your question was really answered by our General Council at Bournemouth. It was there decided that "Branches should not affiliate to, or otherwise become formally associated with, or contribute to the funds of, any other organisation without the specific approval of the Executive Committee in each particular case."

Young Woman: Would that not rule out Peace Weeks?

Speaker: No, because a Branch remains free to join in common activities with other bodies working for peace whenever the Branch is satisfied that the outcome of the particular activity will increase support for the League.

Second Young Woman: Well, we had a Peace Week at Armistice time. The local Peace Council printed a programme beginning with the Communist Party's meeting on the Monday and ending with our L.N.U. meeting on Armistice night. They wanted our Branch to distribute copies among our members. We refused. And we won't have anything to do with the local Peace Council.

Young Man: The other day I saw a Peace Council holding an open-air meeting. Behind its platform were the banners of its supporting societies: the L.N.U. branch, the Labour Party, the Communist Party, the Left Book Club and Women's Co-operative Guild!

Fifth Branch Secretary: My Branch Committee has been trying to make up its mind whether we ought to have a Peace Week down here. What do you advise?

Speaker: Yes, if you can get the Mayor, all the Churches, and either all or none of the political parties to join in. But if the only bodies who will join you are all to the Left or all to the Right it would perhaps be better not to have a Peace Week.

Fifth Branch Secretary: That is what my committee was inclined to think. But I wish you would explain your point of view a little more fully.

Speaker: Remember, it is the present British Government and no other that will be in the saddle for the next two or three critical years. Before three years are over, the issue between the League and War will probably be decided. If the League team wins, and Britain is its most important member, we shall have peace and prosperity. If it loses, we shall have catastrophe and chaos. There is no peace society save only our own L.N.U. capable of convincing our Government that the British people as a whole want the League to win. Other peace societies may say to the people: Join us and help to turn the Government out. But we believe that the Government, like the Labour and the Liberal parties, contains some of the League's very best friends anywhere. And we say: Join the L.N.U. and help to give the Government guts; I mean, encourage them to apply the principles for which the League was founded, the principles in which we all believe.

Chairman: After that lapse into the vernacular, perhaps I had better take our speaker off to dinner. We all need a break before to-night's meeting.

SIR NORMAN ANGELL

writes of



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The L.N.U. Needs £20,000 NOW

By The DIRECTOR OF APPEALS

THE second meeting of the National Advisory Appeal Council of the League of Nations Union was held at Grosvenor House, W.1, on Thursday, November 18, and was attended by over 70 members.

Dr. Gilbert Murray presided. He made special reference to the serious financial position of the Union, which had been caused by the complex and disturbed international situation. Dame Sybil Thorndike—whose letter is reproduced on this page—thrilled the company with an impassioned plea for support of the Union, on whose activity the saving of peace does, in no small measure, depend.

Mr. Herbert Syrett, Chairman of the Finance Committee, emphasised the need for immediate funds if the work of the Union is to be maintained. Any curtailment of its activities would be a great public misfortune.

The Director of Appeals gave a resumé of the work already done. He expressed the Union's gratitude to the many representative men and women who have joined the National Advisory Appeal Council. Although £12,000 had been secured in gifts, promises and deeds, the deeds being spread over seven years, this would not immediately relieve the present strain. Deeds, however, do stabilise the finances of the Union. It would probably take two years to raise the £100,000. The Union's coming-of-age falls in the autumn of 1939. There could be no better celebration than the announcement on that occasion that the full sum had been secured.

Dame Sybil Thorndike's matinee is the beginning of a series of special appeals from leading men and women in commerce, the professions, the Arts, and Science. An appeal signed by the Free Church Leaders has just been circulated. Promises of help to organise other community appeals and to give receptions, dinners, luncheon parties have been received. One of the most effective ways of raising money is by informal dinner parties at which the

work of the Union can be explained and new supporters enlisted. Such functions afford the opportunity for meeting criticisms of the League and the necessity for the work of the Union.

A reception was given on November 18 by Mr. and Mrs. Austin Pilkington at the Adelphi Hotel, Liverpool, to meet Dr. Gilbert Murray, who spoke about the present position of the League and asked for generous support for the National Appeal. It was agreed that Liverpool should aim at raising £10,000. A similar appeal will be launched in Manchester in January. Other areas where appeals are under consideration are: Norfolk and Suffolk, Bristol and the West Country, Birmingham and Warwickshire.

74, OAKLEY STREET, S. W. 3.

Nov 22nd 1937

My husband & I are so thrilled at the prospect of presenting the Trojan Women at the Adelphi Theatre on Dec 7th in an endeavour which furours the work of the League of Nations Union. The Cause of Peace and International Goodwill is in grave danger, yet it lies deep in all our hearts & thoughts. The misery and insanity of war must be averted. Do come on Dec 7th. This play has really something to express, and contribute, for Peace. If you cannot come - and I do so hope you will - please send me a donation towards the fund - I want to raise a large sum, because I believe that the work of the League of Nations Union is more important - than anything just now. Please help, I will be always gratefully yours.

Sybil Thorndike

After the Council Meeting a reception was given by Major and Mrs. Lawrence Wright, who, with Dr. Murray and Dame Sybil Thorndike, received the guests.

The Union needs £20,000 now, to meet immediate commitments. This is a large sum, but if every reader of HEADWAY would give or collect £1 we should receive treble that amount. What better Christmas gift for the cause of Peace?

It could also be obtained by:

1 person giving	£20,000
2 persons "	£10,000 each
20 " "	1,000 "
200 " "	100 "
20,000 " "	1 "

And if all these hopes were realised we should have reached the goal

£100,000.

Large sums are frequently given for great causes—why not for the greatest of all causes—PEACE?

W. J. H.

NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

By EDWIN KER

I AM no Conservative, but I think we should all be grateful to Sir William Munday for his good-will and his plain speaking. Do the members of "School A" understand their position as well as he understands his? Such understanding there must be, if the effort for peace is to be united and effective. At present the widespread hatred and fear of war is (it would seem) largely wasted.

The theory of "School A" is that an "aggressor nation" must be outlawed. But even an individual man thus outlawed may be inclined to fight rather than submit. Are we to expect less of a powerful state? The theory, plainly, implies that upon a law-breaking state all other states must be ready to make war.

But a state is something different from a single mind. Of its very nature, it can be loyal only to itself; and in its self-interest it cannot, in practice, easily even be enlightened. Even, therefore, if the League were universal, the principle of unanimous war by all states against the aggressor state could not be applied successfully. It is interesting to remember that the framers of the Constitution of the U.S.A. rejected it 150 years ago.

On the other hand, neither does Sir William Munday's conception of the League offer us any hope of deliverance from the war-system. What is the use of saluting an ideal, and taking no small first step towards its realisation? States, as such, can no more be friends than they can be citizens: no amount of "co-operation" will make them altruistic.

Sir William Munday may well be right in his view that it is the non-controversial work of the League that should be our first concern now. This work seems to offer the only possible present opportunity to achieve some modification of the principle of national sovereignty.

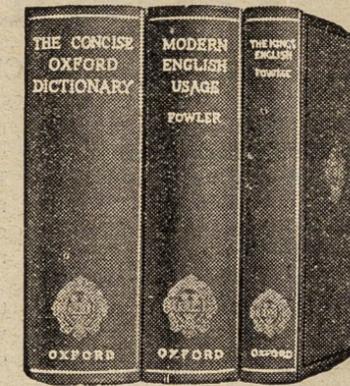
It seems not inconceivable that here we might secure, in place of "international co-operation," some permanent delegation of power to a central authority. Until we have such an authority, empowered, within limits however narrow, to protect and to control the individual, and thus able, through habit and sentiment as well as interest, to command his attachment, we shall have war, like our fathers before us. The British fleet will certainly never be consistently at the service of any Government that is not also in some degree the Government of every British subject.

Could not, moreover, the whole L.N.U. join in an effort to bring about the revision, on the part of the democratic states, of the Air Convention of 1919, by which, in the name of national sovereignty, the chance of using the air as a means of promoting world-union was flung away?

We might unite in work to make possible the establishment, within the League, of an "Air Board of Control," like that imagined by Dr. Maxwell Garnett in his pamphlet "The Freedom of the Air." The kind of International Police that is wanted first is (as it seems to me) an Air Traffic Force, doing service obviously useful, having in its own sphere authority over the citizens of all states, and appealing to the popular imagination. No doubt anything of the kind is remote indeed; but let us start in the right direction.

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THE FIRST BRITISH CONGRESS OF THE I.P.C.

By D. B. CLULOW

SCANDINAVIAN, Australian, French, and several other National Congresses of the I.P.C. had preceded the First British National Congress at University College, London, on October 22-24. In each of them the same question had been asked repeatedly in unofficial discussions: "It is to Britain that we look, both in international politics and in the peace movement. What will the British Congress think of the decisions on policy and action which we are taking? Will the British delegates be prepared to back us up at this point and that point, as part of the international scheme? What lead to the International Peace Campaign will the British Congress give?"

Support by deed, as well as by word, came from every quarter; 150 delegates were sent by the L.N.U. and its branches; peace councils sent 125; trades unions and trade councils sent nearly 100; town and borough councils, social service bodies, teachers' and women's organisations, religious societies, Rotary clubs, Co-operative organisations, and so on, between them, sent another 500 delegates. In all some 800 delegates took part in the sessions, and represented nearly 400 organisations. The representative character of the assembly was proof that during the twelve months since the Brussels Congress, the Four Point policy of the I.P.C., and the methods by which the Campaign is pursued have commended themselves very widely indeed in this country, as elsewhere.

Naturally the Four Point policy was the controlling theme throughout the whole Congress, in the speeches made at the preliminary public meeting on the Friday night, at the Plenary and in the Commission sessions on the Saturday and Sunday. But what was of greater significance was that the Congress was not content with a mere reaffirmation of the Four Point policy as it stood—collective security and mutual assistance guaranteeing the sanctity of treaties, and thus making possible a new world peace settlement and the reduction and limitation of armaments. Congress was insistent upon their political (not party political) interpretation, a fact which took considerable prominence in the main resolution, and was reflected in many of the Commissions. An expanding and sustained support for League principles by the general public necessitates that the principles and their implications should be clearly understood, and the I.P.C.'s co-operating organisations were specifically urged to carry on actively the work of explaining and clarifying the Four Points.

Not only must the support be increased by intensifying and expanding the I.P.C.'s work in this country, but it must be given a greater effective influence on political life. To this end Congress asked the British Committee to launch an immediate call to action, reinforced by all the necessary national publicity and the encouragement of activities in all localities.

Two of the Commissions were on rather a different footing from the others. The Youth Commission,

under the chairmanship of Mr. Vincent Duncan Jones, was really concerned with the relationship of the B.Y.P.A. to the General I.P.C. Campaign, and after its report, the relevance and importance of the B.Y.P.A.'s campaign for peace and social justice was specifically recognised in the main resolution.

The Industrialists and Economists Commission was the only one which was concerned with policy and not with organisation within a professional or vocational group. Under Sir Norman Angell's guidance, it produced a lengthy report and a shorter summary dealing with colonies and raw materials, armaments reduction and industry, and the control of armament manufacture, which are of the greatest value.

There was one characteristic common to all the Commissions. Delegates were determined to use every minute of time. Several of the Commissions only finished the drafting of their reports with bare minutes in hand before presenting them to the final plenary session. A number of them set up committees for their professions, to carry into effect the decisions they had reached, and in some cases the committees had themselves held their first meetings before the Congress sessions ended. Education, Law, Artists, Theatre, Film and Music, Science, Psychology, were among the Committees set up in this way, and which will be able to act in an advisory capacity for the campaign as a whole, as well as to devote special attention to the development of peace work within their own vocational groups. Amongst the most emphatic sections in this respect were the notoriously unorganised artistic, theatrical and cinema professions, whose realisation of the urgent need for establishing secure conditions of peace as the pre-requisite for their own full artistic development, was stated emphatically by both Mr. Herbert Read and Mr. Maurice Browne.

There is another important point about this Congress to be made. It was stated again and again throughout the Congress, that the I.P.C.'s work is only succeeding when the influence and membership of its co-operating organisations is being widely and steadily increased. This was especially noticeable in the decisions relating to finance, in which, apart from a short emergency period, the basis of the I.P.C.'s income for the future was to be the Peace Penny Plan, including as one item the sale of Peace Penny Cards, a plan which would place greater resources at the disposal of societies operating the scheme, at the same time as it provided the I.P.C. with its necessary financial backing.

The sessions ended with a special tribute to the Campaign's President, Lord Cecil, not only for his expert guidance of the Congress, but also for his devoted leadership of the International movement. Upon the honour which he has since received in the award of the 1937 Nobel Peace Prize, all sections of the I.P.C. throughout the world offer him their warmest congratulations.

BOOK REVIEW

INTERNATIONAL LAW, by L. Oppenheim. Vol. I: Peace—Fifth Edition, by H. Lauterpacht, Reader in Public International Law in the University of London. (Longmans Green & Co. 45s. net.)

Oppenheim himself declared that in spite of the destruction wrought by the World War "not the whole of International Law has gone to pieces, but only parts of the Law of War" and that "the Law of Peace is the centre of gravity of International Law."

Dying on October 7, 1919, he had been too broken physically and morally by the strains of the war years to produce the third editions of his great double-volume work, although much of the material for it was in an advanced state of preparation. Towards the end, he was particularly though cautiously sympathetic to the League of Nations, and his last writings were concerned with the prospects of its success, or possible failure.

Later editions have been brought out in a masterly manner by other hands. Dr. Lauterpacht, in particular, is responsible for the Fifth Edition (Vol. II. "War" in 1936, and Vol. I. "Peace," this November). There have, of course, been great changes during the last 20 years—or even since the Fourth Edition in 1928.

Some 20 subjects appear now for the first time, or at least have now undergone new treatment. For instance, the character, sources and codification of International Law are fully discussed, and many topics, such as Recognition of Insurgents, Subversive Activities against Foreign States, Renunciation of War and Title by Conquest, are likely to prove invaluable guides to present-day students of foreign relationships. There are also passages on Articles X, XIX and XX of the League's Covenant and on the characteristic features of the International Labour Organisation.

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READERS' VIEWS

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

THE COURSE FOR THE UNION

SIR,—In a reasoning world, amongst all the ups and downs and twists and turns experienced since 1919, one conviction must have grown steadily. It is that we should steer directly towards a League of Nations with a foundation as near as possible to that contemplated by President Wilson but so disastrously departed from, for no other course can lead to that lasting peace and co-operation between all nations which is so desperately needed—if, for the most part, only vaguely desired—by their peoples.

That is the conviction so ably expressed by the League of Nations Union's "Manifesto" of last December and by Lord Allen's speeches to the General Council of the Union at Torquay in June, to the President of the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva in September, and, no doubt, elsewhere.

At Geneva Lord Allen recommended special activities to the Assembly. What steps can the L.N.U. take, as an association, to translate its "Manifesto" programme into action here, in our own country; to introduce it to as wide a public as possible and to advance it in other ways?

May I suggest?

1. That the L.N.U. reverses the order of the "Four Points" whenever they appear in its Reprints or new Literature. Perhaps the I.P.C. would follow suit.

[I feel sure that innovation, wherever noticed, would have a profound and beneficial effect on the "peoples" of all nations, including our own.]

2. That the Executive Committee now devotes a further period to the study of Treaty Revision, this time with the object of attaining clear ideas as to what changes, in its judgment, should, and could, be attempted (and in what sequence) in order to approach as nearly as possible President Wilson's premises for the foundation of a universal and effective League.

[I think this suggestion is important in that the subject of Treaty Revision—so far as my knowledge goes—is not being studied and discussed, from the angle here indicated, by any section of our own people. The "men in the street" would consider themselves presumptuous in doing so, they say: "That's not our job." In Parliament it would be "dangerous" and demand too much time. Is it not just the job for our Executive Committee which has the necessary keenness and access to information required and would yet incur no undue responsibility, since its conclusions would be checked and criticised by interested statesmen?]

2A. That its conclusions as regards any one item of eligible revision should, as soon as arrived at, and approved by the Council, or the Union as a whole, be submitted to the government for criticism and—if approved of—for parliamentary discussion and possible early implementation.

[For example, Hitler has recently stated that Germany's being without colonies is in flat contradiction to the supposed spirit of the League. That seems to be true. Any conclusion of the Executive Committee as to possible improvement in that respect (putting Crown Colonies under mandate? Some mandates to Germany?) and methods of procedure to effect it, might lead to our Government deciding to take suitable action at Geneva, through Article XIX. Such voluntary actions might be relied upon to set the "snowball" of League spirit rolling and growing, far more than the gestures (relative unilateral disarmament, offers to discuss, etc.) we have already tried in vain. An ever accumulating snowball would confront each difficulty subsequently attacked.]

3. That the L.N.U., whilst by no means condoning aggression, now directs all its efforts to the enlistment of our people's and government's whole-hearted support for a policy of aiding Italy to our utmost along the lines of a

peaceful, unselfish, and League-approved, development of Abyssinia; for it is only by so doing—and not by "seeing that the aggressor does not get away with it"—that we can hope to repair our earlier errors, avert complete destruction of the League, and—most important—demonstrate the supreme value of the League ideal.

4. That the L.N.U. continues its strenuous efforts to put an end—by League methods—to aggression in China and—*pari passu*—does all it can to persuade our people and government to open the flood-gates (cautiously, if need be, but with prompt initiation) to that full tide of League spirit which alone can sweep away* those unnatural imperialistic economic repressions which—together with the geographical disadvantages of Japanese territory—constitute the root cause of that aggression.

Owing to the present state of confusion in the world we cannot hope to secure the necessary League foundation by taking any series of steps all of which—each considered individually and apart from the collective effect—conform to any rigid ideal. The League of Nations itself, without that foundation, is certainly not ideal, nor are its rules, though they may seem so to many of us.

This long letter has already, even before posting, inflicted punishment, for the urge which impelled me to draft it has not released me from a deep consciousness of my littleness and ignorance in the face of all which, in writing it, I am attempting to grapple with.

Hull.

B. BURNE.

SOME FURTHER SUGGESTIONS

SIR,—I have read with great interest the admirable letter in November HEADWAY from Mrs. Bolt, of Sale, Cheshire, on ways to help the League. It is full of valuable, practical suggestions. May I supplement it with lessons drawn from my own experience? About 12 years ago I drew up a leaflet whose conclusions have been endorsed by what has happened since.

An occasional big meeting must be held, but even more important is a constant succession of small meetings at which groups of 5, 10, 15, 20, or 30 people are brought together. These small meetings may be (1) Study circles or fireside chats at private houses or in small public rooms; or (2) not League of Nations Union meetings at all, but the introduction of League of Nations subjects at meetings of the C.E.M.S. literary or debating societies, adult schools, rotary clubs, women's institutes, guilds, W.E.A. classes, etc. There must be a leader on each occasion who will introduce the subject of the evening, which should be some definite League problem. At every meeting, either big or small, there should be opportunities of joining the Union and a display of maps and literature. The literature should be set out attractively on a large square table. The speaker or leader should have this table in front of him and he should make a point of calling attention to any particular book, pamphlet, or leaflet bearing on his subject; 20 to 30 minutes is long enough for the chief speech, the rest of the time being devoted to questions, remarks, and discussion. In Bournemouth, where I am the Chairman of the district, we have had some success

* Empire migration laws and anti-League trade barriers, etc.: in short, nationalistic and imperialistic "protection" from everything except the consequent world-discontent and wars. It is unfortunate that in boycotting Japanese goods—for a good purpose—we shall be doing, temporarily, exactly the opposite to what we should have been doing for many years past.

and now count 5,000 members, but there is still much to do.

"Learn or Perish," said Viscount Grey. It is in the small meetings and study circles that we can best learn.

R. K. CARDEW.

Bournemouth.

AN ANSWER TO CRITICISM

SIR,—Mr. S. E. Foster's letter in your November issue calls for comment.

We all agree that the more study that can be given to international problems the better will be the understanding of them. If all the members who receive HEADWAY for instance, will carefully read, mark, and learn its contents, they at least will be considerably informed. In Hull, we are favoured in that the University College here has classes by very competent teachers dealing with international affairs.

I cannot, however, accept Mr. Foster's strictures on the Hull Peace Week as just and fair. He has only to read the official programme to see that the Lord Mayor and Committee made quite clear at the outset that the effort was intended to educate and mobilise public opinion in favour of the Four-Point Policy which emanated from the Brussels Conference (I need not repeat them). Mr. Foster must not forget that we also had to appeal to the mass sentiment in favour of Peace and to do what we could to encourage an international mind amongst the peoples. The exhibits of dolls he mentions was, therefore, quite fitting—the exhibition being more especially for children.

I have been associated with the Hull Branch for many years before Mr. Foster joined us and while admitting that we may not be perfect, I definitely repudiate the suggestion that we deserve the reputation of "woolly-headedness" with which he stigmatises our members.

E. G. RYMER,

Hon. Secretary Hull Branch.

SOME QUESTIONS

SIR,—May I be permitted to ask Rear-Admiral Lawson one or two questions?

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

(2) If the answer to (1) is No, are we not faced with a situation in which the vilest methods of modern warfare are used in the name of peace and justice?

(3) Is not the only solution to this problem one which replaces the use of the ineffective method of physical force by the far more powerful and effective method of spiritual and moral force? There is an interesting example of how this latter kind of force might be substituted for the former in C. F. Andrew's recent book, "The Challenge of the North-West Frontier."

H. J. PRICKETT.

Kent College, Canterbury.

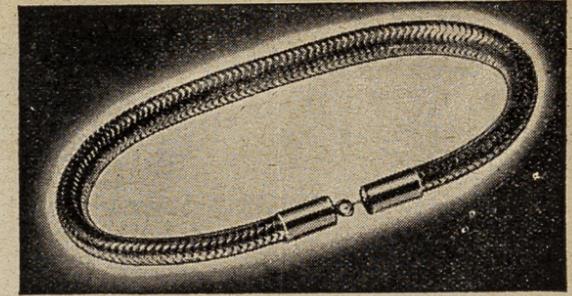
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"Let Us Not Be Afraid of Becoming Political"

Another View of the Union's Future

By J. R. KINGSFORD, Secretary of the L.N.U. Branch at Port Said, Egypt

SOONER or later we shall have to recognise the fact that the Union is no longer and can never be again a snug abode for amiable people who vaguely wish for peace and quiet in the world. In the heyday of its numerical strength, before aggression again became fashionable, the Union was regarded by those of the general public who knew of its existence as a very respectable organisation doing its gentle best to educate people in certain benevolent principles. It was tolerated by all and supported by many because it was considered to be perfectly harmless. The League at that time was hazily popular for the same absence of reasons for it to be otherwise. For League and Union the testing time had not yet come.

The first jolt was over Manchuria, when the Union made its voice heard outside its own circle. I do not know how many members and well-to-do subscribers were lost in that brief stand, but I do know several people who joined up then, convinced that the L.N.U. was engaged on a real job of work. One also became aware that the *Daily Express* was conducting a

campaign of scurrility against the League, and the feeling grew that the Union was needed and did mean something more than piety.

But it was the "Peace Ballot" that first brought the Union out of its cloistered seclusion into the marketplace to be reviled and acclaimed by the crowd. Almost overnight it became a force to be reckoned with here and now by the people, the Press, and the Government. With that brave undertaking it embarked on a career which it must either hold to or perish—a leading part in the fight of militant liberalism against those elements in the country and the world which through greed, fear or egotism would hold up the march of civilisation.

We stood firmly by the Covenant while the British Government to the applause of Big Business delivered Abyssinia and all she stood for at that time to the wolves. As a result we have lost thousands of members and thousands of pounds. Could we have done other than we did had we known that we should lose twice as many? And do those members and that money represent any real loss to the Union if it is to remain an effective force in our national life? Others are gladly joining us at this time. Is not each one of them worth 100 of the kind of member we have shed? I believe that our present unpopularity with pacifists and Government supporters, with captains of industry and the drapers' Press, is evidence that the Union is doing the work that is required of it. Criticism from these quarters is praise indeed.

We miss the money, it is true, and must cut our coat accordingly. Is it going to be a skimpy garment of the old kind or a new and serviceable rig to suit changed conditions? Having undergone a healthy purge of useless tissue, should we not use our strength to turn the Union into a real fighting force with every member pledged to an active part in the struggle? Perhaps the solution of financial difficulties will be not less money spent in the old way but less money spent more effectively in new ways. To-day we are probably stronger potentially than ever before, more of a mind, closer knit; and this strength might be released by methods more dynamic and less academic than in the past.

After all, our cause is a *moral* one. It does not need great erudition to realise that the principles of third-party judgment, the enforcement of just laws, and peaceful change are right ones, whether applied to the national or international situation. These things are known *a priori* by most people and only need to be brought to the forefront of consciousness by forceful and insistent reiteration to become guiding and saving

principles. Let us not confuse ourselves and the public with the complexities of application. It will be the work of paid experts later on to smooth out such difficulties. Our task is a plain one; to awaken the public conscience to the moral issues involved. That done, the rest will follow automatically.

Let us not be afraid of becoming "political," even to the extent of being a thorn in the flesh of governments and their self-satisfied supporters. Since it is our business to instil morality into foreign policies we must grapple with political matters and with the men who handle them. The Union should not be a party concern, but it should be a moral ferment working in all parties, among leaders, organisers and voters, using, until the times change, every non-violent means known to those in revolt against intolerable conditions. Patience can become a fault when the fate of civilisation hangs in the balance.

The branches need more inspiration, not more knowledge of international affairs; they need to be stirred to greater missionary activity, not to deeper insight into economics and finance. Each should take stock of its real forces and get together a band of crusaders prepared to carry by storm the strongholds of public hostility and indifference; trained and equipped to beat the enemy at his own game and on his own ground.

Reaction and anarchy are getting ready to strike. The Union, too, must put itself on a war footing, and strike first.

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