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CONFIDENCE RETURNS TO THE COUNCIL

See pages 30 & 31

See page 25

### MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

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League of Nations Union

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### NEWS AND COMMENT

#### One More Chance

UROPE has once more a chance to live at peace, unthreatened and unthreatening, in friendly work for the contentment and prosperity of all its peoples.

Great Britain and France have taken the lead. What is now awaited is a cordial response from the rulers of other countries. Mr. Eden, in the House of Commons, on January 12, declared that Britain would play her part willingly and actively. She would be a partner both in economic co-operation and political appeasement. But, he pointed out, she could not help forward the trade revival of other countries if the resultant wealth were to be spent on vast armaments which would make peace still more insecure. Britain rejected the theory of rival ideologies locked in a death struggle. She wished to be friendly with all and to co-operate with all whose object was a general peace. Ten days later M. Blum, at Lyons, developed the same argument. He insisted that France was not asking Germany to sacrifice the least shadow of any right for the sake of financial aid.

#### Danzig

ANZIG faces an obscure future. The League and Poland have come to an understanding with the Senate of the Free City. The League and Poland and the Nazis have said polite words to one another, not without anxious reservations, and will try to work together. Whether these professions are worth anything will be decided by events. Danzig presents a peculiarly difficult problem. Its Constitution guaranteed by the League was intended to prevent the oppression of Poles by Germans or Germans by Poles. Nazi oppression of fellow Germans was an unforeseen development. Yet that is the trouble to-day.

THE League Council has reached the point of nominating members to the committee of inquiry into raw materials. Are supplies exploited by the "Haves"? Are the "Have Nots" penalised! It is time the facts were known and put on record for all the world to read. The Committee is appointed in fulfilment of a resolution adopted by the last Assembly at the instance of Great Britain.

### Britain Moves

REAT BRITAIN, the greatest of Imperial Powers, has a special responsibility. However slow she may be to move, she is not blind to that fact. Sir Samuel Hoare, then Foreign Secretary, in his Assembly speech in 1935, said:

Some countries, either in their native soil or in their colonial territories, do possess what appear to be preponderant advantages; and that others, less favoured, view the situation with anxiety. Especially as regards colonial raw materials, it is not unnatural that such a state of affairs should give rise to fear lest exclusive monopolies be set up at the expense of those countries that do not possess colonial empires. . .

The view of His Majesty's Government is that the problem is economic rather than political and territorial. It is the fear of monopoly—of the withholding of essential colonial raw materials—that is causing alarm. It is the desire for a guarantee that the distribution of raw materials will not be unfairly impeded that is stimulating the demand for further inquiry. So far as His Majesty's Government is concerned, I feel sure that we should be ready to take our share in an investigation of these matters.

A year later his successor in Office, Mr. Eden, repeated his assurance. Speaking in the 1936 Assembly, Mr. Eden said:

I now mention one subject in particular on which there may be some misconception, and which appears now ripe for discussion and inquiry. This is the question of access to certain raw materials in regard

Here is a matter which seems suitable for discussion at Geneva, and, indeed, for impartial expert inquiry under the auspices of the League on the lines suggested by the United Kingdom delegate last year. His Majesty's Government would be prepared to support the taking of steps in this direction by this Assembly.

### The Trade War

BUSINESS man may find it less embarrassing than does a politician to look plain facts full in the face. Mr. Edwin Fisher, the chairman of Barclay's Bank, said at the annual meeting:-

The cause of a large part of the world's present difficulties, is uncertainty and fear for the future. As this uncertainty has extended from the economic to the political sphere, nations have withdrawn more closely behind their own frontiers. . . . What is needed is undoubtedly freer intercourse between nations, so that goods, money and people can move with reasonable ease from country to country. Trade barriers must be relaxed; an international monetary system, based upon sound foundations, must be restored. Spasmodic

gestures are insufficient: there must be continuous "J. R." co-operative action, involving a more accommodating spirit, in the relationship between countries, and a determination so to conduct their internal affairs as to promote confidence abroad.

The trade way is a peace way, in present world conditions certainly not the least promising. That is a truth, always admitted, but perhaps not sufficiently borne in mind.

#### Two Visitors to Spain

wo supporters of the League and the Union who are well-known to readers of HEADWAY, Mr. John Sewell and Mr. Henry Brinton, in articles in later pages, give accounts of recent visits to Spain. They went to see for themselves; they both try to tell without prejudice what they saw. They are alike in being competent observers; they differ in their attitudes to the tragedy and in their purposes. Mr. Brinton, an open sympathiser with the Spanish Government, had been distressed by reports of many massacres; he was glad to be convinced that the Republican authorities in Barcelona and Valencia were striving honestly and with a large measure of success to keep order and do justice. Mr. Sewell was completely detached: he wished to know what daily life was in the territories controlled by the Rebels. Mr. Brinton and Mr. Sewell are at one in the horror they feel regarding the grief and ruin now being intensified by foreign intervention.

#### £100,000 For the L.N.U.

N the present issue of HEADWAY appears an appeal to the British people by the League of Nations Union. The Union asks for £100,000. It is a large sum; in comparison with the immense task for which it is required it dwindles into insignificance.

The League is the supreme political issue. A strong League will save peace; an enfeebled League will leave the world to crash into ruin. These are not simply the opinions of the Union, perpetually repeated as they are on Union platforms and in all Union publications; they are plain facts many times recorded in the declarations of statesmen, including the Prime Minister and his predecessors and his chief colleagues.

The League must be strengthened. Its strengthening depends upon a vast effort of education, at home and abroad, pursued in a multitude of ways, through countless channels. Only thus will effective public support be enlisted and retained; and effective public support is the life-blood of the League. A strong and active League of Nations Union is as necessary a condition of a strong League as a strong League is a necessary condition of world peace.

What the League of Nations Union is doing for peace and justice may be learnt in detail from the L.N.U. Year Book, 1937 (now available from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, price 6d.).

With the death of John Russell the Union loses a valued member of its Education Committee and a faithful supporter of the cause. For twenty years "J. R."-as he was known to his friends-was headmaster of King Alfred School, Hampstead, one of the chief centres of progressive co-education in this country; and the reputation which the school enjoys at this day is due very largely to the personality of "J. R." As a headmaster he was a happy blend of dictatorship and democracy; he knew how to mould public opinion and at the same time taught his school how to govern itself. His methods were his own, and he had little use for conventional teaching or for conventional punishments. The story is still told of a boy who arrived at school one day having forgotten to bring his indoor shoes. "Very well," said "J. R.," in that deep, resonant voice of his. "You shall wear mine." And for the rest of the day the boy slopped about in the headmaster's footwear. The punishment fitted, if the slippers didn't.

Outside school, since his retirement in 1919, and right up to the time of his death, he devoted himself untiringly to public educational work. He was a regular attendant at the meetings of the Union's Education Committee, and when he was already nearing his eightieth birthday he took charge of a Hampstead bookshop for the sale of Union literature during Peace Week. In addition to his work for the Union, he wrote and edited the Foreign and Dominion Notes for the Journal of Education, and for many years was a member of the Executive Committee of the Hampstead Council for Social Welfare. In 1890 he published his translation of Roger de Guimps's "Pestalozzi: His Life and Work," and he took a prominent part in the celebrations commemorating Pestalozzi in 1896 and 1927.

He was a believer in the simple virtues, and he had the rare gift of being able to hand on that belief to others. It was said of him that he seemed to share the joys and sorrows of his pupils. In the same sense he seemed to share in his own person the burden of the world. He was a true humanitarian, a soldier in what H. W. Nevinson has called "The Army of the Good." "J. R." never lost his faith—or his sense of humour. He retained the affection of all who knew him, particularly of his old pupils. At the age of eighty-one he died-a young man.

WESTMINSTER BRANCH

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### **OBSTINATE VITALITY**

In the League of Nations those who refuse to despair of humanity are compelled to recognise an obstinate vitality. They are glad to do so; and they begin to think that it may prove inexhaustible. The January meeting of the League Council gives powerful encouragement to their hopes.

The reasons are set out in the article from Headway's Geneva Correspondent, a close and critical observer who is seldom duped by his goodwill. The Foreign Ministers stayed away in December; now they have come back. This is no mere formal recovery. It is proof that the men who are in the best position to judge value highly the chances offered them by the League to do good work. From time to time sensational newspapers attempt a scare over the "pleasure jaunts" of Mr. Eden across Europe. "Keep him at home" they shout; they shouted the same about his predecessors. The public is too sensible to listen; and indeed no uproar could be more foolish. There are far too many problems, often both difficult and urgent, awaiting solution at the Foreign Office for its responsible head to leave his desk when he need not. Conditions are the same in other countries. Foreign Ministers go to Geneva because they know that their presence at the Council's meetings helps them to carry forward their policies. One of the heavy debts of gratitude owed by League supporters, and all the friends of an enduring peace, to Sir Austen Chamberlain is his establishment of the rule of regular attendance for himself and his successors. It is a matter of justifiable pride on the Union's part that it pressed for such a rule. It is also a sound business arrangement. Where serious decisions are best taken there the deciding minds should meet. The return of the Foreign Ministers after their brief absence is more than a happy omen. Viewed in retrospect, it already appears as a prelude to achievement.

"They can because they think they can." Showing by their presence that they believed in the possibility of results, the Foreign Ministers were able to fulfil their expectations. Perhaps to better them. One conflict which might have ended in disaster had it been handled unskilfully, or had its settlement been entrusted to some other agency than the League, less flexible and less fundamentally committed to peace, was brought to a prompt and friendly conclusion. The Franco-Turkish agreement on Alexandretta is a cause of general satisfaction. Both France and Turkey are well pleased with the terms and with their own conduct. Mr. Eden, by his tact, his fairness, his tireless efforts, has earned the warm thanks of both the countries directly involved.

Mr. Rustu Aras, for Turkey, described the Treaty as "A work of international understanding accomplished within a framework of justice and equity," and added: "The League has once again helped its members towards conciliation." M. Delbos, of France, said peace had been consolidated by these negotiations regarding districts where there were delicate problems, and the situation in the Eastern Mediterranean had been rendered stable; the two spokesmen acknowledged in almost identical words the brilliant services of their British colleague. But Mr. Eden himself would be the first to insist that the major credit should go to the League.

Alexandretta was one of those occasions for quarrel between nations which, seen from a distance, appear almost trivial, but for the time being, if not permanently, are desperately serious to one at least of the disputants. Turkey to-day is a very different country from Turkey in 1919 and before. The Turks are a very different people; emotion, thought, ambition, all are changed. They used to be a governing race, soldiers and officials, ruling a miscellaneous Empire, the still considerable remnant of what had been a vast and mighty realm. The inhabitants of the old Turkey were of several origins, tongues, religions. The loss of a province was no unfamiliar experience; it was not felt as an amputation. To-day Turkey is a national state. The Turks. virtually confined to what for centuries has been the true homeland of the Turkish people, have become acutely conscious of their common interests, their common life. The Ghazi, Mustafa Kemal, their dictator, commands their passionate support because, after the world war, he threw back the invader and recovered the Turkish territories, and is now embodying in cultural and political forms the new ideal. To-day the loss of a province is an amputation. The Sanjak of Alexandretta is not a recent surrender. It is only a small part of the immense deprivations of the war. But it continues to rankle with a special intensity, for its inhabitants are largely Turkish, its attachments, geographical and economic, to the new Turkey are intimate, and its influence in the near future on the prosperity and security of Turkey may be decisive.

Turkish excitement has been intense. So long as Syria, including the Sanjak, remained under the original French mandate Turkey accepted the position. She trusted France's pledge to respect local Turkish rights and not to threaten Turkish security. But the recent treaty establishing a Syrian State raised a fearsome spectre. Who could say what influences would acquire control? And on what regard for their liberties the Turks in Alexandretta could count? On the French side, a simple abandonment of the Sanjak was not feasible. France had obligations towards Syria, towards other interests in the Eastern Mediterranean, towards the general stability and peace in the Mediterranean.

Because the League machinery was at hand and was used with good sense and courage a settlement on a basis of local autonomy has been reached. The League enabled the friends of both parties, anxious for justice and peace, to help in the hammering out of terms mutually acceptable. The League also provided means whereby all other interests were considered and conciliated at every step. Without the League a Franco-Turkish compromise would, perhaps, have contained the seeds of serious conflicts with other countries. The League is a necessary instrument of an ordered world.

# Confidence Returns To The Council

### From our own Correspondent

Geneva, January 25.

THE 96th Session of the Council, which opened here on January 21, has been held in a curious atmosphere, unlike that of any previous session. The agenda has not seemed vitally important. The fundamental question of Danzig has long since been settled in essentials, and the long negotiations between Mr. Eden, Colonel Beck, the Polish Foreign Minister, and Herr Greiser, the Nazi President of the Senate of the Free City, have been concerned only with the technical details of the League's failure to protect the Jewish. Socialist and Catholic minorities of the territory. Similarly, the discussions on the status of the Sanjak of Alexandretta have been on legal points of difference. The real problem was, would the Turks follow the advice given them by the Germans, and occupy the Sanjak, after expelling by force the French garrison, just as they did in Cilicia in 1921? This was not settled in Geneva, but in Angora.

Once the Turks made up their minds that they were not going to violate the Covenant, the Sanjak question became a secondary one. It was prolonged by the intricacies of oriental bargaining, which are still practised as a high art by the Turks, for all the modernising that their country has undergone.

Access to raw materials also came before the Council, and the civil war in Spain as well. But raw materials were not yet the object of serious decisions, and the civil war was an issue only on the report of the League's health mission to Spanish republican territory—a report which gave high praise to the work being done by Señor Caballero's woman Minister of Health, Senora Montsenys, and which recommended the evacuation by road of one-half of Madrid's population of 1,200,000. Attached to this recommendation have been negotiations, carried on principally by Chile, to secure the release of about 4,000 supporters of General Franco, who took refuge in foreign embassies and legations in Madrid.

The foregoing does not make encouraging reading. Yet the atmosphere during this session has been notably better than at any meeting since the spring of 1936, even though no precise reason can be given for the improvement.

In the first place, perhaps, the better atmosphere was due to the fact that nine Foreign Ministers took the trouble to come to the meeting—a striking contrast to the meeting on Spain in December, when all the Foreign Ministers of Europe—save Mr. Sandler of Sweden—stayed away from the hearing of Señor del Vayo's appeal on behalf of his stricken land.

The presence of nine Foreign Ministers at this present meeting shows that they realise that the League machinery may still be of use to them; in Geneva it was beginning to be feared that they had forgotten the fact.

Then came the speeches of Mr. Eden and M. Blum, the latter at Lyons, with its emphatic refusal to conclude special arrangements with Germany outside the Covenant, being especially welcome.

After the speech of the French Premier, Geneva, much cheered, began to look about and take courage. At least, it was seen, war had not broken out over the Sanjak. The complicated agreement reached over the territory is not likely to last very long, but it was concluded peacefully. As the agreement stands at present it provides that the Sanjak shall be a part of the Syrian Republic, autonomous in everything save finances and foreign relations, with its existence and boundaries guaranteed by France, Syria and Turkey.

Just before a settlement was reached between France and Turkey, Dr. Rustu Aras let it be known that he was going to Milan to see Count Ciano, the Italian Foreign Minister, ostensibly to secure Italy's adhesion to the Montreux agreement on the re-militarisation of the Dardanelles. The reaction was vigorous, for the Turks were immediately suspected of wishing to get Italian support for the seizure of the Sanjak. It is generally believed in Geneva that when the news of the Turkish Minister's projected trip came to Mr. Eden's ears he told Dr. Aras of the dangers in trying to frighten France by pretending to deal with Mussolini, and persuaded him to postpone his trip to Milan and also to limit its objectives to the Dardanelles negotiations.

For the Danzig solution little good can be said. However, it has been plain for months that the only way in which the minorities (who number, perhaps, 44 per cent. of the population) can be saved is by sending an international force to the Free City and, since no one is willing to do this, the luckless minorities must suffer as they have suffered in Germany.

Meanwhile a High Commissioner will be appointed who will shut his eyes to Nazi violence and act only as a buffer between Poland and Germany.

The Committee on commercial access to raw materials, though it loses much of its direct power for good by Germany's refusal to take part in its work, may achieve one good thing. It may show that the raw materials question has nothing to do with colonies and everything to do with tariffs. The reason Poland, or for that matter, Germany, cannot obtain raw materials (few of which come from colonies, anyway) is not that they do not own the territories where the raw materials are produced; it is that they are prevented by tariffs from selling their goods and getting the money to buy the raw materials.

While Britain is generally held here to be right in declining to grant territorial cession as a solution of the raw materials problem, it is also pointed out that until she lowers her tariff barriers she will be contributing very largely to the distress caused by lack of raw materials and to the world tension such distress creates.

The raw materials problem must be solved. At the same time, it is fully recognised that M. Blum was right when he said no country could help another to obtain raw materials, territories or credits when those raw materials, territories or credits might be used for an attack on her by the country to whom she had given them.

# What League Weakness Has Cost the People of Danzig

By H. P. S. MATTHEWS

T is now just over a year since Herr Greiser, in a very different frame of mind from that in which he went to Geneva last summer to make his memorable "gesture" before the League Council, solemnly pledged himself to repair past breaches of the Danzig Constitution and to observe the provisions of that Constitution in the

That was in the days when the prestige of the League and of British diplomacy were at their height through the firmness which was being shown in the combating of Italian aggression.

In the September (1936) issue of Headway, I gave an account, based on my observations during a visit to the Free City from which I had just returned, of the manner in which Herr Greiser and the members of the Nazi Senate were carrying out their pledge. I told of the manner in which the freedom of the Press-guaranteed by the constitution, which is itself under the guardianship of the League—was being "respected." I told of the manner in which Herr Greiser and his subordinates were interpreting the democratic safeguards which it is the League's duty to champion. I pointed out some of the dangers which would be the result of the failure to put a check to the succession of unlawful measures which had reduced the League's authority to vanishing-

At that time, though measure after measure had been taken to restrict the political activities of the non-Nazi elements in Danzig, their organisations continued to exist. To-day, even the outward semblance of respect for law has been abandoned. In September the offices of the Deutschnationale Volkspartie—the Danzig "Conservatives"—were raided and their entire contents removed in a lorry. Officially this was an act of "provocation" by "Communists, disguised as Storm Troopers." But the zeal of the authorities for the combating of Communist activities did not lead to the discovery of the culprits.

The Socialist Party has been banned. The reason given was the "discovery of firearms" in the office of the Socialist paper Volksstimme. The office of the Volksstimme had been occupied by Storm Troopers for several weeks before the discovery of the weapons was announced. A further reason given was the discovery of arms in the houses of a number of Socialist leaders. By a curious coincidence, not one of the men in question was in his house at the time of the search in order to witness the "discovery." Visitations by the Secret Police occur at frequent intervals in Danzig, so that the story sounds no more convincing than that of the Volksstimme. In order to secure the two-thirds majority necessary to enable the "Volkstag" (Diet) to deprive the Opposition leaders of the immunity from arrest which they enjoy as Deputies, the Opposition were simply prevented from attending the meeting of the

"Volkstag" at which the necessary measure was

Two hundred opponents of the Nazis spent Christmas in "protective" custody; fifty more have been compelled to fly to Poland. This has been permitted to take place under the ægis of a democratic constitution, of which the League of Nations is the guarantor.

Until the autumn of last year the League continued to keep a representative in Danzig, and Mr. Lester, though he worked under the greatest difficulties, was at least able to draw the attention of the outside world to the state of affairs prevailing in the Free City, so that those who are responsible for the maintenance of law and order may at any rate be conscious of their responsibilities. It is now four months since Mr. Lester was removed from his unenviable post to fill an appointment at Geneva, vet no successor has yet been found for him.

With every passing month, the failure of the members of the League to face their manifest duty in Danzig means a further diminution of the League's prestige and of its capacity for playing an effectual part in the shaping

The failure of the League to assert its authority in Danzig remains as an advertisement of the benefits to be derived from the pursuance of a policy of lawlessness and violence, a constant discouragement to those who pin their faith in the observance of treaties and engagements and the establishment of international relations on the basis of an agreed and respected law.

In a speech delivered at the beginning of January, Herr Forster, "District Leader of the Party" in Danzig, assured his followers that 1937 would see the disappearance of the Catholic Centre Party, the only Opposition party which continues to exist. With that event all semblance of the democratic institutions of Danzig will have been swept away. The situation will be comparable to that which existed in the Rhineland before the denunciation of Locarno. Danzig will be wholly under Nazi control, but will remain outside the range of full German "Sovereignty."

It remains to be seen whether the story of the Rhineland will repeat itself in Danzig. On a Saturday in March, 1935, the Berlin Government announced the reintroduction of conscription and the denunciation of the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles; on a Saturday in March (1936) Herr Hitler announced the military occupation of the Rhineland and the denunciation of Locarno.

Perhaps, one Saturday during the month of March, 1937, we shall be told over the wireless that German troops have occupied the Free City of Danzig. In that case it will remain to be seen whether Poland will look on undisturbed whilst German artillery is allowed to dominate the harbour of Gdynia, her only outlet to the sea and the symbol of her emergence as a national State and a Great Power.

## THE BALKANS WOULD SUPPORT A STRONG LEAGUE

ISAPPOINTMENT at the failure of the League of Nations to stop the Abyssinian War was intense in some of the smaller countries of Europe; particularly in Bulgaria, which, being outside the Little Entente and the Balkan Pact, has no alliances, but only a vague Treaty of friendship with Turkey. Bulgaria's security was thus greatly weakened by the failure of the League.

February, 1937

There is much refreshing enthusiasm for the League of Nations still; I saw no evidence of any pacifism of

### By CLARE HOLLINGWORTH

the Dick Sheppard type. The Bulgarian peasant views the League as he would view a machine. When he has seen the engine work efficiently several times, he trusts and relies upon it. The Bulgarians had seen the League successful in floating their loans, in settling large numbers of refugees after the Great War, and in the speedy quelling of the Greeko-Bulgarian dispute. And the most melodramatic political triumph of all, the settlement between Yugoslavia and Hungary, after the assassination of King Alexander. The Bulgarians had begun to trust the League, and the stock remark of the village politician was, "Of course Bulgaria supports the League; we are surrounded by enemies!' Now, too often, he adds: "But since you (Great Britain) destroyed the power of the League by saying that you were going to support it, and then going back on your word, we are not sure that the League is strong enough to protect us."

The Bulgarians care little for phrases and the way in which lawyers and politicians, with words, cover up disgraceful and disloyal acts. The League failed Abyssinia and it may fail Bulgaria. Unless we can build up an effective collective system quickly. Bulgaria will look for her protection to Italy and Germany. Italy has a sentimental connection with Bulgaria; the Bulgarian Queen was an Italian Princess; more important, the Bulgarians realise that their old enemy, Yugoslavia, is nervous of Mussolini's ambitions. Germany is offering Bulgaria attractive trading agreements, and doing her best to impose some German culture on the townspeople. The few bookshops of Sofia are full of German classics in cheap editions. The radio stations of Germany attract many educated Bulgarian listeners. Owing to the extreme poverty of the country, however, the agricultural products bought by Germany have first place in the Bulgarian mind.

The Bulgars are democratic by nature. But there is little true political democracy in the country now, and less constructive thinking. Before the Constitution was suspended, the energies of all intellectuals and politicians were spent upon fighting among themselves. Thirtysix political parties strove for power. Now, the energies of these men are devoted to the same end, through underground channels.

In Yugoslavia it is fashionable for the military class and the politicians of the chief town in each of the nine banats to scoff at the League. It is only with the greatest reluctance that they admit the League saved them from a war in October, 1934. But the school teachers, doctors, peasants, and the powerful community of Jews in Zagreb, were as profoundly disappointed with the Abyssinian failure as the Bulgarians, though, of course, for very different reasons. The Yugoslav fears and distrusts Italy, and would have liked to see the League call Mussolini's bluff. Though Yugoslavia boasts of a highly organised and efficient Army and growing Air Force, she is not altogether too sure of the solidarity in time of crisis of the Little Entente, and would welcome a working collective system to give her more security. It is a thousand pities that for internal political reasons—the clash of Serb and Croat—the feelings of Zagreb are not reflected in the country's policy. Zagreb is the commercial capital of Yugoslavia. Many of its wealthier citizens send their sons to school in Geneva. As keen business men, they appreciate the sound economic work of the League, but this section of the public opinion is not effective. No Croat member has sat in the Yugoslav Parliament since the death of the leader, Radić, by a revolver wound inflicted inside the Parliament building.

Dimmed as Great Britain's prestige has been during 1936, both Yugoslavia and Bulgaria would support any effort made by France and Great Britain to re-establish an effective collective system.

### LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

TOUR 1. Visiting New York and Philadelphia. return sailing from New York by the "Georgic," arriving London April 21 44 Guineas

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**60 Guineas** 

TOUR 3. As above, with extension to MARCH 31, Canada, visiting Montreal and Quebec, with optional visits to Ottawa, Toronto and Niagara Falls, return sailing from Quebec by the "Empress of Australia," arriving Southampton

69 Guineas

May 1. A leaflet is available which gives full details of class of travel for each sailing, and other information about the visit.

# The League Cause in the Universities

### By JOHN DAVISON

THE British Universities League of Nations Society held its Annual Council and Conference at Somerville College, Oxford, from January 7-11, 1937. The programme is divided into three parts—a conference, a meeting to discuss the business and organisation of the society, and a meeting on the last day at which resolutions on international affairs are debated.

The first part was entitled "How to Strengthen the League of Nations: Three Points of View," the speakers being Dr. Maxwell Garnett, Sir Arnold Wilson and Mr. John Strachev. The society was fortunate in securing the services of three such champions of three conflicting policies. Dr. Garnett and Mr. Strachey presented forcefully the points of view for which they are wellknown, Dr. Garnett emphasising the need for the universality of League membership and in particular for Germany's return to Geneva, and Mr. Strachey presenting an acute analysis of Imperialism and Capitalism with a most disarming restraint. The most provocative contribution to the discussion was Sir Arnold Wilson's very outspoken plea for a policy of

Later, the following resolutions were passed in conference :-

This Conference of officers and representatives of the B.U.L.N.S., meeting at Oxford, January 10, 1937, is opposed to the Unilateral rearmament of Great Britain by a Government which has given no reason to believe that the armed forces of the Crown would be used for the defence of peace by collective action;

But the Conference would support such rearmament as might be proved necessary by international agreement through the League of Nations if the Government would first show by action as well as by words that the armed forces would be used for the defence of world peace by

This resolution was not discussed at great length. A most important change, however, was made in the original wording, which was of a negative character. The conference felt that a condemnation of Government policy was not enough. Therefore the form printed above was drafted and carried by a substantial majority. This Conference of officers and representatives of the B.U.L.N.S., meeting at Oxford, January 10, 1937:-

Realising that the internal troubles of Spain have ceased to be purely a matter of domestic politics concerning Spain

And anxious that current policies of irresponsible action or inaction should be ended, and that the Governments of other European countries should immediately assume their responsibilities under the Covenant in this matter,

And being convinced that at present an open military invasion of Spain is being conducted by Germany and Italy under the form of a war of intervention in support of an unpopular rebellion against the legally constituted government of the Spanish Republic,

Urges all students who support the League of Nations and study its Covenant-

- (1) To impress upon their fellow students and their Government that the members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League;
- (2) To call upon their Government to demand:

- (a) The immediate withdrawal of all German and Italian troops supporting the rebel forces in Spain;
- (b) The imposition of a benevolent blockade in support of a legally constituted Government and a loyal League Member;
- (3) To call upon their Government to demand an emergency meeting of the Council to advise League Members on other ways which might prove effective to discharge their obligations under Article X of the Covenant with regard to Spain, and generally to reintroduce the public law of the Covenant into present international relations.

The resolution was introduced by Mr. G. B. Croasdell (Cambridge), a member of the student delegation which recently returned from Spain. In one of the best speeches of the conference he gave a moving account of the sufferings of the Spanish people and the cheerfulness with which they faced them.

A report on the World Youth Congress was submitted by Miss E. Shields-Collins, Secretary of the World Youth Congress Movement, and on the British Youth Peace Assembly by Mr. G. Carritt, Secretary of the National Youth Committee of the League of Nations Union. Through both these organisations the B.U.L.N.S. has played a leading part in unifying the youth of all countries in their work for peace and social justice.

One afternoon was devoted to a meeting of International Relations Clubs, convened by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Mr. Howard, the new representative of the Endowment in Great Britain, had suggested that the B.U.L.N.S. Annual Council would be a suitable occasion for discussing the organisation of I.R.C., many of which are closely connected with University League of Nations Societies. As a result of the meeting it is hoped that the work of the two societies together with that of International Student Service will always be complementary rather than conflicting.

The Council of the B.U.L.N.S., on which were represented 12 University Branches and 6 Associate Members, met all day on Saturday and for part of Sunday. The most important decision was that which will give an increased voting power in the Council to Associate members. As most of the Associate members are branches in Teachers' Training Colleges, it is hoped that this will be the first step towards greater activity in Training Colleges. The Council understood that the teachers of the future are one of the most important elements of the Society.

Of the rest of the Society's business, two decisions for next year's programme demand special note. One is the transfer of a donation of £100 from the Oxford Branch to the whole Society for the organisation of student speaking tours. It has been decided to devote the money to work amongst other youth organisations.

The second decision of importance is to hold the third Students' International Congress in January, 1938. No further information is yet available save that all concerned with its organisation are determined that the Society shall emerge stronger than ever from such a

## A Christmas Tour Through World Politics

т the Regent Street Polytechnic, London, for three who live by profit. The multitude are in favour of held a course of Christmas Holiday Lectures on World Problems of To-day for school boys and girls.

On Monday afternoon, those who attended were received by Viscount Cecil, who welcomed them in a short cordial speech. His young hearers were delighted. Mr. Vernon Bartlett gave the first lecture, his subject being "What Happened in 1936?" Mr. F. S. Smythe, of Everest fame, presided. Mr. Bartlett said that the outstanding events of 1936 were decidedly depressing. He considered the three most regrettable were the terrific increase in armaments, the Italo-Abyssinian war, and the civil war in Spain. However, some hope can be had from the fact that Italy cannot stand alone, as is shown by her unfulfilled threats to leave the League and the recent Anglo-Italian agreement.

Discussing the entry of German troops into the Rhineland, Mr. Bartlett thought that France and Britain should have issued an ultimatum to Germany to remove her troops, for, he said, "you will not get peace unless you take drastic moves to get it." He further thought that wars in future would not be nation against nation, but one idea against another, such as Democracy versus Fascism.

The next morning, Mr. Sun, of China, the editor of The Christian Farmer," spoke about "The Far East." He said that in 1931, when China realised that no help could be expected from the European Powers in her defence against Japan, a national movement was set up. Since its existence, great progress was made in transport, but more important was the establishing of a centralised government and the unification of the people. The Rural Reconstruction Movement was begun, and through official channels and political organisations in the country it started an educational campaign for dealing with the problems of ignorance, poverty, disease, and lack of public spirit. By educating a large number of people, the intelligence of the few is being made available to the masses, and a reconstructed mentality is emerging with a community spirit which has supplanted fatalism.

Mr. Sun said that the Chinese people felt no animosity towards the Japanese people. Dealing with Japan, he said that freedom is far from the consciousness of the people. The Japanese Government takes full advantage of the common belief in the divinity of the Emperor, and is thus able to justify its actions to the people.

Mr. Sun concluded by saying that the League of Nations represents the best means yet designed in human history for the perpetuation of international peace, but it must be based on the real goodwill of the people of

In the afternoon, Professor Laski spoke on "Democracy, Fascism and Peace," with Dr. Gilbert Murray in the chair. Professor Laski said capitalism prevents our democracy from being complete, and we will come to the stage when democracy will suppress capitalism, or capitalism democracy. Under Fascism, the instruments of production are in the hands of a few people

A the Regent Street Polytechnic, London, for the days in mid-January the League of Nations Union peace; quarrels are with the governments, not the

The dictators of Italy and Germany, countries which were dissatisfied at the end of the world war, made an agreement with the capitalists, and when they attained power they overthrew all institutions which had been for the benefit of the working classes. In order to distract attention from bad conditions at home, the dictators pursued a vigorous foreign policy.

Professor Laski thought that the most peaceful of the great Powers are the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., and he would be prepared to see an alliance between Great Britain, France, U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and Scandinavia. He considered that an obstacle to world peace and democracy is the existence of sovereign states.

Two private sessions were held on Wednesday morning, to meet Dr. Rosel, the London representative of a German newspaper, who spoke on "Germany and her Foreign Policy," and the Soviet Ambassador, who spoke on "The U.S.S.R. and its Foreign Policy."

In the last lecture on Wednesday afternoon, Lord Eustace Percy spoke on "British Foreign Policy," with Dr. Maxwell Garnett presiding. Lord Eustace said that before the war, the principle of Britain's foreign policy was to hold aloof from Europe and European quarrels. She intervened only if the Low Countries were threatened. Since then, she has changed it to a League of Nations policy. Lord Eustace held that Great Britain must either hold fast by the League or be completely isolationist; she cannot go in for a policy of unlimited committals. Her supreme interest lies always in the inviolability of the Western European frontiers, the maintenance of the Mediterranean as a free highway, and now, the independence of Egypt.

Questions were asked at the end of each lecture, and both in such discussion and in the lectures themselves many different points of view were expressed. All who attended were greatly interested, and the course of lectures was remarkably successful.

#### SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR JUNIOR BRANCH LEADERS

A conference will be held from Friday, February 26, to Sunday, February 28. The sessions on Friday and Saturday will be at the London School of Economics, and those on Sunday at the Kingsley Hotel, Hart Street, W.C.1.

Among those who have consented to speak are Sir Norman Angell, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Mr. Philip Noel-Baker, Miss Margery Locket (Gaumont-British Instructional Films), M. L. Jacks, Head-master of Mill Hill School, Miss Baker, Headmistress of Badminton School for Girls, and many

Further particulars, together with registration forms and particulars of events, may be obtained from the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

# TWO VISITORS TO SPAIN ECORD THEIR IMPRESSIONS

## IN ANDALUSIA AND MOROCCO

HEADWAY

By JOHN SEWELL

Mr. Sewell is a writer and lecturer on international affairs. He has recently returned from a tour in the Rebel area which he describes in this article.

and not feel the underlying hostility of the people to the firm hand of its military governors. Throughout all the country round Gibraltar now in insurgent hands, in Algeciras, at La Linea, and even across the Straits, in Tangier (which is an international zone and has no official connection with the Civil War at all), an overwhelming majority of the population is antagonistic to Morocco. It happens that I speak Arabic. "Tell the Franco regime.

I spoke to senior officers of the Commandancia Militar, who admitted that Andalusia remains predominantly "Red." English residents confirm the unpopularity of the soldiers' rule; and the sullen faces of the peasantry reflect it. Nevertheless, there is far better order, greater tranquillity, and less danger to the chance of some fighting—and we are a fighting the traveller in those areas of the South now under insurgent direction, than in the remaining strongholds of the Government forces.

At Malaga, for instance, internal dissensions among differing factions of the Frente Popular still make all life unsafe. Efficient control and firm leadership are still lacking. A certain amount of senseless murder continues

An Englishman, who returned to rescue a few more personal belongings from his estate, told me that the head of the People's Committee, to whom he applied for a safe conduct, was-his late gardener. His house had been respected, but the garden itself had been used for "shooting parties." A shallow trench, filled with bodies, bore terrible witness to the actions of an enraged people. That was in mid December.

In La Linea, now in insurgent hands, a similar ruthlessness pervists, but on more rational lines. Emilio Griffin is the Civil Delegate of General Franco there. He is a British subject, born in Gibraltar, and his word is law throughout the area. Four British subjects, convicted of smuggling, were recently paraded through the streets of La Linea, bearing placards advertising their crime. This public humiliation was not enough. The smuggling went on. Griffin then caught an American and a British subject engaged in the game. They were both sentenced to death. That was on Christmas Day, and their fate remains uncertain.

I spoke to a resident in the town. "The shootings are getting less," he said. "Improving law and order?" I asked. "No. Fewer people to kill," was the grim retort.

Across the bay, at Algeciras, a 10 per cent. Franco minority imposes its will upon a population of 18,000. "And a good job, too," said a pleasant Englishman, who has lived there for thirty years. "These people acknowledged no central government. They had got completely out of hand. I employ a good deal of labour: and I pay good wages and pick the best men. The wilder elements in the town were always inter-

T is impossible to travel anywhere in Southern Spain fering. They made constant trouble, frightened my men, nearly killed my business, and tried, three times, to murder me. I hope I'm as good a democrat as the next man; but you cannot expect me to support a government which cannot stop such unadulterated mob

Then I crossed the Straits of Gibraltar to visit me," I asked an old Moor in a native café, "why do your sons and the sons of your kinsmen fight for the General? Do they love him so much?"

He regarded me closely for a moment. "I will tell you the truth," he said. "Last year our crops were bad. There was little food and no money. There came people. There was money promised, too. Also "reminiscently-"after battle, other things may be

'But Europeans have told me," I countered, "that your families have no news of their sons, and that the money does not arrive.'

"I can only speak of what I know," he answered, simply. "It is true that we have little news. Letters do not come. But the money is paid."

And now, a word about Seville. Soldiers abound there, of course; but trade goes on; while at night, from the old Exhibition buildings and the festooned trees, there pours forth a great blaze of electric light to illumine the sky for miles round. It is in Seville that a powerful Germano-Spanish trading syndicate has its headquarters. Its tentacles spread throughout Andalusia and Morocco. Its purpose is to take from Spain such raw materials and produce as will help to reduce the terrific bill which Franco is piling up in Berlin. For instance, Germany needs iron. From the rich Andalusian mines, some 7,000 tons of high grade ore are being shipped every week. A Franco victory means valuable trade concessions for Germany.

At Seville is General Quiepo de Llano, Commander-in-Chief of the Southern Forces. From his headquarters I obtained this message:

'Tell the British people that although their democratic institutions are the envy of the world and excite the admiration of all thoughtful Spaniards, we still do not believe that the time has come for their introduction here. The masses of Spain are still uneducated. They do not understand the meaning of 'democracy.' Their simple faith has been exploited by 'Red' propaganda; their minds poisoned with false conceptions of freedom and equality. Without education, there can be no democracy. A firm hand is needed to restore order in Spain, first. Only then can reform be considered and instituted.'

"Only then . . . . ?" I wonder.

### IN BARCELONA AND VALENCIA

### By HENRY BRINTON

Mr. Brinton is the editor of Quarterly News. His article tells what he saw and what he thought when he visited Barcelona and Valencia a few weeks ago.

provided one keeps away from the fighting area. I spent a fortnight in the country and never heard a shot fired, though it is true that Port Bou, the frontier station, was bombed the day after I went in and two days before I came back.

There is some shortage of food. Meals in hotels are limited to three courses. The worst thing I had to bear was the impossibility of getting anything but Spanish cigarettes, which are quite incredibly offensive.

I took a good supply of English ones with me. It lasted two days, during which I enjoyed a lively popularity among the English and Americans in Barcelona. There is no butter. Once only—in Valencia—I was proudly brought some by the waiter. It proved on investigation to be rather inferior margarine.

Barcelona has an atmosphere of its own, which is difficult to describe.

It wakes up about ten in the evening and stays awake till some hour which I never ascertained, as I did not stay up after 2 a.m. My hotel was in the Ramblas, a wide street with trees in the middle, leading to the Place de Catalunya, which was the scene of fierce fighting in the first days of the rebellion.

In the peace which now reigns it is difficult to picture the scenes which occurred. The great square was occupied by military and fortified with machine and field guns. This position was stormed by the citizens armed with shot guns and carving knives, riding in commandeered motor cars and trams.

It was supposed that you cannot rush machine guns with dinner knives-until they did it in Barcelona. The only signs of these exciting happenings that I could discover were two bullet holes in the windows of the Hotel Colon.

All day long and most of the night the Ramblas is thronged with militia—militia on leave from the front, militia en route for the front. Detachments of recruits for the International Column march with banners behind a band. Wounded pass. Cars with flags drive by, cars covered with F.A.I.; C.N.T.; U.G.T. There are many foreigners, mostly journalists.

Often groups go down the centre of the Ramblas singing, not boisterously, but rather like the singing one used to hear from troops in England 20 years ago.

One senses that the people are content in a restrained and quiet way. This at first is rather surprising. Gradually one comes to understand it. Here is a people who have faced and overcome the immediate threat to their freedom. They were faced by an impossible task —and performed it. Now they are against tremendous odds, but they know where they are. They will win, they think, because they must win.

Valencia is different. It seems restrained and austere

oing to Spain is not really as exciting as it sounds—after the friendliness of Barcelona. The buildings are very white and the sky is very blue. After the damp and cold of England, the perpetual sun is glorious. In some of the squares oranges are growing on the trees. It is cold at nights, though, and there is no coal for the central heating. At half-past ten all the street lights are put out and all windows carefully shuttered. It is eerie walking in the streets, unable even to see the kerb; only the dim outline of tall buildings against the sky and every few hundred yards a deep violet light of low power that only accentuates the gloom.

Far from finding the disorders and confusions one had been led to believe, life, apart from the darkened streets, the militia, and the throngs of refugees, seemed to be normal. Workmen were busy repairing the roads and building large blocks of flats and even banks.

I had a long talk with the Minister of Justice. We talked a little of the war, but mainly about prisons. As he has spent 14 years in them himself, he is an authority on Spanish prisons. He told me with the greatest eagerness the plans which he is making to carry out far-reaching reforms. Indeed they have already been begun.

Another interview was with Señor Irujo, Basque Minister in the Valencia Government, a devout Catholic and keen Basque Nationalist. His party had not originally belonged to the popular front, but joined it when the rebellion began. The Basques claim to be the oldest civilisation and the first democracy in Europe. They defied the legions of Cæsar. Now they are defying the descendants of Cæsar, who are seeking to do with aeroplanes and high explosive what the legions failed to accomplish.

The courage of some of these people is inspiring. I talked to one of Señor Irujo's secretaries, who came from San Sebastian. His house had been destroyed, his motor cars, money and property confiscated. He had arrived in Barcelona a few weeks before in a shirt and pair of trousers—his only remaining property. The day I talked to him one of his cousins had been shot by the rebels; yet he was going quietly about his business.

The Basques are devout Catholics and staunch upholders of liberty. When the Italian invasion of Abyssinia was taking place, chain prayers were held in the streets to ask that the Pope might be guided to use his influence on behalf of the League and justice. To-day the Basque troops going into action on behalf of the Government have a priest with every company.

I find it difficult to write dispassionately about Spain. In my short stay I came to love the country and the people, and the least that I can do is to implore my countrymen to realise how great is the suffering of the Spanish people, and how great is our responsibility in the council of the Nations.

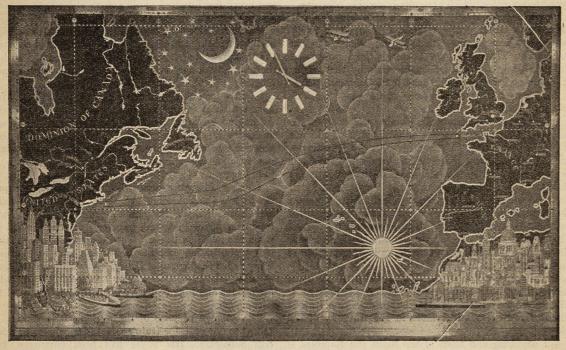
# Things Seen In America By The L.N.U. Party, 1935

I congratulate it upon its enterprise. But my heartiest congratulations are for those fortunate people who are able to join it. In so saying, I am speaking from personal knowledge about happenings experienced with delight and still remembered with pleasure. Only a widely-shared difficulty—that dubious possession, an overdraft—stands between me and a second experience under even better conditions.

A visit to America had always been one of my unrealised dreams, and when the proposal of that pioneer trip appeared (early in 1935) I felt that the opportunity had arrived. Time and funds limited the trip to a short

So the Union is taking another party to the United Murray to the Union's opposite number, the League of Nations Association in the States. Dr. Garnett came out from the Isle of Wight to the Warner Lightship to wave a last-minute vale. There was excitement on the "Majestic" when his red sail appeared.

The Atlantic evidently recognises that it also is a link between Anglo-Saxons and was on its best behaviour. Nearing Manhattan Island, we had a fine view of the Statue of Liberty and of the seaport skyline. My deeprooted contempt for skyscrapers underwent a rapid revolution—it was really a very fine sight. Later on, especially at the Rockefeller Center, I had to confess that buildings 70 floors high on narrow bases can be given most graceful lines.



Photo, by Stewart Bale, of Liverbook The passengers of the "Queen Mary" are able to watch the course of the world's greatest liner.

period and a pessimistic friend weighed in with the cry "This is America—that was." It could, of course, have been so. In actual fact, however, those sixteen days ashore yielded a maximum result not only in formal

and interesting field from cream sodas in a drug store to a negro university.

Though no miracle was vouchsafed, careful organisation beforehand and tact and leadership on the journey deserved success, and, what's more, obtained it. Arrangements by which we met the people who could give us inside knowledge of what was going on in the States were carefully sandwiched in with opportunities for seeing all the more important sights—and then some.

contacts, but also in sightseeing, which covered a varied

We had a good send-off as unofficial ambassadors, bearing letters from Lord Cecil and Professor Gilbert

As soon as we were off the boat we began to experience what we were to be given throughout our stay, namely, the American combination of the most warm-hearted personal welcome with thoroughly efficient practical assistance. I had been told before starting that once vou have satisfied the authorities that you are not an anarchist, a polygamist, or a conspirator against the Constitution of the U.S.A., you will find a hospitable welcome everywhere. It was less than the truth. Our L.N.A. friends in New York, Philadelphia and Washington literally spent themselves in our service and took no thought of time or trouble if thereby they could enhance our comfort or further our plans. At our last evening before sailing from New York we were asked what had struck us most, and one after another of our party told appropriate anecdotes. I could but fall back,

lamely, upon the plain unvarnished truth (greatly shocked all the while at this unaccustomed vice) and blurt out what was at the moment uppermost in my mind. I had come to America, I said, intending to declare how much I liked its people, and I was going away with the knowledge that it was altogether true of

"Come back," English friends had said, "and tell us all about those strange Americans." I promised then with easy assurance; and since I have failed completely. Instead, my eyes were opened, and I perceived a people like-minded with ourselves, the same hands and faces and general scheme of things. True, the voices were not quite the same, but even here the difference was very much less than expected. Throats must be slightly different, for I could never succeed in copying that sharp, clipped yeah of assent which was so intriguing.

But, cavils my pessimist, all is not harmony; there are some quite large differences of opinion; how if these people are really so charming and so reasonable can they hold such impossible views? The answer is simple. Careful investigation shows that there does exist another angle, hitherto unsuspected, from which reasonable and decent people can view some question which had seemed to us definitely settled. This impressed itself strongly upon me during contact with our new friends, and I realised how much personal touch can do in reconciling differences and promoting understanding of the genesis and basis of points of view which had previously seemed merely perverse.

I have read of a man, used to simple fare of ample quantity, who was taken through a seven-course dinner and reported later to a friend that there had been "some fine confused feeding."

That fairly represents my appreciation of a large number of things which severally made impressions on my mind, as well as one which did not happen-the Embassy garden party ruined by rain. The L.N.U. guests felt that the Ambassador's invitation for the day of the late King George's Jubilee was a most graceful compliment to the importance of their visit. The records are there, and I can play them when some reference to America calls for the appropriate tune.

Perhaps the deepest impression was made by the civil air services; I enjoyed especially a night flight from New York to Buffalo on my way to Toronto and much, admired the elaborate and efficient ground equipment for night-flying.

In another way the City of Washington was equally striking. I realised that here was one of the world's foremost cities. There was about it a calm dignity, not of old age in repose as in some ancient city in a quiet backwater, but engendered by conscious power and responsibility. One felt that here at last was a city properly planned for its purpose and thereby serving to

"May her life among great waters spread friendship among the nations." These words, spoken by King George V at the launching of the "Queen Mary," come to my mind when I hear that this year the Union party will sail in that stately ship. They are peculiarly appropriate as an inspiration for a second L.N.U. mission to the great English-speaking community beyond the Atlantic.

# Wanted — Women Writers!

By MARGERY TUDOR

(A Successful Woman Journalist)

How often one hears women say longingly, " If only I could write!" The tone in which the wish is uttered suggests that they have not the slightest hope of fulfilling it, that they think it is really a tremendous presumption.

This desire for self-expression is natural and commendable. To make one's ideas take definite shape and to widen one's outlook are excellent aims to which everyone is entitled. Every woman should be able to express herself winningly. One of the most completely satisfying pastimes is to be found in writing. That it is also remunerative adds to its attractiveness.

The happiest women I know are two free-lance journalists. They have found what so many people lack—the power to break the monotony of their everyday routine and to link themselves to a wider mental life. Both of them took up writing merely as a hobby and, when need arose, they were able to make a very comfortable livelihood.

Do you want to write? Why not try to put your ideas to profitable use? Granted that you have a little natural ability, the mastery of a few simple rules will enable you to produce articles and stories for which editors will pay you

There are many markets open to women writers. How big is the field may be realised when one considers that nearly a hundred principal magazines and periodicals are devoted entirely to feminine matters.

In addition to these publications, there are dozens of daily and weekly papers with women's pages and magazines innumerable that contain women's sections. Each journal makes its own special appeal. Catering for this appeal is a matter of training-not a very arduous one when it is guided by established writers.

At the Regent Institute you will find successful authors and journalists ready to give you the full benefit of their knowledge and experience. Women's journalism is one of the special features of the postal tuition, and so thorough and practical is the training that many students sell their work after a few lessons, while keen women pupils have been enabled to cover the fee several times over before completing their courses

You will have individual attention. Your latent literary gifts will be discovered and directed into profitable channels You will be encouraged to work along the lines that appeal to you most.

Mr. Harold Herd, the Director of Studies, will tell you whether you have any aptitude for journalism. He will not urge you to enrol if he sees no promise in your work. Why not write to him to find out just where your chances

Post the following coupon in an unsealed envelope (1d. stamp), or write a simple request for the prospectus, addressed to The Regent Institute (Dept. 2198), Regent House, Palace Gate, London, W.8.

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HEADWAY

# MORE HEALTH GIVING FOODS ARE NEEDED

### By VANDELEUR ROBINSON

In the first volume of the League's Report on Nutrition, the Mixed Commission states that it "has received overwhelming evidence that there is ample scope, even in Western Europe and the United States of America, for a great increase in the consumption of many forms of food; while in the world as a whole there is need for the increased consumption of all foods. There can be no doubt that the real interest of nations demands, not a restriction of agricultural production, but the discovery of means whereby the real needs of each community for the health-giving foods may be correlated to the undoubted power of agriculture to produce all that is necessary for abundant health."

At the present time, the problem in the wealthiest and most developed countries is to ensure a better balanced diet; elsewhere, in backward countries, and where widespread poverty has resulted from economic depression, it is a question of securing even a sufficiency of food.

There is a widespread belief that malnutrition is confined to industrial workers, while peasants everywhere have enough to eat. The Report shows that this is tragically untrue. In many countries the agriculturist is partly a specialist; he cannot subsist on tobacco and wine; even if he grows wheat, it is literally true that man cannot live by bread alone. Often his edible produce is only sufficient to supply him for part of the year, and if, through a slump in prices, he cannot sell his other crops, he is definitely in want long before the next harvest. At the best of times the Balkan, Italian and Russian peasant has a distressingly low standard of living; and even in the United States, immense numbers of people in the agricultural districts had to be given emergency relief.

The problem is largely one of poverty. The remedy, so far as governments can help, is to encourage the production of certain commodities, such as fresh fruit and milk and vegetables, eggs and fresh meat. A plentiful supply of these highly valuable commodities, which are eaten near their place of origin, will ensure to the population some at least of the "protective" part of their diet.

In regard to the kinds of food which are normally grown in some specialised region and carried long distances, such as cereals, sugar, frozen and chilled meat, these can be made available by trading agreements between countries, often involving transport from continent to continent.

Another aspect of the nutrition question is education. For all the popularising of the "Hay Diet" and similar schemes, most people who have not had a technical

training in dietetics do not know the elements of a sound, well-balanced diet. The second volume of the Report (known shortly as the London Report) seeks to give enlightenment by indicating, in a delightfully potted form, the main requirements of food.

The human body needs for its healthy functioning to be supplied with a number of different elements. Certain foods give muscular energy, scientifically measurable in units of heat, called calories. But proteins, fats, certain mineral salts and vitamins are urgently required. Lack of any of these factors produces corresponding physical defects in the under-nourished person. It is important to know what are the constituents required, and in what foods they are to be found. A useful maxim appears to be, if in doubt, let the diet be as varied as possible.

The Report lays down what is generally necessary to health. Thus, an ordinary adult male, not engaged in manual work, has to be supplied with 2,400 calories of energy per diem; and a scale of co-efficients shows the adjustments to be made in this number for children of various ages, for nursing mothers, and for persons engaged in work of various degrees of strenuousness. Housewives will be interested to learn what is thought about "women engaged in household duties"; these duties "have to be reckoned as equivalent to light work for eight hours daily."

The main defect in the diet of the under-nourished is not, however, in the energy-producing foods, but in the "protective" foods, supplying protein, minerals, and those mysterious but necessary substances, the "vitamins." The principal protective foods are milk, eggs, green-leaf vegetables, fruit, some kinds of fat, fish and meat. Sugar gives energy but not protection, and should not be allowed to take up too big a share of the diet.

Milk is an important element of protective diet. Even skimmed, it should contain phosphates, calcium, protein, and vitamins B and C. The Report does not mention the wide variations in the content of milk according to the condition and pasturage of the cows.

The system of grading that we have in England is by no means general abroad.

It will be seen from this brief summary that the Health Department of the League, through its various sub-committees, is endeavouring to clarify both the needs of the peoples in different parts of the world and the way in which those needs can be met. The stage has now been reached where, as one of the reports remarks, "Health workers are appealing to the economists for the realisation of their plans,"

### Appeal for £100,000

February, 1937

Help the L.N.U. to Work for Peace and Justice

THE League of Nations Union appeals to the British people. It believes that the moment has come to call upon public opinion in Britain and in other countries to re-affirm in the clearest manner

- (1) fdelity to the principle of collective action as expressed in the League of Nations;
- (2) determination to strengthen the League; and
- (3) the demand that the League shall be used for promoting justice, as well as for protecting peace.

The League of Nations Union shares the deep anxiety of the present hour. But it remains more than ever convinced that only the League offers any hope of averting the danger which is drawing near. Peace must be enforced and justice must be done. No system for enforcing peace can succeed if the peace is felt to be unjust, and if no machinery is set up to remedy that injustice. To these great problems the Union has devoted long and careful study.

That study has enabled it not only to state in convincing form the only practical solution, which is through the full development of the League system, but also to establish what immediate steps are necessary to strengthen the authority of the League. Such a strengthening of the League's authority as the only alternative to catastrophe and chaos is the foreign policy of Great Britain.

British Governments are the servants of their people. The League cannot be sufficiently strong unless public opinion understands Britain's world-wide interests in peace, and gives organised support to a foreign policy that aims at peace through the League.

Thus to educate and organise British public opinion is the task entrusted to the League of Nations Union by its Royal Charter, a task approved by all political parties, and by that considerable section of the community which professes no party allegiance.

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 two Committees, on which sit representatives of all the religious communities.

These numerous organisations make the support of the principles of the Covenant one of their objects. Their help enables the Union to educate and organise public opinion at a very low cost in proportion to the volume and value of the work done. Even so, more work and more money to pay for it are now needed if war is to be averted. The rapid unfolding of events in Europe makes it necessary for the Union to quicken its pace so that law and order, liberty and justice may not vanish from the earth. The time is short and the need is great.

To enable it to carry out the task entrusted to it, the Union is asking for £100,000.

# The League and the Future of the Collective System

Lectures delivered at the Geneva Institute of International Relations, August, 1936

The Rt. Hon. HERBERT S. MORRISON
GASTON RIOU
STEPHEN OSUSKY
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Believing that God's word will not return unto Him void, Christian people reply that the Bible, with its revelation of Divine Love, has a great part to play in promoting brotherhood and peace.

Will you make a gift to the Bible Society, and so help in this task?

Gifts will be gratefully received by the Secretaries,

### BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY.

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

### READERS' VIEWS

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

#### DOCTORS AND THE PROBLEM OF WAR

SIR,—There is at present a ferment at work in the medical profession, which is compelling its members to view modern war as one of the major causes of human suffering and disease; and, in so far as this is so, its prevention or limitation must be undertaken by measures as scientific as those taken to counteract the major epidemics. Hitherto doctors, few of whom wish to take an active part in party politics, have tended to look upon war as an event beyond their control, much in the same way as they looked upon cholera in the early Nineteenth Century. They could do no more than tend the suffering and patch up the mutilated.

The change of view that is now taking place is indicated by the growth of a "Medical Peace Campaign," under the presidency of Professor J. A. Ryle, of Cambridge, with Lord Horder, Sir Squire Sprigge, Dr. Ernest Jones, Mr. McAdam Eccles and others on the Advisory Council. The event marks a fresh and definite advance. While wisely appealing to the pure pacifists in the medical profession for their co-operation, the Campaign Committee declares its belief that only through calm and scientific application of League principles can peace be guaranteed. The measures to be taken are in the nature of sanitary precautions, so to speak. The profession must use its reputation with the public to press for action by its Government; it has a social responsibility of assuring itself that every possible method of preventing the outbreak of the "disease" has been explored and that the fullest possible measures have been taken to safeguard the civilian population.

With this objective, which accords well with the best traditions of the profession, a self-constituted committee has set itself to influence both medical and lay opinion in this country. Comment on the origin of the campaign may be of interest. It represents the fusion of various lines of development. In the later months of 1935 a memorandum was prepared, protesting against the bombing of units in Abyssinia which displayed the Red Cross. The language was dignified and the motives in the highest degree humanitarian. This memorandum was endorsed by several hundred medical names, published in the medical press and finally submitted to the Italian Ambassador. Then there was a manifesto from the medical profession to Holland which dealt with the necessity of studying the psychological factors that lead men in the mass (i.e., nations) towards war, while men as individuals are opposed to it. A committee was established to send a small medical delegation to the International Peace Congress, held last September in Brussels. The present campaign subsequently emerged with the issue of a memorandum defining its aims and summarising figures of war-time epidemics as a proof of the medical necessity for preserving peace.

The main demand of the committee is that the profession should, through the British Medical Association, take up a strictly independent and discerning attitude towards the problem of war, of gas and air-raid precautions, of food reserves and so forth—an attitude inspired by a sense of the profession's responsibility towards the public. For example, the profession must in no circumstances mislead the public as to the adequacy of the proposed measures against aerial

Three sub-committees have been set up with logical lines of demarcation. One such sub-committee is engaged with problems of air-raid precautions. A second includes a number of medical psychologists and is investigating the psychological aspects of war and kindred matters. A third concerns itself with the broader questions of the consequences of war in the rise of mortality from certain diseases and with the "national fitness" propaganda.

The chief problem before the Campaign Committee is to reach and influence medical thought in the more remote parts of the country—and particularly to inspire medical men and women to be themselves individual centres of enlightenment and influence. The committee is emphatic that the best work can be done by such medical men as associate themselves with their local League of Nations Union branches, and so forth. The profession has a reputation, whether deserved or not, for sober judgment and objectivity; and this reputation must be thrown into the seale for the preservation of peace.

Hitherto the committee has held two meetings in the hall of the British Medical Association; it is issuing from time to time memoranda on various aspects of its work. Those who associate themselves with the committee are asked to pay an annual subscription of 5s. The Hon. Secretary of the Committee is Dr. C. Booysen, who may be addressed at 12, Kent Terrace, London, N.W.1.—Yours faithfully,

ondon, W. E. P. Poulton.

#### BOOKS ON SPAIN

SIR,—In Headway for January, under "Book Notes," one reads: "The Procurator of the Society of Jesus sits on thirty-six boards of directors of electrical companies, transport companies, banks and mines." Such a statement will tend to arouse prejudice against Jesuits and the Catholic Church generally, and, on the other hand, against the Union. It is entirely groundless, and should be withdrawn

Such accusations have appeared frequently of late, in varying forms and with a tendency to grow at each repetition. The aim is to justify the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain in 1932. But the pretext and the motive for their expulsion were quite different—as the writer of "Book Notes" should know quite well from Professor Peers' book, "The Tragedy of Spain," pages 92-95.—Yours very truly,

L. O'HEA, S.J.

Note.—The statement to which our correspondent objects was taken from a book with which Headway's reviewer was dealing. The reviewer did not adopt the statement; his only object was to tell Headway readers what the book contained.—Ed.

### THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

Some exception has been taken to a paragraph appearing in Headway that great numbers of men and women, whose crime had been the holding of Left opinions, had been shot out of hand by General Franco's troops. On behalf of General Franco, it is stated that in all executions by his troops there is a preliminary trial. The evidence on which Headway based its statement does not entitle it to deny this. We also understand that General Quiepo de Llano denies absolutely that he has ever boasted in any of his broadcast speeches that cruelties had been inflicted on women and children. We regret that anyone should consider that Headway takes sides in the Spanish Civil War.

SIR,—It was extremely good of you to inform me of the paragraph that is appearing in the next number of Headway and, now that the matter has been cleared up, I should be obliged if you would allow me to withdraw the statement against you appearing in my letter in the December issue of Headway.

P. HARRINGTON EDWARDS.

Strand, London.

#### A CONSTRUCTIVE PEACE POLICY

Five Special Lectures and Discussions in the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on issues raised by the Union's Manifesto:—

1. Wednesday, February 24. 8 p.m.

February, 1937

COLLECTIVE SECURITY: CAN IT BE MADE TO WORK?

The Disarmament Conference failed. The League failed to prevent Italy's conquest of Abyssinia. Europe is obsessed with the fear of military aggression, and all nations are rearming. In these circumstances can the League bring security by organising in advance preponderant power to resist aggression? What practical steps can be taken to that end?

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

Do SANCTIONS MEAN WAR?

It is said that the use of collective force under the League's auspices means that any war will be turned into a world war. Is this true? What should be the relation between economic and military sanctions?

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

THE PROBLEM OF PEACEFUL CHANGE

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

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

THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE AND THE PREVENTION OF WAR

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

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

THE LEAGUE AND A NEW PEACE SETTLEMENT

How can the League system be used to provide a basis for a new and just peace settlement? What initiative can Britain take to bring the nations back to the League and restore its authority?

Admission by ticket: 4s. for the series, 1s. for each lecture.

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

### L.N.U. EASTER SCHOOL, 1937

REBUILD THE LEAGUE. The Easter School for the Study of Contemporary International Affairs will be held at St. Hugh's College, Oxford, from the afternoon of Thursday, March 25, to mid-day, Tuesday, March 30. Dr. G. P. Gooch, Lord Allen of Hurtwood, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Professor E. H. Carr, Professor C. K. Webster (engagements permitting), Mr. John Strachey, Mr. S. H. Bailey, and others will lecture and will lead discussions on the present international situation and proposals for rebuilding the League of Nations. Fee for accommodation and lectures: 3½ guineas.

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

**GENEVA.** The plans for 1937 include Geneva visits in June, July, August and September, and full details of these will be available shortly.

Inquiries about any of these activities should be addressed to The Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

# Help 300 Crippled Girls to face 1937 with a smile

If nobody lent a helping hand to the numerous crippled girls, what would be their lot? It is a very real problem—and a grave one.

John Groom's Crippleage and Flower Girls' Mission, inaugurated by the great Earl of Shaftesbury and John A. Groom some seventy years ago, trains such girls to make beautiful artificial flowers for decorative purposes. Their very infirmities add to the time and cost of training.

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Will you send us a contribution? Invite your friends to join in, too. LEGACIES are greatly needed to enable us to continue and extend this work at Edgware and Clerkenwell, London. Holiday and Orphan Homes are also maintained at Clacton-on-Sea.

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TOM LONG Tobacco, wise men say—
"A better smoke and less to pay."

HEADWAY

### HERE AND THERE

#### UNION BRANCHES

In addressing a meeting at Hoylake Sir George Paish expressed the opinion that the only solution of the world's problems to-day rested in a World Conference. Each nation should come, bringing the utmost she could offer for the prosperity of the world, and not merely with the idea of getting something out of the Conference

The fight for peace is the concern of every one of us," said Mr. R. Dobson, headmaster of Cheltenham, in addressing a peace meeting at Evesham. And the picture he drew of the post war world, with its grave menace of nationalism, was a far from re-assuring one for lovers of peace.

At the meeting which Lord Halifax is to address in the Southampton Guildhall, on February 24, Lord Mottistone has kindly consented to act as chairman.

The Staveley Branch is to be congratulated on its membership record. New members have been enrolled and 100 per cent. renewal subscriptions have been collected.

As the result of a private Whist Drive, the Streatham Branch has been able to send a donation of £2 towards Headquarters' funds. The organiser recommends to other Branches this method of raising money.

Two Branches are to be congratulated on the splendid results of their campaign for new members. Tetney started the canvass with very few workers, but, nevertheless, increased the membership from 24 to 65—and the population is only 800. The **Lytham** Branch has now raised its membership over the 1,000 mark at which it has been aiming for two years. During the canvass of two wards in the town, 200 members were obtained. The workers are now engaged on the third ward.

Edinburgh is looking forward to a visit from the Rt. Hon. Lord Allen of Hurtwood, who has kindly consented to speak in the Assembly Hall on February 12th. The subject of his address will

be "How to Rebuild the Peace of Europe."

The Esher and Claygate Branch has generously responded to headquarters' appeal with a gift of £19. The money was raised by sale of tickets for a novel Word Finding Competition, the key words being Support the League." Prize money was given by certain Branch members and several awards were made. This method of raising funds is recommended to other branches and those wishing for further information should write to headquarters.

A public meeting, which filled the largest hall in Goole, was addressed by Sir Norman Angell on "The Defence of Britain." The Branch used this meeting to inaugurate its membership campaign and enrolled as many as 50 new members the same evening. A Bridge Drive was also organised to help defray expenses. As a result, the Branch was not only able to pay for the meeting, but also kindly sent a donation of £2 to help headquarters' funds.

The Paddington Branch has organised a concert in order to raise funds both for headquarters' Appeal Fund and for the work of the Branch. It will be given at the Porchester Hall, Porchester Road, W.2, on Thursday, March 4, at 8.30 p.m. A programme representing the music and dancing of many nations has been arranged. The artists who have kindly promised to take part are: Mr. Ben Davies, Mr. Reginald Paul, the League of Arts Choir, conducted by Dr. Geoffrey Shaw (who is a Vice President of the Paddington Branch), and the Mayfair School of Dancing, Singing and Acting. The Branch hopes that as many London members as possible will support this concert. Tickets for reserved seats, price 10s. 6d., 7s. 6d., 5s., 2s. 6d., and unreserved, price 1s., can be obtained from Cecil Roy's Agencies, or from the hon, secretary, Miss P. F. Stoney, 90, Randolph Crescent, W.9, or from headquarters. A reduction of 10 per cent. on reserved seats will be made for parties of

One of the economies which the Executive Committee of the Union unfortunately found it necessary to make during 1936 was the suppression of the Film Section of the Head Office. In consequence of this, the office lacks the personnel and technical information necessary to answer inquiries from branches, youth groups and others concerning films of an educational character other than the Union's film. "The World War and After." An arrangement has, however, been reached with the British Film Institute, 4, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1, whereby, in return for a small contribution made from the general funds of the Union, the Institute will render to branches of the Union such services as it can in regard to information about other films relating directly or indirectly to international peace. Inquiries on such subjects should, therefore, be addressed to The Women's Co-operative Guild has recently issued a special Peace number of its weekly magazine, "Woman's Outlook." The majority of the articles express the purely Pacifist viewpoint. It is noteworthy that this magazine, devoted to women's interests, should emphasize the supreme importance of international peace, without which there can be no development in co-operation, no security, health or well-being.

#### **WELSH NOTES**

Further proof that the Branches in Wales and Monmouthshire are responding vigorously to the challenge of the present international situation is proved by the fact that the number of adults who paid subscriptions in 1936 is the highest recorded since the Welsh Council was formed. The campaign continues and many new Branches have been formed while others are in course of

In Wales and Monmouthshire many successful "Peace Weeks" have been arranged by Branches from time to time, the most recent being the "Peace Week" organised by the Ferndale Branch at Armistice 1936. Plans are being made for a large number of 'Peace Weeks" during 1937 and several Branches are already

busy with their preliminary arrangements.

Amongst the most successful social gatherings in January was that organised by the Carmarthen Branch when Mr. Dudley Howe, J.P., C.C., President of the Welsh Council, was the chief guest. The Carmarthen Branch is to be congratulated upon its unceasing

The Aberdare Branch Committee has organised, during the winter months, as part of its campaign, a series of dramatic performances which have aroused great interest and have attracted crowded audience

The Abergavenny Branch carried out recently a very interesting experiment. An audience of the Branch members and their friends was addressed by a number of the senior members of the Junior Branch at the King Henry VIII Grammar School, Abergavenny. The addresses given were excellent and the meeting was so successful that in the near future a similar meeting is to be arranged when the speakers will be provided by the Junior Branch at the County chool for Girls, Abergavenny.

#### **OVERSEAS NOTES**

Canada.—The General Secretary of the League of Nations Society in Canada has issued an appeal to Canadians to "help build the foundations for a Powerful, Unified, and Truly Democratic Peace Action Movement by Helping to Build in your Community a League of Nations Society Peace Action Council." He goes

"The League of Nations Society in Canada wants a Peace Action Council in every centre of population. In Ottawa, Regina and Hamilton, such councils already exist. Edmonton, London and Montreal have taken preliminary action. Regional campaigns have been instituted in the Maritime Provinces and Eastern Ontario."

Memoranda on the International Peace Campaign have been circulated to more than five hundred leaders and units of the League of Nations Society in Canada throughout the country. The nature of the campaign and what is being done about it in Great Britain and the United States are outlined at length. All Branches and participating units have been invited to comment on the recommendation that the National Conference of the Society (together with its National Executive Committee and any special organisation it may set up) should represent Canada in the Campaign

organisation rather than a new body.

Belgium.—The Belgian League of Nations Union recently dopted a resolution declaring that the speech of H.M. the King of the Belgians had been misinterpreted.

This resolution stated further that Belgium, while anxious to reduce her risks and military obligations in so far as might be compatible with her position as a small and very exposed state, wishes at the same time to remain faithful to the League of Nations and to engagements resulting from international solidarity. The resolution asks the Belgian Government to act in accordance with

France.—The French League of Nations Association has decided to re-organise those organisations which exist in France for propaganda for and the study of the League of Nations, and whose office is at 3, rue le Goff. This re organisation is the result of the efforts undertaken by M. Paul Boncour, who has recently been elected President of the French League of Nations Association.

M. Paul Boncour has announced his firm intention of setting up with the French Association—a powerful system of propaganda which would work in close connection with all those societies efending the organisations of peace through collective security. General.-In collaboration with young people in Denmark and Norway, the "Jeune Europe" will organise a ski camp in the sunniest part of Norway during the Easter holidays. All young people who are interested in this project can obtain further particulars from "Jeune Europe," 37, Avenue de l'Hippodrome,

February, 1937

### Brussels, Belgium, and are asked to send in their names as soon as COUNCIL'S VOTE

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

Aldbourne, Acocks Green, Aldershot, Alconbury, Brightlingsea Banbury, Birmingham (Stratford Road), Bishopston, Burnhamon-Crouch, Bingley, Bristol (St. Marks), Broadstone, Bucklebury, Bradford (Girlington Baptist), Bradford (Holme Lane), Bellingham, Blaby, Church Stretton, Callington, Chandlers Ford, Chopwell, Clevedon, Chester-le-Street, Cowes, E., Chalford, Clacton, Congleton, Cambridge, Droitwich, Dartmouth, Emsworth, Felixtowe, Forest Row, Finedon, Faringdon, Fernhurst, Guilsborough, Gerrards Gateshead, Handsworth, Huddersfield (Hillhouse Cong. (hurch), Heyford, Hadleigh, Hardingstone, Headingley, Horsforth. Huthwaite, Horley, Hall Green. Haverhill, Hythe, Irthlingborough, arrow, Kislingbury, Lakenheath, Lane End, Low Gill, Leiston, Ledbury, Launceston, Lynemouth, Mannings Heath, Madeley, Montagn Burton, Melksham, Margate, Melbourn (Cong. Church), Newcastle (Staffs.), Normandy, Northampton, Newton Abbot, Niton, Newcastle (Jesmond), Newcastle (St. James), Newmarket, Oldbury, Ongar, Ottery St. Mary, Otley, Olveston, Penrith, Paignton, Royston, Ryde, Rochester, Stanwick, Stony Stratford, Solihull, illoth, Sandhurst, Scarborough, Seaview, Stapleford, Tanworth, Water Orton, Wollaston, Weybridge, Wolverhampton (Queen Street), Wymondham, Withyham, Whitstable, N., Walsham, Wellingborough, Yardley, Hastings.

#### UNION MEMBERSHIP

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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

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

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

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

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

ORDINARY MEMBERS: 1s. a year minimum.

LIFE MEMBERS: £25.

\* In Wales and Monmout'shire 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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This is an unsolicited testimonial, and I honestly think the Band a wonderful cure, and there is not the slightest discomfort or irritation when wearing it.

I sincerely hope other sufferers will get to hear of it, try it, and save themselves from pain and expense.

Yours faithfully,

Yours faithfully (Signed) A. C. EDWARDS.

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# SAVE THE LEAGUE: SAVE PEACE THE SECRETARY OF THE UNION

HE drift towards war in Europe can only be averted and reversed by a change in German foreign policy. The standard of life in that country is so low that Herr Hitler must either find means to raise it or try to distract attention from it by adventures abroad. adventurous foreign policy must, sooner rather than later, lead to war. If, however, poverty in Germany began to be replaced by plenty, Herr Hitler could afford to suspend his restless search for honour and glory by way of territorial expansion and an "independent economic existence." He might be glad to accept a general settlement, including among its terms that the League of Nations would be equipped with effective machinery for promoting justice as well as for protecting peace; that Germany would return to the League with complete equality of rights and obligations; and that German armaments would be reduced, along with the armaments of other Powers, to however low a level would suffice for the uses sanctioned by the

In return for such a re-direction of German policy, coupled with sufficient guarantees that the new general settlement was going to last, it would be well worth while for Britain, France, Russia and other loyal members of the League to restore the economic and financial situation in Germany; and this, with Germany's help, they are well able to do. The cooperation of the United States of America would, of course, ease their task enormously, and would probably be forthcoming.

But an offer from the League—perhaps in conjunction with the U.S.A.—to effect the economic and financial rescue of Germany as part of a general settlement ought to be accompanied by a reminder that the apparent sacrifices involved for Germany and the other Powers concerned in a peaceful settlement are immeasurably less than must result from the use of force as an instrument of German policy. The point would be brought home by Britain, France, Russia and other members of the League reaffirming their determination to maintain their preponderance of power, and (in the words of Annex F of the Locarno Treaties, to which some of these States committed themselves in 1925) to co-operate loyally and effectively in support of the Covenant and in resistance to any act of aggression to an extent which is compatible with the military situation of each of them and takes its geographical position into account. This formula limits the share of each League member in the common effort against aggression, particularly at the outset of the struggle. It does not, however, give the aggressor any reasonable ground for imagining that the League members form a limited liability company over which he may hope to win a victory by the use of unrestricted violence. The League's collective effort knows no limit except what is necessary to stop the aggressor. If, nevertheless, he

is so ill advised as to resort to arms, the members of the League, once engaged on its behalf, must inevitably go on to use more and more of their resources until the law-breaker is eventually overwhelmed.

Mr. Eden's speech in the House of Commons on January 19 shows that he is well aware of all this. He knows that inaction on our part, or a policy of isolation, which amounts to the same thing, can only result in catastrophe and chaos. "Europe cannot go on drifting," he said, "to a more and more uncertain future." But is the wisdom of the Foreign Secretary going to guide our foreign policy? That is the vital question.

The League of Nations Union can do a great deal to make YES the answer. Every Branch of the Union in England and Scotland has already been asked to take the initiative, either by itself or as one of a group of Branches, in planning and conducting a "Peace Week," with the co-operation of all other local bodies who may be willing to help. The main purpose of these "Peace Weeks" is to strengthen the authority of the League by making the obligations of the Covenant more widely understood and appreciated. Since it is necessary that British public opinion should be organised as well as educated in order that this country may play its essential part in strengthening the League's authority, our Branches have been urged to ensure that the fullest use is made of "Peace Weeks" to increase their membership; and no doubt other cooperating Peace Societies will also do their best to enrol as many individual members as they can. But if these "Peace Weeks" are to make the Union's policy prevail—the policy of strengthening the authority of the League for promoting justice as well as for protecting peace—they must try to convince Parliament that this policy for which Mr. Eden stands is backed by the great mass of the British people.

The Union's Executive has therefore decided to ask our Branches to seize the occasion of "Peace Weeks" to obtain the signatures of all the leading personalities in their areas to the Declaration entitled SAVE THE LEAGUE: SAVE PEACE, printed on page 11 of the January Headway over the names of Mr. Winston Churchill, Lord Lytton, the Duchess of Atholl, Mr. Attlee, Dr. Dalton, Mr. Noel Baker, Mr. Lloyd George Sir Archibald Sinclair, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Cecil and Dr. Gilbert Murray. (The same Declaration has been signed in France by three ex-Prime Ministers.) The result of our new effort should convince most Members of Parliament that their constituents expect them to abjure isolationism and to support collective action by the League, in the economic as well as in the political field, for the purpose of achieving a general settlement between all European States and so saving the world