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# LEAGUE SOCIETIES ASK FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE

By W. ARNOLD-FORSTER

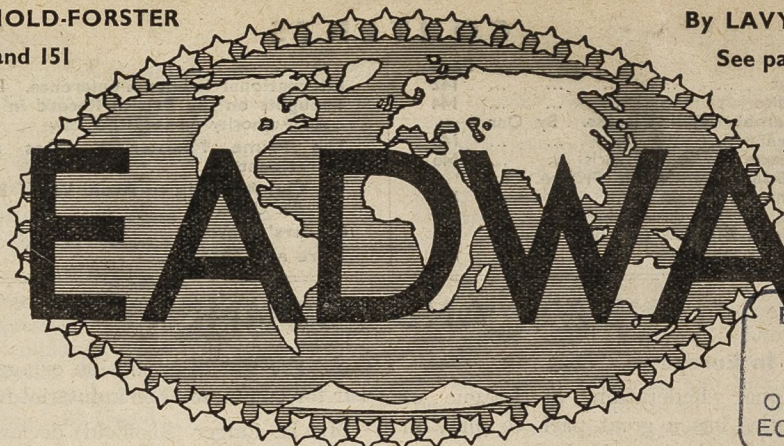
See pages 150 and 151

# PALESTINE

By LAVY BAKSTANSKY

See pages 148 and 149

# HEADWAY



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OF POLITICAL AND  
ECONOMIC SCIENCE

## A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

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WHY CAN'T WE BE FRIENDS?

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## NEWS AND COMMENT

## Wiser Thoughts In Europe

THE International Federation of League of Nations Societies has a great part to play in world affairs. In the past it has not always shown the requisite insight and energy; its record for 1937 leaves it clear of all present reproach. At its Plenary Congress, held in the Czecho-Slovakian health resort of Bratislava, it not only faced the greatest problems of the day but also boldly laid down the lines on which wise solutions must be found. Defend the law but make sure the law is just. That was the principle inspiring its resolution, drawn out in full practical detail, on collective security and peaceful change.

Mr. Arnold-Forster, who was a member of the British delegation, gives elsewhere in the present number of HEADWAY a full account of the Congress. Two comments may be added usefully. The spokesmen of Central and South-Eastern Europe were eager as never before to see one another's points of view, willing to satisfy other people's needs as the price of peace. The old Austro-Hungarian Empire performed a necessary function in the political economy of Europe; otherwise it could not have lived so long. Its succession states begin to see that a new means must be devised to serve the same purpose. Further, the L.N.U. contributed most effectually to the translation of Europe's wiser thoughts into workable plans.

## "War Is Insanity"

THE doctor is a man compelled to see facts as they are. He is also always the partisan of life against death. One consequence is that he supports the League.

The annual meeting of the British Medical Association, held in Belfast last month, decided by an overwhelming majority to press the League to establish in its Health Organisation an international section which should deal with the psychology of war. A proposal to set up a British Committee was rejected, on the ground that any study must be international, and if individual action were required, the League would ask for it.

Dr. J. Nunan (Sheffield) said war was barbarous, futile, and always disastrous to victor and vanquished alike. Their task was to educate mass humanity away from war, which could be divided into four classes—war caused by vanity and ambition, coupled with inordinate hero-worship; dynastic

war; the war of expansion or aggression; and the war for commercial or industrial furtherance.

Mr. H. Caiger (Sheffield) declared: "War is the criminal insanity of humanity, and if our profession has to do with mental disorder, and if psychology comes within the province of our profession, then we have to deal with the psychology of war."

## The Prime Minister

SELDOM has the L.N.U. had a better press than it had for the letters which passed between the Prime Minister and Viscount Cecil on Mr. Chamberlain's acceptance of an Honorary Presidency of the Union. The letters are printed in full in another page of the present number of HEADWAY. All the morning and evening papers published in London gave at least the purport of the correspondence; more than fifty daily papers published elsewhere in Great Britain did the same. The enemies of the League and the Union were dismayed, no matter what the disguise under which they attempted to hide their rebuff. The friends of both were much encouraged.

Serious opinion in all parties was agreed on three essentials. The Prime Minister had not joined the Union without careful thought. His decision and the letter in which he announced it were proof of his resolve to support the League and of the high value he sets upon the Union's work. Secondly, Viscount Cecil's invitation to Conservatives to give the Union more active help ought to meet with a prompt and generous response, since a balanced all-party membership is a sure guarantee of impartiality in an all-party organisation. Finally, an all-party organisation was under a bond of honour not to allow itself to be used as an organ of party propaganda or exploited for party purposes. Between parties the Union must be neutral. But between the League's friends and the League's enemies it could not hesitate; its duty compelled it to take sides. Unless it remained free on world issues to advocate a full League policy it would have no reason for existing. Generally, the press acknowledged Lord Cecil's right to insist on such a freedom, and repudiated any suggestion that the Prime Minister would ever wish to challenge it.

Such is a brief summary of an immense volume of press comment, whose friendly and helpful tone deserves grateful acknowledgment.

## Against An Aggressor

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, at Middlesbrough on Saturday, July 17, stated again by inference his attitude to the League. After a regretful estimate of the money which would have been available for reduction of debt, remission of taxes, and general improvements if it had not been all swallowed up by the need for rearmament, he went on:

Everybody knows that our arms will never be used for purposes of aggression. On the other hand, anyone who might be contemplating aggression would be likely to hesitate if, counting up the forces that might be brought against him, he reckoned on the power and resources of a Britain fully armed.

Many friends of the League would be better pleased if the Prime Minister would use warmer words to assert a livelier devotion to their cause. But he has already made it plain that he intends to go part of the way with them. And shrewd observers predict that in action the part will prove much longer than his habit of understatement suggests at the first hearing.

## Neither Dead Nor Moribund

IN the House of Commons on Monday, July 19, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs said:

In spite of the events of the last year the League is neither dead nor moribund, as some people maintain. The field of action may be restricted by the limitation of League membership and by the absence from Geneva of many powerful States, but the League still exercises a valuable political influence. The settlement only a short while ago of the dispute between France and Turkey over the Sanjak of Alexandretta was an example of this. That dispute had all the elements which might in different conditions have led to a grave international situation. I am confident that but for the fact that it was possible to handle it by what we may call League methods a solution would not have been found in the time and the circumstances which prevail. It was an important victory, we think, for League principles and methods. . . .

In the same speech Mr. Eden, declaring that the United States and Great Britain desired to make "a practical contribution to the development of international trade and the movement for promoting world peace through economic agreements," added:

In that connection there is the work which has been done in recent months by the League of Nations inquiry into the question of equal commercial access to raw materials for all nations. This inquiry should also be of assistance—and its report will be available in September, I understand—in providing both information and possibly suggestions leading in the direction of freer trade and of economic appeasement.

## Letters To The "Guardian"

THE *Manchester Guardian*, to which both the League and the Union owe a heavy debt for its consistent support, has recently published, in its always interesting correspondence columns, a series of illuminating letters from readers. Two of special note were one from a writer who signed himself "Tortoise," and the other from Sir Norman Angell.

Welcoming the Prime Minister's acceptance of

an Honorary Presidency of the Union, "Tortoise" wrote on July 12:

Ever since its inception the Union has successfully preserved its non-party character. . . . Its policy, broadly speaking, has been to applaud successive Governments whenever they have pursued a League policy, and, when they have failed, to suggest to them—always very politely—that they should mend their ways. . . .

The main work of the Union . . . consists in fertilising the soil of public opinion, in implanting in the hearts and minds of the people of this country, and especially the young people, a thorough knowledge and understanding of what the League is, what it means, and what it can achieve. For so, and not otherwise, will the League and all it stands for be enabled, so far as this country is concerned, to strike its roots deep.

Sir Norman Angell, on July 13, dealt with the crucial point that collective defence and peaceful change are inseparably linked. Unless the nations choose both they can have neither. He wrote:

The only solution for Germany's economic difficulties is an international one. But Germany rejects economic internationalism because, for defence, she desires to be economically self-sufficient. She will not abandon that effort unless her security (from, say, Russia or France) is assured. If that security is to rest upon Germany's preponderance, then her neighbours are insecure, as the war proved. Only by the collective method can the security of one be made compatible with that of the other; or economic internationalism, indispensable to welfare, reconciled with defence. . . .

There can be no just revision or effective peaceful change unless nations feel safe. For otherwise they will retain unjust frontiers, develop economic self-sufficiency, continue in all the other mischief that keeps Europe in a turmoil. Redress of grievances is not the alternative to collective security; the latter is the *sine qua non* of any effective redress of grievances whatever.

## Union Appeal Council

THE newly constituted National Advisory Appeal Council of the Union, held its first meeting at the Dorchester Hotel, London, on July 21. The Earl of Lytton presided, and there were present many well-known men and women, representing every side of British life, to hear a statement of the Union's position and its plans for the immediate future. Recent events have brought the Union's claims to support before members of all parties with a new urgency. The Union does not intend to lose the impetus given to it by his approval. It contemplates a systematic extension and reinforcement of its work.

## Paris Peace Pavilion

THE Peace Pavilion at the Paris International Exhibition was opened on July 9. Viscount Cecil and M. Joseph Avenol were among the speakers.

M. Leon Blum said:

If one looks for the causes of present difficulties one finds them in the blows suffered by international morality, international solidarity and international organisation incarnated in the League of Nations. It is for these reasons that mistrust, terror and intrigue have been introduced into Europe. Experience teaches us to remain attached to that great ideal which is ours, and which our effort can and must transform into reality.



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## PEACEFUL CHANGE

**P**EACEFUL change is a word of power. It is becoming a word of fashion. What it signifies must be studied closely and thoroughly so that the splendid opportunities of the moment may be put to the most effectual use while the possible dangers of an uncritical enthusiasm are not less effectually averted. For the opportunities are splendid and neglect might soon make the dangers formidably real. Especially is the duty of bringing to light all relevant facts and determining their weight and consequence in relation to clearly stated principles laid upon the League of Nations Union. If the Union has any reason for existing it is that Union members are thereby helped, and through them the public at large, to know a little more about world affairs and to see a little deeper into world problems than could be expected of them otherwise. The Union is essentially a democratic body, not only in its constitution, but also in the service it performs. Democracy requires from the plain man a great deal of mental activity on topics outside the ambit of his day-to-day, personal concerns. Without an adequate stimulus such activity is never easy; unless the stimulus is exactly calculated and consistently applied the activity is all too often diffused, intermittent, and, in the end, wasted. For nearly twenty years the Union has supplied the stimulus. In the matter of peaceful change the stimulus cannot be derived safely from any other source. Nor can the restraint, which is equally necessary.

The Union did not delay until the new fashion had appeared to insist upon the supreme importance of a recognised regular method for the revision of Treaties which changed conditions had made unjust. To-day, when a hubbub of abuse is directed against the Versailles Treaty, not seldom from quarters where, in 1919, President Wilson's quiet warning: "We must be just to those to whom we wish to be just and to those to whom we do not wish to be just" was cried down as treason, a reminder is timely that many leaders of the Union criticised promptly and pertinently the procedure which was adopted and the terms which were imposed. They accepted the settlement, however, because it included the Covenant. By including the Covenant the Versailles Treaty provided the means for its own modification. General Smuts, in his historic explanation after he had written his signature, built his high hopes for the future on that very ground. And, in fact, the

amendment of the Treaty, beginning almost as soon as it was signed, has been rapid and extensive. Admittedly, more vigorous use might have been made of the League. Admittedly, also, many opportunities have been lost with disastrous results. Nevertheless, the League has eased and hastened the transition from the suspicions and enmities of the war, which inevitably survived in the post-war years to an equal partnership which alone can build a lasting peace. No charge is more ridiculous than the current accusation against the League that it fastens the deadly letter of Versailles upon the living body of the nations. The exact contrary is the truth. True, the League has always opposed a resort to violence for the enforcement of national claims. Peace depends upon its continuing to do so. But, directly and indirectly and through the influence exercised by its presence as an embodiment of the ideal of an ordered world and as a promise of security in such a world, it has opened many doors to negotiation and concession. To take one example amongst many, the stages by which the Allied armies were withdrawn from the occupied German territories on the Rhine are episodes in the League's service to a just settlement in Europe. Had the League been stronger, had its member States, understanding where their true permanent interests lay, honoured their bond in full, it would have proved a more effectual organ of peaceful change. But always those who have desired peaceful change, not as a polite formula under which the special ambition of a favoured claimant may be respectably satisfied, but as an essential part of the machinery operating a world order in which war no longer has any place, have been loyal supporters of the League and they have been clear sighted in their support.

In championing the League the Union has championed peaceful change. It has not rested content with the League's actual achievements. It has pressed peoples and governments to develop in good time a technique capable of averting dangers before they darken into disasters. Three years ago, at the Folkestone Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, the Union persuaded the delegates of more than twenty nations to give serious thought to Article XIX of the Covenant. In last winter's manifesto, adopted by the General Council at Torquay in June, and now being read and pondered in all parts of the world, the Union presents again the full argument for an alternative to war. War can be banished only if defeat is made probable for an aggressor and if peaceful means are available to meet reasonable grievances. In the last resort the law must be defended: before the law can be defended it must be just. Lord Allen drove home the point in his speech at Torquay, since published in a leaflet, and in his contribution to last month's HEADWAY, as did Sir Norman Angell in his masterly letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, quoted elsewhere in the present number. Next, at Bratislava, in July, the International Federation, under the Union's impulse, followed up its Folkestone discussion by accepting a detailed scheme which may be summarised in the maxim: "The League member who comes for security must come with clean hands. When his hands are clean the League must make him safe."

## Questions the Assembly Will Discuss.

By Our Special Correspondent.

Geneva, July 17.

**A** YEAR ago to-day, Civil War broke out in Spain. This new clash, which speedily developed from a military mutiny into a first-class war between Hitler, Mussolini and Franco on one side and the Spanish Government, with varying support from several sources, on the other, came right after the end of Sanctions against Italy.

This was not a coincidence; not until Mussolini had thrown off the yoke of the League's punitive measures (with the accent on "puni") did he dare become involved in another war in Europe, especially as large numbers of his troops and planes were still in Africa.

When the Duce did act in Spain, the terrible tension which had existed in Europe throughout the Italo-Abyssinian dispute was increased to an extent which would have seemed impossible twelve months ago. Since July 18, 1936, we have been living in a political atmosphere unlike anything that the world has ever known. The big crises of the 10 years before 1914 were, at the most, over in a few weeks—until the final disaster. The crisis which we have been living through during the past year has been a combination of the 1905 Morocco crisis, the 1908 Bosnian crisis, and the 1911 Morocco crisis (history may not repeat itself, but the old names keep on coming back) plus two or three little crises of that epoch of which even the names have been forgotten by all but those with the best memories.

In this storm, Geneva and the League have too often been the calm, still centre that is supposed to exist in the middle of a hurricane. At the outset of the war, Britain and France decided to forget the Covenant and to keep the Spanish dispute from the due processes of international law.

There are already hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children dead; the hundreds of thousands may grow into millions.

Despite the efforts made by Britain and France to prevent Spain from having a hearing at Geneva, on two occasions Valencia has broken through the conspiracy of silence. Spain has brought the war into the Council Room, ironically decorated with murals showing the world renouncing war—the gift of the Government of Spain.

That it was possible for Señor del Vayo to do this, and that, when he had done it, he had made useful propaganda for his cause, was due to the strength of the League tradition, which still lives, obstinately. In these articles from Geneva your correspondent has pointed out repeatedly how firmly rooted is this tradition and what a lot of killing it survives. As often he has felt obliged to add the warning that, nevertheless, it will be killed if it has to continue to suffer the treatment that it is getting at present.

However, the tradition is strong enough to ensure that in September—when the Assembly holds its Eighteenth Session—Spain will be the principal topic of conversation between the representatives of 50 or 60 States gathered at Geneva. This will happen whether or not the Valencia government raises the question of the war

again. One of the great merits of the Assembly is that by merely existing it gives an opportunity for statesmen to discuss their troubles. The questions may be on the agenda of the Assembly or not; one can always be certain that all the principal problems of the world will be tackled at Geneva during the three weeks of the Assembly.

There is another way in which the war in Spain may come before the Assembly, for it is likely that General Franco's agents in Geneva will begin another diplomatic endeavour to obtain recognition of their master as the legitimate ruler of Spain.

A strong reason for starting an agitation on his own behalf which General Franco has is that he knows that even if it were unsuccessful in Geneva there are a number of states who are in sympathy with him and who would be glad to find an excuse for recognising his government. These states are principally Latin-American.

Next in importance to the Spanish question at the Assembly will be the discussion in the Second Committee, following up M. Van Zeeland's visit to America and his discussions with various powers about economic matters. This Second Committee of the Assembly considers each year the financial and economic health of the world, and this year it is likely to produce the most interesting discussions within the Assembly itself. The principal economic experts of member states will take part in it, and it can be regarded as a try-out for a new World Economic Conference. If the members of the League are not in agreement about action that can be taken to improve international economic relations, it is certain that there would be no point in inviting other states to join in further discussions.

Before the Assembly meets, however, there will be another important question to come before the League. On July 30, the Permanent Mandates Commission will meet to study the proposals of the Royal Commission for dividing the Holy Land into three parts. Later on, at the request of the British Government, the question will be brought before the September session of the Council.

There is no area in the world whose future interests more nations than Palestine. Arab countries, countries with a large Jewish population, and countries with a strategic interest in the Mediterranean will all take eager part in the League debates. The Palestine situation is, of course, a great gift for Mussolini—especially in his new role of "Protector of Islam," and he may regret that he has withdrawn from Geneva, for if Baron Aloisi were back in Italy's now empty chair at the Council table, he would be able to make all sorts of trouble for Mr. Eden.

And while this is staged in the limelight, the Secretariat will be engaged on those thousand and one odd jobs of the League of which no one ever hears.

Measures to prevent the extinction of whales, measures to check the spread of plague in the Orient, measures to facilitate the international trade in bones, measures to care for 1,000,000 refugees.

Somehow or other, the essential services of the world will go on.

# TRADE CAN HELP PEACE

Chance To Improve British-American Relations

By E. V. FRANCIS, a financial journalist in the City of London, whose duties keep him in daily touch with business opinion.

ONE of the inescapable conclusions to be drawn from recent attempts to better international relations is that there can be no effective political appeasement without some solution of the major economic problem—namely, greater freedom for the commerce of the world.

The rôle assigned to Great Britain in this matter is vital in view of British pre-eminence in international trade, industry and finance. It is for this reason that the possibilities of a new economic rapprochement will, in this article, be examined from the standpoint of British-American relations, leaving the question of British commercial policy in relation to the rest of the world to be dealt with in a concluding article.

Although the Imperial Conference did not after a month's deliberations produce any concrete results of immediate consequence, it has at least provided us with the invaluable assurance that the closely co-ordinated system of trading maintained within the Empire does not constitute an impediment to closer economic co-operation with outside countries.

As a political starting point for economic agreements on a wider scale, the Imperial Conference fulfilled an important function. The representatives of the Commonwealth Governments agreed unanimously that the settlement of differences which arise between nations, and the adjustment of national needs, should be sought by methods of co-operation, joint inquiry, and conciliation. Their policies were declared to be based on the aims and ideals of the League of Nations, whose influence, they felt, should be strengthened by the enlargement of its membership.

There is little that is new in this declaration, for the policies pursued by each member of the Commonwealth have continuously reflected its intention. Nevertheless, the principles of co-operation which it enunciates have gained in significance for being put forward in a common declaration.

By general consent, the most important line of advance towards the wider application of this doctrine points to the early conclusion of a liberal trade agreement with the United States. That is why attention was focused during the Conference on the unofficial discussions of the American proposals for a commercial treaty, even though they did not figure in the official agenda.

The importance of these discussions may be judged from the fact that in order to reconcile an Anglo-American treaty with the Ottawa Agreements certain of the Dominions would be required to make concessions regarding Imperial Preference in favour of the American farmer in the British market. Further than that little has been yet made clear.

If there are misgivings about the Imperial Conference it is that it has kept silent about this vital question. It has given no indication whether it is possible to

harmonise the Ottawa Agreements with an effective trade treaty of this kind, which would enable the United States to find an easy way out of its relatively isolated economic position.

A moment has arrived when it has again become possible for a Minister like Mr. Cordell Hull to advocate lower tariffs and freer trade with considerable chances of success within his own country.

Such opportunities are extremely rare in American history. Although the Neutrality Bill provides for economic isolation in time of war, the present efforts of the Roosevelt Administration are at the same time making for the elimination of the economic causes of political conflict. The American public is behind this policy. Even the manufacturers realise that tariff concessions are unavoidable if this is to materialise in a thoroughgoing trade treaty with Britain.

Now this phase of economic liberalism in the United States is one of the most encouraging signs of the times. It opens up the possibility of regathering the threads of international economic co-operation which were so abruptly severed at the onset of the last depression. The movement offers a broader basis for world trade and at the same time provides the thin end of the wedge for the resumption of American collaboration in other spheres.

On the other hand, this manifestation of goodwill cannot be expected to survive an indifferent response from Great Britain and other countries. Nor is it likely to develop into a positive element in international relations if the average American's desire for quick results becomes blunted by interminably protracted negotiations. In passing, it must not be forgotten that informal discussions between British and American officials have been going on since the close of last year.

It is because interests of Britain and the Empire lie in the stimulation of commercial intercourse on the widest possible scale that the re-entry of the United States into the world's markets should be facilitated by every means possible. It is becoming increasingly clear that for the majority of Americans the conclusion of a liberal trade pact with this country is regarded as something of a test case for Mr. Cordell Hull's new tariff policy. And if it should disappoint, it is unlikely that the United States will bother to seek another method of approach to the international arena.

Politically and economically, the question of a new Anglo-American trade treaty is of paramount importance. The silence of the Imperial Conference on the subject has tended inevitably to create a slight confusion as to the present trend of policy. It is to be hoped, therefore, that its resolution in favour of every practical step to promote international trade will have the desired effect on the coming Anglo-American negotiations.

# An International Study Centre In France

By HAROLD C. SHEARMAN

THE train from Geneva pulled up in the early hours of a summer morning at a station on the borders of Burgundy. As we gathered round the coffee wagon, on the platform, I was thinking of my last halt at this junction, on a winter morning, on my return from a visit to the Abbey of Pontigny a few miles away.

For many years the veteran Professor Paul Desjardins—the Gilbert Murray of France—who lives in and cares for Pontigny—has made it a centre of international intercourse; 10-day conferences on international aspects of European civilisation past and present have drawn people together from many lands. To-day, Pontigny is making a new departure and a new experiment, which it is the purpose of this article to describe.

Pontigny is in itself a place of great interest to Englishmen. Here, in a famous Cistercian Abbey, Thomas à Becket lived in exile, and here, 60 years later, his successor, Archbishop Edmund Rich, the first famous teacher at the University of Oxford, was buried. In its latest guise it has also something of a British air about it. Professor Desjardins and his friends are trying to make Pontigny into a somewhat similar centre to Newbattle Abbey—the new home for adult education in Scotland. It is to be a "teaching fellowship": not a guild of specialist teachers like a University, but "an organism of free adults, who deliberate, adventure, make their own certitudes for themselves; where education is not given by one and received by the others but exchanged." In short, it is conceived in the spirit which has inspired the pioneer movements for adult education in England and Scandinavia, the Workers' Educational Association, the Danish Folk High Schools, but which has until very recently been alien and uncongenial to the individualistic temper of France.

The new venture at Pontigny is the result of contacts being established in a way which is something of a romance. The organiser of the Scandinavian Geneva School, which is accommodated each summer in the University Hostel near the new League Palace, is a journalist who also interprets for the Scandinavian Trade Unions at the International Labour Conferences. Sven Backlund is an international man; and, in particular, he has come to think of France as his second country and to be a student of her life and civilisation. In the course of his travels, he discovered Pontigny; and his meeting with its resident is described in the booklet "Anti-Babel," in which the project which resulted from their contact is set out: "Two Europeans, born 1,000 kilometres apart: one a Swedish journalist, Sven Backlund—a socialist, but first and foremost a man with an open mind; the other a French professor, Paul Desjardins, burdened with years and living in retirement in a village."

Each brought his own germ of an idea. To Backlund, Scandinavia is an idea—a dream of four nations learning to live in harmony and, from their experience, helping to mould a Europe no longer hopelessly divided into

warring nations, but unable to do so without more intimate knowledge of another country and another culture. To Desjardins, the dominating fact in the contemporary world is "the confusion of ideas" which prevents men from recognising the "rule of law" in international relations. In the "war against confusion," France has, with its clarity of thought and expression, a special part to play.

Happily there is a third partner ready to come into the fellowship, the newest of the adult education movements: the Workers' Educational Institute in Paris, of which Monsieur and Madame Lefranc are the leaders, and which has the backing of the great French Trade Union Confederation (C.G.T.). When, therefore, the new idea of an international school began to take shape, there met at Pontigny a small group, including Professor Desjardins, Sven Backlund, Léon Jouhaux (of the C.G.T.), M. Lefranc, and an English observer and sympathiser. And A.E.P. (l'Amitié Enseignante de Pontigny) is the resultant enterprise which is now making its first experiments in living together and learning together. The Scandinavians form one study group, the French-speaking group is another and the English-speaking group a third. Each—such is the plan—will have as spokesman its most fluent French-speaking member: and in the daily reunion, when ideas are pooled, this "rapporteur" will speak for his compatriots. Thus it is hoped, during a two months' course, the visitors will make some contacts with the mind and spirit of France, and all will be enabled to reflect on the national and international realities with which Geneva has to deal.

For the Geneva idea is central to the Pontigny project, and Professor Desjardins announces his unhesitating aim: "to save this germ of justice for the world." What Englishman, least of all any member of the L.N.U., can fail to feel responsive to his idealism, which thus acknowledges English inspiration? "Which is the best method," asks the Professor, "of furthering the work of the League of Nations: to render the terms of the Covenant automatic so that they can function while we sleep, or to forge a number of consciences, capable of facing sudden and terrible emergencies? For educationists, obviously, there can only be one answer. Among these educated minds, Lord Cecil can be considered as the standard-bearer. To Great Britain, fearless nation that she is, falls the task of teaching the true ideal, rather by example than by talk. And she is doing it."

We may wish, some of us, that Britain were at present worthier of this high praise. But we can respond to the spirit in which it is offered. And the project of an international study centre, seeking to draw together in close mutual understanding the peoples of the democracies of England, France and Scandinavia, is one we cannot fail to welcome. Any member of the Union who would wish to make contacts with Pontigny is invited to send an inquiry.

# VIOLENCE REWARDED

## A Jewish View of the Royal Commission for Palestine

By LAVY BAKSTANSKY

THE unanimity of the praise which the Press has been showering upon the verdict of the Royal Commission for Palestine must have seemed, to quote an expression from the Report, "forthcoming . . . to an embarrassing extent." But a careful study of the pages of this weighty Report compels the impression that the most telling argument is the resort to violence.

The Royal Commission prefaces its pronouncement with an historical survey which is, in fact, a vindication of the Zionist case. It is admitted that in 1917 the Jews were promised by Great Britain a Jewish State in Palestine, and that "the field in which the Jewish National Home was to be established was understood, at the time of the Balfour Declaration, to be the whole of historic Palestine." The evidence of Mr. Lloyd George is quoted to show that this promise was made at a time when Jewish sympathies throughout the world were about to be invoked for the Allies, and that the Jews "kept their word." It is therefore not surprising that the Commissioners assert that the primary purpose of the Mandate was the establishment of the Jewish National Home.

### War Pledges to Arabs

The Commission goes on to emphasise what had previously been publicly stated by successive British Colonial Secretaries, as well as by Lord Milner, T. E. Lawrence and Sir Henry MacMahon himself, that the war pledges to the Arabs did not include Palestine. Indeed, "the Arabs of Palestine did not rise against the Turks." On the other hand, the Commission does not shrink from recording that "in so far as the Balfour Declaration helped to bring about the Allies' victory, it helped to bring about the emancipation of all the Arab countries from Turkish rule." The Feisal-Weizmann agreement is quoted to indicate the goodwill which prevailed soon after the Balfour Declaration between the Zionist leader and the chief Arab representative at the Peace Conference.

Still more striking is the Commission's tribute to Jewish economic achievements in Palestine and their favourable repercussions upon the Arab economy: the wages of Arab skilled labourers are four times as high as in Syria, and the fellahin "are on the whole better off than they were in 1920." The social services which are available for the Arabs of Palestine are "far more advanced than those of an Indian province or an African colony."

### Jews Once Made History

The Report's appreciation of the implications of Zionism is refreshing in its profundity. "Escape from 'minority life' would give the Jews a chance to show what they could do as Jews, as a Jewish community, as a Jewish nation. They had once made history. Given a land of their own, they might make it again."

The courage of the Commissioners is keenly apparent

in their examination of the record of the Palestine administration. At a time when the Mediterranean countries are dominated by the expansionist intrigues of the "new Roman Empire" and the aspersions which emanate from the air waves of Italy—it takes a British Royal Commission to criticise openly, if not censure, its own representatives in the Near East.

"And if one thing stands out clear from the record of the Mandatory administration, it is the leniency with which Arab political agitation, even when carried to the point of violence and murder, has been treated.

"After each successive outbreak, punishment was sparing and clemency the rule; there was no real attempt at disarmament nor any general repression . . ."

As to the outbreak of 1936, the Palestine administration "carried the policy of conciliation to its farthest possible limit."

### No Check on Mufti

The Commission further finds that the activities of the Higher Arab Committee, under the chairmanship of the Mufti, were prejudicial to law and order and the Mufti is assessed his full share of responsibility. That no steps have been taken by the Administration to curtail the power of the Mufti and to regulate the activities of the Supreme Moslem Council is the subject of further criticism. Above everything, the administration is reproved for its failure to maintain security.

These facts established, one would have expected the Commission to recommend radical reforms in the Palestine administration so as to ensure that Britain's pledge of honour to the Jewish people shall be fully implemented and so that Palestine might continue to enjoy the prosperity which was brought by Jewish immigration. It is nothing less than staggering to find in the second and third sections of the Report that the Commissioners appear to be abandoning completely their own fact-finding efforts. If the Mandate is to be maintained, the Commissioners recommend a restriction on Jewish immigration and upon the sale of land so drastic that it is calculated to stultify, if not to destroy, the Jewish National Home. This, however, finds little favour with the Commissioners themselves. It is in this setting that the ambitious partition scheme is ushered in. Having admitted that Great Britain promised the Jews a State totalling about 45,000 square miles, it is suggested that in complete fulfilment of "the bargain" the Jews should agree to accept a territory which is less than 2,000 square miles—a little larger than Lancashire!

### "Insurgent Nationalism"

In justification of this rather amazing and colossal inconsistency as between the findings and the conclusions of the Report, the Commission falls back upon Arab "insurgent nationalism." It does not suffice that in order to placate this "insurgent nationalism,"

the Allies, and especially Great Britain, had already helped to establish in independence four Arab States which in area equal nearly the whole of Europe (excluding Russia). The "surgical operation" performed in 1921, when Transjordan was partitioned away from the country originally envisaged by the Balfour Declaration has also failed to satisfy this lust for domination.

But what precisely does Arab nationalism in Palestine imply? In a country where the overwhelming majority of its Arab inhabitants are illiterate and wholly untrained for a democratic system of government, a National movement will frequently be the cloak concealing the ambitions of feudal landlords and self-seeking politicians in their thirst for power and exploitation.

### In The Arab States

Since the War, Arab States have been or are in the process of being established in Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Transjordan and Syria. There, insurgent Arab nationalism has been completely satisfied, but an examination of the economic position of the majority of Arabs inhabiting these territories will reveal their hopelessly low standard of living, their subjection to a small ruling clique, and their immense distance from the remotest contact with Western civilisation. It is in the name of this nationalism that the masses of the Arabs of Palestine are to be handed over to be subjected to irresponsible Arab agitators, whose power, the Report recognises, has been enhanced by the weakness and the dilatoriness with which the Palestine administration has met their activities since the inception of the Mandate. But why is insurgent Arab nationalism expected to stop here? We know that it is opposed to partition. Suppose partition is forced through? In a few years' time, should His Eminence the Mufti organise an even greater rebellion, would not the successors of Lord Peel and his colleagues be entitled, on the basis of the same reasoning, to recommend the further partitioning of the Jewish State which is about to be created?

### Partition Injustices

Even graver misgivings arise from an examination of some of the major provisions of the partition scheme.

#### I.—Jerusalem

To advocate the re-establishment of the Jewish State without Jerusalem seems almost a contradiction in terms. To include the new Jerusalem, with its population of 75,000 Jews, about 20 per cent. of the total Jewish population of Palestine, within the Jewish State, would hardly represent a satisfactory concession to Jewish history and aspirations but it is the very least that should have been recommended, especially as Jaffa, at the other end of the British corridor, is singled out for inclusion in the Arab State.

#### II.—The Frontiers

The main argument which is advanced in support of the Commission's plan is its boldness and the radical character of its solution. The Arabs have clamoured for independence and freedom from Jewish domination—they are being offered a vast territory in which both conditions will be fulfilled. The Jewish problem, however, is based upon the homelessness of at least 5,000,000 Jews. Has the Commission provided a radical solution for this age-long problem, which is indeed a challenge to the whole of humanity?

The territory assigned to the Jews does not exceed 1,800 square miles, with a strategically weak boundary line especially along the coast, which will be exposed to raids or invasions from the Arab hills. Similarly, some of the best and oldest Jewish colonies, lying on the north-eastern frontier, together with the electric power station in the Jordan Valley, and the Dead Sea potash works in the south, are assigned to the Arab State; thus the Jews will be deprived of enterprises which are of the greatest moment to future economic development and owe their origin to Jewish enterprise and investment.

Above all, the Negev, the triangular tract of land delimited by Akaba, the Dead Sea and Khan Yunis, a vast block of undeveloped and neglected land, is also to form part of the already extravagantly spacious Arab territory. There are few other areas in Palestine which were so obviously marked out to be assigned to the Jewish territory, to undergo the same transformation which has characterised Jewish pioneering contact with derelict wastes in the Holy Land. To have added the Negev to the Jewish State would have entitled the Commission to claim that they had gone a long way towards producing a solution to Jewish distress and homelessness.

#### III.—Sovereignty

The Report confidently anticipates that the Jews will ultimately accept its main recommendations on the ground that for the first time in 2,000 years the Jews will once again be granted the status of a Sovereign State. This attractive privilege is, however, drastically riddled with destructive modifications. All towns in the Jewish State, with the exception of Tel Aviv, are to be subjected to temporary mandates, the duration of which is undefined. Tel Aviv is deprived of the right to establish its own independent port in favour of a joint port with the Arab town of Jaffa, to be administered by a Joint Harbour Board, headed by an officer of the Mandatory Government. It will thus probably fall to the Mandatory Government to remain in control of immigration and land settlement within the towns included in the temporary mandates, thereby rendering Jewish sovereignty, in the spheres in which it really matters, a sham and a delusion.

#### Will Criticism Be Heard?

It should be admitted that a consideration of the Report by the Jewish communities of the world has been acutely prejudiced by the statement of policy of His Majesty's Government which accompanied its publication. That statement, which announced a drastic restriction of Jewish immigration during the next eight months, has given rise to the fear that whilst the Government is determined to accept and enforce the restrictive proposals of the Commission, it will do little to meet legitimate Jewish criticisms of the Report. Indeed, messages from Palestine indicate that the Administration continue to adopt the same lenient attitude towards the subversive activities of the Mufti and his colleagues, who are at present apparently engaged in precipitating widespread disorder.

In these circumstances it is hardly surprising that the publication of the Report of the Royal Commission was greeted in Palestine by a procession of Jews to the Wailing Wall.

# League Societies Do a Big Job

## At Their Annual Congress

By W. ARNOLD-FORSTER

THE Federation of League of Nations Societies held its Annual Congress last month at Bratislava, in Southern Czecho-Slovakia. Faced by the League's crisis, it showed an exceptional temper of determination and co-operation, and reached agreement upon many substantial resolutions, including at least one which is likely to stand alongside the Federation's famous Budapest Resolution on Disarmament as an outstanding contribution.

I have not space to deal here with the bulk of the resolutions, such as those on Education, Minorities, Refugees, the 40-hour week, Economic co-operation between the States along the Danube, or the important one on Colonies and Raw Materials and the extension of the principles of the Mandate System. I hope many readers will get these texts from 15, Grosvenor Crescent. Here I can only refer to Spain, Ethiopia, and Reform of the Covenant.

### Spain.

The Congress was unanimous in recognising that the military action of "certain states" (meaning, of course, Germany and Italy) "amounts in practice to aggression": that "unless this situation is very rapidly ended," the extraordinary measures concerning the trade in arms would serve only to aggravate the effects of the aggression, and the League would be compelled, "after establishing ('*Constatant*') the facts of the situation, to take immediate measures for the application of the Covenant."

The British delegation was glad to vote for this resolution, and to find it unanimously supported; glad, too, that no delegation tried to shut its eyes, as certain Governments have done, to the piled-up evidence that the Italian and German governments have been and are committing aggression, violating the integrity of Spain; glad, in particular, that the Federation, like the General Council and Executive of the Union, appreciates the urgent need for loyal "application of the Covenant."

But we thought it right to remind the Congress, before voting, that this vote involves a choice of the utmost gravity—a choice between the risks of trying to make the League work and the risks of leaving it to rust unused. Yes, there are grave risks on both sides. After the betrayal of Ethiopia, after the long "lie of non-intervention" (M. Blum's description), after the incessant retreats by the democratic Powers in face of the Fascist challenge, it might prove impossible, even granted courageous leadership by Britain, France and Russia, to secure the necessary cohesion in the League. And there would certainly be some risk of war in any adequate action that the League might take to stop the aggression. But we supported the Bratislava Resolutions because, coming fresh from the General Council at Torquay, we knew that the Union agreed with us in thinking that this was a lesser risk than that involved in the alternative course, which includes letting the League slither into utter discredit. And the Congress unanimously shared that view.

### Ethiopia.

On Ethiopia, the Congress reaffirmed earlier resolutions about the duty of League members not to recognise the Italian annexation, and added that Ethiopia's continued membership of the League must be sustained, together with the right of Haile Selassie as *de jure* ruler of Ethiopia to continue to accredit representatives to the League.

The Congress, at the instance of its President, Senator Rolin, of Belgium, thought it advisable to make clear that this policy means something more than mere di-hard insistence on a legal formula; so it added a paragraph urging the League Assembly "to declare that this juridical situation" (*i.e.*, non-recognition of Italy's annexation) "should be maintained intact by the League of Nations, at least until negotiations under the League have assured to the Ethiopian people serious international guarantees against the abuses of the foreign occupation and the certainty that there will be a progressive return to complete independence."

### Reform of the Covenant.

The outstanding work of the Congress was the Resolution on the Covenant. This emphasises that what has brought the League to its present pass is, mainly, not any defect of the Covenant but failure to apply it resolutely and promptly. The League still has sufficient strength and numbers to make practicable a loyal application of the Covenant. But the shattering of confidence now makes it imperative that visible proof of the restoration of the League's authority should be given.

There follows a review of what might be done to improve the League's instrument and the technique of using it. Separate the Covenant effectively from the Peace Treaties. That may be of some help, psychologically, in facilitating Germany's return to the League. But don't on any account scrap or weaken the sanctions articles (X and XVI) in the hope of bringing in states now outside. That would kill the League.

Next come some careful suggestions, largely drawn from L.N.U. proposals, as to the proper limits of the obligations to co-operate in economic and military sanctions. If such limits are too narrowly drawn, the sanctions will be useless as a guarantee on which confidence can be built. But if the obligations are left so wide and vague as to induce League members to shirk making any commitment in advance, then the sanctions will not be sufficiently *predictable*, and will fail to achieve their primary purpose, prevention of war.

The Resolution says that more attention should be given to ways of assisting states victims of aggression, as distinct from ways of restraining the aggressor. It suggests that an International Assistance Fund should be created at Geneva, into which members should pay annually one-thousandth part of their annual armament budgets. The proportion sounds very small, doesn't it; so much the better for purposes of getting the principle accepted. But if you work it out, you will see that the

Fund, even on this basis, would soon become big enough to afford a powerful assistance, free from national label, to a financially weak country subjected to attack.

Now we reach the section which is the great achievement of the Congress—the agreement about methods of peaceful change. How often at previous Congresses the Union has hammered away at the point that the League must give life to Article XIX of its Covenant. Here at last is an agreed programme (subject only to a minor review by the Turks and a major one by the Rumanians) which fairly covers the ground. The agreement of these unofficial delegates is, of course, very far from being equivalent to governmental agreement, or action; but it does signify an unprecedented move in the right direction.

(1) Can the Assembly institute an Inquiry under Article XIX by a simple majority vote?—Yes, says the Resolution.

(2) What majority is needed in the Assembly when it comes to the point of recommending some peaceful change, under Article XIX?—Unanimity in the Council and a majority in the Assembly, says the Resolution. And it makes this excellent addition: the votes of states to whom the recommendation is addressed should not be counted in reckoning this unanimity. Do you realise what an advance that represents on the part of delegations from the so-called "anti-revisionist" states?

(3) What is to be done if a state to whom such a

recommendation is addressed refuses to accept it? Then, after a certain period, the other members should be "released from their obligation to render assistance to it for the maintenance of a situation whose modification would thus have been recognised as necessary. In other words, a state which persisted in rejecting the world's most authoritative recommendation would cease to be entitled to the benefits of the League's Defence Club. A perilous situation obviously, and one in which the League should not cease to be concerned, under Article XI of the Covenant, to "safeguard the peace of nations."

(4) The Resolution adds that these suggestions can only be accepted in conjunction with the previous proposals for strengthening collective security. If you think that the anxious countries are going to give life to Article XIX whilst we kill Article XVI you are mistaken. The promotion of peaceful change and the prevention of violent change are locked together.

A final section declares that even now it should be possible for League members, "as part of the general plan indicated above," to make a Treaty for the limitation and control of armaments, and the regulation of the arms trade, as a first step towards that drastic reduction of armaments which the world so desperately needs.

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So the Bratislava Congress, under M. Rolin's presidency, did a big job.

# International Labour Conference

By R. F. SCOTT

THE recent session of the International Labour Conference has been an important one. Seven questions were on the agenda. Three dealt with the application of the 40-hour week—to the textile, printing and chemical industries; one was concerned with the planning of public works in relation to employment, another with safety provisions for workers in the building industry, and finally, the two minimum age Conventions for industry and non-industrial employment were up for partial revision.

The 40-hour week question was, of course, the issue of chief importance. The general arguments in favour and in opposition to the principle of a 40-hour working week are by now widely familiar, and it is not proposed to repeat them here. However, what was of novelty at this year's Conference were the arguments drawn from practical experience of the working of the 40-hour week which the delegates of France, the United States and New Zealand could bring to the discussions.

Of chief interest, perhaps, was the present attitude of the French employers, who admitted that in the past they were as opposed to the 40-hour week as were the other employers, and who said that although certain of the disruptions to industry which they had predicted would result from the application of the 40-hour week had, in fact, taken place, this was due, in their opinion, not to the reduction of hours of work as such, but rather to the suddenness and the rigidity with which the law had been enforced.

There was general agreement in the Committees

which dealt with the reduction of hours of work that a certain elasticity of application was necessary for the effective and beneficial operation of the 40-hour week. Hence the efforts of these Committees were diverted to the possibility of making the Draft Conventions which were before them as flexible as possible and yet not inconsistent with the fundamental requirement of all I.L.O. Conventions, namely, that they shall represent a minimum *uniform* standard. Three important attempts were made to this end.

First, a two years' transition period was to be permitted after the ratification of a Convention had been made and before the required provisions had to be fully enforced. This was intended to allow for the gradual reduction of hours to the required limit with the maximum of smoothness and least dislocation to labour or capital.

Secondly, the system of averaging was to be allowed. This enables an employer to work his men for more than forty hours for a certain number of weeks, when pressure of business is great, so long as, by working less than forty hours during other weeks, the average weekly hours over a given period, say six or twelve months, do not exceed forty. This obviously allows for greater flexibility than a strict week by week average of forty.

Thirdly, there was a suggestion for including special provisions for certain backward countries in the Convention. (These really amounted to the substitution of 48 hours for 40 for these countries.) It was decided,

however, that this suggestion required further investigation before action could be taken, so that, although the special provisions were not included, the question will come up again later.

Thus, when the three Conventions appeared before the Conference for final voting, much had been done to meet the French employers' contention that rigid and sudden application of the 40-hour week would bring disruptions and not benefit to industry.

#### Testimony From America

Another important testimony in support of the 40-hour week came from the U.S.A. employers' delegate, who recounted that when President Roosevelt's N.R.A. labour codes had been ruled unconstitutional in 1935, and when, therefore, the 40-hour week, which had been in operation there for two years, was no longer legally imposed, nevertheless a high percentage of American employers had decided voluntarily to continue to apply the 40-hour week.

"I cannot persuade myself," said Mr. Butler, in replying to critics of the 40-hour week, "that what has proved feasible and advantageous in France, New Zealand and the United States is bound to be disastrous in every other country." And when the Textile Convention was put to the final vote, no less than twenty-eight Governments and two employers signified their agreement with Mr. Butler.

The Textile Convention was adopted by 88 votes against 41. Three of the Dominions voted in favour—Canada, Australia and New Zealand. H.M. Government, on the other hand, assumed the leadership of the backward eastern countries and certain notoriously reactionary European Governments, and voted against. There is not space here to assess the arguments which H.M. Government offers for its absolute opposition to the 40-hour week. But whatever those arguments may be, the position which H.M. Government holds as leader of the opposition, and friend of the backward and the reactionary, is not creditable to a great nation which not so long ago could, and did, boast that it led the world in its conditions of labour. British observers at Geneva were certainly ashamed.

The Draft Convention on printing and kindred trades failed by 14 to obtain the required two-thirds majority of votes. H.M. Government opposed. Likewise the Chemical Convention just failed to receive adoption by eight votes. H.M. Government opposed. The adoption of the Textile Convention, however, marks an important new stage in the progress of the 40-hour week movement.

#### Defence Against A Slump

Of great importance was the unopposed adoption of two recommendations and a resolution on the planning of public works in relation to employment. The first recommendation asks of all member States continuous exchange of information concerning public works planned or executed. The resolution asks the Governing Body to set up a Permanent Public Works Committee, composed of representatives of interested States members and of the competent bodies of the League, to obtain this information and to study and report upon it for the common benefit. The second recommendation advocates the application of certain principles in financing, timing and planning of public works for the purpose of mitigating the depressing effects of the business cycle.

"These are the first steps," said the rapporteur of the committee, "even though small, towards an international quarantine against the contagious disease of cyclical unemployment."

In view of the gloomy prognostications of many economists to-day concerning the transitory nature of the present prosperity and the dangerous basis of unproductive armament expenditure upon which it is largely founded, the importance of these two I.L.O. recommendations is very real. Very real also may be the benefits to those countries which are fortunate enough to have Governments which intend fully to co-operate with the I.L.O. in its suggested action.

#### British Government Support

H.M. Government failed, however, to support either recommendations, but it is earnestly to be hoped that nevertheless H.M. Government intend to co-operate in the proposed international action.

The Convention on safety provisions in the building industry was adopted by the Conference by 128 votes against none. This was the only question to receive the positive votes of H.M. Government delegates. Its provisions require that each States member which ratifies it shall maintain in force laws which ensure the application of certain fairly general principles for the safety of workers in the building industry and shall also maintain an appropriate authority which shall have power to give such effect as may be possible under national conditions to the very detailed provisions of a model Safety Code, drawn up by the I.L.O. and adopted by the Conference. To ensure that the more onerous part of the Convention was being adequately enforced by ratifying countries it is required of such countries that they shall report every third year to the I.L.O. upon the extent to which effect has been given in their industries to the provisions of the Model Code. This Convention is a valuable continuation of the work which the I.L.O. has done for the safety of workers.

Both revised minimum age Conventions were adopted, and the minimum age of entry into industrial and non-industrial employment raised from 14 to 15. H.M. Government abstained from voting because the permitted exceptions were not wide enough. Even the Government delegates of India and China, however, by voting for these revised Conventions, put H.M. Government to shame.

#### I.L.O. A Vital Force

Five questions out of seven successfully dealt with is a good record, and gives proof of the vitality of the Organisation, its actual and its potential importance as an instrument for improving the conditions of labour throughout the world, and by instilling into the minds of all peoples the ideals of social justice to promote the cause of international peace.

Many would corroborate the contention that the only two useful things which resulted from the last war were the League and the I.L.O. Many also allege that the illness from which the League is now suffering is due in large part to the blight of indifference with which this and past British Governments have spread over into the League system. And now many are fearing that H.M. Government may allow itself similarly to weaken the I.L.O. Practical proof to the contrary would be most welcome.

# Thoughts on The British Record In The I.L.O.

By an Authority on Industrial Law

AT the end of the World War the then British Government was able not only to lead the world by formulating a plan to establish an international organisation to regulate labour conditions in all countries, but also to accept the inclusion, amongst the "guiding principles" of that International Labour Organisation, of "the adoption of an 8-hour day or a 48-hour week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained."

The first International Labour Conference held in Washington in 1919 adopted an Hours Convention. The British Government delegates voted in its favour, but subsequently were in effect repudiated by their Government—a line of conduct which last month a Conservative Member of Parliament, defending the British Government's attitude towards the I.L.O., declared to be dishonest. Successive Governments adduced a variety of reasons for their refusal to ratify the Convention—sometimes it was transport problems such as the "Railway Agreement," sometimes the 5-day week, sometimes the lack of definition of continuous processes, and sometimes other and less precise troubles. The upshot was that Great Britain has never yet ratified the Convention.

Other countries did ratify—India, for example, and Czechoslovakia—and when the latter subsequently gave a liberal interpretation to her obligations, the British were not above pointing a reproachful finger. France ratified, but on the understanding that she would not enforce the Convention until other countries, including Britain, did so; whereupon it was fairly openly said that because the French law, which had no international obligation to be other than it was, did not harmonise with the Convention, therefore "you could not trust these foreigners."

Amongst countries which did not ratify were Germany and Japan. And Great Britain, not having ratified herself, could hardly put pressure on them.

One reason never given for British refusal to ratify was the absence from the Convention of any stipulation that earnings should not be reduced with the reduction of hours.

Then came the movement for a 40-hour week. Started originally as a means of fighting unemployment, it came to be advocated mainly as a social measure. From the first, the British Government back-pedalled, to use no stronger expression.

Almost from the outset the principle British objection was that it would not do to have an international 40-hour week Convention without a definite provision that earnings would not be reduced.

A Convention of Principle was adopted in 1935; it really meant nothing in terms of action, it merely

made the 40-hour week, and not the 48-hour week, the "standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained." Even to this the British Government would not assent.

They proposed that the I.L.O. should proceed to consider the reduction of hours industry by industry; in the case of each industry so considered, the British Government has led the opposition.

Is it to be wondered at that the British Government is regarded generally as an out-and-out opponent of the 40-hour week? That its varied grounds for opposition are regarded as excuses rather than as reasons?

Is it not, indeed, perilously near hypocrisy to say: "No 40-hour agreement is acceptable without maintenance of wages; no international wages agreement is acceptable to us, because we will not legislate on wages; but we do not admit that we are opposed to the reduction of hours"?

The only possible conclusion is that the British Government would not particularly object to other countries reducing their hours of work. It is difficult to say that the Government desires such action by other countries; the sneers at France and New Zealand and the United States are almost overt.

Yet the clamour against the "low" standards of labour which make Japan so dangerous a competitor is continued.

How in the world can Great Britain urge Japan to reduce her hours of work? How can she expect France to maintain her reduction?

How can she expect to win prestige as a leader in the establishment of progressive labour standards? And if she does not seek that prestige, then why are her delegates at such pains to explain away her attitude?

Is there not some truth (to use an understatement) in the allegation that Great Britain, in questions of hours of work, is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve their conditions of labour? It is not a question only of the Washington Hours Convention and the 40-Hour Conventions; the Coal Hours Convention, revised to meet British objections, is still unratified—and in several countries, coal miners' hours compare favourably with British. And British refusal to ratify the Seamen's Hours Convention of 1936 bids fair to render that agreement sterile too; and the reason given in that case for British refusal is the fact that the Convention goes a trifle beyond the provisions of the new Collective Agreement in this country—an agreement definitely and directly due to the discovery, a twelve-month before, that as regards seamen's hours Britain was one of the world's backward nations.

## THE PRIME MINISTER BECOMES AN HONORARY PRESIDENT

THE Prime Minister has accepted an invitation by Viscount Cecil, as President, to become an Honorary President of the League of Nations Union.

Mr. Chamberlain, in a letter dated June 24, 10, Downing Street, says:—

DEAR LORD CECIL,—I thank you for your letter inviting me to become an Honorary President of the League of Nations Union.

I have pleasure in accepting your invitation. At the same time, I feel that I ought to take this opportunity of defining clearly the responsibilities which acceptance of the invitation must necessarily entail. By so doing I hope to remove any possibility of future misunderstandings and, perhaps, to strengthen public confidence in the League of Nations Union itself.

When the Union was first created by Royal Charter it was definitely laid down that it should be a non-sectarian and non-party organisation, without any political bias or attachments, formed "to work, by all means in its power, for the good of the League of Nations."

This non-political character of the League of Nations Union is, I believe, essential to its usefulness. The very fact that you have invited me to become an honorary president of the organisation, in company with distinguished political leaders who do not share my general political views, shows that you recognise this fundamental fact.

Unfortunately, there is abundant evidence that it has of recent times not been so generally accepted by local branches and members of the rank and file of the Union. Especially since the close association of the Union with the International Peace Campaign there has been a tendency, at meetings held under its auspices, to take the opportunity for strong attacks on the policy of the Government.

You will, I know, appreciate the difficult position in which a continuance of such practices would place me. It would obviously not be possible for a Prime Minister to remain as Honorary President of an organisation, members of which used its machinery as a vehicle for attacks upon the policy for which he, as head of the Government, was primarily responsible.

This tendency has, indeed, already created grave anxiety in the minds of supporters of the Government who are equally firm supporters of the League of Nations Union.

You and I know full well that such anxieties, if allowed to grow, must gravely impair the Union's influence. The League of Nations Union must, in my view, retain its non-party character if it is to be an effective instrument for the purpose for which it was created.

It is on that basis that I accept the invitation, confidently relying upon you for your full co-operation in preserving the Union from political influence and attachments, so that it may come to be regarded as a purely national organisation, imbued with no other desire than the propagation of the ideals which inspire the League and giving what help it can to whatever Government may be in power in achieving this great object.—Yours sincerely,

NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN.

Lord Cecil replied on July 1:—

DEAR PRIME MINISTER,—I have laid your letter of June 24 before the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, and they wish me to convey to you their warmest gratitude for accepting the position of Honorary President of the Union.

They request me, further, to express their complete agreement with your desire that the Union should act fully up to the obligation which you quote from its Charter; and they very much regret that you should have had evidence that in some cases the rank and file of the Union have not carried out this principle.

It would be of great assistance to the Executive Committee if the names and details of these cases could be furnished to them.

It would also be, if I may say so, a great advantage from many points of view if Conservatives throughout the country would support the League of Nations Union. For we are very anxious to prevent party bias affecting the proceedings of the Union, and venture to express the hope that in this task we may have full assistance, both locally and centrally, from all the political parties.

In saying this, we feel sure that you recognise that some liberty must be allowed to members of the Union in expressing their opinion

as to particular aspects of national policy in connection with the League of Nations.

It is almost impossible to advocate support of a League policy without explaining what that policy should be, and it would be unreasonable to expect complete unanimity in such explanations. We can only do our best to avoid acerbity in discussion and ask the help of all sections of opinion in securing that result.

May I add, personally, as being one of the presidents of the International Peace Campaign, as well as President of the Union, that I venture respectfully to say that there is no ground that I am aware of for thinking that the association between the two bodies has produced any tendency to use either of them for party purposes?

### CONSERVATIVES INVITED

The International Peace Campaign, which is an international organisation designed to co-ordinate the peace activities of societies belonging to it, is expressly forbidden by its constitution to use its machinery for any party political purpose. The sole object for which it exists is to advocate through its co-operating societies the Four Principles, a copy of which I venture to enclose with this letter.

If, as may have happened in certain isolated cases, peace meetings have degenerated into meetings of political opponents of the Government, I can only assure you that I deeply deplore such incidents, and I will see whether we can take any further precautions to prevent their recurrence as far as the Union is concerned.

If Conservatives felt able to take a larger share in the membership and direction of the Union branches it would make our task much easier.

With renewed thanks, believe me, yours very sincerely,

CECIL.

### The Four Points

The four points of the International Peace Campaign, sent to Mr. Chamberlain, are as follows:

- 1.—Recognition of the sanctity of Treaty obligations.
- 2.—Reduction and limitation of armaments by international agreement, and the suppression of profit from the manufacture and trade in arms.
- 3.—Strengthening of the League of Nations for the prevention and stopping of war by the organisation of collective security and mutual assistance.
- 4.—Establishment within the framework of the League of Nations of effective machinery for remedying international conditions which might lead to war.

## AT THE UNION BOOK SHOP

HUMAN WELFARE AND THE LEAGUE ...	6d.
WORLD LABOUR PROBLEMS, 1937. An Eye-Witness Account of the 23rd International Labour Conference ...	3d.
TEACHERS AND WORLD PEACE ...	1/-
THE COVENANT EXPLAINED (New Edition) ...	1/-
A MANIFESTO OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND PEACE AND JUSTICE. A Speech by Lord Allen of Hurtwood ...	2d.
THE MANIFESTO ...	1d.
THE CHRISTIAN AND THE WORLD OF NATIONS ...	1d.
STATISTICS OF COLONIAL TRADE (Ready Shortly) ...	...

15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

## WE CAN ALL HELP TO AVOID WAR

By the Secretary of the Union

THE disastrous events of recent years have created in many minds a sense of helplessness to avert an impending catastrophe.

But here is a plan that enables every member of the Union to take a personal part in averting war and rebuilding peace.

A sudden big increase in the membership and income of the Union would exert a far-reaching effect upon the Parliament and Government of this country and so upon the future of the League of Nations.

It is no exaggeration to say that the League may be saved by the Union. It is within our power to alter the course of human history.

The issue is still in doubt. The Union has suffered losses both of members and of money. When the losses began, in 1936, and the number of members who paid their subscriptions fell by 6 per cent. as compared with

the previous year, the remaining members increased the amount of their subscriptions by a larger percentage. Thus on balance the Union's income from subscriptions rose to a new high level. But a substantial part of the Union's income has hitherto been derived, not from subscriptions, but from the donations of a few generous individuals or business houses. That

source of income almost disappeared in the autumn of 1935 when trade with Italy was interrupted and "Big Business" came to think of the League as no longer increasing international goodwill or widening markets but as moving in the opposite direction.

Faced with a growing gap between its expenditure and its income, the Union has been compelled to spend less money and to do less work at the very time when any weakening of our forces increases the risk of war.

An attempt is now being made to revive the Union's income from donations. It is certain that the League does favour peace and help international trade. We shall in time recover much of the commercial support that we have lost. But it is clear that from now on the Union must depend far more on the steady support of some hundreds of thousands of members and less on the munificence of a small number of individuals or companies.

In these circumstances—and in order that the Union's activities may not have to be still further curtailed at a moment when they were never more necessary—the Branches of the Union are invited to do their utmost to assist their national Executive by collecting and re-mitting their respective shares of the new Maintenance

Fund. It will be remembered that this Fund was decided upon by the General Council, the supreme governing body of the Union, in June, 1936, as an indispensable addition to the monies hitherto received from Branches and described as the Council's Vote. The amount of this new Fund was fixed by the Council at £11,000 a year. It would be forthcoming in full if each Branch were to contribute one-half as much as it now pays, one way or another, to the Council's Vote.

If the Branches will realise that the raising of money for the Union, like the enrolling of new members, is no less an essential part of their task than the educational and political work they have done so well, their new efforts will assure the Union's continuance and its ultimate success.

It is suggested that such efforts should include:—

A campaign to enrol very many more Foundation Members;

An appeal both to Foundation Members and others to increase their subscriptions;

The house-to-house canvass for new members;

Various social activities to raise money and win members; bazaars, sales of work, American ("bring and buy") teas, drawing-room meetings, garden

parties and fetes, pageants or plays presented by adults or by school children, whist drives, dances, social evenings, flag days and the like.

These efforts should be organised and set going by small groups of determined and enthusiastic people; one might be concerned with Foundation Members, another with the house-to-house canvass, and a third with social activities. In several of these efforts the Youth Groups could no doubt render signal service.

If we can obtain the support of any reasonable proportion of the multitudes who expressed themselves in the Peace Ballot or in the protest against the Hoare-Laval proposals, our success may be so great as to raise a substantial sum in excess of the £11,000 Maintenance Fund. In that case, the finances of the Union will be strengthened by adding to its far-too-small reserve and thus enable the Union to weather future financial storms.

In any case, the addition of the £11,000 Maintenance Fund to the existing Council's Vote of £25,000 a year will make no greater demand upon the present Branches than the payment of the Council's Vote alone made upon the Branches of 11 years ago.

### NOTICE TO READERS

The opinions expressed in contributed articles to "Headway" are not necessarily endorsed by the paper.

On great questions of world policy "Headway" opens its columns to authoritative writers who take conflicting views.

Mr. Bakstansky who contributes an article on the Palestine report to the present number is a convinced and confessed Zionist. He will be answered by a Palestine Arab in September "Headway."



## READERS' VIEWS

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

### YOUTH ANSWERS

SIR,—If Mr. Nadhar really did want to know something about what British Youth is doing through the British Youth Peace Assembly, he might have followed up the clue given at the end of my article. But his letter makes me doubt if he got so far, since if he had he might have realised the material difficulties which prevent an organisation born in 1936 answering the "call of London" in 1932. For, I assure him, we are not ghosts.

Your correspondent's letter makes two points: (1) That the London Youth Groups are not much good at open-air speaking and have not been since 1932; (2) That the L.N.U. (and its Youth Groups) is—or should be—the only channel of support for the League of Nations.

With regard to the first point, I am very sorry to hear about it, for I entirely share Mr. Nadhar's apparent belief in going to the people in this way if they will not come to you. It is interesting to know, for we have been facing a similar problem in the B.Y.P.A., and as was shown by our demonstration through London and mass meeting in Hyde Park on Youth Peace Day, June 20 (attended by about 10,000), we have been doing something about it. But the point is, of course, irrelevant to my article, which dealt with the B.Y.P.A., and not the Youth Groups and their troubles.

On the second point I do not expect to persuade your correspondent in one letter. It is the old question of sovereignty, and though Mr. Nadhar presumably advocates its abolition internationally, he has not yet progressed to the same measures of tolerance and co-operation as between organisations. Yet it should be clear enough that something should be done about the odd 11,000,000 of peace potential shown by the Peace Ballot who are *not* Union members. You will not get all of them into the Union. But most of them belong somewhere, and their organisation, club, or church can give *some* support to the Peace movement. That, at any rate, seems to be why the L.N.U. and its Youth Groups have taken so important a part in the creation of the International Peace Campaign and the B.Y.P.A. respectively.

What the I.P.C. is doing for the adult organisations the B.Y.P.A. is—in rather a different way—doing for Youth—*i.e.*, finding a way of bringing the maximum possible support behind a peace programme (based on the League and collective security). If the L.N.U. and the Youth Groups play their part—as up till now they have—in these efforts they will inevitably gain in prestige and membership. They will gain much more by their example than by proclaiming that the only way to support the League is to join the L.N.U.

Here there is a point which Mr. Nadhar ignores. Participation in the B.Y.P.A. in no way restricts the Youth Groups from continually increasing their own activities and building up their own organisation and membership. That quite clearly is their first responsibility—and it is *their* responsibility. In this the successful development of the B.Y.P.A. is more likely to help than hinder the Youth Groups. Don't blame the B.Y.P.A. if London Youth Groups can only produce four open-air speakers.

Perhaps it is time the B.Y.P.A. made a bigger noise. But let Mr. Nadhar remember two things; we are trying to get at people of very different outlooks (by no means all already "collectivists"), and we have been at it for barely one year. Even so, the B.Y.P.A. is getting into the news; few L.N.U. members can fail to have heard or read of our campaign for the "Bundische Jugend" and for the Spanish Youth Foodship, and the June 20 Demonstration. And we are sending over 300 young people from all over the country to the World Youth Peace Camp in Paris this month. The

Youth Charter campaign "for Peace and Social Justice" is launched, and much more will be heard of it during the coming year.

15A Grosvenor Crescent,  
London, S.W.1.

EWAN P. WALLIS-JONES.

### WILL YOUTH HELP WITH THE PROPAGANDA WORK

SIR,—Youth is not marching in its millions either for Peace or Social Justice. The sooner British Youth Peace Assembly and the L.N.U. face this fact, the sooner will they begin to remedy the situation. The large majority of young people are not politically conscious, and of those within the Peace Movement few know quite why they are there. They will support a Youth Group dance or garden party, or even at a stretch a demonstration in Hyde Park—but where are those with the enthusiasm to stand night after night at street corner meetings, poster-parade in their own districts, or take on the wearying tasks of canvassing and literature distribution? Where are those willing to do the hum-drum secretarial work now too frequently taking the time of the Union's best speakers?

Perhaps some solution is to be found in the Union as a whole. Academic discussions and conferences there must be to educate our propagandists, but the Union is all education and few propagandists. On the agenda of the recent National Council at Torquay we noticed two resolutions dealing with a popular journal for the Union, and better organisation for open-air work. Your July issue gives a detailed report of the resolutions passed at Torquay, but what has happened to the Propaganda Resolutions? Were they not important? Has it something to do with the fact that Grosvenor Crescent has efficient departments for Information, Education, etc., but no one to deal with Outdoor Meetings and popular demonstrations?

The Union's, and consequently Youth Groups' job, is to "secure the whole-hearted support of the British Public for the League of Nations." The British Public is not in conferences or study circles of experts, but on street corners waiting for a clear, simple policy for World Peace.

ETHEL A. WAITE, *Chairman*,  
Chelsea and Fulham Youth Group.

### OUR TASK IS PROPAGANDA

SIR,—There is now a grave possibility of members of the L.N.U. forgetting that the Union is, essentially, a propagandist organisation. Its first task is to put the principles of the League before each member of the public, so that they, by means of expressed opinion, shall instruct the United Kingdom government to make the League, as Viscount Cecil said at Torquay, the whole structure of our foreign policy.

The principles of the League are simple to understand. There were two resolutions considered at the meeting of the General Council of methods whereby these principles could be effectively put before the public. Of these, one was adopted unanimously, the other converted into a "recommendation." Neither received any publicity in your July issue. Publicity was, however, given to all those resolutions which resulted mainly from technical discussions.

This appears to be the general attitude of the Union and it is not putting first things first. Our task, as members of the Union, is to propagate League principles. We employ a government and experts to work out details.

Perhaps your readers could helpfully contribute their views on this subject.

VICTOR J. NADHAR,  
S.W.3.

NOTE.—All the resolutions passed at meetings of the General Council are circulated more than once to all the

Branches of the Union. In HEADWAY the principle of selection has to be adopted. Resolutions setting out what the Union stands for have a more general interest than resolutions dealing with Union methods.

### HOPE ONCE AGAIN

SIR,—I would like to thank you for Lord Allen's article. It is a light in darkness.

Here is a platform which should secure support from all sections of the peace movement, including the P.P.U.

Many of us who had doubted the wisdom of recent L.N.U. pronouncements will find hope again.

Ditchling.

DAVID A. PEAT.

P.S.—I hope the smiles in this month's HEADWAY are a good omen.

### IN THIS IMPERFECT WORLD

SIR,—I would like to reply briefly to the letters of Lt.-Col. Trotter and Mr. Roseveare in your June issue.

In spite of what a few individuals may say, the "100 per cent. pacifists" do not generally "arrogate to themselves the sole claim to be desirous of peace."

Surely the passage in Revelation (XII 7-9), with its highly figurative language, gives a less definite and authoritative ruling on the subject of fighting than the plain words and actions of the Saviour recorded in the gospels.

Collective defence is certainly better than the old anarchy, but, "in this imperfect world," can we expect that warfare to protect the right will be any better, in its conduct or in its settlement, than the great war which was to end war and make the world safe for democracy?

The pacifist attitude to war recognises the imperfection of this present world. There would be no possibility of war to be discussed in a perfect world.

The fundamental causes of war are selfishness, materialism and pride, both individual and national, British and foreign, past and present. It is folly to forget these causes, and think only of how to deal with their results.

Cambridge.

S. W. JOHNSON.

### AN ATTACK ON POVERTY AND WAR

SIR,—I want to thank you as a reader of HEADWAY for printing the letter of "Noblesse Oblige," which seems to hold the kernel of our present problems.

In the midst of so many futile discussions as to the exact design of pacifism that is permissible, it is refreshing to meet a practical appeal to sweep away those cobwebs and abolish even the need for "pacifism" by ending the economic causes of poverty and war. They can be ended by certain means, concerning the general outline of which there can be no dispute save amongst "vested interests." Specialists can arrange the details.

Let members of the Union unite to demand that the Government end them. The love of peace and prosperity surely cannot fail to inspire us to use our votes and our influence in this direct attack on war and poverty.

Patterdale.

N. R. TEMPERLEY.

### A PRACTICAL PROPOSITION

SIR,—“We Voters Have The Means” in HEADWAY is the most practical thing we have had for some time, and heartening. Will you do *this*; will you have Branch Meetings at once to make this DEMAND? This will double the Membership; it is a most realistic move. It is something we can do, we feel that we must, and *at once*. Will the Council of the League instruct the Branches *at once* this is almighty urgent.

Edinburgh.

EX-SERVICE WOMAN.

### WHAT SHALL WE DO?

SIR,—With reference to the letter in July HEADWAY, signed "Noblesse Oblige," will the writer be a little more explicit? We certainly want an end to the economic causes of poverty and war. Is there any special campaign that he invites us to join?

Edinburgh.

J. K.

## THE BIBLE SOCIETY'S WORK

### Some Recent Testimonies:

#### VISCOUNT SANKEY:

"No book has been read and taught as the Bible has been read and taught to generation after generation of our race, and, although there has been much controversy in connection with religious education, there has always been agreement that no child should ever be deprived of the Bible. It is the duty of English men and women, if they desire our Empire to remain a great Christian Commonwealth, to see that their children, the men and women of the next generation, are taught to read and to know their Bible."

#### THE BISHOP OF DORNAKAL:

"India at the present time, more than ever before, needs the study of the Holy Scripture. India needs the Bible; India needs Jesus Christ."

Gifts may be sent to the Secretaries,

BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY,  
146, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C.4.



At Clacton-on-Sea John Groom's Crippleage and Flower Girls' Mission maintains a Holiday Home to enable Crippled Girls to enjoy a holiday by the sea.

Last summer hundreds of Crippled Girls had "the time of their life," through the kindness of our supporters.

To know just what it means to these girls you should hear their expressions of gratitude after this wonderful holiday.

Now they are wondering whether they will be fortunate enough to be included in this year's list. It depends, of course, upon the voluntary contributions received from you and others.

To be compelled to say "No" to them after weeks and weeks of eager anticipation... that must not be! Help us to say "Yes!" Send your gift now. Get your friends to join in and so provide a "little bit of heaven" for these deserving girls.

Why not come and see them making exquisite flowers under ideal conditions at Edgware Way, Edgware? (Any day except Saturday.)

Latest Report sent on receipt of postcard bearing name and address.

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

37, Sekforde Street, Clerkenwell, London, E.C.1.

## HERE AND THERE

**International Colony of Pioneers**, Chateau de Quincy-sous-Sennart, near Paris, August 1—31, 1937. The League of Nations Union is arranging for two groups of boys and girls to visit this colony in August, for a fortnight's holiday with boys and girls of other nationalities. The first group will leave London on Sunday, August 1, and return on August 15. The second will leave London on Tuesday, August 17, and return on Tuesday, August 31.

The Secretary of the **Basset** branch (Southampton) reports on a very successful open-air meeting held recently. The meeting was addressed by Mr. Gerald Palmer, Conservative member for the Division, supported by Mr. J. H. Matthews, Labour member of the Town Council. The subject was "The British Empire and Foreign Policy," with special reference to the Dominions and their attitude to the Covenant, and the address was followed by a lively discussion. There was a good attendance and the Branch was able to enrol quite a number of new members.

Branch workers in **Mirfield** are busily engaged on a house-to-house canvass. As the result of their first efforts, 30 new members were secured from a block of 300 houses. The canvassers hope to continue the good work in other districts. News of another successful canvass comes from **Sale**. Here 50 new members were enrolled from a new estate of 400 houses. The workers intend to tackle another thousand houses.

The programme for the Peace Week to be held in **Rawtenstall** includes some enterprising items. In addition to a Peace Play and the usual public meetings, there is to be a Peace Film produced by a local group of amateur cine-photographers.

Surely this is a most creditable achievement. One member of the **Hallam** Branch has, by persistent efforts in house-to-house canvassing, enrolled more than three hundred new members during the past four or five years. This must have meant much steady work and considerable courage.

Two cinema entertainments were given recently by the **Hawkhurst** Branch, one in the afternoon for the children of the local schools and one in the evening for the general public. "The World War and After," a film which describes the activities of the League since its inception, and other educational films were shown at the afternoon performance. In the evening the main feature was the showing of the German film, "Kameradschaft," which had such a successful run in London some time ago. Before the conclusion of the performance, Captain Macdonald, the Chairman of the Branch, made a short speech explaining that, in showing the films, the branch had in mind two objects, the first being to carry out its educational obligations to its members, the second to bring the existence of the Union more prominently to the notice of the public at a time when all men and women must be wondering whither the world was drifting.

"I am of opinion that we may be living in the latter days of dictatorships and the young days of democracy." This was the hopeful view expressed by Mr. Frederick Whelen when addressing a garden meeting held in **Hassocks**. In reviewing the European situation, this much-travelled speaker was able to illustrate his points with first-hand experiences.

The Annual Garden Party arranged by the **Leamington** Branch was favoured this year by magnificent Summer weather. A meeting was held in the Pavilion and this was the occasion for the presentation of prizes gained in the young people's essay competition, for which there had been about fifty entries. The first three successful competitors were awarded scholarships to enable them to attend the Union's Summer School in Geneva.

A rally was held in the grounds of Farnborough Hill College, by kind permission of the Reverend Mother Superior and the Community, on July 14. This was arranged by the **Hampshire** and **Surrey** Federations and was attended by about 400 people from the two counties. The speakers were Mr. Vyvyan Adams, M.P., who took the place of the Duchess of Atholl at very short notice and made a most excellent speech. The chair was taken by the Countess of Balfour, and Mr. Bray (Chairman of the Surrey Federation) made an appeal for membership of the Union. After an interval for tea and a delightful performance of Greek dancing by the girls of the college, Mr. Noel Baker, M.P., gave a short but inspiring speech. He had left the House of Commons specially to come to the rally and had to hurry back there afterwards. The final item was a play, "The Formula," performed by the Reading Pax Players.

The **Edgbaston** Branch has just begun on a house-to-house canvass and already from about 90 houses has secured 15 new members. The campaign is to start in real earnest in the autumn.

The Peace Week in **Heanor** was essentially a League of Nations affair, the local branch of the Union being chiefly responsible for it. For more than a week a large streamer over the Town Hall entrance displayed the words "Join the League of Nations Union." A free film show and an essay competition for children met with great success. There were three open-air meetings, a whist drive and dance, and flag days, the latter bringing considerable financial help to the branch.

The **Barnstaple** and District Peace Week secured excellent publicity in the local press and should have far-reaching effects. The "Week" is over, but the campaign has only begun.

"Peace through Friendship." Last year the West Wickham Branch tried a very interesting experiment and arranged a fortnight's hospitality for French and German visitors. This year **West Wickham** and **Beckenham** are co-operating in a similar scheme. Arrangements have been made for parties of French and German guests to stay in Beckenham and an excellent programme has been planned for the fortnight. Visits to such places of interest as the Houses of Parliament, the International Telephone Exchange and the *New-Chronicle* works, besides a river trip and numerous country rambles, are being organised.

The **Weymouth** Branch has been busily engaged on work in connection with the Dorset Peace Week. All the churches—and there are many in the district—were asked to have special prayers on Sunday. On the Monday, Lord Cranborne addressed a garden meeting. The branch was fortunate in securing the services of so distinguished and busy a person and the meeting was an excellent one. The following days, Mrs. Downer (from headquarters), who is well-known to so many branches, gave talks to the children in three schools. Then on Thursday a new venture was tried in the form of an open-air meeting on the sands. This drew a large crowd and the speakers were asked a lively run of questions—and the meeting lasted three hours!

### WELSH NOTES

An interesting ceremony took place at the Free Library **Bridgend**, on July 21, when Mr. Dudley Howe, J.P., C.C., accepted on behalf of the Welsh Council a stone commemorating Dr. Richard Price, one of the early workers for international peace. When Lord Davies was in the United States, recently, he was shown the Path of Remembrance at Rollins College, Florida—where lining the Path are stones from the birthplace of famous international figures. Lord Davies noticed that there was no mention of the famous Welshmen, Tregelles Price, Richard Price and Henry Richard, and this omission is now being repaired. Skewen Branch of the Union secured from Neath Abbey a stone from that part of the ruins dating back to 1129. The stone presented at Bridgend was taken from the house at Tynton, where Richard Price was born. Tregaron Branch is presenting a stone which has been taken from the house where Henry Richard first saw light.

The Welsh Council's pavilion at the Royal Welsh Agricultural Society's Show at **Monmouth**, attracted considerable attention. A centre of interest was the map of the world, illuminated to show various aspects of the League's work. The Council's pavilion will occupy a prominent position on the grounds of the Royal National Eisteddfod of Wales at Machynlleth. As usual, a reception will be given to the Eisteddfod visitors from overseas. This year Sir Ernest Bennett, M.P., and Lady Bennett are kindly acting as hosts on behalf of the Welsh Council.

### OVERSEAS NOTES

#### CANADA.

The Annual Report of the League of Nations Society in Canada for 1936-37 shows that the League idea in Canada has withstood the test of disillusionment and disaster. All parts of the country report increased interest and more representative support. Members contributed more to the Society by 4,529.00 dols. during 1936-37 than they did in 1935-36. During the past year the society has set up a Committee of National Participating Organisations in order that the 36 national organisations which are corporate members may assist more directly in advancing the society's programmes. It is the aim of the society to mobilise as corporate members 2,000 existing organisations by the time of the 1938 Annual National Conference. A Literature Service on International Affairs has been established which acts for all the important organisations publishing in this field. Literature centres have been set up in Toronto, Montreal and Moncton.

The Fifteenth Annual National Conference of the League of

Nations Society in Canada met at Hamilton, Ontario, from May 26 to May 27 under the presidency of the Hon. Senator Cairine Wilson. Among the motions adopted by the Conference were resolutions dealing with the Prevention of War, the removal of obstacles to World Trade and the Ratification of I.L.O. Conventions.

### PORT SAID.

The following resolution was adopted unanimously by the Committee of the Port Said Branch of the League of Nations Union on June 8:—

This committee (1) Records its deep satisfaction that Egypt, by her unanimous election to membership of the League of Nations, has taken her rightful place in the community of free peoples; (2) Expresses its confidence that the delegates of Egypt to the League will always strive wholeheartedly to the end that the League of Nations shall become an effective instrument of international justice and collaboration; and (3) Trusts that Egypt in the near future, and in common with other States Members of the League, will possess a national League of Nations Society for promoting understanding of and support for the League among the people of this country.

### Council's Vote

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

Chertsey, Coalville, Harrold, Kegworth, Rayleigh, Shepton Mallet, St-Annes-on-Sea.

For 1937:—

Allerton, Baildon, Bradford (Heaton), Bridlington, Bridport, Bodmin, Bradford (Manningham Congregational Church), Chagford, Corfe Mullen, Collier Row, Cleckheaton and Spensborough, Coggeshall (Cocoa Works), Driffild, Eston, Goxhill, Guiseley, Kissingbury, Lyme Regis, Mirfield, Mytholmroyd, Nafferton, Otley, Parkstone, Perranporth, Penistone, Pickering, Pontefract, South Ockenden, Silvertown, Salcombe, Sheffield (Firth Park), Sheriff Hutton, Silsden, Sleaford, Stainsforth, Steeton, Topsham, Yeadon.

### UNION MEMBERSHIP

#### Terms of Subscription

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

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

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

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

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

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

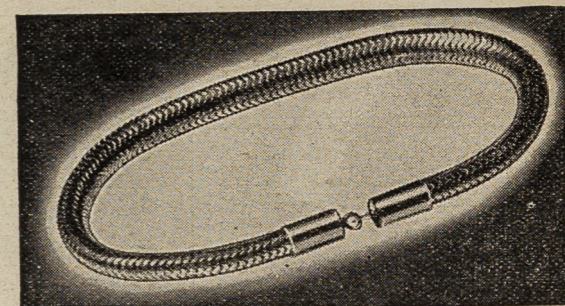
**REGISTERED MEMBERS:** 5s. or more a year. (To include HEADWAY, or, if preferred, one of the subsidiary journals of the Union, by post, and occasional important notices.)  
\* 3s. 6d. or more a year. (To include HEADWAY, or, if preferred, one of the subsidiary journals of the Union, by post.)

**ORDINARY MEMBERS:** 1s. a year minimum.

**LIFE MEMBERS:** £25.

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

Smokers—be wise!—you'll not regret it.  
Say "TOM LONG"—and make sure you get it.



## "Miracle" Band banishes RHEUMATISM SCIATICA, NEURITIS, etc.

Science now ascribes to certain metals, in particular, copper, very definite curative powers by absorption through the skin. Leading chemists think we are on the threshold of a new series of discoveries, the effects of which may have far-reaching consequences on the "Healing Art."

Another explanation by an expert biological chemist is the presence of some as yet unknown ray emanating from the metal which stimulates the toxin-elimination process and soothes the nerves.

This ray theory is suggested by the remarkable fact that, in some instances, the Cos Ray Band affords almost instant relief from pain—a phenomenon hardly likely were it its therapeutic properties dependent solely on the absorption principle.

## COS RAY Band No Medicine No Dieting

The Cos Ray Band is worn on arm, wrist or leg. Many amazing tributes to its beneficial action have been received. Read this:

### FROM A 16 YEARS' SUFFERER

"I have been suffering from rheumatism and gout in my hands and feet for the last 16 years. Your Cos Ray Band was brought to my notice by a friend who had been cured; I tried it, but was very doubtful about the merits claimed. At this time my right arm was in a sling and both hands badly swollen. To my surprise, after putting on your Cos Ray Band for two days, the swellings decreased, the pain was relieved, and at the end of a fortnight I was cured."

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By MICHAEL GORING

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