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GENEVA AND THE CRISIS

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IS HITLER SINCERE?

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# HEADWAY

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A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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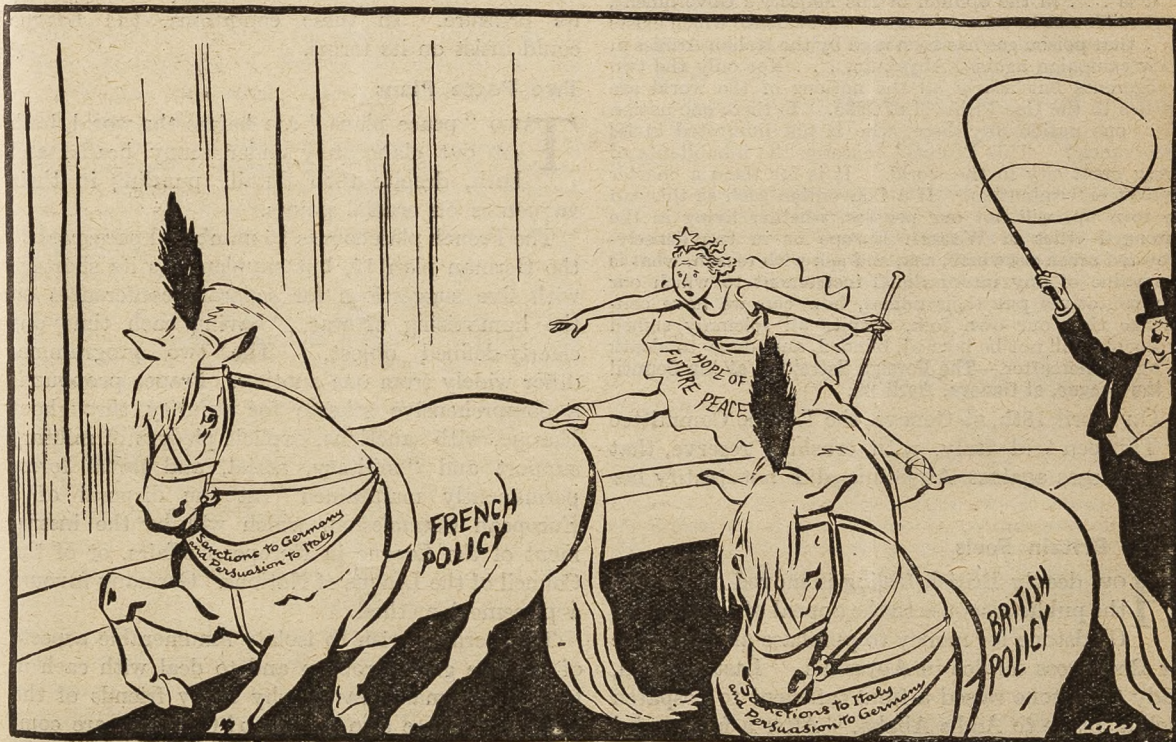
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The Evening Standard.

## NEWS AND COMMENT

## Poison Gas

UNDER the Geneva Convention of 1925, all the signatories renounce absolutely the use of poison gas in war. Italy signed and ratified that Convention. Now, challenged by the League, she is unable to deny her use of poison gas in Abyssinia. The quotations which follow illustrate Italy's defiance and the judgment of humanity on her conduct.

The Italian military authorities cannot do otherwise than punish every inhuman atrocity committed by its adversary in contempt of every principle of law and morality.—**Telegram from the Italian Government to the League in reply to the charge that Italy was using poison gas, April 11.**

The cruelty and incalculable measure of suffering and injury to combatants and non-combatants alike inherent in this weapon are such as to suggest the criminality of its indiscriminate use in the form of reprisals unless as a measure of retaliation in kind.—**A Text Book of International Law. By Dr. Oppenheim (formerly Whewell Professor of International Law in the University of Cambridge).**

If the allegations of the use of poison gases be true—and I have every reason to believe that they are—the peril I see to the world is this: If a great European nation, in spite of having given its signature to the Geneva protocol against the use of such gases, employs them in Africa, what guarantee have we that they may not be used in Europe? Europe, with its cities more densely populated than Abyssinia, may suffer far more, but it is not only that. I have often uttered the truism that the next war will be the end of civilisation in Europe. That would be more than ever certain if the nations of Europe went back on their word and their signature, and used poison gases in Europe. I believe that if such a thing were done, when that war came to an end the raging peoples of every country, torn with passion, suffering and horror, would wipe out every Government in Europe, and you would have a state of anarchy from end to end of it, as man's protest against wickedness in high places.—**The Prime Minister, at Worcester, April 18.**

It is . . . in the opinion of His Majesty's Government, impossible not to take account of the evidence which exists . . . that poison gas has been used by the Italian Armies in their campaign against Abyssinia. . . . Not only the two belligerents but nearly all the nations of the world are parties to the Gas Protocol of 1925. Is there one nation here, one nation anywhere, who is not interested in its observance? This Protocol concerns the inhabitants of every great city in the world. It is for them a charter against extermination. If a Convention such as this can be torn up, will not our peoples, whether living in the thronged cities of Western Europe or in less densely-crowded areas elsewhere, ask, and ask with reason, what is the value of any international instrument to which our representatives put their names, how can we have confidence that our own folk, despite all solemnly signed protocols, will not be burned, blinded, and done to death in agony hereafter.—**The Foreign Secretary, at the Council of the League, at Geneva, April 20.**

On April 18th, at Geneva, the League Committee of Thirteen told Italy, with crushing reserve, that her charges against Abyssinia did not justify her crime.

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## What Britain Feels

How deeply British feeling is moved appears in the public response to the appeal of Viscountess Gladstone for money to purchase an aeroplane for Red Cross service in Abyssinia. Last autumn, Lady Gladstone raised a fund sufficient to despatch such a 'plane to Addis Ababa. After a few weeks' service the machine was wrecked. But during its

short career it not only tended many wounded, but carried a reassurance to a despairing nation, and told it Britain was not indifferent to its fate. On April 2nd Lady Gladstone appealed for money to resume the interrupted work. Within a week, more than £3,000 had been subscribed by sympathisers, in all parts of the country. In the letters which accompanied this public generosity are many messages of fervent gratitude for an opportunity to express in concrete form what the British people are feeling.

Most of the gifts are modest amounts from men and women whose means are small. They are real personal sacrifices, the expression of a resolve to help and to protest.

## Through The Suez Canal

OFFICIAL statistics supplied to the League Council prove that Italy has long been sending gas through the Suez Canal to East Africa. Up to the end of February the quantity was 259 tons. The use of poison gas in war is an international crime. Why were the means to commit that crime allowed unimpeded passage through the canal?

## Keep On Sanctions

IF Abyssinia is utterly defeated in the field, will that be the end? Not if the Members of the League loyally continue their sanctions. Hitherto, the League has been asking Italy to stop her war. Italy, in possession of Abyssinia, but with her normal economic life suspended because of League action, would be driven to ask the League to stop its pressure. In these conditions, the League could insist on its terms.

## Two Peace Plans

TWO "peace plans" are before the world, both set out elaborately under many heads, and both, despite their detail, puzzling in their vagueness on crucial points.

The French plan counts 25 numbered paragraphs; the German plan 19, but supplements its shortage with five suggestions for separate conferences on the humanising of war, "having each time one clearly-defined object." The two programmes differ widely from one another. France propounds a comprehensive scheme for security throughout Europe, with sanctions, explicit pledges of military support and "military, aerial, and naval forces permanently maintained" at the disposal of a European Commission, which will be the instrument of the League in European affairs, or of the Council of the League of Nations. Germany favours a piecemeal method.

The German wish to isolate innumerable aspects of the one great problem and to deal with each in turn is the main reason why many friends of the League who are also friends of Germany are compelled to look dubiously at the Berlin proposals.

The struggle of the League to establish the peace of the world on a secure foundation could be broken up into a long series of manœuvres, each with a restricted selfish object, in which peace might be forgotten.

To this criticism there must be added a record that Germany continues (1) to protest the most sincere desire of her people "to co-operate with all their might in the great work of general reconciliation and understanding between European nations for the purpose of safeguarding for this Continent that peace which is so necessary for its culture and welfare," and (2) to express her willingness to re-enter the League of Nations either at once or after the conclusion of the arrangements she proposes.

## The Decisive Question

THE representatives of the Locarno Powers, meeting at Geneva on April 10, declared themselves not less eager than Germany for a friendly settlement. "They consider it is desirable completely to explore all the opportunities of conciliation." Mr. Eden, on their behalf, will get into touch with the German Government. He will ask a question which drives straight to the root of the matter. What is the meaning attached by Germany to the bilateral treaties she proposes, and how will these treaties fall into the framework of collective security provided in the Covenant? If the treaties are consciously, systematically, completely subordinated to the Covenant, then the League is strengthened. If they are not, then Germany's return to the League is a deception.

## Industry For Peace

SIR FRANCIS JOSEPH, the retiring President of the Federation of British Industries, in his speech at the annual general meeting of his society on April 22 said:

Let me correct a view held in some quarters. It is thought that war and preparations for war are a help to industry. Some people imagine industrialists welcome large expenditure on armaments. That is untrue; we deplore such expenditure, and especially do we deplore the need for it.

The cost has ultimately to be borne by industry. War piles up debt. Boom conditions linked to war and preparation for war inevitably end in a slump. When that happens, profits vanish as the morning mists, and heavy staggering losses of capital and unemployment have to be dealt with.

So we, as industrialists, desire peace above all things. Sir Francis Joseph's emphatic assertion that "industrialists desire peace above all things," and his clear statement of the reasons for that desire, should dispel some dangerous illusions. His own illusions—revealed in the words "We have tried undivided loyalty to the League of Nations; that has failed. We have tried disarmament; that has failed"—rather add to the weight of what he says than detract from it. If he were in the least prejudiced by pacifist leanings, he would know that neither undivided loyalty to the League nor disarmament has failed, because neither has, in fact, been tried.

## The Budget

THESE are the Budget facts. Britain's spending on arms is now £44,000,000 more than it was in 1934. The Budget provision for the three fighting Services is £158,000,000—double the figure of 1913. Further large increases in the immediate future will be financed by loans. The annual charges for maintenance will continue to rise steeply for several years. There are heavy additional taxes ahead. Had an expanded arms programme been avoidable the Chancellor could have made heavy tax cuts this year.

The mere monetary cost to each League Member of failure to work the League system wholeheartedly is immense. That the ordinary citizen should feel the effect in his pocket is much to the good.

## Ewald Ammende

THE national minorities in Europe, and all their friends, have to mourn a heavy loss in the sudden and premature death of M. Ewald Ammende on April 15th. A German from Estonia, M. Ammende was chiefly responsible for what is recognised as by far the most successful piece of post-war minority legislation—the cultural Autonomy Law in his own country. He afterwards organised, and acted as General Secretary to the European Congress of National Minorities, which by the discussions at its annual meetings and by its periodical literature did extraordinarily valuable work on all aspects, theoretical and practical, of the Minorities Problem.

## Undaunted

HERE is a letter from an overseas member of the Union, written in South-Eastern Asia in days of deep disappointment, and evidence that the spirit which will save the League is not daunted:

As I am convinced that the strengthening of the League of Nations is more essential and more urgent at the present moment than ever before, and as I am not at present in a position to give personal service to the cause, I have decided to reduce my costs of living and increase my donations to the Union as long as I am in a position to do so. I therefore enclose a bankers' order increasing my quarterly donation from £3 to £10.

And here is another proof, this time from the English countryside:

For the last few months my stockbrokers have been trying to persuade me to lift my ban upon armament shares. At the beginning of this month I acceded to their advice. . . . The enclosed cheque is not a bad ten-day result from a quite small venture, and indicates the money that is being made from armaments at the moment. Those specially interested in removing armaments from the sphere of private profit are welcome to this piece of evidence, and please accept the cheque for the Union funds.

The amount is £74 10s.

## The "Crisis"

THE "Crisis" (incorporating "Abyssinia"), a newspaper of the League of Nations in Action, will not appear again until further notice.



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

## WHOSE IS THE FAILURE?

**I**N the last four years the League has suffered shock after shock.

First there was the failure to deal with Japan. Next the World Economic Conference, not strictly a League venture, but occupied none the less with great problems which are very much the League's business, was allowed to pass into a final paralysis with virtually nothing accomplished. The Disarmament Conference, after a more prolonged trial, came to what is, for all practical purposes, an identical stultification over a year ago. In the Gran Chaco, two League Members, Paraguay and Bolivia, disregarding their obligations under the Covenant, fought each other to a standstill. In those days the world, not yet instructed by the spectacle of Italy fulfilling her mission of civilisation in North-East Africa, thought the Chaco struggle "a singularly pitiless and horrible" war.

Italy's attack upon Abyssinia followed. For nine months the League looked on inactive, except for an intermittent nervous expostulation, while troops and munitions were conveyed to the coasts of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, and plans were laid by a Council Member of the League for the perpetration of the worst of all crimes against the League system. At the beginning of October, with the Abyssinian rains over, and the long and careful preparations complete, Italy launched her attack. Under the shock of such a flagrant outrage, the League rallied. More than fifty nations condemned Italy's resort to war in disregard of her bond. They went on to decree against her several forms of financial and economic sanctions. But the measures stopped far short of the full political and economic blockade required by the Covenant. And before long the resolve to demonstrate that aggression does not pay began to weaken.

The sanctions applied were of a kind which did not touch Italy's immediate power to wage war. They inflicted material loss upon the Italian people, they made an already poor nation poorer. They threatened the ultimate dislocation of the military machine. They allowed that machine, however, a long period of almost unhampered activity during which it could overrun the undisciplined and ill-armed Abyssinians. One sanction there was which would have brought the invaders to a halt. It was not specially difficult to enforce, but within the League there was not found the vision and courage to cut off in good time the supplies of oil which were necessary for the continuance of Italy's campaign. Instead, on each occasion when

the League was asked to decide whether Italy's oil should be cut off or not, excuses were found for delay, for an attempt at settlement, for inquiry. Elaborate excuses were offered. But the real discreditable reason was not obscured. Powerful League Members, with earnest protestations of fidelity to the Covenant on their lips, would not consent to the oil sanction because they feared that it would accomplish what was both the professed purpose of the League and its primary duty.

To-day, continued hesitation has wrought such harm that there is cause for congratulation in the mere refusal to repeal existing ineffective sanctions. Abyssinia has been overrun. In a few days, only too probably, Addis Ababa itself will be in the invader's hands. Guerilla warfare may be waged through the imminent rainy season by the heroic Emperor and diminishing bands of devoted followers. But resistance with any hope of victory is at an end. Even Italy's use of poison gas against an ignorant, defenceless people, though it has revolted the conscience of the world, has not brought effectual intervention.

This list might be extended. As it stands, it is long enough and black enough to daunt the stoutest heart. What is the lesson it teaches? That the League has attempted to do something which is outside the range of practical policy? Surely not. One grim truth overshadows the details of every individual failure and thrusts them into insignificance. In the years when the League has been failing, an epidemic of fear has swept the world as never before. At a headlong pace, which all have perceived, but have been unable to arrest, the nations have hastened towards the precipice. If there had been wisdom in the advice often and noisily given to League Members to forsake the League and to equip themselves each for their separate defence, depending on their own arms for their security, then the weakening of the League and the piling up of armaments everywhere should have been accompanied by a new assurance of peace. Exactly the opposite has happened. Since 1932 the world has doubled its expenditure on armaments. Great Powers and smaller States are prepared for war to-day as never in the past. And seldom have they been possessed by a deeper and more helpless dread of inevitable war. They look abroad and tremble at the ominous shadows creeping ever nearer; they look at home and find no comfort in the feverish activity of their armourers.

Here through the storm breaks a ray of hope. Selfish national policies have been tried. So have national armaments. Both are being tried. But already they have failed after four years' trial as the League has not done in four times that period, since the League clearly can succeed while aggressive, nervous nationalism is now demonstrably disastrous. The lesson of present experience is unmistakable. The world is warned. Signs which begin to appear in many places show it is being taken to heart. Realisation spreads that to-day is not too late, that even to-morrow there may still be time, but that longer delay and neglect will destroy the last chance of escaping war.

A supreme duty rests on the British people. They must give a lead to their own Government and to other Governments and peoples. Britain will do her full part in defending world peace. She will not join in any alliance to defend any narrower interest.

## How Germany Can Prove Her Goodwill

By THE RIGHT HON. SIR ARCHIBALD SINCLAIR, M.P.

LEADER OF THE LIBERAL PARTY IN PARLIAMENT

**T**HE situation created by Herr Hitler's brusque and defiant occupation of the demilitarised zone along the Rhine, and by his offer to return to the League of Nations and to conclude pacts of non-aggression with his neighbours, is both dangerous and hopeful.

Dangerous because respect for treaties is, and must remain, one of the main foundations of the League of Nations; and because Herr Hitler's offer not only contains no reference to disarmament, which must be the acid test of its sincerity, but is also accompanied by loud fulminations against Russia. If Germany wishes to return to the League she must accord to Russia that same equality which, with British sympathy, she has claimed for herself.

Hopeful because, with the return of Germany, the League of Nations would for the first time include all the nations of Europe, and because, if Germany is willing to give such proofs of sincerity as are necessary to restore the confidence which has been shaken by her one-sided repudiation of her Treaty obligations, she would re-enter the League on the only basis upon which loyalty can reasonably be expected from its members—the basis of equality.

If dangers are to be averted and hopes realised, it will be through the League of Nations. The League system is a system of law, but of law in the widest sense. It allows moral claims, seeks substantial justice, and refuses to be content with a legalistic interpretation of rights. The familiar words of the Preamble of the Covenant cannot be quoted too often. "In order to promote international co-operation and achieve international peace and security," it begins. It ends "by the maintenance of justice and scrupulous regard for all Treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another."

If the Council of the League were turned into a police court, with merely a penal jurisdiction, where offenders were brought up and sentenced to fine or imprisonment, then the League would be wrecked as completely and as fatally as any resort to war could wreck it.

Such a course, foolish in itself and disloyal to the essential principles of the League, would also contravene the express provisions of Article 11, in which "Any war or threat of war . . . is declared a matter of concern to the whole League," and the League has laid upon it to "take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations."

What the situation demands for the saving of world peace, and what is required by the principles and purpose of the League, is a policy which shall attain two objects in the closest association. These are the assertion of

the principle that faith must be kept and the creation of a world order in which all nations can be content to find their place. One must, of course, be considered first; and it is logical and right that the negotiators should come to an understanding about the past before they seek a comprehensive agreement for the future. But there can be no segregation of the two objects into two separate programmes, one of which is to be completed forthwith while the other is postponed to some uncertain date.

Without an intimate linking of the past and future, and an assurance that what is decided about the past shall be the prelude to an immediate laying down of lines of guidance for the future, the past means nothing. In isolation it is not worth troubling about: to trouble about it can have no other practical results except to provoke a mischievous revival of old quarrels. No part of the Treaty of Versailles was more ill-advised and has done more purposeless harm than the confession, forced upon Germany, of sole guilt for the world war.

The vital issue to-day is not Germany's breaking of a Treaty. No great nation has an unblemished record in that respect. Germany's method has been blameworthy. But if her meaning is peace, and if she sincerely desires to take her place in a revived and strengthened League as an active partner in the great task of building up a world order where justice is done and from which war has been banished, then the crudity of her method is a relatively small matter. An appropriate censure, severe enough to meet the needs of the case, and yet not so severe as to wound Germany's self-respect, can easily be devised.

The proof of Germany's goodwill will be the comprehensiveness of the European settlement she helps forward and the loyalty and vigour of the part she plays in the League, more particularly in connection with disarmament.

Nor can any doubt be admitted about one fundamental consideration. A European settlement must be European. A string of pacts between Germany and each of her neighbours separately could give no guarantee of peace. The fear of those neighbours is that such bi-lateral pacts would result in freeing the hands of a fully-armed nation with a central position; it would be able to launch successive attacks on its weak neighbours one by one, while its neighbours were prevented from preparing a common resistance. The Continental scope of the suggested settlement will be the surest proof of its sincerity.

The decisive evidence will be the proposals concerning Russia. In too many quarters a tendency prevails to leave Russia out of account. This is as absurd as an attempt to solve an algebraic equation

in x, y and z, where no notice is taken of z, although it is known to be one of the largest factors. Perhaps there is a case for inflexible hostility towards Russia; certainly there is a case for living at peace with Russia; there is no case for pretending that Russia does not exist. She exists, and the consequences of her existence must always make themselves felt, the more disturbingly the more obstinately she is ignored.

Two years ago Russia joined the League. In her subsequent relations with the other Members of the League, she has given consistent proof of her resolve to play a loyal part in world affairs. A European settlement must embrace her, in a stronger, more

active League. A League whose response to any attack upon any of its members shall be more prompt and definite than it has been in the past, must allocate to Russia the same honourable role which it does to all other members, and must guarantee her the same measure of security. At the Council table, where the nations of Europe deliberate on their future relations, Russia must have her equal say.

Herr Hitler will banish the deepest, most widespread suspicion of his intentions and inspire the strongest confidence in his good faith by making plain, in the face of all the world, that his general profession of peace includes peace with Russia.

## SANCTIONISTS AND PACIFISTS

A Plea for Unity. By CAPTAIN PHILIP MUMFORD

**T**HE struggle against war makes progress; the conscience of the world is stirring.

Perhaps it would be more correct to say that the struggle for peace has at last commenced in earnest. For the first time in history warfare *qua* warfare is being called to account by organised international opinion.

There is no time more dangerous for any cause than the period following its first victory.

It is not to be expected that the forces of nationalism and imperialism will take the serious challenge to their supremacy lying down.

This fact should not be overlooked by the Peace Movement, and every effort must be made to obtain the maximum amount of cohesion and unity so that the initial gain may be consolidated and the inevitable counter attacks repulsed.

It is for this reason that the different standpoints of the supporters of the Covenant of the League of Nations—the sanctionists—and the pacifists should be examined, so that the danger of misunderstandings, friction, or mutual criticism may be removed, as I believe they can be, and as all will admit they should be removed in the face of a common enemy.

Let us commence by facing up to the differences which divide these two main branches of the Peace Movement, and discover also what they hold in common. It should then be possible to form a closer alliance upon a recognised basis of agreement in difference.

Cleavage, we must admit, does exist and may do grave injury to the Peace Movement, a fact which will not be overlooked by our opponents.

Supporters of the Covenant admit the use of armed force in certain circumstances, the pacifists do not.

How deep and wide is the gulf between them? Writing as a sanctionist, I do not propose to embark upon the arguments by which we uphold our case. These arguments are well known to the pacifists; indeed, many of them admit their logical force. Their answer—one which there is no reply—is, that the taking of human life is against their conscience.

The only relevant observation of the sanctionist is that, to *his* conscience, the taking of human life may be justified under certain circumstances.

It is obvious, therefore, that for these two sections

to argue against one another or to attempt to take converts from one another is worse than futile.

Here, however, I would ask the pacifist to realise one point. The ultimate aim of the sanctionist is identical with that of the pacifist. The sanctionist hates violence, as does the pacifist, and looks forward to the final victory of the pacifist ideal with equal enthusiasm; further, the sanctionist believes, with equal faith, that such an ideal is both practical and attainable in due course. The difference between them is, in reality, a degree of optimism.

But this does not get over all the difficulties.

The pacifist fears the indirect route to peace favoured by the sanctionist; he argues that the latter is playing the dangerous game of making war respectable. Such an idea as an International Police Force—the logical outcome of the sanctionist idea—appears to him as nothing more than his old enemy, human slaughter, re-entrenched, more excusable than hitherto, therefore more insidious!

People with the same ideals may easily become more bitter enemies than groups in definite opposition. Here lies the danger.

The enemy is the enemy, and though we must fight him we respect and understand his opposition. But the friend within the gate can so easily appear the traitor unless he is in complete agreement.

It is, therefore, a matter of urgency that the sanctionist and the pacifist, reviewing the whole position, should learn to appreciate their respective standpoints, and form a working agreement.

Despite the fundamental difference dividing the two movements, I believe them to be necessary to one another. As a sanctionist, I see little hope for international law without a corresponding advance in international conscience, and the best propagandists for such a growth of conscience are the pacifists.

The pacifist cause, I believe, will inevitably need the practical assistance which we sanctionists preach before they can hope to secure the adhesion of sufficient numerical support to remove the danger of scientific lethal weapons in human hands.

But whether both sides can agree to this view or not is of little importance as long as a working compromise can be found.

In effect, this should be possible.

One cannot argue a matter of conscience, therefore mutual criticism should be unnecessary. For the same reason there need be no competition or clash of interests between the two groups as regards the obtaining of converts.

We sanctionists need not, and should not, grudge converts to the pacifist movement, nor wish to make converts from amongst them.

Those whose consciences can be moved by the pacifist appeal are converts safely won for peace.

Our field of action lies amongst those to whom that line of approach holds little practical hope—and they are many. Nevertheless, they must be weaned from indifference to, or belief in, the prevalent nationalist conception of international morality.

Put concisely, there are two roads towards peace—

through the heart and through the head. Let us keep both routes open.

Brought down to practical politics, this would entail nothing more difficult than agreement to differ, mutual respect, strict avoidance of mutual criticism, and freedom from mutual competition. From this could be organised mutual support—or at least non-conflicting tactics.

Let us rather assist one another in activities and propaganda welcoming converts to each other's fold, and closing our ranks to the common enemy.

The pacifist should have little doubt as to the real foe—the imperialist who designates him a social danger, to be ostracised in peace and imprisoned, or even shot in war time, or the sanctionist who proclaims the identical ideal but argues for a different line of approach.

Let us retain our differences, but go forward in step.

## PALESTINE FORGES AHEAD

By LUCIEN HARRIS, B.A. (Oxon), L.N.U. Lecturer on "The Mandates System."

**B**BRITISH administration and Zionist enterprise have combined to produce in the mandated territory of Palestine a condition of economic stability which has aroused the envy and admiration of the world. Most countries to-day are ravaged by unemployment; Palestine alone continues to experience an acute shortage of workers. Few small States escape insolvency, but the Palestine Government not only is able regularly to balance its annual budget of about £3,000,000, covering entirely the cost of the country's administration and development, but it has also accumulated a surplus of over £6,000,000. The greater part of the revenue is derived from the Jewish population, which now numbers over 350,000.

With its Treasury bulging, the Palestine Government has been able to undertake a large number of important public works, notably the construction of the Haifa harbour and the provision of the much-needed water supply for Jerusalem. Outside the field of public works, the largest development scheme on hand is the drainage of the Huleh marshes (14,250 acres), in Northern Palestine. The concession for this scheme was recently granted by the Government to Zionist bodies, whose pioneers will redeem the area for intensive cultivation at a cost of approximately £600,000. Out of the reclaimed land the Zionists will set aside some 3,500 acres for the settlement of the present Arab cultivators.

It is to the introduction of Jewish labour, enterprise, and capital that Palestine owes its remarkable urban and rural development. The Report on Palestine adopted this summer by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations acclaimed the Zionist work in Palestine as "the most notable colonisation undertaking of modern times." "It may be said without exaggeration," continues the Report, "that Jewish expansion in the past three years has transformed the economic structure of the country whose possibilities increase every day. Fortunately for the future outlook, there have also been striking improvements on the Arab side." The Arabs have profited very largely by their sales of lands to Jews, by securing employment in thousands in Jewish agricultural settlements and urban undertakings and by learning the

improved agricultural methods and enjoying the medical services introduced by the Jews.

Palestine prosperity has, in addition, attracted several thousand Arabs from the adjoining territories of Syria and Transjordan, especially the Hauran, who wish to take advantage of the employment positions and the higher standard of living created by Jewish effort. The quick pace of Palestine progress is making it a magnet for the poverty and drought-stricken peasantry and pastoral tribes living on its borders, and with time the draw will probably make itself felt at greater distances. Herein lies the serious danger that the development of Palestine may defeat its own purpose by sucking in people from north, east and south, who would leave their own regions even more sparsely populated and therefore even more backward than before, deprive the Arabs of Palestine of their legitimate chances of progress, and restrict the scope of Jewish immigration. This evil result can, however, be effectively prevented if Jewish working men and women are admitted into Palestine to the fullest possible extent of the country's absorptive capacity, in accordance with the terms of the Mandate. In spite of the large Jewish immigration since 1932, the proportion of Jewish workers entering has been quite insufficient to cope with employers' demands. Millions of pounds lie idle in the Palestine banks, which would be invested in numerous industrial enterprises if the man-power were available. Jewish immigration has caused a boom in the building trade, but owing to the labour scarcity the wage level is abnormally high.

This has forced industry to raise wages out of proportion to its capacity, and at the same time lured Jewish workers away from agriculture. The countryside is capable of absorbing many more thousands of Jews. The vegetable and dairy products of the Jewish colonies find a ready market inside Palestine but form, as yet, only a small proportion of the total home consumption. In the sphere of public works Jewish labour is entitled, by arrangement, to a share of 30 to 33 per cent. in the Government wage-bill. Owing, however, to the labour shortage, this privilege cannot be fully enjoyed. The Palestine Government proposes shortly to embark on

an extensive scheme of public works. Jewish labour's due share therein should, therefore, be taken into account in the periodic assessments of the country's capacity to absorb Jewish labour immigrants.

Jewish-Arab co-operation is visibly increasing in the economic field and in municipal affairs. There is a danger, however, that the pitch may be queered if the Government carry out their project of setting up a Legislative Council, in which Arabs, Jews and Christians would be represented according to their present proportion in the total population. The Arab majority in such a Council would, no doubt, comprise some of the political and religious leaders who persistently oppose the British Mandate. The World Zionist Movement and all sections of Palestine Jewry are united in determined opposition to the introduction of

a Legislative Council under existing numerical conditions, on the ground that the special status with which the Jewish people is invested in and with regard to Palestine would implicitly be reduced and Jews be degraded to the rank of a minority.

From the point of view of political education, the country is certainly not ripe for a popular central government. Most of the Arabs have little or no experience as yet either of democratic rule or Parliamentary method. There is, further, bitter strife between rival Arab factions, each of which claims the monopoly of the Arab seats on the proposed Council.

All in all, Jewish-Arab co-operation and the general economic interests of Palestine would, it seems, be served best by a shelving of the Legislative Council idea until a much later date.

## OPEN-AIR MEETINGS. No. 2

By MEMBERS OF THE LONDON OPEN-AIR SPEAKERS' GROUP

HAVING read Mr. Claxton Turner's sound advice on open-air meetings in February HEADWAY, Youth Group and other young members of the Union ought to make their choice. They should decide that this sphere of activity is particularly theirs. Open-air work needs the energy and optimism of youth; it is not the monopoly of the experienced speaker.

The London Open-Air Speakers' Group, commonly known as "The Ginger Squad," began its work in 1932—a band of inexperienced young folk. All the young speakers were anxious. Most have confessed since that they offered up many prayers for rain on the evenings of the meetings. Fortunately, their prayers were seldom answered. The little band now say that the work has been one of their most enjoyable experiences.

In the early days most of the speakers could not hold out for more than five or ten minutes. It was a triumph when a speech lasted half an hour. But open-air speaking has a way of developing a speaker. However apprehensively you mount the platform, you soon find that the audience is the thing which requires attention, and not your own feelings. You cannot be nervous when you are wondering what that man on the outskirts will say to your next remark, or when you have to think of something which will hold together a restless crowd. You cannot fumble for words when you are competing with passing trams and buses. Even regimental bands have disturbed the meetings. One of the most satisfactory characteristics of an open-air meeting is often overlooked. The speaker always knows, in no uncertain terms, what the audience thinks, whereas indoors the speaker sometimes has to guess whether the listeners are asleep or merely sitting comfortably.

But, objects our prospective open-air speaker, before you can appreciate the effect of a meeting upon the speaker you must gather a meeting.

The mistake must not be made that the size of a meeting alone is the criterion of success, or even the number of members made, although increased membership is one of our aims. A small meeting of people who have been made to ask questions and to think things out is infinitely more valuable than either a huge crowd who are there because they have nothing better to do, or an audience which has been swayed to join at the moment. Of

course, every open-air speaker welcomes an audience of reasonable size.

Having carefully chosen your pitch, you need someone with a good loud voice to attract attention. It is not difficult in central London, nor in industrial districts and street markets. But suburbia is inclined to look askance at the street-corner orator. The Speakers' Group have enjoyed trying out "catches" on reluctant passers-by. You must have a sense of humour to heckle each other, or to talk aimlessly about elephants or anything else for sometimes as long as half-an-hour. Passers-by are always ready to watch a battle, even if only a battle of words. On one occasion an indignant passer-by became very annoyed with one of the men speakers for "not giving the lady a chance."

Heckling—yes, but the young open-air speaker need not tremble at the thought. Hecklers, carefully watched, are a blessing to the open-air speaker, although often very much disguised. It is interesting to distinguish between the various types of attacker, ranging from the "how many beans make five?" type to the genuine seeker after knowledge. Not that the first type should be despised, for audiences appreciate a little light relief, and at the worst they can be ignored.

Four years ago many of the group wrote out speeches and recited them to audiences with whom they had no contact. A speaker just took a deep breath and reeled off the speech, turning a deaf ear to interruptions, and scarcely seeing the crowd. Experience soon taught that an outline must be photographed on the speaker's mind and details filled in *extempore*. The outline must be known so well that the arguments can be used back to front, started in the middle, or turned into questions which the speaker can ask himself. An outline means a wide field of knowledge. You never know which argument will arouse the most inquiries from your listeners. This is a grim fact, but to overlook it would destroy your chances of success. Street corner audiences object to notes. "Look, 'e's got it all wrote darn," said a young urchin on one occasion. Keep your notes in your head.

The group has altered much since its early days. Its members look back with a sense of having done something a little out of the ordinary. They have learned to

see the funny side of a deserted suburban road, or a respectable suburban audience. They know the good humour and willingness to give the other fellow a hearing which lie behind the Londoner's sense of fair play. They have been sung to in Hyde Park and ignored in Streatham and Chelsea. They have made friends with the police, and with countless people who stop and chat after a meeting. And it has all been worth while.

Here is a story which will show how worth while. It was the week-end of the outbreak of war between Italy and Abyssinia. It seemed for the moment that all we had worked for was failing, and that our ideals, if not crashing, were at least swaying dangerously. An open-air meeting was to be held in the East End of London, and it was difficult to know how to explain the situation. The speakers took the line of explaining the machinery of the League and its possibilities in this particular incident and did not attempt to forecast possible results. That meeting attracted one of the largest

audiences of the season—a crowd of people listening quietly and seeking knowledge. The questions were of a very high standard and the speakers were convinced of the great need to tell the masses of the people, simply and sincerely, the things which the Press so often ignores or distorts.

The London Open-Air Speakers' Group has had four years of great experience and great fun. The number of speakers is small, and the group must have new recruits for the work, both for speaking and for helping to form crowds. Yes, you can help by standing around and looking like a crowd. New speakers can find their feet by getting up for five or ten minutes between the speeches of the more experienced speakers. This is an urgent appeal for the cheapest form of publicity available to the Union. These experiences are from London, but the work has been successfully begun in other parts of the country. Help is needed everywhere for its extension.

## SO REFRESHING!

(Being an entirely fictitious extract from the proceedings of the Commission on International Traffic in Arms.)

... Mr. Dennis Dynamite, Chairman and Managing Director of the Instant Quietus Co., then gave evidence and was questioned by members of the Commission.

*Sir Paul Kolynos.* In view of the evidence of previous witnesses, Mr. Dynamite, I suppose we may assume that the manufacture of war materials is only a tiny fragment of your business?

*Mr. Dynamite.* Oh, no. As a matter of fact it's the only thing we make any money out of. We make traction-engines and glue as well, but only as a bluff.

*A Commissioner.* What do you conceive to be the great object of your firm?

*Mr. Dynamite.* To make money.

*Several Commissioners.* What?

*Mr. Dynamite.* To make money.

*A Commissioner.* But—don't you feel that your firm is a great Instrument for Peace or—or a Means of Promoting International Understanding, or anything like that?

*Mr. Dynamite.* Certainly not! We haven't a penny in either of them.

*Dame Nelly Bly.* I have here a letter, Mr. Dynamite, written by you to the President of the Boom Bomb Corporation. It contains the phrase: "I have squared Simpson." I suppose the Commission may assume that this is a typist's error for "I have approached Simpson?" Or perhaps purely a private joke?

*Mr. Dynamite.* No. It means what it says.

*A Commissioner.* But come, come, Mr. Dynamite, surely—I mean to say, we've had eighty-three letters before this Commission and no single one of them has ever just—

*Mr. Dynamite.* Well, have it your own way. But that deal cost me six hundred sterling and three dinners at the Savitz, so I ought to know.

*Sir Paul Kolynos.* I take it, Mr. Dynamite, that you consider the existence of your firm absolutely necessary to national safety?

*Mr. Dynamite.* I don't know. I haven't really thought about it like that.

*Sir Paul Kolynos.* Are your agents in foreign countries given any instructions with regard to bribes?

*Mr. Dynamite (proudly).* You don't have to instruct our men about a thing like that. It's an ordinary selling expense.

*Dame Nelly Bly.* I presume, Mr. Dynamite, that you follow the example of other firms in this—er—industry in having no hand at all in the policy of other firms in which you have an interest? You are not responsible of course for the activities of the Boom Bomb Corporation?

*Mr. Dynamite.* Responsible for it? I own the darned outfit! Do you think I'd let them go messing about without consulting me?

*Sir Paul Kolynos.* Is it a fact that the Boom Bomb Corporation has evolved and sold a bomb specially suitable for bombing London?

*Mr. Dynamite.* Oh, yes. Our London Special is a big Seller. (Producing paper) Look at that sales curve! There's a line for you!

*A Commissioner.* In view of all the previous evidence, I suppose we may assume that all exports of arms are under the closest Government supervision?

*Mr. Dynamite.* Oh, I wouldn't say that. We slip one across occasionally.

*Dame Nelly Bly.* Mr. Dynamite, I should of course be right in classing you as a supporter of the League of Nations?

*Mr. Dynamite (doubtfully).* H'm—well, you know, I'm not really sure. Of course if the cat jumps one way the League might be the finest thing for the trade that's ever happened. At the moment we subscribe a couple of hundred towards the League and another couple of hundred for Anti-League propaganda, so as not to have all our eggs in one basket.

*A Commissioner.* Would you now give us your views on the way in which the horrors of the next war have been exaggerated?

*Mr. Dynamite.* Well, I don't know. I should think myself that it will be pretty messy. After all, our new aerial torpedo—

*A Commissioner.* But—don't you want to say anything about sloppy sentimentalism, Mr. Dynamite?

*Mr. Dynamite (after a few minutes' hard thought).* I don't think so. Why should I?

*A Commissioner.* Then you agree that war is indescribably horrible?

*Mr. Dynamite.* I should think so. I've never actually been in one, but...

*A Commissioner.* Then what justification can you find for continuing to trade in war materials?

*Mr. Dynamite (in surprise).* Well, it's my business, isn't it? There's money in it.

[Here several Commissioners faint. The Commission adjourns for a few moments in confusion.]

On resumption:

*The Chairman.* I think that will be all, thank you, Mr. Dynamite. We—we find you a little upsetting.

*Mr. Dynamite (apologetically).* I'm sorry. I didn't realise that I was boring you. But you know how it is—when a man's honestly proud of his business he likes talking about it.

*Sir Bludyer Brisket, Managing Director of United Tanks, next gave evidence.*

*Sir Paul Kolynos (rather nervously).* Should we be right in assuming, Sir Bludyer, that the greater part of the profits of your company comes from the manufacture of materials of war?

*Sir Bludyer (blandly).* On the contrary, we are not an armament firm at all. It is conceivable that in certain circumstances armoured-plate, which is a very small side-line of ours, might be used for purely defensive purposes. But that is all.

[A great sigh passes over the Commission.]

*Dame Nelly Bly (grimly).* I have here a letter to the Chairman of Incorporated Detonators, in which you say...

[SLOW CURTAIN.]

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# WHAT THE LEAGUE ISN'T DOING AND WHY IT ISN'T DOING IT

HEADWAY'S Geneva correspondent is a faithful friend of the League, whose devotion has been proved on many occasions. He has long watched League happenings at the closest quarters, and is well qualified by his experience to form a sound judgment. In the present critical situation, he has deemed it his duty to write without reserve for the Members of the League of Nations Union. The two following despatches, the later in date of which is given first, are a trumpet-call to action. HEADWAY'S correspondent does not for a moment suggest that the fight for the League and for world peace should be abandoned. Rather does he insist that the need was never more imperative for British people to make clear to the whole world exactly where they stand. The world must be told that Britain will play her full part in the defence and organisation of peace for all, but that she will not become a party to any military alliances intended to serve a narrower purpose.

## Geneva, April 21st.

THE answer to the first question implicit in the title of this article is easy: what the League is not doing is stopping the war in East Africa.

The explanation of this fact, however, is extremely complicated. The fundamental reason why the war is not being stopped is, of course, that the majority of the Members of the League are not sufficiently interested in stopping it to put up with any risks or discomforts of more than a very minor character.

Despite the fact that Great Britain, who really runs the greatest risk in the event of an intensification of sanctions leading to war, has pressed for more rigorous measures, she has met with scant support. Australia, Denmark, Russia and Portugal are the only other Members of the Council who have shown willingness to enforce the Covenant, and the representatives of two States, Chile and Ecuador, have hinted broadly that they would be glad to scrap even the existing sanctions, which have proved so ineffective that five months after their application the Italian Army is going from victory to victory in a barbarous campaign waged in the heart of Abyssinia.

This spirit of the Council—a few States in favour of applying the Covenant, strengthening sanctions and ending the war, a few States in favour of removing all sanctions against Italy, and the majority of States either indifferent to a violation of the Covenant, or else ashamed to speak out and say that they think sanctions farcical and that they favour their abolition, would be reflected in the Assembly.

If Mr. Eden went to the Assembly to-day, and proposed a stricter application of the Covenant, he might receive the support of a dozen States—out of fifty-eight. Herein lies the crux of the problem. The majority of the States Members of the League do not want to enforce the Covenant, except in cases where they are directly concerned. They will move heaven and earth at Geneva to protect themselves, but they will do little to protect a weak and remote State. That, at least, is their present mood.

Mr. Eden realised this when he came to Geneva to receive the latest report of the Committee of Thirteen, which had been charged with an attempt at conciliation between Italy and Abyssinia—the idea of conciliation between two belligerents, six months after the outbreak of the war, and six months after one of the two belligerents had been found guilty of the highest of all international crimes, needs no comment.

Mr. Eden realised, too, that the only possible hope that he had of getting anything done was to wait until after the French Elections. Reports from Paris had made it clear that the Sarraut government was going to do nothing in the League until the General Election had been concluded on May 3.

After that date, if the existing French Government

was retained in power by the Chamber, it might take a new and more helpful line. On the other hand, there was the possibility that a new government might be formed which would be in favour of the carrying out of Covenant's provisions.

Therefore, Mr. Eden had no real freedom of choice. The best line he could take was to insist that existing sanctions must be maintained in force—there was talk in several delegations of dropping them—and then to wait until after the French Elections.

That this had to be done was humiliating to Britain and to the League alike. But actually it was the only chance of saving things from the wreck—or rather of saving the wreck itself. It can not be too often emphasised that in the face of the French objection it was impossible for Britain to propose further sanctions against Italy without seeing the proposal rejected emphatically. Therefore it would become ten times more difficult to propose them again later, at a time when they might otherwise stand a better chance of acceptance.

But modest as was Mr. Eden's ambition to consolidate the present position and then to wait, it proved extremely difficult of accomplishment, and, in fact, it was but partially attained in the resolution adopted by the Council at the end of the meeting. This referred, in a most confused manner, to Italy's violation of the Covenant and the obligation resting upon Members of the League to impose sanctions. It provides plenty of loopholes for any States, such as Ecuador, who may be willing to abandon sanctions in return for a lucrative trade agreement with Italy.

The confusion is the more unfortunate because, although they have failed to stop the war, sanctions are nevertheless having a serious effect on Italy. It is calculated that her foreign trade and her gold reserve have both been cut in half, and any cracks in the system of existing sanctions would gravely impair their efficacy.

But what is much more important is that the cracks which threaten to appear in the Sanctions front have already appeared in the fabric of the League. And they are not merely cracks, but gaping rents which threaten the end of the League, the collective system, and international law, order and justice.

It is impossible to over-estimate the gravity of the situation with which the League of Nations is now faced. The Covenant, recognised for half a generation as the instrument by whose use the world must advance towards the realisation of its dreams of peace, is being deserted by some nations sworn to uphold it, and is being betrayed by others.

Only a few States Members during the meeting which ended at Geneva on the night of April 20 took the trouble to pay lip service to the principles which they had pledged themselves to support.

## Geneva, Easter Sunday.

MR. EDEN has fought a good fight during Holy Week. But he has not won it. And at this stage of affairs a drawn battle is a defeat for the League—for it enables the attacks on Abyssinia to go on. Needless to say, it was the French Foreign Minister who checked Mr. Eden's drive, the purpose of which was to declare that conciliation between the two parties had failed—after fifteen months of strife and six months of war—and that, therefore, the Sanctions Committee of Eighteen should be called together to discuss what should be done in the way of strengthening existing sanctions or of imposing new sanctions in order to stop the war.

One minor cause for rejoicing there is. An attempt by the Duce to humiliate the League has been thwarted. Señor de Madariaga, Chairman of the Committee of Thirteen, threatened to resign rather than go to Rome to begin negotiations. He declared that the place for peace talks was Geneva, and that it would be a great blow to League prestige if the head of their Conciliation Committee was to go to the seat of Government of the Power which had betrayed the Covenant, and ask on what terms peace would be given.

During the past few days, M. Flandin has been so successful in preventing further action being taken against Italy that it is to be feared that he may once again cause delay. He succeeded in doing so this time with an insistence in the face of Mr. Eden's opposition that the Committee of Thirteen must be adjourned for a week.

M. Flandin received his chief support in his fight from Ecuador, whose Government announced that it had decided that it would cease applying sanctions, because it considered that they were no longer necessary, as Italy had agreed to discuss a peace settlement. It will be recalled that the representative of Ecuador was prevented by a diplomatic illness from attending the session of the League Council at which the re-occupation of the Rhineland by Germany was condemned.

A counter-blast came from Mexico. The Mexican Government announced it would not be responsible for the consequences of a failure to make sanctions really effective.

The existence of at least one Government determined to go, perhaps, even further than Britain, in the application of sanctions, is an encouragement to the League, but it will need a lot more effort before the sanctions countries can force the anti-sanctionist countries to give way—if only because of the provision of the Covenant which requires unanimity in all important decisions. In this connection it is interesting to see that in the French peace plan, which was issued

in Paris last week, it is proposed that the unanimity rule be altered to a two-thirds majority.

If a two-thirds majority rule were in force, at the present, France's opposition to sanctions would be more easily overcome.

## THE LOCARNO TALKS.

While the French Government has successfully prevented the application of the Covenant against Italy, it has, at the same time, been urging that the most drastic action be taken against Germany. In this effort it has failed.

After long talks between Mr. Eden, M. Flandin, Baron Aloisi, and the Belgian Premier, M. Van Zeeland, a temporary compromise was reached which should tide matters over the French Elections, and thereafter start negotiations on the basis of the proposals made in the French and German peace plans.

Unless the Germans take drastic action, there will be complete calm on the Locarno front for the next four weeks. What should happen then, if Mr. Eden has his way, is that a beginning will be made to build a new Europe.

Will any good be done?

Unless the League is strong, many of the statesmen engaged in drawing up peace plans will be tempted to jettison the League entirely, or else to reduce it to impotence.

In the arrangement proposed by France affairs in Europe—the only part of the world in whose peace France is genuinely interested, as her attitude to Abyssinia has shown—are handed over to a European Commission. If all States of Europe are represented on that Commission France will command the largest number of votes. The following provisional table shows the position:—

States likely to follow France, unconditionally:

Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey, Russia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia—10.

States likely to follow Germany, unconditionally—0.

States which might follow Germany:

Italy, Poland, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Albania—6.

States which would probably follow France—if Germany violated *status quo* and would otherwise be neutral:

Britain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Portugal, Finland, Holland—8.

Obviously, this is a rough and ready calculation. But a few minutes' thought will serve to substantiate the general conclusion that the new European Commission proposed by France would be a powerful machine designed to prevent the functioning of Article 19 of the League Covenant—the revision article.

## TARIFF OBSTACLES TO WORLD PEACE

1.—THE ADVANTAGES OF FREE TRADE. By J. E. MEADE, Lecturer in Economics, Hertford College, Oxford

*In this article an attempt will be made to outline the advantages of greater freedom of international trade; two subsequent articles will discuss the economic difficulties which hinder the reduction of tariffs and will suggest principles upon which positive action may be based.*

THE main advantage of Free Trade depends upon a simple and well-known fact. Just as two people will only trade with one another if both stand to gain from the transaction, so two countries will only trade with one another if such trade enables the real income of both to be increased. If there were Free Trade between England and the U.S.A., then English manufacturers would export English goods and exchange them for American goods, whenever more goods could be obtained in this way than could have been produced in England with the labour employed in making the exports.

Precisely the same advantages of Free Trade are open to "Planned" or "Socialist" or "Corporative" economic systems, in which the production, purchase and sale of commodities is centrally controlled instead of being directed by the free play of individual competition. If in a planned economy those responsible for the production and sale of commodities sell each commodity both at home and abroad at a price equal to its cost of production, and if foreign commodities are always imported when their price is lower than the price of similar home produced commodities, then the "planned economy" will be based on a Free Trade principle and will enjoy the fundamental advantage of Free Trade.

In passing it is worth noting a special advantage of Free Trade, which concerns the problem of colonial raw material supplies. One reason why Japan and other countries without extensive colonial empires demand colonial possessions is in order to be able to obtain colonial raw materials more cheaply. The difficulty is not, of course, that the Japanese are not free to buy colonial raw materials, but that they cannot sell their own exports in potential markets and so cannot obtain the foreign money necessary to purchase the colonial commodities. If there were Free Trade among nations,

the main economic motive for the possession of colonies would disappear.

An example may help to illustrate this. Severe restrictions have been imposed by England on the import of Japanese cotton goods into West African colonies. These restrictions are to the disadvantage of the African native, who must pay a higher price for English cotton goods, and of the Japanese, who lose a market for their goods. An obstacle of this kind in the way of trade between Japan and Africa will undoubtedly benefit England, since the African is forced to pay the higher price for English cotton goods. But if the traditional British policy of Free Trade between colonial possessions and other countries were readopted by Great Britain and adopted by other imperial powers, one of the main economic incentives to obtain colonial territories by force of arms would be removed.

There are two important arguments against the lowering of its tariff by any country. If the U.S.A. removed its tariffs on English goods the American demand for English goods and therefore the price at which English merchants could sell these goods would rise. At the same time Americans would have to sell more to England in order to obtain the English money to finance the increased purchase of English goods, and for this reason the price of American goods in England would fall. In other words, the U.S.A. would be getting a somewhat lower price for her exports and would be paying a somewhat higher price to the Englishman for her imports; this is expressed by saying that the "terms of trade" would be moved against the U.S.A. by the reduction of the American tariff. This is true, but is unlikely to outweigh the fundamental advantage of Free Trade which we discussed above.

In any case, however, there will be no disadvantage of this kind to the U.S.A. if the English tariff is lowered simultaneously with the American tariff, so that the English demand for American goods rises at the same time as the American demand for English goods; for in that case the price offered by Englishmen for American goods will rise at the same time as the price which Americans offer for English goods. In other words, there may on these grounds be a reasonable case against the reduction of tariffs by any one country alone, but there can be none against the simultaneous reduction of tariffs by all countries.

The second argument against the lowering of tariffs is that it will create unemployment. It is argued, for example, that if England were to reduce its tariff, Englishmen would purchase foreign instead of English goods without causing any counterbalancing increase in the foreign demand for English goods, so that unemployment would increase in England. There is no space here to argue the rights and wrongs of this case; but it can only be an argument against the reduction of tariffs by a single country, and not against the simultaneous reduction of tariffs by a number of countries. For if the U.S.A. reduced her tariff on English goods at the same time that England reduced her tariff on American goods, the American demand for English goods would rise as quickly as the English demand for English goods fell off.

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Edited by

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### MEMORIAL TO WINIFRED HOLTBY

THE proposed Memorial to Winifred Holtby affords an opportunity to members of the League of Nations Union to express their admiration for a great friend and advocate of their cause. Of course, she was far more than that. She was among the most promising of the younger novelists, and it was her pervading spirit that gave such special attractiveness to "Time and Tide." But apart from her remarkable gifts as a speaker and writer, there was a beauty of character in Miss Holtby, a sort of radiant generosity and courage which few of those who had even once met her could ever forget. It was remarked of her, when speaking for the Union, that she took as much pains over small groups of people as over great gatherings, and in the same way she gave as freely of her sympathy and intelligence to unimportant and unattractive persons as to their opposites, provided only they were unhappy and wanted help. During the last four years of her life she knew she was suffering from a mortal disease, but people who met her during that time could never have suspected it. They came back full of her wit and friendliness and abundant vitality. She spent herself for her friends "like wealthy men, who care not how they give," under conditions which would have made most of us feel desperately poor, and hoard for our own use every element of ease and comfort that we could scrape together. There was, indeed, as Lady Rhondda has said, something of the saint about her, not the externals certainly, but the radiance.

### AN AFRICAN SCHOLARSHIP PROPOSED

SIR,—Some of the late Winifred Holtby's friends, who regard her work for Africa as one of the most valuable spheres of her many beneficent activities, have resolved to establish a memorial to her.

On their behalf we wish to invite all who knew her to help us raise a sum of at least £2,000 for the purpose. During her lifetime Miss Holtby gave generously towards African work, and the recent publication of her will is apt to give a misleading impression of her estate, the bulk of which was based upon an interest in expectancy. We hope that all her friends and admirers will support us in making a memorial worthy of her.

The form the memorial will take must naturally depend on the response to this appeal. We hope, however, that the response will be such as to allow us to establish a scholarship to enable an African, preferably a woman, to study in England, or, if the funds are not sufficient, at Achimota College in the Gold Coast. An alternative suggestion is the formation of a library for the special use of Africans, possibly in Johannesburg. These are merely examples of what seem to us possibilities for a suitable memorial, and we should welcome any other suggestions from contributors.

Contributions, large or small, which should be made payable to the Winifred Holtby Memorial Fund, may be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, 19, Glebe Place, S.W.3, and will be gratefully acknowledged.

We are, etc.,

C. F. ANDREWS	ST. JOHN ERVINE
W. G. BALLINGER	JULIUS LEWIN
VERA BRITAIN	GILBERT MURRAY
CHARLES RODEN	F. W. PETHICK-
BUXTON	LAWRENCE
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## BOOK NOTICES

**Hitler: A Biography.** By Konrad Heiden. (Constable. 10s.)

What manner of man is the Dictator of Germany? At home he is idolised, officially. He is a demi-god, all-wise and all-good. That is the myth tirelessly propagated by the most elaborate apparatus of publicity ever constructed. In comparison, the most violent extravagances of American ballyhoo are modest. Abroad many observers see in him the big shot of a tougher gang than ever terrorised Chicago. It is important to the world to know where the truth lies between these two extremes. Heiden's book contains some of the facts on which a right judgment must be based. It is not itself that judgment. Heiden is a well-informed partisan.

A propagandist is little likely to persuade a fellow practitioner. Heiden is a journalist. In Munich, at the closest range, he watched the beginnings of National Socialism. He saw Hitler rising to power by a mastery of mob psychology, always finding someone to blame and blaming that someone for everything. True, the bogey had three names. But that was only the cunning of the beast. Communist, Frenchman, Jew were essentially one, one in their malice, their greed, their degeneracy. Germany had not been defeated in the war: her Communists had betrayed her. Germany had not evaded her treaty obligations: the French had tortured her. Germany had not rushed into ruin: the Jews had robbed her. Hitler endowed a nation inclined to hatred with an object it could hate to its heart's content. His adroitness appeared in the prominence he accorded to the Jew. The Jew is the perfect bogey, being at once foreign and familiar. He is visibly present, and, therefore, possibly to blame: he is visibly strange, and, therefore, to be blamed. Heiden insists repeatedly upon the cleverness of Hitler's propaganda. Hitler is a propagandist of genius. Heiden is not convinced only because he knows Hitler too well, and knows too well also the tricks of the trade which convinces other people.

But has everything been said when one propagandist has seen through another propagandist? Hitler is a man to beware of, admittedly. He began as an emotional appealing to an emotional people. That is a situation in which the worst actions are apt to be justified with the highest professions. In the past Hitler has destroyed his opponents at home by dividing them. More than once his promises of future good conduct have brought to their own final ruin the deluded friends of his victim of the moment. The assurances for whose sake they have permitted illegalities have turned out to be pie-crusts—artfully contrived and easily broken. He is, however, still a young man, as statesmen go.

And he is growing with experience. After three years of tremendous responsibility, his stature, moral and intellectual, is enhanced. The world, which stands on guard against his attack, should be not less prompt to use his co-operation. Perhaps he is becoming steadily

less a threat and more a help. Therefore, sympathetic understanding also is necessary.

Heiden suggests that Hitler's youth of many failures, humiliations, self-reproaches fitted him to be the spokesman of a post-war Germany haunted by a recent chapter of folly and defeats. A neurotic Hitler was in tune with a neurotic Germany. It is a plausible theory. But the sequel must not be forgotten. Hitler is now strong and successful, ruling a Germany conscious of its strength and success. The double change may mean danger. Or it may mean peace.

**The Year Book of British International Law, 1935.** Sixteenth year of issue. (Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 16s. net.)

As usual, the British Year Book of International Law is indispensable to lawyers. They will not have waited for any lay recommendation before reading it. But there are many other students of world affairs who will find useful some indication of its chief contents.

The contribution which gets deepest down to fundamental questions is an article on "The Pure Theory of International Law," by Mr. J. Walter Jones, of Queen's College, Oxford. He expounds Kelsen's attempt to bring international law and municipal law together in an indissoluble unity. There are still lawyers of high distinction, especially in Great Britain and the United States, where the jurisprudence of John Austin continues to exercise a powerful influence, who deny to international law the character of true law. They concede the name to it as a courtesy. Its valid parts, they contend, are no more than contracts whose binding force is derived from

the assent of the several Sovereign States who have entered into them. Kelsen stands at the opposite pole. He not only refuses to found the legal nature of international law upon its likeness to State law. He maintains that only through international law does municipal law preserve its homogeneity and continuity.

Mr. Walter Jones is a cautious follower of Kelsen. "Without the ideal of an international community," he remarks, "international law itself would never have come into existence. There is nothing in the nature of the relations with which the two systems, international and municipal, deal to prevent unity. This is shown by the use of municipal decisions by the Permanent Court and by the converse process in State courts. Where the two rules are so inextricably intermingled, unity seems a more appropriate description of the relation between the system than dualism."

Such questions of theory may seem remote from the tragic problems of the world. To think them so is, however, to misjudge the difficulties with which our age is struggling. Does a world commonwealth exist? Can one be brought into existence? From what source can it draw the strength it needs for the performance of its function? In many quarters the hopeless negative answer is taken as a matter of course. On the

Just Out

## WORLD PLANNING

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By C. A. MACARTNEY

(An account of the Industrial  
Advisory Committee's Confer-  
ence in London, February, 1936)

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contrary, say Kelsen and those who think with him, the existence of Sovereign States implies the existence of a community of States. To give the argument a paradoxical form, if the Sovereign State had been the final term in the process of political evolution, the Sovereign State itself could never have come into existence.

**Successful Living.** By the Rev. E. N. Porter Goff. (Longmans. 3s. 6d.)

Mr. Porter Goff's book is an admirable example of popularised religion. The author simplifies his argument without evading difficulties. He is not afraid to drive home his points, elaborating and illustrating, until all his readers must have grasped his meaning. In his own words: "The thesis is that applied Christianity is the way to successful living." Throughout, Mr. Porter Goff insists on the responsibility of the individual. Upon each of us in our degree depends what happens to ourselves, our families, our neighbours, our fellow-countrymen, and our fellow human beings. Upon right conduct in each relation the author has advice to offer.

"The chief problem of our day," he declares, "is international peace. One can say without exaggeration that it is the supreme problem of our time, for if we do not solve it our solution of other problems will afford us little satisfaction. . . . There is something lacking in our pursuit of peace. The desire for peace is there. The recognition of the horrors of war is there. The plan for international co-operation through the League of Nations is there. But we are failing to achieve our ideal because we are seeking it as an end in itself. Peace as conceived by statesmen and peoples is negative in character. A peace policy which regards the avoidance of war as its final criterion must fail, for man is so made that he can never make the avoidance of danger his chief aim in life. He is born to do, not to refrain from doing."

Mr. Porter Goff's call to action is as timely as it is eloquent. If his book disappoints at all it does so by defining clearly enough the right activity. Doubtless he would answer such a criticism: "I am not setting out a programme in detail, I am proposing a search for a programme."

**David Livingstone.** By the Rev. James Macnair. ("Makers of History" Series, No. 1. A. Wheaton & Co. Exeter. 8d.)

Here is an admirable start of an altogether praiseworthy venture. Whether the doctrine that history is the life stories of great men be true or not, the stimulating effect of well-written biographies is undeniable. What some hero did and suffered appeals strongly to the young. As nothing else can, it makes the past real for them. History books are always in danger of becoming remote, inhuman, abstract. They perplex and repel boys and girls who are ready at the first word to respond to the call of adventure. Livingstone is an excellent subject, not too far away in time yet plunged into a land of romantic strangeness. Brave, dogged, clear-headed, his character makes a strong and quick appeal. For his work the conscience of to-day does not feel impelled to offer an apology. It has a direct bearing on some great problems of the moment with whose names at least even the youngest are familiar.

Mr. Macnair is unfailingly simple. He manages also to compress a vast number of facts into 15,000 words, and yet escapes congestion. The illustrations are to the point.

**Hydraulic and Road Questions in China:** Co-operation Between the Organisation for Communications and Transit of the League of Nations and the National Government of China.—Report by the Committee of Experts. (Ser. L.C.N.P. 1936. VIII. 4.) 213 pages. 6s. 6d.

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## READERS' VIEWS

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

### THE CASE FOR GERMANY

SIR,—Perhaps I may be allowed to refer to one or two mis-statements of fact in Prof. Noel Baker's analysis of Hitler's peace proposals.

(1) He states that when Hitler left the League in October, 1933, "Germany had just received the best offer of disarmament which had yet been made to her."

This is not true. The McDonald plan, which was proposed earlier in the year, had been reconsidered by the Chief Powers of the Disarmaments Conference (deliberately excluding Germany) at a special meeting held in Paris in June, 1933. This plan postponed application of the McDonald plan, and substituted a plan which virtually continued the Versailles discrimination against Germany for another eight years. The modification had been brought about because of the assumption of power by Hitler in the spring of 1933. It was on that account that Germany left the League and the Disarmament Conference in October, when the plan was presented to the Germans in a provocative speech by Sir John Simon.

(2) Germany has spent, says Mr. Noel Baker, £1,000 millions on armaments in the last three years. This is a fantastic figure, which can be varied at will. Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., gives £1,500 millions.

May I now refer to certain criticisms made by Prof. Noel Baker regarding other points.

(1) He adduces, as a proof of bad faith, the fact that the German Government refuses to adhere to the Eastern "Locarno" Treaty signed by France and Russia. The fact is that there was nothing real in the principle of mutual assistance as between France, Russia and Germany. If France attacked Germany, would Soviet Russia come to the assistance of Hitler Germany? The idea is absurd. But Germany is willing to be bound by the Covenant.

(2) Mr. Noel Baker states that Hitler's proposal of non-aggression pacts are of no value, because they merely repeat existing obligations. Answer: the non-aggression Pact with Poland in 1933 which Hitler concluded is a repetition of Stresemann's pact with Poland, in 1925, and its reaffirmation has had a far-reaching effect in improving relations.

(3) Professor Noel Baker's insistence on the application of mutual assistance treaties would be more effective, if he realised that treaties of guarantee assume satisfaction with the *status quo*. Satisfaction exists in Western Europe, and Hitler has proposed a new Western Locarno Treaty (without the Rhineland clauses).

When there is dissatisfaction with the *status quo*, non-aggression pacts are useful because they bind countries not to go to war in order to change the *status quo*, but they do not ask the contracting parties to go to war to defend the *status quo*. It would be absurd to ask Germany to go to war in order to defend the Polish Corridor.

(4) Professor Noel Baker's last proposal, of a plan to be drawn up by the League Powers, looks like a reversion to the old system of asking Germany to sign on the dotted line. It will never work.

After reading the speeches and articles of the directing members of the L.N.U., I doubt whether they would welcome the return of Germany to the League. This attitude recalls the early years of the L.N.U.'s existence.

T. P. CONWELL-EVANS.

Ilchester Chambers, W.2.

NOTE:—In the Budget debate Mr. Churchill produced his evidence for a German arms budget of £800,000,000 in 1935.—ED.

### CHRISTIANITY AND FORCE

SIR,—What is there in the Christian law of love to prohibit the use of force? It does not read "do to others only what they want you to do to them"; but "whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." Surely "Christian Pacifist" would wish to be deterred from doing wrong, even by force if necessary?

Christ used force when He made a whip of small cords and drove out the moneychangers, overthrowing their tables and scattering their money. Asking for trouble, Pacifists would say. He also used force when they laid violent hands upon Him and took Him to the brow of a hill intending to throw Him down. He did not suffer them to kill Him, and pray for their forgiveness the while—unlike the Romans at the Crucifixion, they knew what they were doing—but used His mighty power to pass through their midst. When His hour had come no man took it from Him, but He laid it down voluntarily.

He evidently did not forbid His disciples to carry swords, for two at least already had them when, at the close of His ministry, revising instructions previously given, He told those who had no sword to buy one. When Peter used his in defence of His Master, He was not bidden to cast it away but to sheathe it. Those who took to the sword in face of lawful arrest would perish by the sword of the authorities. Christ saved Peter's life by healing the damage he had done. Paul, too, had no qualms about calling in the military when his life was in danger at the hands of 40 assassins, the Roman captain responding with 470 men armed with sword and spear.

Force in itself is neither evil nor good, but derives its moral character from the end it serves. Christ's love for men—one with the love of God—is compatible with the imposition of the most drastic sanctions known—disease, misery and suffering—in order to deter men from death, the divinely appointed end of wrongdoing. Divine Love wields both goodness and severity in making the way of transgressors hard and interposes many "pricks" against which evildoers "kick" to their own hurt. "Christian Pacifist" must feel that it is more Christian to stop a street fight by force than to watch it and the imposition of sanctions by the League is equally Christian, the principle of interference being unaffected either by the size of the conflict or the weapons used.

G. P. BURNS (B.A.).

Ealing, W.6.

### SOMETHING THAT IS BECOMING

SIR,—The reply to Mr. Eric Walker's inquiry as to why there are in the L.N.U. those who call themselves "Christian Pacifists" is to be found in a sentence on page 45 of your March issue—because "The League is not something that exists once for all. . . . It is something that is becoming." There is no reason why those who believe in the substitution of international law for international anarchy, although they may oppose the use of military force, should not remain in the Union and use whatever influence they have for the evolution of the League along the lines which seem best to them.

May I add that the term "Christian Pacifist" is simply used to define those who base their pacifism on their interpretation of Christianity? It in no way implies that they refuse the title of "Christian" to those who differ from them.

Wanstead, E.11.

MURIEL PHILLIPS.

### PICKING AND CHOOSING

SIR,—I read with much interest the impassioned article of Sir Austen Chamberlain headed "You Cannot Pick and Choose," appearing in the current issue of HEADWAY.

I can understand his concern about the fate of the Locarno Treaty, which is his child, but did he not in effect "pick and choose" when he preferred his Locarno pact to the Geneva protocol, which as an instrument of world peace was far superior to the pact, but which he deliberately chose to destroy?

I believe in the sanctity of agreements, but there is a prior agreement to which we as a country are deeply committed. That agreement is the League of the Covenant and the promises based upon this. This country has broken in three matters that solemn obligation:

- (1) Disarmament;
- (2) Japan and Manchuria; and, most horrible of all,
- (3) Italy and Abyssinia.

These three acts of dishonour are bringing disaster to the world.

Sir Austen has a wonderful influence with the Government. I would urge him to use his great power with all the passion he can arouse to see that the Government endeavours to wipe out the terrible stain upon our character as a nation in the lukewarm and supine way the Government has acted in the case of Italy. All the sanctions under Article 16 should be imposed at once, not only including oil, but the withdrawal of our Ambassadors and of all intercourse with Italy, to force her to stop her murderous conduct towards the Ethiopians. Will he do it?

HERBERT H. ELVIN.

National Union of Clerks and Administrative Workers,  
(T.U. 916), 17-20, Holborn Hall, Gray's Inn Road,  
London, W.C.1.

### THE FRENCH PROPOSALS

SIR,—I was much interested in reading this month's HEADWAY.

I think that the French proposals for setting up an International Air Force have points worth considering. There are certain strategic positions in all the world where at least one might have aerodromes under League control. Each constituent member might allot a quota of bombers, etc., ready for despatch to any of these strategic points near where danger threatened.

I believe that if there had been a single League aerodrome, for instance, in the Black Mountain, Montenegro, Italy would never have invaded Abyssinia. If there were such now, Italy would never dare use poison gas again. Even apart from League control, the opening for warplanes, e.g., in Czechoslovakia, may in the end help to prevent Germany from seizing part of Belgium. The same with Soviet aeroplanes in Vladivostock and Japan. I do not think the idea of an international force is likely to find favour outside France. But in a way somewhat as I have suggested a certain machinery to facilitate a possible League Air Force might greatly ease matters.

Mussolini knows that the appearance of one super-swift (non-British) aeroplane over, e.g., Venice, would be likely to seal his own fate!

RICHARD DE BARY.

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## HERE AND THERE

We regret that owing to a misunderstanding the **Welwyn Garden City** Branch was accredited with less results than were just in our notice of their preliminary achievements of the Canvass in our preceding issue. The correct report should have read that prior to the Canvass, the membership stood at 147; the Canvass brought in 391 new members at once, and that increase is being steadily maintained. Good as were the figures we published, as will be seen from this correction, the actual figures are even better.

Following on a meeting called for that purpose in the Assembly Rooms, the Branch at **Wetheral**, which has been inactive for the past few years, has been revived.

The **Whitstable and Tankerton** Branch has thrown itself energetically into the excellent work of collecting wearing apparel for the Abyssinian refugees, with the result that over a hundred articles have been sent from that district. This excellent example should be followed wherever possible.

A new Youth Group has been added to the Branch at **Buxton** as the result of a special meeting arranged by the committee of the parent branch.

### OVERSEAS NOTES

The **XXth Plenary Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies** will be meeting in the M'Lellan Galleries, Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, at Whitsuntide. The following is the programme:—

**Monday, June 1.**—10 a.m.—Official opening of Congress and welcome by the Right Hon. The Lord Provost of Glasgow. 2.30—6 p.m.—Congress Committees. 8 p.m.—Reception for delegates in the City Chambers by the Right Hon. The Lord Provost, Magistrates and Town Councillors of Glasgow.

**Tuesday, June 2.**—10 a.m.—1 p.m.—Congress Committees. 2.30—5.45 p.m.—Plenary Sessions of Congress. 6.15 p.m.—Excursion for delegates.

**Wednesday, June 3.**—10 a.m.—1 p.m.—Plenary Sessions of Congress. 2.30—6 p.m.—Plenary Sessions of Congress. 7.45 p.m.—Special performance at the Theatre Royal for delegates.

**Thursday, June 4.**—10 a.m.—1 p.m.—Plenary Sessions of Congress. 2.30—5.15 p.m.—Plenary Sessions of Congress. 5.45 p.m.—Excursion for delegates.

**Friday, June 5.**—Afternoon excursion for delegates.

## TRAVEL AND SUMMER SCHOOLS

**BRUGES.** A short visit at Whitsuntide (May 29th—June 2nd) with the option of extension. The quiet charm of this old world city provides an opportunity for a restful week-end, while for those who wish to go further afield, it is an admirable centre for excursions.

**GENEVA.** The first Geneva party will leave London on June 13th for a week's study of the International Labour Conference. The programme includes a series of lectures and visits, and arrangements will be made for lake and mountain excursions.

**SOVIET RUSSIA.** The Union party that is visiting the Soviet Union will sail from London on June 27th, and the visit will occupy three weeks. A notice is available which gives full particulars of the itinerary, cost, visa requirements and other information about the visit.

### SPECIAL NOTICE

*In the spring of 1937 the Union will organise a visit to Canada and the United States of America. If suitable sailing dates can be arranged, the party will travel from Southampton to New York on R.M.S. "QUEEN MARY."*

Full details of all these attractive visits will be gladly sent on receipt of enquiries addressed to the Secretary of the Union.

All meetings of the Congress are held in public. Any members who care to make the journey to Glasgow will have the opportunity of seeing the Federation in Session. The Union is not organising a party to Glasgow, but information concerning the Congress may be obtained on application to Miss Mina MacDonald, League of Nations Union, 136 Wellington Street, Glasgow, C.2; or the Secretary, League of Nations Union, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

### Australia.

During 1935 the membership of this Branch increased substantially, the total now being 1,913. This means that membership has almost doubled in the last two years. The Council has been strengthened this year by the addition of representatives from a number of affiliated organisations and is now one of the most representative bodies in Sydney. There are now seven local groups in existence—at Uralla, Orange, Canterbury-Lakemba, Gilgandra, Menagle Temora, Nowra. The last four mentioned were formed in 1935. In each case the initiative was taken by local residents.

### New Zealand.

Professor F. L. W. Wood, who occupies the Chair of History at Victoria University, has been elected President of the New Zealand League of Nations Union, in succession to Rev. F. H. Wilkinson.

### Czechoslovakia.

The Czechoslovak League of Nations Society has recently been reorganised. Membership of the society has greatly increased during the past two years and new Branches have been started in Brno and Bratislava. The Board of the Society has recently been received by the President of the Republic, Dr. Benes, who promised the society all possible help and showed great appreciation and understanding of its work.

### Belgium.

A Peace Prize of 10,000 francs, offered annually by an anonymous donor, has been awarded this year to the Belgian League of Nations Union.

### Egypt.

On Easter Monday the Port Said League of Nations Group held a Dogs' Jamboree in aid of local funds. This aroused great interest and numbers of helpers were "roped in" who were not members of the Group.

### Hungary.

Under the auspices of the International Club, Budapest, an International Goodwill Congress will be held in **Budapest** from August 28 to September 8, 1936. Among the subjects for discussion are: (a) International Goodwill and how to attain it; (b) The holding of a yearly congress of International Goodwill in various countries and the inauguration of a Permanent Committee of International Goodwill; (c) Foundation of a Chair of Goodwill in all principal Universities; (d) Exchange of University Professors and Students; (e) The Films as assets to mutual understanding; (f) The power of the Press as a means of furthering goodwill.

Further information may be obtained from the Organising Committee, International Club, Deak Ferenc, u.2, Budapest.

### THE NATIONAL CANVASS.

270 Branches have reported that they have already started or are completing their plans for a systematic canvass. A certain number of these Branches are commencing the work in one part of their area only, with the intention of extending the scope of the canvass gradually to other parts. 40 special Canvass committees have been set up in London.

As readers will have noticed from an earlier issue of HEADWAY, a Branch in Scotland has succeeded in obtaining one of the most satisfactory results so far recorded—that of multiplying its previous membership five or six times.

One of the outstanding efforts of individual canvassers has been that of an officer of a Branch in the Home Counties, who has carried out a preliminary experimental canvass before the work in the whole of the Branch's area was commenced, obtained 37 new members from 20 houses in one road.

Fordingbridge has doubled its membership, although all the canvassers have not yet completed the work or sent in their returns.

Branches are finding that recent events have greatly stimulated interest in international affairs, particularly among the younger people.

The organising secretary of the Chantry, International Friendship at **Ipswich**, has asked us to draw the attention of members of L.N.U. Youth Groups to their work. The Chantry is a fine mansion standing in its own grounds, at which the organisation (which is an independent voluntary body of several organisations, including the Ipswich Rotary Club and Town Council, Boy Scouts' Association, Girl Guides' Association, Y.M.C.A., G.W.C.A., T.O.C.H., etc.), offers courses to young people of all nations. The fees charged are extraordinarily reasonable, amounting to only £5 per fortnight. In former years it has been found that the attendance of foreign visitors exceeds that of British participants, and it is hoped by the organisers that more young British students of international affairs seeking a cheap and attractive holiday will take advantage of this opportunity. Full particulars can be obtained from the Organising Secretary, The Chantry, Ipswich. Telephone No. 400311.

### WELSH NOTES

The World Wireless Message of the Children of Wales will be broadcast on "Goodwill Day," May 18, for the fifteenth year in succession.

The Welsh Council special campaign for new members is making progress—scores of centres are at present busy with their canvass and numerous new Branches are being formed. The paid membership of the Union in Wales and Monmouthshire for the year 1935 showed a considerable increase on the preceding year.

Area Rallies recently held in the Principality include: Llandudno, Denbigh, Dolwyddelan, Caernarvon, Treherbert, Mold, Tenby and Fishguard.

### COUNCIL'S VOTE

The following Branches have completed their Council's vote payments for 1935:—

Barnoldswick, Bradford (Prospect Hall), Crosskills, Droitwich (1934-1935), Kendal, Leominster, Oswestry, Oundle, Romsey, Rushden, Salisbury, St. Ives (Hunts.), Upton-on-Severn.

For 1936:—

Barton Hill, Brislington, Chippenham, Cheddar, Lyme Regis, Mere, Ockley, Pitsford, Shiplate, Torrington, West Cranmore, Williton.

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# AT THE ALBERT HALL: MAY 8th.

THE British people are profoundly moved by the tragedy of Abyssinia. Of this fact evidence is to be found everywhere. In trains and buses, in shops, offices and clubs, in all the places where men and women meet and talk about the topics of the day, there is expressed a passionate resentment of the sufferings inflicted upon a primitive, ignorant people by a Great Power which acclaims itself the champion of civilisation.

Said an attendant at a suburban petrol-station on the outskirts of London to a stranger customer the other evening:

*"It is a crying shame. Are they going to let Mussolini get away with it? Isn't the League any use at all?"*

What use is the League? That is the question which is being asked insistently, and often despairingly, by plain folk with no pretence to an expert knowledge of international affairs, but with the British love of fair play and the British desire for peace.

A current is astir in Europe thrusting Abyssinia into the background. Attention is concentrated upon the Rhineland. *Le Temps*, the greatest of Paris newspapers, declared in its leading article of April 15: "The moment had come to relight the lamp of Stresa. With the sanctions against Italy cancelled, and a just and honourable peace concluded in Abyssinia, the nations can turn with greater confidence to establishing the safety of Europe and organising the peace of the world."

In some quarters of Great Britain the same values are accepted. But the British people refuse to deceive themselves. They see very clearly the character of Italy's offence. Italy has made war upon a fellow-Member of the League, first breaking the Covenant, and then, in the conduct of ruthless hostilities, employing utterly barbarous methods. The Covenant guarantees to every League Member its territorial integrity and its existing political independence. It pledges all League Members to common action in defence of the victim of any attack upon those elementary rights. Italy has struck at the foundation of the League. If she destroys Abyssinia and takes possession of the wreckage, the League will suffer, perhaps, fatal damage and collective security will become a dubious catch-word.

A European peace safe against outrage, guaranteeing to all the nations of the Continent equal rights and equal security, can exist only as a part of a world peace. Czechoslovakia, Austria, or France could have no assurance against aggression unless Abyssinia also is defended. Abyssinia is the test case for the League. What is being decided in North-East Africa is whether the League can give any of its Members the defence which they cannot obtain from their individual arms. An attack on the one is an attack on all. If a successful attack is made upon Abyssinia such success is a breach

in the structure of security everywhere. More or less clearly, all sections of the British people perceive the decisiveness of what is happening in Abyssinia. The fate is being decided of the often disappointed but bravely continued effort of the post-War years to banish violence and the threat of violence from the new world order.

Even sharper cut and more insistent, they see the challenge to ordinary decent humanity. Bomb attacks by the Italian aircraft upon the helpless, bewildered Abyssinians, attacks killing and mutilating men, women and children, leaving them tortured and desperate, destroying their homes, their cattle and their crops, have lighted a flame of indignation. That flame has been blown to white heat by Italy's use of poison-gas. There is a deep human instinct which revolts against

the poisoner. Not all the sophistries of a superficial logic can obliterate for the plain man the difference between fair ways of fighting and foul. Among the foulest is the indiscriminate release against unprotected and un-succoured savages of clouds of stifling, burning, killing vapour.

An opportunity to protest will be provided at the Albert Hall on May 8, when a public meeting is being held by the League of Nations Union. It may be asked, "how can a public meeting in London help Italy's victims in far-away Africa?" The answer is, "a great deal." The Abyssinian problem will be solved aright if public opinion throughout the civilised world, and especially public opinion in Great Britain, which has not yet forfeited its historic influence, understands what must be done and insists that there shall be no weakness in the doing. Even now the League can fulfil the high

hopes reposed in it by millions and serve the great purpose for which it was created. Even now Abyssinia can be saved. Even now by the right and brave use of the League in Abyssinia the threat of war gathering darkly over Europe can be banished. The one necessary condition is that measures sufficient for the restraint of the aggressor shall be taken forthwith.

The list of speakers for the meeting is in itself an assurance not only that the League cause will be powerfully presented, but also that the demand for a courageous League policy has behind it an impressive weight of national opinion. All parties are represented. Lord Lytton and Lord Cecil will speak for the Conservatives, Sir Archibald Sinclair for the Liberals, Major Attlee for the Labour Party, and Miss Eleanor Rathbone for a vast number of thoughtful men and women attached to no party. Nor are the churches absent. The Dean of Chichester will speak for the Church of England, and the Rev. S. M. Berry for the Nonconformist denominations. Mr. Bernard Ungerson will speak for youth.

## STOP WAR IN ABYSSINIA AND SO PREVENT WAR EVERYWHERE

### SPEAKERS:

Lord Lytton • Major Attlee, M.P.  
Sir Archibald Sinclair, M.P. • Miss  
Eleanor Rathbone, M.P. • Lord Cecil  
(in the chair) • The Dean of  
Chichester • The Rev. S. M. Berry •  
Bernard Ungerson

ROYAL ALBERT HALL  
on Friday, May 8th, at 8 p.m.

Seats (numbered and reserved) 1/- to 10/6, and a limited number of free tickets, to be obtained from the League of Nations Union, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1. Early application is essential.

Doors open 7 p.m. No seats reserved after 7.50 p.m.