

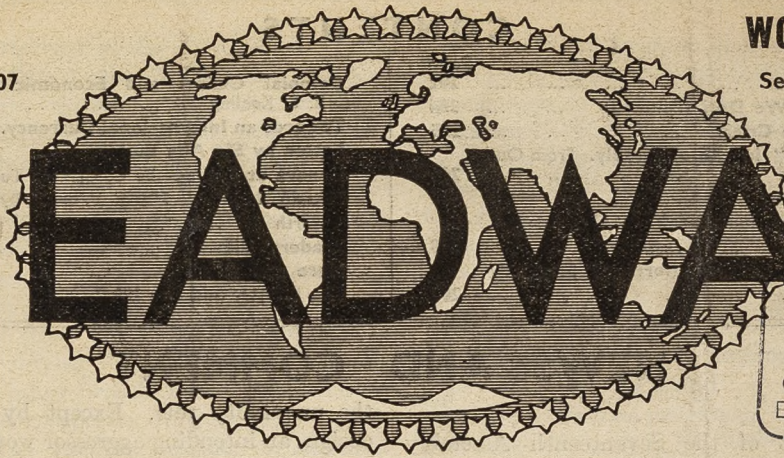
**THE SEAMAN'S
CHARTER**

See page 207

**LEAGUE HELPS
WORLD TRADE**

See pages 209 to 212

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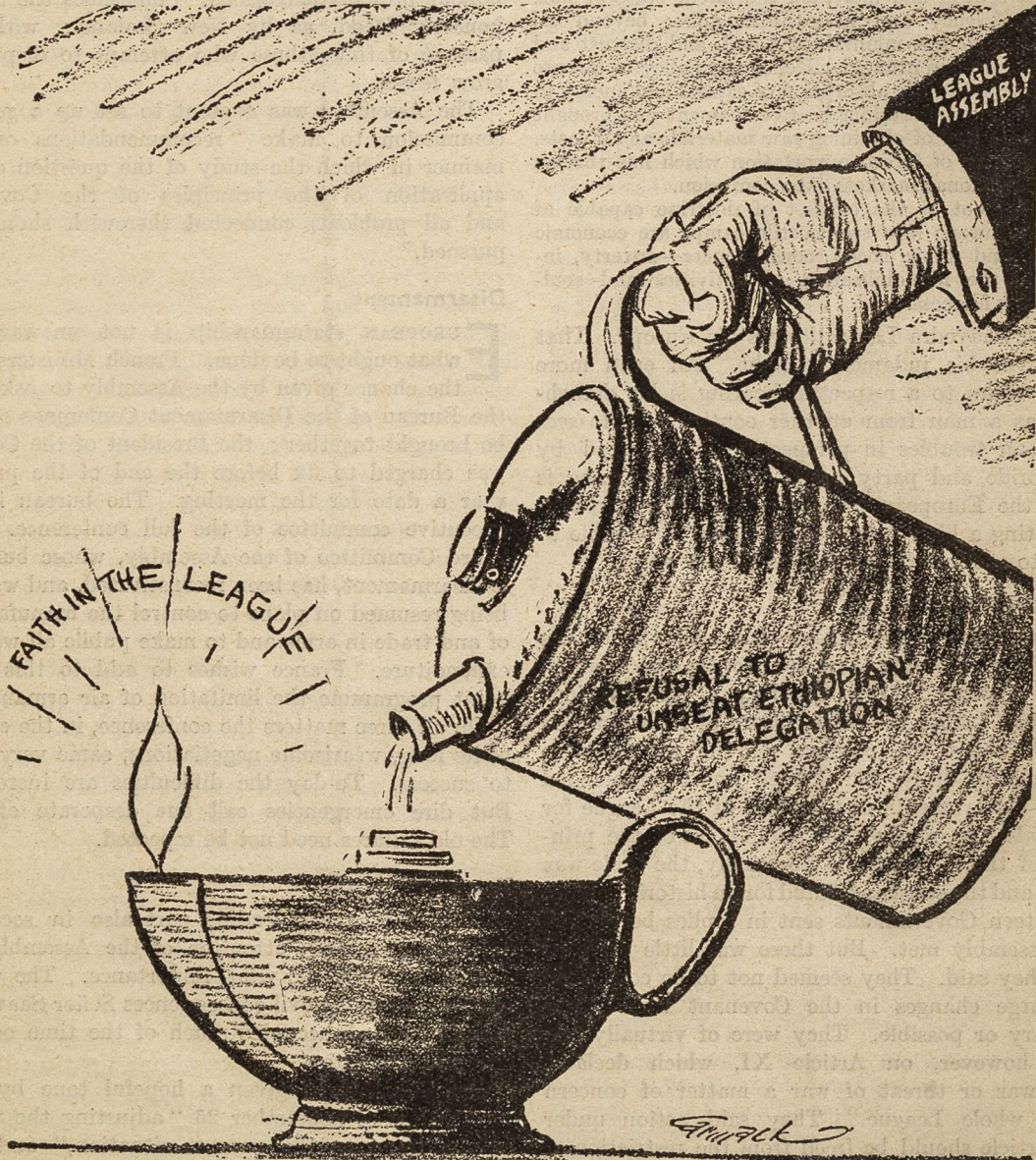
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51083

Vol. XVIII. No. 11 [The Journal of the League of Nations Union]

NOVEMBER, 1936

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



(With acknowledgements to the Christian Science Monitor)

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NEWS AND COMMENT

Root Evils

THE President of the Seventeenth Assembly (Señor Saavedra Lamas, Foreign Minister of the Argentine Republic), in his final address to the delegates on October 10, said:

The permanent barriers to trade which have been set up to combat the economic depression have intensified egoism and increased the latent state of war. Self-sufficiency and nationalism going beyond all reasonable bounds maintain the evil, and distrust and suspicion are accentuated. Hence the policy of intense rearmament and the absorption of capital and energy in unproductive undertakings. Rearmament has brought in the necessity of obtaining raw materials at all costs, with a policy of forced exportation which has thrown the international markets into confusion.

At the root of the conflict of doctrine capable of dividing Europe into two hostile camps are economic reasons and their social consequences—poverty, insecurity, the immobilisation of activities and soul-destroying idleness.

Señor Saavedra Lamas knows his Europe. That fact gives his judgment weight. An even more timely claim to a respectful hearing is his detachment as a man from another continent. He sees European troubles in perspective, undistorted by local pride and party passion. If his warning is noted the European peoples will have new reason for setting a high value which makes it possible to call into council the wisdom of all the world.

League Reform

THE reform of the League counted for much less in the Assembly than the peoples had been led to expect. When, on July 4, the previous Assembly, before the final closure of its adjourned session, voted the removal of the sanctions in force against Italy, the Council was recommended to ask Governments of members of the League for proposals "to improve the application of the principles of the Covenant." Seemingly, the topic was chosen and the stage appointed for an historic debate.

Eighteen Governments sent in replies before the new Assembly met. But there was little drive in what they said. They seemed not to be convinced that large changes in the Covenant were either necessary or possible. They were of virtually one mind, however, on Article XI, which declares "any war or threat of war a matter of concern to the whole League." They said action under that Article should be freed from the restriction of

the unanimity rule. Except by relinquishing his design, an intending aggressor would then be unable to prevent early League intervention.

In the Assembly the same opinion was held of Article XI; and the same lack of enthusiasm for drastic reforms was even more obvious. What is required is not a new Covenant, but courage to honour present obligations. Sometimes the fact is honestly faced, as by New Zealand; with the passage of time, those who attempt to dispute it grow fewer.

The Assembly was content to set up a general commission to make "recommendations on the manner in which the study of the question of the application of the principles of the Covenant and all problems connected therewith should be pursued."

Disarmament

EUROPEAN statesmanship is not unaware of what ought to be done. French Ministers used the chance given by the Assembly to ask that the Bureau of the Disarmament Conference should be brought together; the President of the Council was charged to fix before the end of the present year a date for the meeting. The bureau is the executive committee of the full conference. The Third Committee of the Assembly, whose business is disarmament, has been reconstituted, and work is being resumed on plans to control the manufacture of and trade in arms and to make public all warlike expenditure. France wishes to add to this two-point programme the limitation of air armaments.

On all three matters the conference, in the course of its long, wearisome negotiations, came very near to success. To-day the difficulties are increased. But dire emergencies call out desperate efforts. The old failures need not be repeated.

Trade Barriers

FRANCE played a leading part also in securing the constructive attention of the Assembly for another task of vital importance. The trade barriers, on whose evil consequences Señor Saavedra Lamas insisted, occupied much of the time of the Second Committee.

The debate was given a hopeful tone by the French law of September 25 "adjusting the value of the franc to the present situation," and the

Franco-British-American pledge "to avoid, as far as possible, any disturbance of the basis of international exchanges resulting from the proposed adjustment," and to use all suitable means for the purpose. Here was an acceptance in practice of the advice given in many different forms by the League and its various organs and agencies many times during many years. Always the League has said, peace and prosperity go together, and prosperity is impossible without international co-operation to remove obstacles from the path of international trade. The new French currency policy and the complementary Franco-British-American agreement were international co-operation in action.

M. Spinasse, the French Minister of National Economy, had full justification for saying, when he submitted the report of the Second Committee to the Assembly:

It is to the credit of the League and a sign of its strength that it should have prepared and fostered this powerful movement designed to carry the nations towards a freer and more confident economic activity.

Not only has the League prepared the way. How far the nations advance, and at what speed, depends on the further activity of the League.

Four Tasks

AT the instance of the Second Committee, the Assembly adopted four crucial economic resolutions.

They demanded:—(1) The reduction of excessive obstacles to international trade and the abolition of the present system of quotas and exchange control; (2) a committee to examine the question of access to raw materials; (3) efforts to prevent double taxation and fiscal fraud; and (4) a study of emigration problems, which are to be examined and put on the agenda for next session.

In each case the appropriate means of vigorous action was pointed out. Even partial success, which can certainly be attained by energetic leadership, will make a healthier, happier, and, therefore, less quarrelsome world.

World Standard At Sea

THE fourth International Maritime Conference has achieved a remarkable measure of success. Since the first conference, held sixteen years ago at Washington, the I.L.O. has done great things for the world's seafarers. The latest results are not the least valuable.

Thorough discussion brought a very large majority of delegates, representing governments, employers, and workers, to a common mind on six great questions. The British Government and the British employers were a spanking minority, with consistent support from India and Japan. Now the conventions have to be ratified. It is ardently to be hoped that the British Government, having played Devil's advocate with almost heroic obstinacy from beginning to end, will not persist in a wrecking opposition. The British are the first of sea peoples.

Their record is the most glorious; they have most ocean-going ships and the best ships. They were the pioneers of safety at sea and decent conditions for seamen. It is a traditional and sincere excuse for admitted abuses that British shipping law cannot be advanced out of sight of the lower standards of more backward countries. The chance presents itself to enforce a respectable world level in half a dozen essential matters. It must not be lost.

A Challenge to Conscience

SIR-NORMAN ANGELL challenges the conscience of the Christian world.

Can a Christian (he asks in a letter to the *Times*) quite forget that Jesus, His Mother, and Apostles were Jews? That the religious literature of which we have drunk more deeply than of any other whatsoever is a Jewish literature? Can we witness complacently the infliction of infamies upon the children of His and Her race, pass by upon the other side, and say no word?

The occasion of his letter is the persecution of the Jews in Germany and, particularly, the "martyrdom" of Jewish children. He writes:

Fear, and the lusts of the blood feud, may momentarily debase the best of us. But the Germans are not suppressing an armed rebellion of Jewry, nor fearing one. And even if it were so—"Babies are neutral." But not in that new Germany whose leader tells us almost daily that the one thing he cares for most under heaven is the "honour" and good name of his country.

These things need to be said by those who in the past have given indubitable proof of their good will to Germany, by pro-Germanism when it was least popular and when a little more of it in our statesmanship would have been most useful. The danger now, is not that we shall over-emphasise the evil of certain tendencies in Germany, but, from a mistaken notion of making amends, reconciliation, shall pretend that evil is good, and, in the effort, so lose the distinction between right and wrong that we may be led to imitate in our own country the policies whose real nature we have refused to face. Signs of that imitation begin indeed to show, as all the world knows.

And he answers his questions:

It is not a question of "internal German politics." Christendom has, after all, if not a collective responsibility to Jewry, at least a collective debt.

Things Said

THE Belgian Foreign Minister says the policy of Belgium is not neutrality but the Covenant. By 216 to 46 the Chamber approves.

Signor Mussolini says Italy's offer of peace sprouts from a forest of 8,000,000 bayonets. In Bismarck's quip: "You can do many things with bayonets, but you can't sit on them." In Rome it is thought you can grow olive branches from them.

Embraces

TIME, the present: place, an L.N.U. Committee room: speaker, Sir Norman Angell:—

We must make it clear that our policy is peace and justice. We must do our utmost to induce both Germany and Russia to embrace that policy. But we must also make it clear to them that we do not mean to abandon our policy in order to embrace them.



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WHAT, THEN, MUST WE DO?

THE Seventeenth Assembly has left the League and the world face to face with grave difficulties and dangers. But not hopeless. Indeed, as the debates at Geneva ran their course a new confidence gradually emerged.

The delegates had come together in a mood verging on despair. They went away soberly encouraged. They were no longer paralysed by the League's Abyssinian failure. They were no longer intimidated by the threatened war of political dogmas—fascism against communism. They treated neither the one nor the other lightly. If the League members had fulfilled the Covenant and restrained Italy, as, given a little firmer will and a little deeper wisdom, they might have done safely and easily, world peace would have stood today solidly on stable foundations. Because the peace-keeping nations ran away from the peace-breaker, the risk of war is real. If the dictators of Berlin, Rome, and Moscow would end their volleys of abuse and abandon their intrigues and interferences in other countries, world co-operation would be already a fact in many ways in which it remains an aspiration. Because they preach enmity, and on occasion put their doctrines into tentative practice, the nations build barriers instead of bridges. And yet the League exists. It holds the world together as no other agency could do. It provides a meeting place, an opportunity for mutual understanding, an avenue to general prosperity, a means of common defence. Civilisation will not accept defeat; the civilised nations will not give up the League.

The League survives. It has, however, suffered damage. Scrupulous account must be taken of the damage as of the survival. A year ago a bold stroke of world statesmanship was promised. Through the failure in performance, not even a repetition of the promise is possible now. The task of the nearer future is the patient building up of a weatherproof refuge, brick by brick, room by room, floor by floor. What is needed is constructive work, however humble. The peoples accept the idea of the League, they hope ardently for its success. But since they have seen its failure on a great scale they reasonably require for their reassurance the sight of its repeated achievement on a small. A healthier humanity, a humanity which is better fed, a humanity which is freer from the curse of drugs, a humanity whose lot is happier in a hundred similar ways is the League claim whose effect will be decisive during the next few years. Admittedly, such benefits will remain partial and insecure while the benefit of peace is held on a dubious title. Political

power puts drive behind the League's plans for social reform. But there is also an influence working in the opposite direction. Social gains help to repair political losses. They consolidate the ground from which an advance may be made to reoccupy abandoned positions. And while a patient attack upon social evils restores public confidence in the League, political successes of a like modest character will help not less powerfully to produce the same desirable effect. What is supremely important is that useful things shall be done.

For the Union the inference is clear. Effort must be devoted to the heavy, unostentatious spade work of clearing the ground and sinking foundations. There are times when only a flame of popular enthusiasm can save the country. At a critical moment Ministers may stand irresolute, perplexed in mind, weighed down with responsibility, exposed to strong temptations to act unwisely or to evade all action. Then the need is simple: agitation, agitation, and yet more agitation. But such conjunctures occur seldom. Especially are they infrequent in the history of an institution which is built upon reason and whose task it is to make reason prevail in great affairs. The present is not one. No desire is more general among the people than the desire to keep the peace at almost any cost, to avoid even the slightest risk of war. Ministers agree. By word and deed they prove their sincerity. Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Eden, Sir John Simon—against no member of the Cabinet does the least suspicion rest that he is a deliberate war-maker. As soon as the charge is hinted at it is laughed out of court. A wish to impress upon the Government how strong is the popular feeling for peace is altogether admirable: its complete satisfaction would do scarcely anything to save Britain or the world from the dangers which beset them. Their escape depends on help of a quite different kind. They are in a jam; it threatens to grind them to powder; they must think their way out. The task placed upon the Union is to assist their thinking by every means it commands or can enlist.

The League way is the way of reason. The Union exists to enlist understanding public opinion for a full League policy. The League and the Union offer a working alternative to war. It is an alternative also to the pacifism which is a helpless, hopeless horror of war. But if it is to be worked it must be understood. It propounds, in the place of paralysis, a plan. Like all plans, it must be paid for. Part of the cost is courage, part comprehension, part consistency. Those who demand that it shall be applied must be prepared to contribute their share of the bill, and the first step towards the discharge of their debt is an intellectual effort. Not otherwise than by knowing what the League is and does and what we wish it to be and do can we have a stable peace in our crowded world, a peace built on an evolving justice and defended, in case of need, promptly and vigorously. The tasks which now confront the League are hard, honest spade-work. More than ever the task of the Union is education. The Union must make its systematic appeal not to everyone but to the natural leaders of everyone, to those men and women in all classes and all places who influence their neighbours and create public opinion because they have the mind and character to master the facts, think out the consequences, and stand by the results.

THE LEAGUE AND THE CRISIS

the facts of the case, extracted from a pamphlet on the present World situation, published by the L.N.U. (price 3d.), in which practical proposals are outlined for third party judgment in all international disputes, peaceful change, disarmament, collective defence

IF the League did not exist, and we were concerned solely with the defence of our country and were determined to profit by the lessons of the Great War and the policies which led to it, what kind of foreign policy ought we to pursue? It is here suggested that if all alternatives are coldly and objectively examined we are forced to the conclusion that the true answer to the question just put is that we should attempt to create an alliance of a new type, a combination of States guided by what are in fact the principles of the Covenant.

Perhaps the commonest criticism of the Covenant is that it makes inadequate provision for peaceful change. The worst aggressions were carried out, however, before any attempt had been made to invoke the application of Article XIX (which affords constitutional means for the amendment of Treaties).

The trouble has not been the constitution, but inertia on the part of member States to use such machinery as exists, a defect incidentally not peculiar to the operation of international constitutions. In the history of every State it has happened that governments have yielded to violence or threat of violence when they did not, in fact, yield to more constitutional effort.

The method of meeting this tendency would be the setting up of machinery which would not merely permit change but give an impetus to it, before a grievance had assumed unmanageable proportions, so as to render the threat of violence unnecessary.

It is to be noted in this connection that the concessions which are useful in reducing dangers of war are those made, *not* under the immediate menace of force. Peace promoting changes are those made when the consenting parties are strong enough to refuse.

Without some machinery of impartial judgment, "revision" will be made at the dictation of the victor, creating new injustices, demanding new revisions. Revision, therefore, is not the alternative to a collective system; the collective system is the means by which alone just revision may be carried into effect.

When the full history of the Abyssinian episode comes to be written we may learn how very near to being successful were even the partial sanctions enforced against Italy. In any case, economic sanctions were never tried out to the full, never applied in the manner set forth in Article XVI. Note further the amazing conditions upon which the partial economic sanctions were operated. It was plainly implied at the outset that this country would engage in no policy which involved risk of war. It was also insisted that effective sanctions involved risk of war; and that the policy of the country was sanctions. This made it certain that Italy could at any moment defeat sanctions by the mere threat of war. Such a line is comparable to an announcement that we would defend the Empire

unless it were attacked; that we should then refrain from defence because "defence means war."

To say, as was recently said, that the British Government was not willing to risk a single ship "for the sake of Abyssinia," seems to indicate sheer incomprehension of what the collective system is and involves. The ship would be risked, not ultimately for Abyssinia, but for law, an international order, peace, through which alone this country may find adequate defence.

The relative readiness with which this country, at the cost of grave financial sacrifice, and the risk of future financial embarrassment, has entered upon rearmament, the creation, that is, of further instruments of war, is proof that, greatly as it detests war, it will not shrink from it if the defence of the country demands it.

The assumption that the world can be divided into "good" nations and "bad" nations is one incompatible with the collective system or with a workable League of Nations. The enemy is not Germany, nor Italy, nor Japan, nor Russia; it is the international anarchy, that system by which the defence of one side cancels that of the other; the policy by which each side denies to the other the defensive rights it claims. Such a policy, whatever the peaceful intentions behind it, must lead to war. No friendliness or goodwill to Germany or Russia, to Japan or Italy, no determination to do justice, however deep, can make international anarchy work, make it compatible with peace. The idea that we should not need an organised Society of Nations if only there were sufficient goodwill, and we behaved well to one another, is about equivalent to the idea that no rules of the road would be necessary if every motor car driver was considerate of others. When cars are moving at 60 miles an hour, uncertainty as to whether another will turn right or left will result in dreadful accidents whatever "goodwill" on the part of each driver exists.

Even those who suffer generally agree that bad courts are better than anarchy, the conditions implied by no courts at all; in the same way "the worst arbitration or none is better than the best war."

At the root of the problem of defence by the individual power of each nation lies a profound question of right which has been inadequately realised. By the method of each his own defender, defence and right are brought into conflict just because the stronger must deny the weaker the right of defence by superior power which he claims himself.

The only way out of that moral and material dilemma is by some method of collective defence: the pooling of common power behind a law or rule of conduct—like submission of disputes to third-party judgment, the principle of "umpire"—which is broadly equal for all, gives equality of right to the weak as well as to the strong.

Two "Plus Points" in the Assembly

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Geneva, October 14

THE Seventeenth Assembly of the League ended peacefully on October 10. For the most part, its proceedings were carried through calmly and in routine fashion, and they were very often divorced from the realities of the world situation. This was the first, and biggest, black mark which the 17th Assembly earned for itself because the League Assembly should at least reflect, if not influence, the course of world events. As it was, only at two points did the Assembly of set purpose touch on the problems of the outside world—Abyssinia and the economic situation brought about by the end of the gold *bloc*.

Although the Assembly had no effect on these vital questions, the questions had a great deal of effect on the League, and they created an unhappy atmosphere in Geneva. So much so, that it was considered a matter for self-congratulation when the Assembly ended and it was seen that there were no wars in progress—save for the Civil War in Spain, and the "hang-over" of the fighting in Abyssinia.

The last paragraph has a superficial air of flippancy—but in fact the attitude of Geneva at present is one of thanksgiving that the final catastrophe has been at least postponed. The League has had another reprieve—perhaps another chance to set to work again—thanks to the amazing vitality that the League ideal possesses. That this vitality is something real, something which the politicians of democratic countries still have to reckon with, was shown, to the general surprise by the popular reaction, when it was reported that both Britain and France were involved in a plan to exclude Abyssinia, on technical grounds, from the Assembly that has just ended, in order that Mussolini might be persuaded to send once more a delegation to Geneva.

The beginning of this enterprise connects with a trip taken by M. Avenol, the Secretary-General of the League, to Rome during the summer. He then found out the terms upon which Italy would come back to the League. Mussolini would send a delegation to the Assembly as soon as that body's Credentials Committee had decided that Abyssinia had ceased to exist as a separate State. This verdict was to be given by a group of small states who would form the Credentials Committee. In Geneva there was talk of a "firing-squad" which was going to execute Abyssinia. When the time came, however, it was not possible to produce sufficient states willing to do the deed even though Hungary and Portugal volunteered to serve on the Committee. A last-minute decision by the British and French to sit on this usually very humble committee (whereon, in past years no big state ever troubled to get itself represented) did not scare the critics. The plan fell through mainly because of the opinion aroused against it in England and the chief delegate of Abyssinia was able to address the Assembly—and, in doing so, to make a last appeal to Italy to leave to the Emperor, under some kind of protectorate, that part of Abyssinian territory that was not yet under the Italian yoke.

The other very definite "plus point" in favour of the

17th Assembly was its reaction to the devaluation of the franc. For years the League's economic and financial experts have been giving advice to all the League's members on the conduct of their affairs, advice which up to the present has been very generally neglected. When the League's advisers suggested devaluation, the abolition of quotas and reduction of tariffs a few days before the Assembly met, no one paid a great deal of attention, but within a short space of time, the gold *bloc* countries had devalued, and all over Europe states had at least begun to take a few bricks off the top of their tariff walls. At the same time an attempt was made in the Commission of the Assembly to start a drive for peace by prosperity—on the theory that since it had been impossible to secure peace by political means, an approach to the problem through economic channels might be more successful. The argument was very promptly blown up by the South African representative, Mr. C. T. de Water, who pointed out that economic prosperity could never endure if it did not rest on a sound political basis. Nevertheless the economic discussions in the Assembly, and the effect that was given to them by the states concerned, were a big step forward, compared with the halting, shuffling paces which the world has taken towards wise economic and financial organisation since the onset of the world crisis.

While Mr. de Water's forecast would be justified by experience, it was certainly encouraging to see, for the first time for many years, the recommendations of the League actually being put into operation.

The nations appear to have learnt a certain amount of economic common sense. Whether their political education has progressed very far, is unhappily doubtful; the political plans of the 17th Assembly are not likely to have much attention paid to them.

So sure were the delegates of this fact that when they came to make plans for their immediate work they were very modest and hesitating indeed.

First of all, it was decided that the President of the Council should fix, before the end of the year, the date upon which the Bureau of the Disarmament Conference is to be called together—for the first time since October, 1934. The discussions that took place in the Assembly's Disarmament Commission—convened for the first time since 1931—showed that no one was confident, not even about the very tentative suggestions which were made that the Disarmament Conference should take action about publicity of war budgets and the control of the arms traffic. Only the French, with some kind of plan for air disarmament and mutual assistance in event of attack from air, seem to have a belief that good can come of the resumption of the League's disarmament work.

The second decision about the future was that a general commission should be set up to consider the various proposals which have been made for the reform of the Covenant. This committee is to meet on December 7—because of the insistence of M. Litvinov that League reform should be considered immediately and by the League, instead of by the Locarno Powers.

THE SEAMAN'S CHARTER

The story of the International Maritime Conference, Geneva, October, 1936, told by a high authority on World labour conditions

REMARKABLE, even unexpected, success was achieved by the Maritime Sessions of the International Labour Conference held in Geneva in October, 1936.

The Hours and Manning Convention is, perhaps, of outstanding value and interest. Ever since the Geneva Conference of 1920, efforts have been made, unsuccessfully, to apply to seamen the principle of the 8-hour day. This has now been accomplished, and the establishment of the "3-watch system" provides for a systematic organisation of work on board ship.

In recent discussions of the hours problem in industry, every vote has counted; it might have been expected that the absence of Italy and Germany from the Maritime Conference would have produced a negative result. This was not the case, nor did the shipowners try to take advantage of the "quorum" rule or to employ obstructionist tactics; and not only the French but also the American employers voted for the Convention.

Very briefly, it provides that on ships of 2,000 tons and upwards, when at sea, deck and engine-room staff shall have a 56-hour week; in port, and for day workers, the 48-hour week is maintained. Licences may be granted to existing ships to exempt them from the Convention—these licences to be for four years and renewable.

These provisions are so very close to the requirements of the British Government that it is to be hoped that its negative vote will not mean that it will never ratify the Convention. Mr. Bevin, present as a technical adviser to Mr. Spence, the British seamen's delegate, played a very important part at the Conference, and expressed his regret that the British Government had not been able to make the very small concessions needed to enable it to vote with the majority; he also promised, on behalf of British labour, that "we shall not allow our seamen to be used to the detriment of any other nation which ratifies the Convention"—amongst whom there is every reason to expect to find the United States, France, Holland, and the Scandinavian States.

As regards manning, minimum numbers of officers and men are prescribed (to ensure safety at sea and to make the hours of work provisions applicable) for various categories of ships.

A recommendation was also adopted to extend the operation of the Hours and Manning Convention.

In a sense, the unanimous decision to adopt a new Convention revising that of 1920 and raising the minimum age of employment at sea from 14 to 15, is an even more significant decision than that on hours and manning.

The two Conventions relative to the protection of seamen in case of sickness have the effect of extending to seamen the protection accorded to workers in industry and commerce. The international code of

social insurance which has been the most remarkable result of the I.L.O.'s work in recent years is thus one step nearer to perfection.

As in the case of the Holidays with Pay Convention adopted for industry in June, 1936, the British Government abstained from voting on the Convention, giving ships' officers the right to at least 12, and seamen to at least 9, working days a year as paid holidays. The inclusion of officers represents a definite gain secured by their representatives in the course of the discussions.

As to the sixth Convention, the importance of prescribing certain conditions upon which shall depend the issue of a national certificate of proficiency to captains, navigating officers and chief engineers, is obvious: it is bound up with the safety of lives and ships at sea. It is interesting to recall that this decision had its origins in the now celebrated case of the ss. "Lotus."

The nature of a seaman's calling means long absences from family life. A recommendation was adopted on seamen's welfare in ports, which seeks to develop and co-ordinate the measures which governments, as well as private and public organisations, have successfully initiated to protect the safety and health of seamen in ports and to organise their well-being and their leisure; it provides that such measures should make no distinction of nationality or race.

The Conference also adopted several resolutions, mainly calling for the study of various maritime problems.

The results assuredly justified the note of optimism which sounded in its closing speeches. The President (Mr. Berg, Norwegian Government) described it as a supreme example of the vitality of the Organisation, and of the value of the principle of friendly collaboration between Governments, employers and workers; Mr. East (Australian Government, Vice-President) referred to the spirit of harmony; Mr. Odjell (Norway), whilst on the shipowners' behalf he did not pretend to be content with the Conference's decisions, said that he would like to conclude by shaking hands with everyone present; Mr. Ehlers, the third Vice-President, equally said that the seamen had not secured entire satisfaction and that much remained to be done, but he reaffirmed their faith in the I.L.O., while Mr. Bevin spoke to the same effect and concluded by quoting what Mr. George Barnes had said to him on the eve of the Conference: "Stick to that institution, Bevin. Do all you can to unite people in the economic field, whatever may be done anywhere else." Finally, the Director of the I.L.O. referred to the determination which had been shown to achieve success, to the general readiness to help, and to his own belief that "such international co-operation can lay the solid foundation of understanding in the economic and social field and is a contribution towards the cause of peace as a whole."

Little Men in the Balkans Look to the League

By JOHN BROWN: author of "I Was a Tramp" and other widely read travel books

LIVING among the Albanian clansmen in the Accursed Mountains, I found a much keener interest in international affairs than I had expected. Illiteracy is widespread, but the absence of books and newspapers is hardly noticeable, for the latest news is carried from the markets with amazing accuracy on the tongues of the salesmen. Many men who had never handled a book in their lives had wonderful memories. They could repeat the twenty- and thirty-versed poems about Ali Pasha and Scanderbeg, the national heroes, without a single falter, and phrases from Mussolini's speeches were carried by word of mouth from Durazzo to Scutari.

The military tradition dies hard in this country of blood-feuds and private arsenals, but the memory of the last war is still vivid, and the clans have no wish for a repetition. My knowledge of Albanian was limited to a few words, but enough Italian and English is spoken to enable the traveller to gauge opinion. There was a feeling that the League could still be made to function efficiently if it had the backing of a strong military force. It was made very clear that the clansmen would be only too glad to send a contingent. One Gheg school teacher in Scutari pointed at two young men, clad in the white fustanella (kilt) and embroidered coat of the district. "Our men formed the Palace Guards for the Sultan, and they still go to Athens," he said; "why not to Geneva?"

The young men had little interest in the League, but were very willing to discuss prospects of economic development for their country, which they thought was in danger of becoming an Italian protectorate. Every boat arriving at San Giovanni di Medua, they said, was bringing Italian technicians and business men, and the few *leks* they were paid every week were minted in Rome. Dislike of the Italians is widespread outside Tirana, and the Albanians can never forget that their irregulars defeated an Italian garrison at Valona after the Armistice.

On the way to Sofia I fell in with the ski champion of Bulgaria, a sturdy young man who had had an excellent education. Pacifism was strong in Bulgaria, he told me, and the elders on the village councils, who wield tremendous influence in this land of peasants, are mostly ex-soldiers who know the realities of military "glory." His views were confirmed by my experiences in Gorna-Djumaya and the Rose Valley. Political discussion is carried on in a much freer and more democratic way than in other Balkan countries, and there is a general desire for a planned peace. The abolition of general military service by the Treaty of Neuilly has also contributed to a change of atmosphere. I heard more talk about the League in Bulgaria than in Yugoslavia, where there is a huge standing army, whose leaders under General Zhivkovitch dominated the Cabinet up to last year. The young Bulgarians I met in Sofia also

gave me the impression that they were thinking constructively. No doubt they are conscious of the exposed position of their country, in the event of another European war, but self-interest was far from being the only motive.

The general disappointment at the failure of the League to stop the Abyssinian war was not so intense as in the west, as there had been a clearer realisation of the difficulties involved, and a much better knowledge of Mussolini's plans and methods.

In Belgrade some of the white-coated cavalry and artillery officers from the huge Kalamegdan fortress, whom I met at the Hotel Solun, were very pessimistic. They looked on a new war in Europe as being only a question of months, and severely criticised Premier Stoyadinovich for his failure to preach "preparedness." My impressions of interviews in the Ministries, however, hardly confirmed this view, for the present Cabinet seemed to share most of the deposed Zhivkovitch's views. No doubt the continual pressure exerted by the White Hand League of serving and ex-officers will affect their opinions.

But in green-mosqued Serajevo, where an approving inscription commemorates Prinzip's murder of Franz Ferdinand, I heard other views expressed. I stayed in a Moslem household, and my host told me that the Bosnian workers and tradespeople were thoroughly permeated with pacifist views. He was keen to know the state of feeling about war-preparations in the west, and was surprised when I told him the strength of pacifist organisations in France and Britain.

Further south, I found memories of the fine work performed by British doctors and nurses during the Serbian retreat still vivid. A British passport was an automatic claim on local hospitality in many areas, and I had several offers of long holidays, on which I was assured I would not require a *dinar* of my own money. Some of the workers along the Montenegrin border were in the United States before the war, and have been unable to return because of the quota restrictions. One of them, who had a wealth of expletives, assured me that neither dictators nor guns would drag him or his friends to another war. The young men would have to go, but they had heard enough already to open their eyes. In the village inns, which were the only social centres in southern Serbia, they had been talking about stopping war for years, he added. During the war the Allies had had an international army—why not revive it? For the League as it existed, without weapons, he had no hope.

I was to hear similar views expressed on many occasions before I left Yugoslavia, and among the unlettered and hard-working peasants I found a better understanding of League realities than was ever displayed in the stormy political meetings in the Belgrade cafés.

New Road Opened to the Efforts of Men

By R. F. SCOTT,
of the Intelligence Section, L.N.U.

AFTER Britain abandoned the gold standard in 1931 and still more markedly after the United States in 1933 followed our example, the gap between the internal price-level of the "gold bloc" countries and the world price-level steadily widened. The difficulties of exporting from these countries and the pressure upon their home markets of cheap imports, with the resultant raising of their tariff systems, placed severe strain upon their currencies. The result was that trade restrictions in all their modern variations increased. International trade failed to keep pace with the progress of recovery enjoyed by most individual countries. How was this disturbing situation to be remedied?

The League of Nations Economic Committee, in a report to the Council in mid-September, suggested that currency alignment or devaluation by the "gold bloc" countries was essential. This, they considered, would be the first step, which, however, could only prove effective if it were accompanied by a relaxation of direct and indirect import restrictions.

Then, on September 25, when the recurrent financial crisis in France was more severe than usual, M. Blum decided to adopt the League Economic Committee's recommendation, and devalued. Within the next week Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Turkey and Latvia all to varying extents depreciated their currencies. Thus by the beginning of October the first part of the Economic Committee's proposals had been put into practice.

But what of the second part, the concomitant reduction of trade barriers? It could not truthfully be answered, nothing, for France has abolished nearly a quarter of her quotas and reduced her import duties by 15 to 20 per cent. Italy, too, has reduced her import duties. On the other hand, some such reductions were inevitable, because the rise in the cost of imports, owing to devaluation, made the old level of tariffs unnecessarily and undesirably high. Not nothing, therefore, but extremely little has been done to bring about economic disarmament. Indeed, do the authorities of the great commercial Powers really intend to do anything? If so, what form are their contributions likely to take?

Mr. W. S. Morrison, in his speech to the Second Committee at Geneva, showed clearly that the policy of H.M. Government was to encourage and to congratulate, but on no account to pursue the path of economic disarmament until this had been well worn by the steps of other Governments. The only positive contribution he felt justified in offering was the determination of H.M. Government "to resist the temptation to make use of its power as an import market? In other words, Britain would not raise her tariffs to protect her home markets against the cheapened exports of the devaluing countries, provided that these countries agreed to reduce

their import restrictions. To do nothing that might handicap a general economic recovery appeared to be positive action enough.

Mr. Chamberlain, in his speech at the Mansion House on October 6, also appeared perfectly satisfied to sit back and congratulate the devaluing countries for the action they were taking, apparently ignoring the possibility that any material contribution could be demanded of Britain.

The French Government, although they have already done much for restoring freer channels to international trade, cannot act unilaterally. M. Bastid warned us at Geneva that the new plan of reduced tariffs would not be put into effect in its entirety unless it were made part of a general agreement.

This universal lack of initiative and fear of a bold and forward policy is pathetic and most dangerous. Never in recent years has there been a time so propitious as the present for the general removal of barriers to world trade. Will the countries of the world allow this opportunity to elude them without effort to grasp and make use of it? It is vital that the spirit of co-operation for the smashing down of trade barriers should immediately be mobilised and manifested in action, for this spirit is certainly present among the majority of the nations. What then should be done? It is plain that at the moment each country is holding back, none wishing to make the first plunge into economic disarmament. The practical escape from this *impasse*, where each country appears willing to give support, though none to take the initiative for reducing trade restrictions, is either a World Economic Conference or a meeting of the proper authorities of the principal commercial nations.

The League Economic Committee and the general feeling at Geneva are apparently against the former. "The diversity of the interests of different countries," the Economic Committee consider, is still too strong to allow of success for such a conference. This is probably true, and it is with the great commercial countries that the difficulties of obtaining tariff reductions lie.

Therefore, it is of the utmost importance that the proper authorities of some dozen of the principal commercial nations, with their technical advisers, should meet together to determine how far it is possible to reduce the present disastrously high level of trade restriction, and to formulate a general plan for achieving this end.

"A new road is being opened to the thoughts, and efforts of men. It is the duty of Governments to enter upon this road with boldness, which in time of difficulty constitutes the only true wisdom," thus M. Spinasse concludes his report of the Second Committee to the Assembly. Boldness, he advocates, not the fearful caution at present adopted.

COLONIAL CLAIMS AND

By B. S. KEELING, the well-known writer on world trade raw materials, and European expansion

"If the German State had not during the last fifteen years been bled white and deprived of all its foreign investments, and above all, if it still possessed its colonies, we should have found it easier to master these tasks." So said Herr Hitler at the Nazi Party Conference at Nuremberg on September 9. He has since suppressed agitation in Germany on the colonial question. But on October 28, General Göring, at a great public demonstration in Berlin, said: "We have no colonies. They were stolen from us after an unfortunate war. We are told to buy raw materials with gold. The interest remains; a solution is still necessary."

Whether Germany was, in fact, "bled white" by the payment of Reparations is at least open to question, for in the post-war period she borrowed abroad roughly three times as much as she ever paid in Reparations. But a point of more immediate interest is Herr Hitler's long-expected justification of his colonial

The Assembly,

"Considering that the time has now arrived when discussion of and enquiry into the question of equal commercial access for all nations to certain raw materials might usefully be undertaken with the collaboration of the principal States, whether Members or non-members of the League, having a special interest in the matter;

"Decides to request the Council, when it thinks fit, to appoint a Committee composed, in suitable proportions of members of the Economic and Financial Committees of the League of Nations, together with other qualified persons, irrespective of nationality, to undertake the study of this question and report thereupon;

"Recognises that the choice of the raw materials to be considered should be at the discretion of the body thus appointed;

"Believes that the participation in the work of the Committee of nationals of the non-member as well as Member States specially interested would be desirable;

"Suggests that the Council should give attention to this consideration in reaching its decision;

"And instructs the Secretary-General to communicate the present resolution to the Governments of non-member States."—Resolution adopted by the League Assembly, October 9, 1936.

demands on economic grounds. For the argument that her former colonies could supply a substantial quantity of the raw materials and foodstuffs which Germany cannot herself produce is extremely plausible. But is it justified by the facts?

The *Berliner Tageblatt* recently published a table comparing the total exports of her former colonies' products with Germany's imports of those products in 1934. This showed that, besides a certain quantity of gold and diamonds, the colonies could have provided

her with more than enough sisal, with nearly enough phosphates, and with about a quarter of the cocoa, coffee and bananas which she required. The exports of vegetable oils represented about one-seventh of Germany's imports. That is all; of what Dr. Goebbels has called the six "basic materials of modern industrialism," the output of coal, rubber, and copper was of negligible importance, whilst that of iron, petroleum and cotton was too small to be included at all. The position was no better as regards timber, wool, cereals, and a long list of other essential materials. In fact, the total exports of all the ex-German colonies together represented no more than 3 per cent. of Germany's imports of raw materials and foodstuffs.

In face of such statistics, it is invariably answered that figures of present-day production are irrelevant—that it is the potentialities of these territories which matter. According to Dr. Eicke, a Director of the Reichsbank, given intensive exploitation under German auspices, the colonies might come to provide not 3 per cent. but 15 per cent. of Germany's requirements. In this connection two questions appear to be pertinent. In the first place, have the territories really remained so undeveloped under the present mandatories as would seem to be implied? According to a recent Parliamentary statement by Mr. Thomas, £9,000,000 has been invested in Tanganyika alone since the war. Secondly, is Germany, a heavy net importer of capital in post-war years, in a position to invest the large sums required for intensive colonial development? In any case, the fact that even an optimistic German authority does not suggest that the mandated territories could provide more than one-sixth of Germany's requirements, only goes to confirm the view that transfer of mandates could at best have a limited effect on Germany's economic position. The future of the ex-German colonies is not a matter of real economic significance. First and foremost, it is a political issue, and it should be treated as such on its merits.

But is there no other solution of the problem of "access to colonial raw materials"? Lord Lugard and others have suggested that Great Britain should meet the claims of the dissatisfied Powers by re-establishing the principle of the Open Door in those of her colonies in which it has lapsed. Theoretically, this would provide all countries with equal opportunities of selling their goods in these territories, and thereby obtaining the means of payment for the purchase of raw materials. Such a step would undoubtedly benefit Japan, whose textile imports into many British dependencies have been deliberately restricted since 1934 by quota systems. Would it be of much material value to such countries as Germany and Italy, which have no exceptional advantages like Japan? In practice, the bulk of the trade, even of Open Door territories, seems to be conducted with the suzerain country.

But a still more important limitation on the material value of such a step is the very low purchasing power of most "colonies." All the colonial territories in the world together provide less than 10 per cent. of the

ECONOMIC REALITIES

world market. Moreover, in over one-third of them the Open Door is already guaranteed by the terms of the mandates, the Congo Basin Conventions, etc. Nor are the colonies important producers of raw materials or foodstuffs. The only materials of which more than half the world supply is provided by colonies are rubber, tin, cocoa, and certain vegetable oils.

The truth of the matter is that the bulk of the world's raw materials are produced, and the bulk of the world's manufactures are imported, by self-governing States—not least, of course, certain British Dominions. And it is equally inescapable that no industrial State—not even a demi-Continent like the United States or the U.S.S.R.—possesses all the raw materials which it requires.

In fact, there can be no real solution of the problem except freer international access to both the raw materials and the markets of self-governing States. The first would be a comparatively simple matter. Guarantees could be given by the producers of raw materials not to discriminate against any purchaser on grounds of nationality; and representatives of consuming countries could be invited to participate in the working of "international restriction schemes"—an extension of a principle already embodied in the existing tin and rubber schemes.

But the real problem is that of access to markets of expanding international purchasing power. This involves, of course, a revival of international trade, which still shows little evidence of vigorous recovery from the lowest levels of the depression. Yet in many ways, as the Assembly and the Economic Committee of the League of Nations have just pointed out, the moment could scarcely be more favourable for positive action.

With the franc devalued, the necessity for the prohibitive French quotas is removed; and the Blum Government, not representing any particular vested

interests, is in a strong position for abolishing them. A still greater obstacle to world trade is the persistence of the United States in maintaining an exceptionally high tariff and (in spite of being a creditor country) a "favourable" balance of trade. But here, too, there are hopeful signs. The recent trade agreements with Canada and other important countries have involved considerable modifications of American duties;

whilst the United States export surpluses in both 1933 and 1935 were lower than in any year since 1910.

Action of this sort by individual States can be of very great value. But probably the best hope of all for an expansion of foreign markets lies in agreements between groups of countries for the progressive annual reduction of the tariffs on each other's goods. There is no logical reason why the low-tariff group established by the British nations at Ottawa in 1932 should not be extended to include any country wishing to become a member. There is only one real obstacle to the

"Steps should be taken at the present Assembly to promote surer progress of recovery. The object of this policy must be to seek the re-establishment of normal financial and economic dealings between nations of the world. In a speech here in Geneva by my predecessor there was mention of access to certain raw materials. This is a matter for suitable discussion at Geneva under the auspices of the League."—The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Anthony Eden) in the League Assembly, September 25, 1936.

establishment of low-tariff groups—the most-favoured-nation clause. So long as a country is committed to extend any tariff concession it may make to every country with which it has a commercial agreement containing the most-favoured-nation clause, it is clearly impossible for it to grant any exclusive concessions to a low-tariff group of countries. One of the few practical schemes for a group of this kind—the Ouchy Convention of 1932 between Belgium, Luxemburg and the Netherlands, which was open to all countries to join—was prevented from coming into

operation by the opposition of Great Britain and other countries on the grounds that it would be incompatible with the maintenance of their most-favoured-nation rights.

It is by agreements of this sort for the resumption of international trade between Sovereign States, far more than by any purely colonial changes, that the dissatisfied Powers could achieve the economic prosperity which they demand.

BOLTON PEACE WEEK



The War Memorial and Town Hall illuminated during the Bolton Peace Week, which was a sequel to the First WORLD PEACE CONGRESS at Brussels. (With acknowledgments to the "Bolton Evening News.")

TOWARDS AN INTERNATIONAL CURRENCY

JOHN SEWELL examines the plea for "a pound that shall be worth a pound, wherever you may go."

THE recent devaluation of Continental currencies may prove to be of the utmost significance in the march towards world economic co-operation in place of the war-breeding policies of economic self-sufficiency. It is an everlasting mystery to many English people whose pleasure or business takes them abroad that their pound notes melt away very much faster in some countries than in others.

The business man will tell you that he cannot sell goods to this, that, or the other country, because the exchange is against him; while certain manufacturers state that they may have to close their works because they cannot meet the price competition of foreign firms who have the sterling exchange in their favour.

To observers with no special knowledge of foreign currencies this seems to be very stupid. "Why does not money possess the same value everywhere?" "Surely no finer way could be found to stimulate the easy interchange of goods and services? If the pound sterling, the dollar, the franc and the peseta were all valued sensibly, they could be exchanged without any heart burnings, with the lira, mark, drachma or dinar, and everybody could move and trade freely between all the countries of the world."

This is the superficial deduction from observed facts. World trade and travel are seen as a great river whose smooth flow is blocked by all sorts of barriers which stick out above the surface and appear to render the job of navigation almost hopeless. Would the situation be improved if all those barriers were swept away? Would not the river then become a smooth, open, and easily traversed highway? These seem such obvious questions to ordinary observers, because they do not appreciate that the things which they regard as barriers are really buoys and marks set in a stream that is not nearly so safe as it looks.

Beneath the surface are many concealed obstacles which would wreck the craft which pass above, if those things which look like barriers were removed. The passage is hard to make, now. It would be infinitely more difficult if the unversed passengers persuaded their captains to destroy the marks which guide the pilots. For that is the function of the exchange rates—to indicate certain facts regarding the general position of particular countries relative to the stream of world trade. The state of the currencies tells a very plain story to those whose business it is to read the charts. They are experts in their knowledge of that superficially ordinary, but really very peculiar thing we call money.

Money is intimately associated with every kind of obstacle to the free flow of international business. Whatever its units may be called, in different countries, they all have one characteristic feature: *Their value depends upon their scarcity.* This apparently trite observation is, in fact, the key to the whole problem of getting an international currency to function. For if money is to possess the same value, everywhere, it must possess the same scarcity, everywhere.

To smooth out the obstacles to world trade created

by an uneven distribution of money is a problem whose solution is not yet in sight. There are certain factors involved which tend to make those obstacles grow even larger and become even more numerous and formidable. These factors result from the many complexities of human nature.

Heads of different governments, at different times, find that the manufacture of currency notes is an easy and convenient way of financing a part of their needs. Britain is no exception, as all will know who remember the inflationary period during and after the last war. It was on account of there being so many millions of those paper pounds in circulation that one of them was worth only three dollars instead of the customary five. The pound sterling was less scarce than it had been; so its value altered.

In France, until the end of September, some 75 francs would buy (exchange for) a pound note. This particular rate was not a true guide to France's position in the stream of world trade. It has now been altered to reflect prevailing conditions more accurately.

Particular factors influence exchange rates in different countries.

Banking policy may be altered. Gold may be deliberately accumulated. Wars may break out; or internal political disturbances may wreck confidence and destroy faith in the local money. At any given moment, conditions in some countries will be described as stable, and in other countries as the reverse.

In no country does the general situation ever remain the same for long. It is constantly subject to the interplay of influences whose variety and pressure change from day to day. The effect of these influences upon the money of the country is to cause variations in its scarcity. In good times there is "plenty of money about." In bad times it seems to vanish.

An international currency would need to possess the same scarcity (that is to say, the same value) at the same time in all countries. This will be possible only when governments, banks and business men, everywhere, are completely united in policy and outlook, and all countries are at peace. Such conditions are essential to the successful operation of an international currency system. The degree to which we achieve them will also be the degree to which we achieve general international harmony, fellowship and peace.

The great democracies participating in the Anglo-French-American currency agreement have inaugurated a movement which may mark the opening of a new and more prosperous economic era. The tangled barriers of quotas, subsidies, tariffs, and other trade restrictions are partially the result of disorders in the international money machine, and the new alignment of currencies can be made a valuable instrument for breaking down those barriers and so clearing the way for a general increase in wealth and prosperity.

The roots of peace are in men's environment as well as in their hearts. And there is much hope in the prospect of a rising standard of living, shared by all the nations of the world.

"failure consists not in falling down but in continuing to lie down when you have fallen"

SIR ABE BAILEY, in a letter to "The Times" on October 26:

The dictators with titanic powers are much with us these days. They, the champion abusers, seek to be immune from criticism not only in their own countries but even abroad, and when British statesmen like Mr. Winston Churchill or Mr. Duff Cooper dare to speak on behalf of British interests they are castigated by the tied newspapers of Rome and Berlin.

We are inclined to take this glorification of dictatorship too much at its face value and to hide and even belittle our own achievements and our historic place in the world. I am no pessimist. I am an optimist. My friend General Smuts said at St. Andrews: "This is a good world." It can also become a prosperous one. The price of gold is 75 per cent. higher, its output has doubled, and this is now breeding prosperity. Think what it means to the development of world trade!

What, however, this world of brilliant prospects but also of bewilderment and of danger needs is leadership. We have seen a glimpse of what a lead can do in the currency agreement between Great Britain, France, and the United States—an agreement which has given Herr Hitler the shock of his life and which may mark the return of the world to sanity if it is followed by a move to reduce trade restrictions, tariffs, and quotas and thus increase international trade.

The democracies of the world are not finished, and we must secure their survival. I am certain that despite the Abyssinian fiasco they are still prepared to rally and fight in defence of their liberties if they are given a proper lead. This country ought to give that lead. It has behind it not only its incomparable resources in men and material and world-wide confidence in its pledged word, but also the active partnership of the Dominions, the good will of the United States, of the small sane countries of Europe, and of France—the last great democracy left on the Continent, now almost isolated as the result of tragic blunders and now with two new frontiers to watch.

What then ought to be Great Britain's lead? She has certain obvious obligations. She must declare her intention to defend with the last drop of her blood any portion of the Commonwealth which may be attacked, and such declaration should be independent of any attempt to require from the Dominions a promise to spend their treasures and blood in defending the British Isles. She must also, apart from any formal alliance, express her intention to defend the independence of countries like France, Belgium, Holland, Portugal, and Egypt, vital to her own existence.

But Great Britain must do something more. This country, a beacon in a dark world, must still work for the League of Nations and all it stands for and, without prejudging any issue before it has arisen, support wholeheartedly that principle of collective security the absence of which is driving each country into the isolation of frantic rearmament.

France and Great Britain blundered badly over Abyssinia. But failure consists not in falling down but in continuing to lie down when you have fallen.

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by

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GENEVA AT EALING By C. CLAXTON TURNER

OVER 3,000 persons took the opportunity afforded at Ealing Town Hall, on October 22, 23 and 24, to improve their knowledge of the work of the League of Nations, and paid at the door for the privilege.

That fact in itself is evidence that the enterprise of the eight branches of the League of Nations Union which co-operated to bring Geneva to Ealing was fully justified.

The further fact that those thousands paid no fleeting visit, but spent several hours inspecting the exhibits, listening carefully to the speeches on League subjects, and studying the spectacle provided for them, gives rise to the thought that the same type of enterprise could and should be developed in other districts.

Viscount Cecil gave the exhibition a rousing send-off, and even the most doubting of Thomases must have been impressed by the way in which the attention captured by the inaugural address was retained by successive speakers throughout the three days of the exhibition.

The greatest interest, however, was aroused by the ten Courts, each of which concentrated on a particular aspect of League activities. As long as the exhibition was open, small crowds of spectators clustered round the Courts, and at each tour of the exhibits, under the guidance of a lecturer, the entire audience eagerly attended.

No. 1 Court, "Disarm the Air," was arranged and conducted by the Southall Branch of the Union; the exhibit illustrating the Permanent Court of International Justice was the work of the Wembley Branch; Junior Branches provided a Children's Court; Chiswick was responsible for the I.L.O.; Ealing undertook Minorities and Refugees; Acton dealt with Finance and Economics; Greenford accounted for Health, Drugs, and Social Welfare; Kew and Kew Gardens concentrated on Communications and Transit Organisation; Headquarters contributed a literature stall; and Brentford arranged a Court for the enrolment of new members. The R.S.P.C.A. also participated in a Court advocating international extension of the welfare work of the League to animals.

Each Court was an excellent display of the subject chosen, and it would be difficult to draw any comparisons. One point stood out prominently in every case—a degree of showmanship which is generally so

woefully lacking at League displays! Throughout, the maximum of educational value was allied to attractive presentation, and it is probable that much of the success of the side-shows was due to the cleverness with which the organisers had avoided the usual tendency to obscure the main points by trying to present too much. Indeed, one was inclined to suspect that somebody with a genuine flair for showmanship had assisted the exhibition in an advisory capacity.

That same ability to impart attractiveness was observable in the selection of the platform programmes, which were thoroughly diversified, the educational portions being interspersed with lighter items ranging from organ recitals, community singing, and dance displays to a seance of Black Magic. It is worthy of note that even the conjuring item neatly introduced matters of League of Nations interest!

Dwelling on a past success is ever futile by comparison with recognition of ways and means for that success to be repeated and extended. In the latter regard also the organisers of "Geneva at Ealing" have shown a fine public spirit.

When preparing the various Courts, the producers paid careful attention to the future, and went out of their way so to arrange matters that the entire exhibition can be packed away, transported and re-assembled without difficulty whenever the opportunity to repeat its success, at Ealing or elsewhere, presents itself or can be made. Throughout, the organisers (to quote the words of one of them) "had it in mind to codify the exhibition as far as possible with a view to its being used as a basis of exhibitions by other branches." A brief, detailed report of the Courts and their exhibits is in preparation and will soon be available.

The first presentation of "Geneva at Ealing" gained valuable Press publicity, illustrated and otherwise, for the League, and in addition was undoubtedly the means of arousing interest in the League among hundreds of people who had not previously been attracted.

Ealing's enterprise is now available, and it is certain that other branches will eagerly seize upon the opportunity to profit by this excellent example.

Any branch secretary who desires fuller details should get into communication with Mr. Frank A. Cave, 217, Boston Road, Hanwell, W.7, enclosing stamped envelope for reply.

FIFTEEN MONTHS' HARD WORK By CLARE HOLLINGWORTH

THE Ealing exhibition was the culmination of fifteen months of hard work by a committee representing eight branches of the League of Nations Union in the West of London. It is the largest effort of the kind yet undertaken by the Union. Whilst the League was being shouted down and disparaged by many people, this committee was plodding away at an attempt to interest the man in the street, equally with those who find pleasure in puzzling over involved statistical diagrams.

Many mothers in the district, who are never able to go out to meetings in the evening, were attracted to

the exhibition in the afternoons, to see their children dance in national costumes.

Plans and diagrams illustrated at a glance the obstructions to world trade; showed how sanctions had hit Italy; and detailed the supplies of raw materials which we obtain from our colonies. Some people spent hours delving into the books of statistics prepared by the Secretariat.

Children rushed eagerly to their own court, where masses of free publications, obtained from all the foreign railway offices in London, and containing pictures of many countries, were given away. Dolls, gaily dressed

in the costumes of three continents, amused the youthful visitors, while they crammed their pockets with more and more pictures of foreign countries.

The eye was caught by "DISARM THE AIR"—a dioramic picture of London, with two large aeroplanes flying overhead; but a gas-mask, lying on a table beside it, brought one to earth with a bang, and drove home the moral. To remind us that disputes can be peacefully settled between nations, as between human beings, there was a representation of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Representatives of foreign legations, present at the opening ceremony, were fascinated with the Minorities Court. Here, on a map of Europe, the minorities protected by treaty under the guarantee of the League of Nations were represented each by a little figure, cut out in card and painted with the appropriate costume, with details of his race or religion. Each figure was attached by a tape to the capital of the country in which his particular minority happens to live.

The exhibition has done a valuable work in educating the public, not excluding our own members. It is surprising how much was to be learnt, even by people who have worked for the League for many years, from the exhibits in the various courts; and, on the other hand, the remarks of the man-in-the-street proved that the portrayal of the manifold activities of the League was a revelation to those who had not studied its work. High-brow and low-brow were lured into the court entitled "WHAT CAN WE DO?" and every effort was made to persuade them to join the Union.

VERNON BARTLETT JUST BACK FROM SPAIN REVEALS THE TRUTH OF THE WAR IN HIS ARTICLE: **The Spanish Tragedy** IN THE WORLD REVIEW

Other Exclusive features introduce SIR ARNOLD WILSON, M.P., on "A POLICY FOR YOUTH" ●●● Dr. HODZA, Czechoslovakia's Prime Minister, on his Country's mission ●●● FOREIGN BODIES by "Floodlight" (Personalities in the news) ●●● Regular attractions include: CARTOONS, Books, Travel, Finance and Motoring (by Capt. G. E. T. Eyston) ●●● ALSO the fascinating and revealing insight into first-hand world opinion on the big topics of the day in our famous feature: THE NATIONS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES ●●●

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READERS' VIEWS

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

ABYSSINIA IN THE LEAGUE

SIR,—May I express my surprise and regret at the account of the Assembly Credentials Committee given in your October issue? It is, in my opinion, a travesty of the real events and an unwarranted attack on the honour of the Foreign Minister of Great Britain. The article is the more to be regretted in that it is not a personal expression of opinion, but entails responsibility officially on HEADWAY and on the Union. It would appear to be mainly based on journalistic rumour and does not even refer to the official report of the Credentials Committee.

In view of the magnitude of the issues concerned, it was not surprising that the members of the Credentials Committee should be chosen from both the Great and the Lesser Powers. There was no disgrace in this, nor did any delegate, in voting for this, "vote his country's honour away," as your article states. The personal reference to M. Delbos and Mr. Anthony Eden in this connection is unworthy of dignified journalism.

Further, there were no official communiqués of the Committee meetings, and there is thus no authority for assuming that the Great Powers were against the admission of Ethiopia. The truth of the matter is in the official report:

"The question that accordingly presented itself to the Committee was whether the Head of the State from whom the credentials under examination emanate was exercising his legal title effectively enough to make those credentials perfectly in order. The question seemed to the Committee an extremely delicate one. No member suggested that it should be settled in the negative, and that the credentials in question should

accordingly be declared to be manifestly not in order. None the less, all the members of the Committee felt some doubt whether they really were in order."

Why should this Report be doubted? The greatest need of the world to-day is moral disarmament, of which an essential element is trust in one another. But your writer has apparently no trust in this Report, which was signed by nine of the world's most eminent statesmen, including such diverse characters as Mr. Limburg and Mr. Litvinoff.

As regards the attitude of the British Government, it is strange that there is no account in HEADWAY of the important assurance given by Lord Halifax to the League of Nations Union deputation. He pointed out that:

"He had seen suggestions that His Majesty's Government wanted to find means of extruding the Abyssinians from the Assembly in the interests, as it was alleged, of agreement on larger European issues. He could assure the delegation, categorically, that there was no shadow of truth in that suggestion, and so far as he was aware there never had been any."

This is a clear and definite statement from a reliable source. It is good to think that the policy of the British Government is as Lord Halifax indicates, and not as represented by the official correspondent of HEADWAY.

I trust you will see your way to publish this letter in full.—Yours truly,

M. G. COWAN.

(A Vice-President, East of Scotland District Committee and Edinburgh Branch.)

NOTE.—Responsible and experienced correspondents at Geneva, of whom the writer of HEADWAY's article is one, do not depend on official communiqués for their knowledge of events. They have other and sure sources of information. HEADWAY's account of what happened in the matter of Abyssinian representation was correct in all essentials. It is confirmed by the reports published in the chief newspapers of the world day by day and by the official statements if they are read with critical attention. There was a manoeuvre to exclude Abyssinia and it failed in the manner described in HEADWAY. Everyone accepts the assurance of Lord Halifax, but its precise meaning is not clear. It was published too late for mention in HEADWAY.—EDITOR.

RELIGION AND THE LEAGUE

SIR,—As a member of the League of Nations Union since its earliest days, I wish to protest against words used by your Geneva correspondent, under the heading "The League at the Cross Roads":—

"Nowadays, few would kill, or be killed, for the interpretation of a creed . . . but most of us Europeans would die for a theory of government."

The impression left by the words and context certainly is that few Europeans would die for their religious faith. One can only attribute such a misleading assertion to extreme ignorance and a very narrow experience! There are hundreds of thousands to whom the Christian faith is more than life, and who, though they would not kill to defend it, would rather be killed than deny it.

The whole article strikes one as journalistic and flippant, and quite unworthy of the organ of the League of Nations Union or of the vital

issues at stake. There are many keen supporters of the League who feel that if Christian principles were more openly avowed at Geneva, the prospects of securing peace would be far greater. In HEADWAY there is no mention of any service being held there, or notice of the Bishop of Bristol's sermon. This timorous type of Christianity certainly has no power, and will get no distance; it is rather typical of the League.

Happily, there are many more than "7,000" who are ready both to live the life of Christians and to die, if need be, for the faith of Christ; and they are the best leaven the world possesses, and the most hopeful influence for peace.

"A FOUNDATION MEMBER."
NOTE.—The writer of this letter misunderstands the words used by HEADWAY's correspondent at the Assembly. That correspondent has given long and brilliant service to the Union, the League, and peace. The keyword was "creed," which is not the same as faith. The Bishop of Bristol's sermon was not available when HEADWAY went to Press.—EDITOR.

A LEAD ONCE MORE

SIR,—I had thought that HEADWAY was an organ of the League of Nations Union, but I am being forced to the conclusion that it is, instead, the mouthpiece of the "National" Government. When there are articles such as this month's "A Lead Once More,"

and that printed on the cover, I am not surprised that hitherto loyal supporters feel compelled to withdraw their subscriptions and transfer them to some organisation that really is working selflessly in the cause of peace.

You say, ". . . the world, as is its habit, looked to Britain for a lead and was not disappointed." What lead did Lord Londonderry give the Air Disarmament Conference? You mention "Sir Samuel Hoare's great speech of September 11," and forget the Hoare-Laval scandal. You praise Mr. Eden for his speech on September 25; what about his speech of a few days before, concerning the Abyssinian delegation?

You actually say "His Majesty's Government, with the great majority of the British people behind them, still seek to organise peace through the League of Nations." His Majesty's Government are a long way behind the great majority of the British people. This was shown in the Peace Ballot, which supporters of the "National" Government almost invariably refused to sign. The result of the Ballot was a shock to them, but they recovered from the shock in time to make the best use of it for Election purposes. It is, however, a great nuisance to them to have to keep up the show of loyalty to the League, since it cuts right across their Imperialist and Capitalist policy. It is ludicrous that in the face of such disgraceful episodes as the recent attempt to exclude Abyssinia from Geneva, Britain should still pretend to "lead the world."

Leeds.

HEATHER TANNER.

GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING

The General Council of the League of Nations Union will meet at the CONWAY HALL, HOLBORN, LONDON, on DECEMBER 15th and 16th, and if necessary, 17th

THE ANGELL ESSAY PRIZES

D. R. GILBERT MURRAY, Mr. Hugh Lyon, the Headmaster of Rugby, Sir Philip Gibbs, and Sir Norman Angell have just given their decision in the competition for the best essay suitable for use by teachers and those in a teaching position, explanatory of the ideas embodied in Sir Norman Angell's books.

For the best essay or "lesson" suitable for adults a first prize of £60 has been awarded to:—

MURIEL M. CHECKSFIELD, 7, Canterbury Road, Watford, Herts.

A prize of £40 to:—

JOHN N. WALES, Park Cottages, Dartington, Totnes, Devon.

And two prizes of £10 to:—

ERNEST H. ROBINSON, 18, Claxton Avenue, Blackley, Manchester.

C. GOWAN, 6, High Street, Eton.

An additional prize of £10 has been awarded to:—

MURIEL W. ATTLEE, Four Winds, Barton Heys Road, Formby, Lancs.,

for the best essay or "lesson" suitable for children.

The prize-winning essay for adults was published in *Time and Tide* of October 24, and the essay for children in the *Teachers' World* of October 28.

Cute politicians can't define
The status of Dominions,
But of TOM LONG tobacco's place
There can't be two opinions.

INFERIORITY COMPLEX eradicated for ever

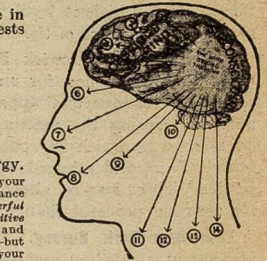
AN Inferiorty Complex is a disturbance in the Subconscious Mind which manifests itself in:—

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| (1) Self-consciousness. | (8) Stuttering. |
| (2) Nervousness. | (9) Blushing. |
| (3) Depression. | (10) Obsessions. |
| (4) Worry. | (11) Trembling. |
| (5) Weak Will and habits. | (12) Nerve pains. |
| (6) Unsteady gaze. | (13) Indigestion. |
| (7) Nervous catarrh. | (14) Physical lethargy. |

These are symptoms of "something wrong" within your personality which you can put right—a "disturbance centre" in Subconsciousness which sends out powerful negative impulses, overcoming and paralyzing your positive impulses, denying you the pleasures of achievement and the joys of living. You cannot control these impulses—but you can remove them altogether by eradicating from your Subconscious Mind the trouble from which they spring.

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Imaginary diagram depicting effect on the subconscious mind (see key in text).

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(Dr. J. D. Jones, C.H.)

If this statement be true—and who dare challenge it?—it is our bounden duty to see to it that all men have this same Book in their own language. Only so can we discharge in some measure a debt we can never pay in full.

This is the one and only task of the Bible Society; will you help with your prayers and gifts?

BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY,

146, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C.4.

HERE AND THERE

UNION BRANCHES

Leamington. Mr. P. H. B. Lyon, Headmaster of Rugby School, addressing a meeting of officials of Warwickshire Branches, referred to recent happenings and stressed the need for members of the Union to remain faithful to their ideals and to continue their educational work for the League of Nations.

Delegates numbering 264 from 119 women's organisations attended a Women's Conference held under the auspices of the Nottingham Branch and Notts Federal Council. Mrs. E. C. Dugdale gave an address, in which she declared, "The League of Nations represents the highest level we have yet reached in the work of organising the peace of the world."

Keswick. The Keswick Branch organised a café chantant in order to raise money for an extra contribution, promised in response to Headquarters' appeal. The effort met with well-deserved success. During the meeting, Dr. Havelock, of Newcastle, gave an address in which he spoke of the disquieting state of international affairs and stressed the need to make force the servant of justice. There was no alternative to the League as an instrument for securing peaceful change.

Worcester Park, Surrey. Mrs. Corbett Fisher was the principal speaker at a meeting organised by the local branch, and gave an interesting address on the present international situation and the way to world peace. Present troubles were due to the fact that League members had not been willing to stand by their obligations. The principles of the Covenant should be asserted while there was still time.

Farnham. A conference for branch secretaries and other members of the Surrey Federation was held at Farnham Castle on September 26. After a short address by Mr. Alec Wilson, four Commissions were arranged to discuss various aspects of the League and the Union. These were led by Mr. Wilson and Mr. Brinton, and, after a short interval for tea, the conclusions of the debates were summed up by them. Lord Allen of Hurtwood then spoke on current events, and answered a good many questions. About 160 people were present, representing 27 branches from different parts of Surrey, and it was felt that good use had been made of the Conference.

Appleton-le-Moors. At the annual meeting of the Appleton-le-Moors Branch, the secretary was able to report that a successful jumble sale had been organised for the raising of funds in response to Headquarters' appeal.

Bolton. Bolton has been the scene of much activity in the cause of peace. From September 21 to 27 a Peace Week was held, which had the support of many local educational and political organisations, representing varying shades of opinion. One special feature was the illumination of the war memorial and the facade of the town hall.

SCOTTISH NOTES

On Thursday, November 26, a mass meeting, under the auspices of the Edinburgh Branch, is to be held in the Central Hall, **Tollcross.** The speaker will be the Rt. Hon. Viscount Halifax. Those living near enough to attend this meeting will welcome the opportunity of hearing the Lord Privy Seal.

WELSH NOTES

Lord Allen of Hurtwood addressed large meetings at **Merthyr Tydfil** and **Ammanford** on October 13 and 14. A warm welcome was given to his lordship by the crowded audiences, and his addresses were greatly appreciated. Lord Allen's visits to these two important centres are already bearing fruit in increased activity and interest in the work of the branches.

On Armistice Day wreaths will be laid on behalf of the Welsh Council of the Union at the Welsh National War Memorial at **Cardiff** and at the North Wales War Memorial at **Bangor.**

The membership figures for Wales and Monmouthshire for the first nine months of the year 1936 are the highest recorded since the Council was formed, and branches throughout the Principality are devoting greater energy than ever to the session's work—it is hoped that a large increase in membership will again be registered before the end of the year. Weather conditions this year interfered considerably with the Council's Daffodil Days at many centres.

The Welsh Council's annual appeal to all the Churches in Wales and Monmouthshire for a donation towards its missionary and educational work is being issued for Sunday, November 8, and it is hoped that a record response will be made in view of the constantly increasing demands upon the Council's meagre resources.

OVERSEAS NOTES

SOUTH AFRICA

The Reform of the League

The following resolutions on the Reform of the League of Nations were brought before the annual general meeting of the Pretoria Branch of the South African League of Nations Union by the Durban Branch:—

1. That this Conference is of opinion that the League of Nations can and should be made more effective in attaining the objects set out in the provisions of the Covenant providing that:—(a) A majority vote of four-fifths of the League Assembly at any meeting duly convened on any issue shall be binding on each and all of the member States of the League, whether represented at such meeting or not. (b) A member of the League declared the aggressor against a fellow member be subjected automatically and without delay to the imposition of sanctions involving the severance of all commercial and diplomatic relations of all kinds whatsoever as between member States of the League and the aggressor State, until the status quo is restored, and suitable compensation, to be determined by the Council, be made by the aggressor to the victim of such aggression. (c) That in the event of an unprovoked attack being made on any member State of the League, the military resources of all members of the League shall be mobilised and used in support of such member in repelling such unprovoked attack and securing adequate compensation from the aggressor, both to the victim and the League member State. (d) That as in the case of aggression by one member State against a fellow member, all commercial and diplomatic relations shall be severed as between the League member States and the aggressor. (e) That the aggressor be deprived during the period of its aggression of the right of representation in the Assembly and Council of the League. (f) That each member State of the League deposit, as a pledge of good faith, with the General Secretary a sum of money in gold, such amount to be calculated on a percentage of the annual revenue of each State, and to be forfeit to the general funds of the League in case of aggression against a fellow member. (g) That a war council representative of not less than ten member States of the League be established to devise plans to give effect to any resolution of the Assembly involving military operations, in either or both of the eventualities referred to in clauses (b) and (c).

2. That this Conference is of opinion that bilateral or group treaties either between member States of the League of Nations or between one or more member States and a non-member State or States, other than those of a purely commercial character, should be denounced forthwith, and that all agreements involving military co-operation between one or more member States are contrary to and subversive of the spirit and intent of the Covenant.

That the ultimate object of the Covenant, which is to secure international co-operation and goodwill, can best be promoted by the League, for its member States, by the establishment of a League Zollverein—all non-member States to be excluded from enjoying equal privileges with League member States, and any relationships with non-member States to be determined by the League itself on behalf of all and each of its members.

3. This Conference submits the foregoing suggestions to the Government of the Union of South Africa in the profound conviction that the peace of the world can only be secured by common action, and that effective collective security, if it is to be a reality, must be backed by the military strength of a United League of Nations.

This Conference further expresses its opinion that if collective security and international peace are the paramount desiderata of the League of Nations, member States must realise the need, and be prepared to make the necessary sacrifices, resolutely to secure these ends.

U.S.A.

The E.P.C. Looks to the Future.—The Youth Section of the Emergency Peace Campaign in the U.S.A. is now looking forward to a programme of action on college campuses and to the formation of Peace Patrols which will carry on in nearby communities the same type of peace education engaged in by the volunteers this summer.

The volunteers are, however, but one phase of the campaign. In October, speakers will conduct meetings in 500 cities, leading up to Armistice Day mass gatherings from coast to coast. Again in January, hundreds of meetings, large and small, will be held in every State, with 300 speakers contributing their time and talents. It is a great campaign of education.

PALESTINE

Obituary.—We regret to record the death, at the age of 75, of Mr. Meir Dizengoff, which took place on September 23, 1936, at Tel Aviv.

Mr. Dizengoff was President of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Palestinian League of Nations Society. He was the founder of Tel Aviv, the president of its first committee of management, and, when it was raised to the dignity of a municipality, its mayor. He was also honorary Consul for Belgium.

OFFICIAL LEAGUE PUBLICATIONS

World Production and Prices, 1935-36. (Ser. L.O.N. P. 1936. II.A.16.) 156 pages. 5s. net.

The new edition of the annual volume on "World Production and Prices," published by the Economic Intelligence Service of the League, presents a thoroughly revised world index of primary production and a new world index of industrial activity.

These two world indices are analysed in detail and supplemented by a considerable amount of information and statistical data in Chapter I on "World Production." The first section of this chapter deals with the production and stocks of primary products; the second section analyses industrial activity in general in connection with industrial unemployment and industrial profits; the third section is concerned with the production and consumption of primary products as well as the connected manufacturing industries considered severally.

In Chapter II of the volume, a comparison is made of the quantitative changes during recent years in world production and world trade, as well as in merchant shipping. Chapter III contains a study of recent price tendencies, both in world markets and in various countries.

COUNCILS VOTE

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

Bradford-on-Avon, Bletchingley, Brentwood, Colchester, Consett, Felsted, Grasmere, Hasbury, Henleaze, Hatfield, Lockerley, Lingfield, Par, Rickmansworth, Redditch, Southwold, Shipley, Winscombe, Woodford Halse, Wokingham.

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.)

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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.*

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YOUR FAMILY provided for, should you die before you have time to secure their future well-being, by a substantial cash sum, followed by guaranteed monthly cheques, and finally another large cash sum. (Service No. 4)

YOUR GRANDCHILDREN, nephews, nieces, or anyone in whom you may be especially interested, will receive a cash sum at age 21 to be used for a start in life or as a cash reserve for the future—a benefit beyond praise for the recipient and a comfort to the parents. (Service No. 5)

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THE L.N.U. AND THE I.P.C.

By THE SECRETARY OF THE UNION

*The following argument is more fully presented in the current number of the
STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT*

WHAT is wrong with the world? In the main this: the nations think of themselves as separate self-governing communities when, in fact, the march of invention during the past century has welded them into a single interdependent society.

Where is leadership to come from? In the old days of Imperial expansion, a British Government which lacked the nerve for a new advance in what it believed to be the right direction would form a chartered company to run the risks and blaze the trail. If the chartered company succeeded, the Government would take over its responsibilities so soon as the dynamic stage had given place to the static. And so with the League of Nations Union, which was created and incorporated by a Royal Charter for the purpose of educating and organising public opinion of all parties and all faiths in order to secure the wholehearted acceptance of the League of Nations by the British people, to foster co-operation between the peoples of different countries, and to advocate the full development of the League for the organisation of peace and the prevention of war.

The Union has been at work for many years, mainly in the fruitful field of education, but not without occasional excursions into the wilds of political agitation. In all its activities the Union's method has been to make full use of such help as other bodies were willing to give. For example, the direction of its work in the schools has been shared by representatives of all the great associations of teachers and of Local Education Authorities. Its work in the Churches has been under the control of a committee where Roman Catholic priests have sat side by side with officers of the Salvation Army and leaders of the Free Churches under the chairmanship of a Dean of the Church of England. Fifty-five nation-wide women's organisations are represented on the Women's Advisory Council of the Union, while representatives of the Trades Union Congress sit with employers of labour on its Industrial Advisory Committee.

In some forty other countries League of Nations Societies have set their hands to the task of promoting peace through the League. They have encouraged training in world citizenship so as to enhance love of country by a greater love for the world commonwealth in which all countries are (at least potential) provinces. It is, however, true that most of the League societies, while eminently respectable and in some cases semi-official, have not yet reached the masses of the people. Even in France, penny Covenants were lacking until in the summer of this year, they were produced for the World Youth Congress convened in Geneva by the International Federation of League of Nations Societies.

It was in these circumstances that the *Rassemblement Universel pour la Paix* (in English, the International Peace Campaign) was devised in France.

And now the question is how to preserve the unity of the peace movement, internationally and nationally?

How is the R.U.P. to be permanently linked with the International Federation of League of Nations Societies and with the World Youth Congress? And how is the International Peace Campaign in Britain to be related to the League of Nations Union and the British Youth Peace Assembly, which forms the British section of the World Youth Congress? The Federation of League of Nations Societies considered the international problem at its autumn meeting. While arranging for intimate co-operation between the Federation and the continuation committee of the World Youth Congress, with the R.U.P., they favoured a platonic friendship: *Ni fusion ni confusion*.

The British national problem is still in process of solution as these words are being written. But in no case will the International Peace Campaign undertake in Britain any activity which is not approved by the L.N.U. and the other co-operating societies. It also seems clear that the I.P.C. will need no machinery of its own in Britain except a co-ordinating committee—the national I.P.C. Committee in London—to correspond with the Geneva headquarters of the R.U.P. and to make an *ad hoc* contact between the League of Nations Union and other co-operating societies in this country. The reason for the words "*ad hoc*" is that the Union already enjoys the co-operation of many great societies, both international and national (including, for example, the Roman Catholic Church and the Trades Union Congress) which are not co-operating in the I.P.C.

If the other bodies co-operating with the Union in the I.P.C. will agree that the Union's nation-wide organisation is to be their instrument, and that no new peace machinery is required in Britain, then most of the present anxieties and suspicions will be removed. At the same time, the maintenance of a united front will put fresh heart into the whole peace movement of this country and materially encourage the newly-awakened enthusiasm among the workers for peace abroad. And if the example of the many thousands of outside bodies already co-operating with the Union as corporate members is widely followed, so that these other societies urge their individual members to become also members of the Union, such an increase in the Union's membership will result as will exert a far-reaching effect upon the Parliament and Government of this country, and so upon the future of the League of Nations.

In this way the people themselves, one and all, may take a personal part in reviving and reinforcing the League, in averting war, and re-building peace. By uniting in their own great chartered company, the British people still have the power to direct the course of human history away from war towards the high adventure of building the Kingdom of God on earth.