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**AN OBSERVER AT THE
GENERAL COUNCIL**

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**L.N.U. POLICY
RESOLUTIONS**

See Pages 132 & 133

HEADWAY

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

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IN DARKEST AUTARKIA.

With acknowledgment to the "Evening Standard."

NEWS AND COMMENTS

A NEW HEADWAY will be born in October. It will be larger, more attractive in appearance, more varied in contents than the old. It will be sold everywhere, on the bookstalls and in newsagents' shops to the general public.

For many years those responsible for the conduct of the paper and many members of the Union throughout the country have been discontented with the present form. It has cost only 2s. 6d. a year; it has been delivered post free; it has returned a profit to the general funds of the Union. Nevertheless it has been felt inadequate to its opportunity. The lack of a substantial working capital has prevented its improvement.

A group of convinced believers in the League have now provided that capital. Policy will be directed by an Editorial Board on which the Union Executive will have a permanent majority; the Union members will be Viscount Cecil, the Earl of Lytton, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Sir Norman Angell and Lady Violet Bonham Carter. The present editor will remain at his post.

HEADWAY will work for the co-operation of all civilised nations in defence of freedom and peace. Its purpose will be to strengthen every British effort to seek out and pursue a foreign policy at all times resting on these principles, including as they must the effort to achieve for all nations a peaceful and prosperous evolution and security against aggression.

In order that the Union interest in HEADWAY and all that touches it may continue undiminished the new company has decided that present supporters of the paper shall have an opportunity to subscribe for a limited number of shares.

Money Is Needed

THE finances of the Union were a painful topic for the General Council. Revenue does not meet needs. A strenuous effort to increase income must be made at once; equally imperative is an immediate drastic reduction of expenditure. A plan is being prepared which will cut down spending by one-third. In the result, no matter how carefully chosen the economies, the work must suffer and hardships must be imposed on individual members of the staff. It is for the Union's supporters to reduce those unhappy results to the smallest possible measure.

Mr. Churchill Appeals To Youth

AT Bristol, addressing the youth of the West Country as Chancellor of their University, Mr. Winston Churchill carried his campaign for the League a stage further. He asked them:

Why should not the same principles which shaped the ordered progress of the British Isles, extending to the British Empire, be found serviceable in the organisation of an anxious world? Why should not the nations link them-

selves together in a larger system and establish a rule of common law for the benefit of all?

That was surely the supreme hope by which we should be inspired, and it was also the goal upon which we should march with resolute steps. It was, however, vain to imagine that the mere perception and declaration of right principles, whether for one country or for a combination of countries, could be of any practical value unless they were supported by those indispensable qualities of civic virtue and manly courage and by those instrumentalities of force and science which, in the last resort, must be the defence of right and reason.

Civilisation would not last, freedom would not survive, peace would not be kept unless a very large majority of mankind united together to defend these ideals and show themselves possessed of a constabulary power before which barbaric or atavistic forces would stand in proper awe.

Not The Machine, The Men

VISCOUNT HALIFAX, in the House of Lords on June 30, reaffirmed the fidelity to the League of the British Government.

There was a sharp difference of opinion among League members as to the application of the Covenant. The solution was going to be extremely difficult, but not, he hoped, impossible. At the next Assembly in September, when the matter would be considered, the Government would be prepared to make their views known and to give such advice as they were able.

It was unjust to expect results from the League where in the nature of the case it was impossible to produce it. It had been equally unjust to belittle the services which the League had rendered and was rendering in more directions than one in the cause of humanity. He did not think they should underrate the value of the League as the expression of a great purpose, the number of disputes it had forestalled, prevented, or settled, and the whole achievement in the humanitarian and social field. There was a great record in human happiness and work affecting hundreds of thousands of lives all over the world. He mentioned, for example, the work done for refugees and the work in public health questions. Those who failed to appreciate the value of those things were judging themselves rather than the League.

It was not the machinery that was at fault but the people who refused to take advantage of the League and make it work. There was not a sufficient general desire to see the possibilities exploited. If the League was ever to show the way to fulfil its purpose of a better order for the world it was necessary that all great nations should be brought to co-operate in the attempt. The League was in rough waters and difficult testing times lay before it, but none the less the Government's intention was to foster and sustain the League to the utmost of their power and to strive for the increase of its authority.

Health and Happiness

MR. ANTHONY EDEN, at Stourbridge, on June 28, had a warning to offer which some workers for world peace would do well to ponder:—

If we believed in constitutional government, in democracy, in the preservation of freedom, it was not enough, he told them, to shout these things from the housetops. We had to demonstrate that they achieved results, and better results than those realised by other methods.

On Britain more than on any other State depended the future of civilisation. This nation required the inspiration of a great ideal in the domestic, no less than in the foreign, sphere.

In the last resort it was on the health and happiness of the people that the strength of the nation depended. All the armaments in the world would avail them nought if they were wielded by a people whose conditions of living and nourishment were bad. All our preoccupation about the international situation should not be allowed to conceal from us this fundamental truth.

Our Shrinking World

MR. R. J. MENZIES, Attorney-General of the Australian Commonwealth, speaking at the dinner of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, in London, on June 21, described an experience which was a complete refutation of the isolationist case. He said:—

Recently we sat in our Cabinet room at Canberra and had a conversation by every member of the Cabinet with our distinguished High Commissioner in London. I see no limit to that kind of thing, and I look forward to the day when the triumphs of science and the increasing realisation in this island that the British Commonwealth is something which goes far beyond the confines of Europe, will enable us to speak with one voice, which will be the voice of peace and indubitably the greatest and most powerful in the world.

Three Books, One Lesson

THREE important recent books, of special value to readers interested in the League, reinforce one another's lesson in striking fashion. They are: "Arms and the Covenant," by Mr. Winston Churchill (Harrap, 18s.); "Peace with the Dictators?" by Sir Norman Angell (Hamish, Hamilton, 7s. 6d.), and "The Whispering Gallery of Europe," by Major-General A. C. Temperley (Collins, 15s.).

Mr. Winston Churchill's speeches are brilliant examples of reasoned oratory. They demand an adequate defence for Great Britain and the British Commonwealth going peaceably about their creative tasks, and demonstrate the vital need, if that defence is to be effective, for the survival and the vigorous use of the League. Sir Norman Angell, with his incomparable force proves again the case for third-party judgment, whose alternative is chaos and war. General Temperley sets out, with the authority of his unique experience and a soldierly candour and moderation which conciliate and convince even his critics, the full story of the Disarmament Conference. General Temperley's facts leave little doubt that the League would have achieved immeasurably greater results had important persons really believed in it. The need is education, and therefore a stronger, more active

L.N.U. Disarmament depends on the League education of (1) the soldiers; (2) the politicians; (3) the people.

A Remarkable Englishman

ONE passage at least in General Temperley's intensely interesting book will be read with complete approval by every friend of the League, and by many to whom the League makes little appeal. He writes:

... the beginning of that long, but occasionally interrupted, collaboration with Lord Cecil which continues to-day in support of the League, though I have now retired from official life. There are many more qualified than I to give an estimate of this remarkable Englishman: I can only set down my own feelings. Lord Cecil has an extraordinarily impressive personality, perhaps the most striking of any of the great men I have ever met. He is not an orator in the strict sense of the word, but his speeches give an extraordinary feeling of sincerity and idealism which have a profound and moving effect upon an audience. He is certainly the greatest living figure at the League, as the long roll of cheers that used to greet his presence at the tribune invariably testified. The tall ascetic figure with the bowed shoulders, the magnificent head and the sensitive nervous hands, all go to complete an unforgettable picture of a man, sprung from a long line of great statesmen, who has devoted his life to a holy cause, no less than the regeneration of the world. Yet the austerity of his outlook never prevented him descending into the arena and playing the role of the astute politician when the end justified the means. I know no more subtle delegate round the table at Geneva; for he is a master of League procedure and knows every move in the game. He has an elfish sense of humour that displays itself most unexpectedly. There is, indeed, a levity about him, even at the most serious moments, which makes one wonder at times whether in his heart of hearts it is not all an extremely amusing game. He has an extraordinary detachment, as witness his proposal in the House of Lords that every town or village should have the right to dig a trench across all main roads in order to force motorists to reduce speed or break their back axles. Was it an elaborate joke or a reversion to feudalism? He appeared to be in deadly earnest. He has too individualistic a mind to run particularly well in harness; and for all his democratic views he is, I think, personally an autocrat at heart.

Lord Cecil has boundless patience and courtesy with slow-thinking people; he will always see even the humblest who desires an interview and will listen to the most rambling and incoherent statements, which he will take immense pains to unravel. In spite of the subtlety of his intellect, I have not always been able to follow him in his measurement of men or forces; but whether one agrees with him or not, one can never fail to have a real affection for him as a man and admiration for his unselfish devotion to the cause of peace.

Help in Difficult Times

Recently the secretary of the Battle Abbey L.N.U. Branch (Joan Robinson, aged 15) wrote to Lord Cecil, enclosing a cheque for £10. "This represents," she says, "the amount collected at a party held recently at the Abbey in aid of the League of Nations. I am sending this to you, as you will know best where the need is greatest. With every hope that this may help a little towards the great quest for peace in the world."

At Altrincham, Mrs. Lang, a member of the local branch, organised a Sunday concert, which was given by Mr. Carl Fuchs. £20 was raised and presented to Headquarters.



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THE WORK OF THE UNION MUST BE DONE

JUNE is always an important month for the L.N.U. The summer General Council meets then; and at the General Council are registered the strength and drive of the League movement in Great Britain.

The League itself has fallen on evil days. It has suffered blow after blow. In the House of Lords Viscount Halifax, announcing the resolve of the Government to do their utmost to save the League and make it an effectual instrument for its great purposes, has said again that not the machinery of the League has failed, but rather the determination of the League members to work it. Nevertheless the failure is a fact; and, though an occasional default of will must be expected in the carrying out of any policy and is more easily repaired than is the complete absence of the necessary means, the habitual failure of human agents is of all obstacles to success the most surely fatal. Ballot boxes and Parliament Houses do not make democracies; Hawker Furies do not make air forces. The latest example of failure to work the League machinery is the Franco-Turkish deal over the Sanjak of Alexandretta. To that border district of Syria Turkey lays claim. For 20 years France has ruled it. Now when she is conceding real self-government to the Syrian people the future of Alexandretta must be decided. Is it to be part of Syria, or part of Turkey? Or is it to have a special status? The League must approve the answer, for France holds the League's mandate for the whole of Syria, including the "autonomous" Sanjak. Turkey threatened to take what she wanted by force of arms. After long and delicate negotiations at Geneva and elsewhere an agreement was reached, in accordance with sound League principles, to find out the wishes of the inhabitants. A League election commission was appointed. July sees the commissioners returning—their task unaccomplished. They have not been able to save the electors from Turkish bullies. Behind their backs France and Turkey have struck a bargain. The election will be held, but the result is prearranged. Turkey will win. The Syrians, the Armenians, the Greeks, though they may not be outvoted, will be out-counted. If such things happen, debate about the shares of the blame which belong to the men and to the machine has little value. The only encouragement which the League can extract from a discreditable affair is that without the League the method would, perhaps, have been bloody and the outcome even more unjust. It is small consolation. Indisputably the League has fallen upon evil days.

Men or machine? From one point of view the question is not important. Especially if the right answer is: "Both." But in another light it is worth thinking about. When men in high office, in close touch with

events, say deliberately: "The machine would work, provided foresight and courage were brought to its working," they are offering advice, whether they intend to do so or not, to every agency which can range an instructed public opinion behind wise statesmanship. Twenty years ago Lord Cecil saw that an instructed public opinion was the key to a lasting peace. Perhaps when his many services to the world are correctly assessed there will stand in the first place his conviction that all the world's peoples desire peace, and his tireless labour, in and out of office, to show them how peace can be made and kept and to mobilise their support for an effectual peace policy. He used to appeal to public opinion from Geneva; at Geneva he made public opinion a present influence in League discussions. In more recent years, through the L.N.U., he has informed and led and rallied a multitude of faithful supporters. The Peace Ballot indicated that a majority of the British electorate thinks about the League what Lord Cecil thinks about it, and asks that his League policy should be adopted by the country. It was so in 1934 and 1935, when it last had a chance to record at the polls what it thought, and there is no evidence that it has since changed its mind. The machine being at hand—in large part it is his own creation—Lord Cecil has laboured to apply the only motive power which can make it work. The L.N.U. exists to generate that motive power.

Evil days for the League are evil days for the Union. But they are days also of opportunity. The need for men to set the League machine in motion and to keep it moving at a productive speed is an assurance to the Union that it is doing something of supreme value and a summons to redouble its efforts. Just because the League is freighted with humanity's highest hopes and because the wreck of the League must be an illimitable disaster, there may be moments when the Union can strike the shrewdest blow. Operating directly on public opinion, the Union and similar bodies can supply the League's immediate need. Steam is wanted; the raising of steam is the Union's business. At the General Council a quiet confidence proved that the Union's members understood the situation. True, the difficulties of the work are very great; money is hard to come by; and, though the decline in membership has been arrested, the increase is not yet marked. But difficulties and a deficit and the delay of recruits do not kill a society. What is fatal is a sense of futility. Uselessness is the prelude to death. If the work of a society is abundantly worthwhile, if the well-being of the country and the Commonwealth depends on the continuance and the success of its work, ultimate failure is excluded. The purpose of the League is, in Lord Cecil's phrase, "the happiness of mankind through peace." The Union is needed for the fulfilment of that purpose. For that purpose the members of the Union, and hundreds of thousands of men and women who are not yet members, will work hard and make heavy sacrifices.

Up and down the country the Union holds meetings great and small. Men who command the public ear, such as Mr. Winston Churchill, draw immense audiences and send them away convinced afresh that peace and security depend on the survival of the League. Little groups gather in study circles and worry out the master facts for themselves. Schools are helped to teach international affairs wisely. Month by month the British people know better.

Drug Racket in The Far East

(From Our Special Correspondent)

GENEVA, June 27.

FOR nearly three weeks the League's Advisory Committee on Opium and other Dangerous Drugs has found itself face to face with the tragic consequences, so far as the drug traffic is concerned, of Japan's *main-mise* on China.

The problem is neither a new nor a local one. It is not new, since the first symptoms of the evil have been apparent to those behind the scenes ever since Japan laid hands on Manchuria more than six years ago. It is assuredly not local, or, if it ever was, it has long ceased to be so. Year after year, at the League's Advisory Committee, the experts of Great Britain, the United States, Canada, India, and Egypt, to name but a few, have issued warnings of the terrible world evil growing up in the Far East as the direct result of Japanese aggression. This year the hideous facts have been thoroughly ventilated, and it may be said at once that, beside the picture presented of this traffic, with all its far-reaching consequences for China and for the world, the bombing of Canton sinks almost into insignificance.

Only the briefest outline can be attempted here of the terrible indictment launched mainly through the untiring efforts of the U.S. Anti-Narcotic Department.

The general conclusion must be that the Japanese have been, and are, deliberately using their influence, and the influence of the puppet "governments" which they have set up, both in Manchukuo and in the provinces of Northern China, to foster a traffic not merely in raw opium but in its infinitely more dangerous products—morphine and heroin—and this, not merely for consumption in the provinces they have occupied, but for export all over the world, chiefly to the United States and Canada.

Last week Mr. Hoo Chi-Tsai, the representative of China, gave facts and figures showing how everywhere, when the authority of the Chinese National Government was impaired or destroyed in Northern China, the activities of the drug racketeers, working in almost open collusion with the "authorities," has immeasurably increased. He was followed by Mr. Stuart J. Fuller, U.S. Narcotic Commissioner, who dotted the "i's" and crossed the "t's" with devastating effect.

The conclusions to be drawn from their detailed analyses may be summarised as follows:—

- (1) The Chinese anti-opium agencies have been systematically paralyzed by the Japanese;
- (2) The import of opium, and other narcotics has become virtually unrestricted;
- (3) The business is in the hands of a number of Japanese and Korean "rings," in intimate relation with the Japanese and other authorities;
- (4) Opium and other narcotics are being forced upon non-addicts, and Chinese workers are frequently forced to receive part of their wages in the form of narcotics.

An interesting example is Shanghai, where the "balance-sheet" of the opium and narcotics trade has been virtually an index of Chinese control or lack of control. Until the Chinese armies withdrew from Shanghai in 1937, opium prices in Shanghai were un-

precedentedly high—never less than 50 Chinese dollars per ounce. By December, 1937, the situation had changed and prices had already fallen, and in April of this year opium was easily procurable at between 9 and 16 Chinese dollars per ounce.

A further and perhaps more serious point is that Japanese consignees are importing huge quantities of raw opium from Iran, sometimes direct, sometimes through Portuguese territory at Macao. There is as yet no answer to the U.S. Narcotic Commissioner's categorical statement that on April 3 last a Japanese armed vessel landed off Macao a cargo of 1,100 chests of Iranian opium, which were conveyed under cover of night to a bank in Macao and there lodged to the account of Japanese consignees in Shanghai. Of this cargo some 500 chests have already been shipped to their destination.

It is well to reflect on the underlying horror of these figures; 1,100 chests contain 80,000 kgs. of raw opium. This amount can be made up into 8,000 kgs. of either morphine or heroin; this amount of either drug is enough to supply 164,000 addicts with their requirements for a year. This consignment is of course only one among many.

Mr. Fuller had some reason to ask the question, where is all the stuff going? Or, rather, he had no reason to ask, for he knew the answer. It is idle to suppose that the Japanese can dispose of such quantities of expensive narcotics in the regions which they have devastated and impoverished. Much of it is reaching the United States and Canada, and a certain amount goes to Europe, in the form of illicit drug supplies for addicts. Huge profits are being made this way by the Japanese and Korean rings.

A last—and most significant point. These rings work under practically no hindrance from the Japanese. But there is one highly important and interesting exception to this astonishing complacency. This at any rate is the rule imposed upon the racketeers in the Lower Yangtze Valley; in no circumstances must they sell or distribute narcotics to members of the Japanese fighting forces.

There emerges therefore from the statements of Mr. Fuller and others, a two-fold objective on the part of the Japanese authorities:

- (1) To promote profiteering in the illicit drugs traffic in all parts of the world;
- (2) To continue by all means the degradation and brutalisation of the people of China, not only by the use of opium—to which the Chinese have been for centuries accustomed—but through the means of those powerful preparations of opium which are perhaps the most potent instruments yet discovered for the destruction of any form of human civilisation.

Having observed the proceedings in Geneva with the deepest and most painful interest, I would be only too happy to make equally public any convincing refutation of the above statements, no one of which has been to any degree coloured by myself. It would be in my view, a blessed awakening from a most appalling nightmare, if the situation as presented in Geneva could somehow be clarified with that authority which men have hitherto sought from civilised Governments.

24th INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE

By JAMES H. WHITE

(Intelligence Section, L.N.U. Headquarters, Geneva, June 26)

THE 24th International Labour Conference has followed a calm and businesslike course. All the questions on the agenda, except statistics, were up for first discussion only, and this atmosphere of first readings, combined with the precarious foothold of the delegates on the slippery floors of the new buildings, exercised a restraining influence on the people's deliberations.

The Conference assembled on Thursday, June 2, and elected Dr. Waldemar Folcao, the progressive Brazilian Minister of Labour, as its President. The New World—especially the U.S.A. and Brazil, which are not members of the League—took a prominent, if not a leading part, throughout the work of the Conference. Miss Frances Perkins, President Roosevelt's Secretary of State for Labour, deserves special congratulations on crossing the Atlantic to address the Conference and thus fulfil a personal promise given to Mr. Butler.

The thorniest question at issue in the Conference was, as usual, that of hours of work. The method which had been followed since 1935 of introducing the 40-hour week—industry by industry—was proving too slow for the workers, for if the I.L.O. had persisted in it, it would have taken 20 years to extend the benefits of shorter hours to all branches of industry and commerce. It was therefore decided that the Conference should discuss a generalisation of shorter hours with a view to a Convention next year, which will apply something like the 40-hour week to all industry, commerce, and offices. Even so, however, hours of work in transport and coal mines will have to be tackled separately. Already, this year, a special conference on the coal industry has prepared a number of points relating to hours of work in coal mines on which governments are to be consulted.

Hours of work in road transport are so vitally important from the point of view not only of increased leisure for the workers, but also from that of the safety of road-users, that it has appeared as a separate item on the agenda of the General Conference. Two separate problems are being thrashed out in the committee which is dealing with this question. One is the problem of limiting continuous driving time, so that bus and taxi-drivers are never liable to become exhausted at the wheel. The other problem is the limitation of total hours of work of road transport workers. This has been the most difficult item on the agenda and it has not yet been disposed of.

The Conference has also been discussing the regulations of the contracts of employment of native workers. It will suggest to the Government various safeguards to make sure that the native really understands the contract he is signing and provisions for the native

workers to enjoy an annual leave of absence from their work. The abolition of penal sanctions for workers who break their contracts will be the subject of a separate Convention.

A special committee was set up to deal with the question of migrant workers. The I.L.O. intends to see that proper information is placed at their disposal; that they are recruited by properly conducted employment exchanges; and that they receive equality of treatment in the countries to which they migrate.

One of the great obstacles in the way of shortening hours of work at the present moment is the lack of skilled labour. The question of technical education is, therefore, closely connected with the shorter working week, and it was appropriate that the two problems should be considered by the same Conference. The spirit of co-operation between employers and workers was dominant in the committee set up to regulate and encourage technical education, and there is not likely to be any great difficulty in drafting a Convention on this subject next year.

There remains the urgent but uninspiring item of statistics. The Conference has drawn up and adopted unanimously (125-0) a Convention by which governments agree to prepare their statistics on a common basis so that they can easily be compared from one country to another. In this way, many misunderstandings are likely to be avoided and a general ratification of the Convention will be most helpful to those whose business it is to compare the hours worked and wages earned in different countries. And such comparisons are a necessary starting-point for any measures to shorten the hours of work or to raise the standard of living of the peoples of the world by international action.

The 24th International Labour Conference has thus covered a very wide field and performed an enormous amount of solid work. It will not produce much immediate result, but this is only because it has been preparing a larger and a riper harvest for 1939. The debate on the Director's Report proves that the ideals of the I.L.O. are cherished not less, but more warmly than in former years. Delegates from governments, as well as from workers, urged that larger resources should be granted to the organisation to enable it to expand its activities, to devote more money to publicity, and, above all, to build up a reserve fund for future emergencies. If the members of the organisation respond to this appeal, it will indeed be possible for the I.L.O. to press forward, as the Director said in his farewell address to the Conference, "along the road which will lead to still greater achievement than it has yet known."

RECONSTRUCTING CHINA

The Story of a Great Work which is Being Wrecked by War

By PROFESSOR SHELLEY WANG, Leader of the Chinese Peasant Movement

JAPAN'S basic policy on China is contained in the notorious Memorandum submitted to the Japanese Emperor, by Baron Tanaka, the ex-Prime Minister. It is most significant for him to state: "A most dangerous element is the fact that the people of China might, one day, wake up. Even during the years of internal strife they toil patiently and try to imitate and displace our goods, thereby impairing the development of our trade. When we remember that the Chinese are our sole customers, we must beware of the day when China becomes unified and her industries become prosperous."

The National Government, after its establishment in Nanking, passed through a decade fraught with tremendous odds. Under the leadership of General Chiang Kai-Shek it has succeeded in increasing the mileage of the country's railway from less than 8,000 km. in 1925, to approximately 13,000 km. in 1936, throwing some 96,345 km. motor roads open to traffic with 16,040 km. still under construction.

To lighten the burden of the farmers, who form 80 per cent. of the population, the National Government promulgated a decree in 1934, pledging itself never again to impose a surtax on farmland, and at the same time abolishing onerous taxes and obnoxious levies in existence. More than 5,000 such taxes have been done away with, amounting to some \$50,000,000 a year in revenues.

Flood disasters have always figured as one of the most obstinate problems of China, which remains unsolved till this day. The National Government has spent huge sums for river conservancy and on repairs and constructions of old and new dykes and dams. Over £3,000,000 was spent in 1935 on conservancy projects alone.

Co-operative enterprises have been rapidly promoted. Their total number reaches 26,224, of which 12,517 were established in 1935 alone. The Ministry of Industry has also established a bureau of agricultural credits, with an authorised capital of \$60,000,000 to be equally subscribed by the people and the Government.

Progress is found in every field, educational, economic, political and social. Apart from progressive developments in areas directly under the Central Government, much reconstruction work has also been accomplished in those regions regarded as ruled under a "reign of terror," the former "Red Area." Illiteracy has been brought down from 90 per cent. to a bare 35 per cent., and better communications have been developed.

To the Japanese militarists and capitalists, there are three factors, the realisation of which should never be tolerated in China: firstly, the achievement of China's political unity; secondly, the accomplishment of her economic reconstruction; and thirdly, the unarrested progress of her cultural development. They group these three together, and brand it as an "Anti-Japanese" or "Communist" movement. Least desired of the three by Japan is China's political unity. No wonder, Japan chose her time to strike boldly, which caused the present war.

To the man in the street it would seem absurd that the fundamental policy of a country should have been based on the victimisation and destruction of another. There are, however, ample facts to prove this. When Japan attacked Shanghai in 1932, we all remember too well that her first bomb hit and completely destroyed the famous Oriental Library, and the second, the Shan Yu Weaving Mills. Since the opening of the present hostilities, Japan's bombing objectives have been invariably schools and factories. Roughly some 3,000 schools were bombed and destroyed, affecting more than half-a-million students. 1,900 factories have been annihilated, and, in Shanghai alone, 350,000 workers have been affected.

To destroy China's national and political unity, puppet regimes have been established in Peking, Nanking and Shanghai. Yet this is considered not enough. To-day, they are fully bent on reducing China's man-power, which is the mainspring of China's work of reconstruction. They are ruthlessly burning villages along the railway lines and around Hankow, and raining bombs on open towns and densely populated centres. It will always be fresh in our memory that within ten days, from May 27, Canton suffered nine severe bombardments, killing more than 5,000 innocent men, women and children.

At the recent Kuomintang Emergency Congress, a general war-time policy has been laid down. A few lines in the Fifth Part are worth mentioning, to show the future line of reconstruction work:—

1. While stressing the improvement of the life of the people, economic reconstruction should concentrate on military requirements. Based on this policy, planned economy should be carried out, investment by the Chinese people themselves and by foreigners encouraged, so as to expand the war-time resources of the country and the people.

2. With all efforts, develop the rural economy, promote the co-operative system, regulate the distribution of food, exploit all waste lands and regularise the waterways.

3. Exploit mineral resources, establish the basis of heavy industry, encourage the work of the light industries and develop handicrafts everywhere.

Apart from all the above items, especially welcome are foreign investments and technical assistance to help China's work of reconstruction during war-time.

We Chinese cling steadfastly to the priceless national unity we have achieved. We will resist to the bitter end to save our national existence, for we believe that the Chinese nation is a constructive force in its contribution to world civilisation. And it is in this belief, too, that we are carrying on with our work of reconstruction in spite of the terrible times we are going through.

In conclusion, it is our definite belief that barbarous destruction can be brought to an early end only by a wholehearted co-operation of all the constructive forces of the world.

WHAT THEN MUST WE DO?

From "Peace With The Dictators" by Sir NORMAN ANGELL (Hamish Hamilton 7/6)
The famous publicist's latest presentation of the case for collective defence by the peace keeping nations.

WE accept the principle of resistance by arms and by alliances.

There is an armed alliance (with France) as there was in 1914. But we have seen that the armed alliance failed in 1914 to prevent war because the putative enemy did not realise the potential extent of our alliances nor the ultimate purpose of our power. He feared we should use it for an encirclement, exclusions and domination which would throttle him.

What must we do if we are to avoid that error? Evidently we must make it known to the putative enemy that while we intend that our power—whether by arms or by alliances—shall be greater than his, so that war upon us will be too dangerous to be waged, we do *not* intend to use it for exclusions, monopolies, dominations, one-sided judgments constituting injustice to him.

In doing so we turn our alliance into a nascent collective system, a nucleus League of Nations and then, we are told—such is the amazing logic of present-day political discussion—that alliance becomes dangerous, provocative, dividing the world into two armed camps.

There is here just sheer confusion. Obviously the collective method, which puts power behind a principle of security and peace which is the same for the other fellow as for ourselves, is a form of power much less provocative and menacing than the old form of alliance in which our preponderance offered the rival combination no alternative but submission or resistance.

Yet letters to the *Times* warn us against the principle of the League as "coercive," as threatening to divide Europe. If Britain were victim of unprovoked aggression and fought to defend its soil, is she guilty of "coercing" the enemy? If, realising that by our own force we are so inferior to a potential enemy as to be undefended, we arrange with France for mutual assistance in resisting the enemy, is that coercion? If to two nations thus combined for common defence are added others—say a group of small States—does this addition make the "coercive" League so condemned by these letter writers?

Alliances we are going to have. If they stand for the defence not of this or that State but of a principle of defence which creates equality of right, if, that is, they are to lose the very element of danger which made them disastrous before 1914, then, and then only, it would seem do they become the thing these critics condemn.

There is no question of our entering upon obligations we cannot fulfil. It is mainly a question of following a policy which will make possible the fulfilment of the obligations already assumed, like those to France. If, without any further commitment at all, our attitude to Russia were such—and there are a hundred diplomatic ways of making it plain—that it was evident we intended to make common cause with her in resistance to further German aggression wherever it was possible and feasible to resist it; that the continuance of Germany's present policy would result in the steady

building up of an alliance so powerful that in the end she would be unable to challenge it—if that were the general tendency of British policy, the forces of peace and order would have a chance to become operative.

If the Peace Front is to be created, Britain must take the initiative. For its success depends upon the reality of the offer that preponderant power is to stand for economic equality. And Britain, as "owner" of a quarter of the world, alone can make the offers which would show that the purpose of her power is not monopolisation, but a widening of economic opportunity. The initiative there must be with us and should be taken.

The obstacles must be overcome and those nations which value freedom must combine, make of their potential power a single unit, a unification arising from the principle that an attack on one is an attack on all. But that unification of power must not be for the purpose of maintaining a situation which crystallises inequality of right; it must offer to those against whom it arms the same rights of independence, freedom, peace, economic opportunity, which it is formed to defend.

If this were done, if it became evident to those engaged in the Fascist thrust, that their policy would bring them up against the solid wall of Britain, France, Russia, Belgium, Holland, the Scandinavian States, with America as a possibility in the background, there would be no war.

And finally, because they would be unable to use war easily or safely, even Fascist States would at last turn to the cheaper, easier, and safer peaceful method which we offered them for the satisfaction of the real needs of their peoples.

Despite appearances, the mass of our people will not yield indefinitely to the Hitlerian conception of Right. Resistance may become confused. It may take some form of civil war. But in order to resist in one way or another thousands will know how to die, as thousands die in Spain at this moment.

If resistance is to be bloodless, as it might be, power, assuredly is necessary. But if power is to be effective there must be co-operation with like-minded free men in Europe. But there must be something more; something much more difficult. We must know broadly what we mean by "Right"; in what way our conception differs from Hitler's, and must not fall into his error of maintaining for ourselves a "Right" that deprives others of it.

Peace will not come by sporadic, partial, piece-meal refusals to fight about anything at all; by refusing to be moved by any meanness or any horror. Nor will it come by arming in panic without knowing to what end. It will come when men are clearer as to what Right is, and decide that their force shall be the instrument of naught else but that purpose.

There is no refuge but in the maintenance of that purpose. To surrender it, to bargain it away for a momentary immunity from the violence of those who would destroy it, is, in the end, to destroy ourselves.

AUSTRIA AFTER THREE MONTHS OF HITLER

By WILLI FRISCHAUER,

formerly London correspondent of a leading Vienna Newspaper and author of "Twilight in Vienna."

WERE we to rely only on the proclamations and speeches by the Nazi rulers of Austria we could still form a very definite picture of conditions in the new German province three months after the absorption. Add to these official sources the numerous reports from wholly independent and reliable people and the picture is complete.

The impoverished population greeted the change because they thought any change would be for the better. From the Union with the great German Reich they naturally expected a vast extension of their markets. From elimination of the Jews from business and public life a gap which would have to be filled by Nazis. Industrialists were waiting for huge orders from Germany.

Some of these hopes have undoubtedly been realised. The establishment of Nazi organisations has created a new bourgeoisie of party officials as it did in Germany. The Austrian peasant's opportunity to sell his products across the frontier was greeted with joy. Austrian industry received some of the big orders and was at once drawn into the orbit of German rearmament. The dismissal of Jews really created the hoped-for gap, although here difficulties arose because the dismissed could not be replaced by equally skilled substitutes. The young Austrian Nazis were sent to Labour camps (wages: five pence per day).

There was still enough enthusiasm among the class of Nazis who had emerged from illegality into the open. But for all the others there was not much in store. The really big jobs have not been entrusted to Austrians. They were not considered by the German rulers capable of carrying through the vast schemes of reconstruction they had planned for Austria. German bosses took the helm in every important sphere of Austria's life. They sit at the chairman's desk as managers of the post office, the railway, and the radio. They have taken over the leadership in industry and commerce. They are at the head of the Austrian police and army. They control the banks and the businesses.

Their task is to apply German methods to Austria and to the Austrians. Police, army, and civil servants are not trustworthy. They are repaying the mistrust. Awakened from a short spell of Nazi mania they are remembering their catholic traditions, the laws of God, and their own dissolved organisations. And they are not very helpful to their new masters. These, however, are going ahead with their task of eliminating everything that is Austrian in Austria, until the country is completely acclimatised to German character.

Here the Austrian objections grew more and more visible. The passive resistance of the Austrian State officials was followed by suicides of the young Austrian Nazis, whose idea of work and promotion was not identical with a "career" in a Labour camp. The Austrian Legion (of former Nazi fugitives) after four or

five years in Germany brought back nothing but their fighting spirit. Together, with the demobilised illegal S.A. they have proved a heavy liability for the new régime. They were incapable of filling the posts which persecution of the Jews and political opponents has created for them. They have also been so engrossed in revolutionary activity, in playing at soldiers, that reality now seemed drab and unbearable. Small wonder that they cannot leave revolution alone even after their own particular revolution has succeeded. One of the most interesting symptoms of this position is the reappearance of the former illegal Nazi news-sheet—the *Oesterreichische Beobachter*—again as an illegal paper, its policy directed against the Austrian Nazi leaders and their German masters. The spirits which have been conjured up for so many years cannot be banned.

Improvement in the industrial situation of Austria brought about by the introduction of the German schemes benefits a few only. No doubt unemployment will decrease, new posts will be filled, big works will be undertaken. But with the improvement in the labour position goes a different development: Austria's standard of living has been high in spite of economic difficulties. Germany's standard of living has decreased steadily in spite of extraordinary industrial activity. These divergencies are now being ruthlessly acclimatised. Berlin is careful that the Viennese should not enjoy anything which the inhabitants of the Reich's capital are denied. The Berlin slogan of "Guns instead of butter" has now a new Vienna edition: "People's car instead of whipped cream."

But both Viennese and Austrians love their whipped cream on the cheapest cup of coffee. And they love the crisp rolls and the white bread that used to go with it. It has disappeared from the Austrian menu, as have many other products of the Austrian soil that are making up the shortage of the agricultural products in other parts of Germany. Goering's demand that there should be nothing of the proverbial lightheartedness during working hours, since jollity at work amounted to laziness, has not improved their spirits.

Austrians have awakened after the first three months to a stern reality. But their German rulers are not less disappointed at the unexpected difficulties which pile themselves up in consequence of the Austrian inadaptability.

I have deliberately left out of my review the victims of active Nazi persecution. There is no need any more to describe the plight of the Jews in Austria. Their fate cries out to Heaven. Prey to an orgy of destruction and cruelty aimed at their complete annihilation they are going through a period incomparably worse than anything known in the long history of Jewish tragedies.

Twilight in Vienna, over the whole of Austria, which I have tried to describe some time ago, has changed to darkest night.

The Notes of the L.N.U. General Council

Friendliness, Balance, Reason

By an Observer in the Gallery

It was a friendly General Council. The nearly 300 delegates of L.N.U. branches, who spent three strenuous days at the Conway Hall, Holborn, got through a vast amount of business. Despite the stress and the weather, they continued in the best of tempers from the beginning to the end. They refused to despair of the Union or the League. They recognised the defeats their cause had suffered since 1931. But they were strong in their resolve to make every effort and every sacrifice needed to repair the damage and to construct an effectual instrument for the defence of world peace and the peaceful remedy of just grievances.

The first note of the General Council was friendliness. The second was balance, the alertness which kept in mind all the time the two linked aspects of a full League policy—peaceful change and collective defence—the one as important as the other. The third, a logical consequence of the other two, was a readiness to listen to argument and to come in the end to the conclusion which reason advocated. At some earlier General Councils passion has played a major part. Last month partisanship made only a few and fugitive appearances. There was no attempt to manipulate inconvenient facts, to bend some, to ignore others and so to save a favourite doctrine from open discredit. Those critics would have been astonished who delight to denounce the L.N.U. as a body of woolly-minded theorists, indifferent to the real needs of the world, anxious only to fit it to their chosen forms of words and blandly prepared to cut it and squeeze it and shape it in the process. They escaped a surprise by being absent, which is perhaps as well for them. Otherwise they might have felt obliged to develop a new line of attack; and hitherto they have revealed no hint of the inventiveness required to fashion more than one arrow.

The character of the General Council was shown also in its personal preferences. The leaders to whom it gave its warmest approval, and whose advice it most readily adopted, were just those who are best described by the adjectives friendly, balanced, reasonable.

To begin with, of course, there was Lord Cecil. Lord Cecil has enjoyed many successes at General Councils. He has long exercised a decisive authority. Respecting the statesman for his wisdom as they love the man for his rich humanity, the representatives of the branches have grown accustomed to follow his lead even on occasions when they are not wholly convinced that he is right. Last month saw an unbroken unanimity of President and Union. The opening speech from the chair, the later addresses introducing the resolution on Czechoslovakia and pleading for peace in Spain, and finally the support of Lady Parmoor's appeal for a habitual remembrance of the moral basis of the League,

were all masterly in their simplicity. The most effectual was the last; his audience responded as even the General Council of the Union has seldom responded, even to Lord Cecil, when he said:

"I am constantly amazed at the casual way in which people who have entered into contracts announce that they have no idea of carrying out certain provisions which they do not like. I was brought up in a very different school. I was taught that so long as you are bound by a contract you must carry it out.

"We should be horror-struck at the things which are going on in Spain and the Far East. You read to-day of the great flood in China, and the only doubt is whether it is 50,000 or 300,000 people who have perished. Yet there is no apparent movement of horror in this country.

"It is a strange thing for a lifelong, steadfast Tory to say, but I wish we could have Mr. Gladstone back for just a week. Imagine the way in which Mr. Gladstone would have moved the whole conscience of this country. He would have made, at any rate, some vehement protest against what Japan is doing, and would not have refrained from withdrawing our ambassador from Tokio."

These passages set the crown upon the General Council's work. Two days earlier the lead which was followed willingly throughout had been given in Lord Cecil's opening speech, when a crowded audience broke into cheers at his definition of the League's object as "the happiness of mankind through peace." Enforcing a text familiar in his mouth, Lord Cecil called for effort and sacrifice. He has always believed in the inspiration of the great task. In his thinking a cause worth serving is its servants' best reward. He pointed to the example of the Dictators. Their ideals were infinitely lower, moreover, poorer than the League's. Yet, because they insist that their people shall work and suffer to strengthen and enrich something outside themselves and above themselves, an immense enthusiasm is developed.

The same inflexible hold upon essentials was revealed in Lord Cecil's plea for peace in Spain and his resistance to the passion of youth for fighting it out at long length and at all costs until the Spanish Government wins a complete victory. The proposer of the President's re-election had praised him for being tolerant, but not without limit and the reply had been a reminder of the traditional compliment "a fair man, but not too fair." In the debate on Spain, Lord Cecil drew firmly the line beyond which his tolerance does not extend. He had, he declared, no prejudice in favour of the Spanish Insurgents. His prejudice was all for the other side. But far stronger was his prejudice for peace. With horror he described what was happen-

ing—the bombs from the air, the ruin, the mutilation, the massacre—and what would happen if the struggle continued. A seeming victory would be followed by vast slaughter and would settle nothing, but only make a settlement more difficult. The policy of the Union must always be peace; when war was threatened the Union must work to prevent it, and where it had begun, to bring it to an end.

Youth retorted with chivalrous partizanship. Convinced that justice was on the side of the Spanish people, whose champions it saw in the Spanish Government, it demanded victory for the people. Miss Gale, of Edinburgh, who led the opposition to the Executive, drew applause with her bold declaration that peace must be founded upon justice. A mere cessation of fighting on terms favourable to General Franco and his foreign masters would not be peace. After a pause the Spanish people would resume the struggle. She painted a sympathetic picture of Spain tomorrow, the only tolerable Spain, rebuilt on the programme of the Spanish Government, a Spain free, educated, democratic, prosperous.

Mr. Croasdel, whose good sense and eloquence have often captured the General Council, asked why youth should support the League of Nations Union instead of the Peace Pledge Union. Because it demanded not peace at any price, but that aggression should not pay. The Youth Groups were gaining many recruits; their appeal was their bold unambiguous stand against the war makers. He spoke in the name of the more than 12,000 young people who had gathered from all parts of London the previous Sunday evening, at the Empress Rink Stadium, where 600 new members had joined the League of Nations Union.

Youth shut its ears to the arguments of such devoted friends of the Democratic cause in Spain as Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., and Mr. Philip Noel Baker, M.P. But the General Council decided for mediation. Dr. Murray, the most conciliatory of men, was a little irritated by Youth's obstinacy. He could not even hazard a guess at the grounds of its military confidence. In his reply he produced proofs from his own experience that there was a hunger for peace on both sides in Spain.

The Chairman's particular personal triumph was at the moment when he ceased to be Chairman and became Joint President with Lord Cecil. He excels in the grace with which he encounters these occasions. Stupid men, says Turgot, are never simple; only a fine mind and a fine character can attain simplicity. Deeply moved by the tribute to his services, Dr. Murray disclaimed the many compliments paid to him, but with proud modesty asserted that he had been faithful to the

cause. An affirmative roar was his audience's answer. In a characteristic quotation he compared himself to Balaam's Ass; he had borne burdens for the Union many years and would go on bearing them.

The Earl of Lytton, Dr. Murray's successor as Chairman of the Executive Committee; Mrs. Dugdale, who on submitting a resolution on refugees demonstrated in detail how great a work of succour desperately clamoured to be done and how the League was the only agency which could do it, what leadership Great Britain could provide and what stimulus the L.N.U. had applied to that leadership; Lady Layton, who spoke cogently on Abyssinia; Lady Parmoor, who won unanimous assent with her eloquent contention that the League ideal could prevail only if it were recognised as a moral ideal; Mr. Behrens, of Manchester, and Commander Oliver, of Hampshire, were others who played a vigorous and accomplished part in the discussions. Lord Lytton was perhaps happiest in his brief intervention in support of Lady Layton. In defence of the intended acceptance of an Italian conquest of Abyssinia, the country had been told it must face the facts. But when it asked what were the facts there was no answer. And these unproved facts which realism must face were to be recognised on condition only—the condition being the fulfilment by Italy of promises she had given to Britain in the distinct matter of Spain. Here was a strange realism.

Lady Parmoor lamented the decline of morality in international dealings and called upon her hearers to enforce the authority of a nobler conception. She told them:

"If civilisation is to be saved it is essential to recreate a world conscience on the spiritual basis of the League. Even people in high places seem content with a philosophy which jumps from point to point without any basis of the deep principles of morality.

"The house-to-house canvass should be made the opportunity for driving the point home to the public; the Churches and other corporate bodies should be approached with a view to awakening the Christian conscience.

At one point in the General Council's discussions Lord Cecil recalled a Parliamentary maxim that a course agreed upon by the two Front Benches was a bad course. Remembering that maxim he looked upon a joint recommendation by Mr. Behrens and Commander Oliver with suspicion. Commander Oliver was a most gallant leader of opposition. Undismayed by failure he raised his voice many times in courageous protest. It was the final proof that the General Council was above all a friendly council; that he became in the end a general favourite.

SOME RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE NINETEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION HELD IN LONDON FROM JUNE 15 to 17

The General Council of the League of Nations Union.

Czechoslovakia.

While recognising that it is of great importance that a system of equality and justice for all racial, linguistic and religious minorities should be maintained in Czechoslovakia as elsewhere,

Nevertheless, in view of the current reports that pressure is being put on Czechoslovakia to accept changes in her political independence and territorial integrity on pain of forcible military or economic action, in defiance of the principles laid down in the Covenant of the League of Nations,

The General Council of the League of Nations Union holds strongly that no encouragement should be given to such pressure, and that the British Government should, in concert with other peace-loving States, give notice that they would regard any aggression on Czechoslovakia, whether by military or economic measures, as an unfriendly act to themselves.

Abyssinia.

Recalls the pledges given to the Abyssinian Government in the Covenant and otherwise to respect and preserve her political independence and

Deeply regrets that H.M. Government, in breach of such obligations, should have been willing to purchase Italian friendship at the expense of Abyssinia and to do so without even demanding disinterested evidence that the Italian occupation of that country was effective.

In view of the conflicting reports about the present situation in Abyssinia, the Council would welcome the appointment by the League of Nations of a Committee of Inquiry into the facts.

Spain.

Convinced that the continued intervention of foreign Powers in the Spanish civil war constitutes a grave danger to the peace of Europe, and that the closing of the land frontiers of Spain in the name of a policy of non-intervention which is so openly violated, constitutes an injustice to the Spanish Government,

Believing that the recent decision of the Non-Intervention Committee to send neutral observers to Spain will not secure the withdrawal of foreign troops while fighting is going on,

Urges H.M. Government, in concert with other members of the League of Nations, to press for an armistice for the purpose of securing the immediate and complete withdrawal from Spain of all foreign troops and technicians, and in the meantime to recognise the rights of the Spanish Government to import the arms necessary for its defence.

Further, the Council

Welcomes the statement of Lord Halifax at Geneva deploring the long-drawn agony of the Spanish war and suggesting that peace might be sought through international action by the League of Nations or otherwise, and hopes that H.M. Government will not allow this suggestion to fall to the ground but will make it a definite part of their policy and use the whole of their influence to secure that it is put into effect.

The Far East.

Recalling that the Assembly of the League, by a unanimous vote, has not only condemned the Japanese aggression upon China, but has specifically called upon each Member State to afford such help to China as it finds possible, and

Observing that this vote has been emphatically endorsed by the Council at its last meeting,

Begs His Majesty's Government to consider again what steps it may take, with or without the co-operation of other nations, towards fulfilling its obligations under the Covenant and bringing the war to an end; for example:

- (i) the provision of financial assistance to China;
- (ii) the provision of food or medical requirements to China;
- (iii) imposition, with the co-operation of other nations, of such economic pressure on Japan as will most speedily put an end to her aggression, particularly the prohibition of all imports coming from Japan, and the refusal of all military supplies, including oil, to that country.

In the meantime, the Council recommends members of the Union to continue and increase their efforts to produce in this country a general refusal to buy Japanese goods, on the lines which have already had marked success in America.

The Massacre of Non-Combatants.

Echoing the sentiments of the whole civilised world, expresses its loathing of the deliberate massacre of non-combatants from the air, as practised on the populations of Guernica, Barcelona, Granollers, and other towns and villages in Spain, and on a still greater scale upon Canton in China;

Calls attention to the grave danger that the human conscience may, through force of custom, become indifferent or callous in the presence of practices which would have filled a previous generation with horror; and

Devoutly hopes that, under whatever provocation, the Chinese and Spanish Governments will continue to refrain from making reprisals in kind.

Collective Security.

Appalled by the latest examples of air warfare, urges upon H.M. Government the pressing necessity for an international agreement to abolish all national military aviation, to place civil aviation under international control, and to establish an international air police force in order to prevent the abuse of civil aviation; and in view of the developments of aggressive international action,

Urges the vital necessity of taking all possible preliminary steps to facilitate sanctions, both economic and military, so that these shall be as prompt and predictable as possible and so that the practical certainty of overwhelming power being immediately available shall prevent war from breaking out at all.

The Council believes that by these means the States Members of the League can contribute to a system of international policing as a step towards a more complete system of international police action.

International Control of Civil Aviation.

While not opposing British re-armament in present circumstances, Urges that the policy of the Union should be directed to advocating and pressing upon the public and H.M. Government the necessity for making a determined effort to deal with the air menace along the lines of Article 35A of the British Draft Convention of 1933, which reads:—

"The Permanent Disarmament Commission . . . shall immediately devote itself to the working out of the best possible schemes providing for (a) the complete abolition of military and naval aircraft, which must be dependent on the effective supervision of civil aviation to prevent its misuse for military purposes."

And further to this,

Urges that H.M. Government should without delay prepare a scheme for such supervision or internationalisation of civil aircraft as a preliminary step towards the total abolition of military and naval aircraft by international agreement.

Colonial Territories.

(a) Being convinced that the Mandates system for colonial territories is superior to national administration without international control,

Advocates the transfer where practicable of non-self-governing colonial territories held by Great Britain and other Powers to the Mandates system subject to two fundamental principles

- (1) Any change must be on such terms as will safeguard the existing interests of the populations concerned, and must be subject to the free consent of these populations.
- (2) It must secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of all Members of the League.

(b) Viewing with grave concern the dearth of population over many colonial areas, while many home lands manifest equally grave overcrowding,

And believing that both conditions, each equally a menace to the peace and security of the world, can be considerably mitigated by international co-operation

Recommends that the Executive Committee shall give serious consideration to these and all associated problems.

"Recognition" of Governments.

Convinced of the importance of co-operation between States in all matters affecting their international relations, and

Realising the dangers to international peace which may arise from States acting divergently in recognising or refusing to recognise other Governments,

Urges H.M. Government to propose to the next Assembly of the League of Nations the drawing up and signing of an International Convention obliging the signatories to refrain from recognising any Government, or from withdrawing recognition from any Government, until after the matter has been submitted to the League, and the Council or the Assembly has had an adequate opportunity to seek to secure joint action by States Members, together with any States Non-Members that may be prepared to co-operate with the League for this purpose.

Refugees.

Notes that the Council of the League of Nations has made its own the plan which this Union and the International Federation of League of Nations Societies has consistently proposed, namely, that there should be a single organisation, under a High Commissioner, to supervise the legal protection of and co-ordinate assistance for all refugees recognised as such by the League of Nations, and that this plan will be laid before the Assembly of the League at its next session;

Expresses its satisfaction at H.M. Government's advocacy of this solution; and

Earnestly hopes that the Assembly of the League of Nations will unanimously adopt a detailed plan based upon these principles, so that the necessary and urgent task of aiding and settling the Armenian, Russian, German and Austrian refugees, which the League had rightly undertaken, may be honourably fulfilled;

Welcomes the proposal of the United States for joint action between the Governments to facilitate the migration of political refugees from Germany and Austria; and

Trusts that the International Conference convened for this purpose at Evian on July 6 will put an end to the present deplorable practice of closing frontiers to these unfortunate victims of tyranny and expelling them from one country after another, and will result in satisfactory schemes of permanent settlement for them.

The Van Zeeland Report.

Respectfully urges H.M. Government to give early and full consideration to the Van Zeeland Report, and suggests that H.M. Government should take the initiative by inviting other Governments, including those of France, the United States of America, Germany, Italy, and the U.S.S.R., to prepare an agenda for the use of a Conference to be called for the purpose of entering into a Pact for International Economic Collaboration.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union further urges that the four questions outlined by M. Van Zeeland be submitted to the above-mentioned Governments without delay. These four questions are:—

- (1) Are you agreed to take part in an attempt at International Economic collaboration?
- (2) Do you, with this object in view, accept as a basis for discussion the main lines of the present Report?
- (3) What are the points in this respect, if any, which you would wish to see either omitted or emphasised?
- (4) What points not mentioned in this Report do you think it desirable to include within the scope of the attempt to be undertaken?

Minorities.

(1) Welcomes the action taken by His Majesty's Government and the French Government in respect of the treatment of minorities in Roumania;

(2) Urges His Majesty's Government to do everything in their power to improve the conditions of distressed minorities in Europe, by representations to the Governments ruling such minorities, and by action in the League Council and Assembly;

(3) Urges the Branches of the League of Nations Union to devote more study to the minority problem.

International Morality.

Recalling the resolution on the moral basis of international relations passed at its meeting in December, 1934,

Insists upon the importance of States Members of the League so acting in their relations with other nations that their behaviour will always be consistent with the principles of co-operation, liberty and justice on which the League is based and not with the pursuit of national self-interest at the expense of the rest of the world.

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CZECHS AND GERMANS

By H. P. S. MATTHEWS

"Czechs and Germans" A study of the struggle in the historic Provinces of Bohemia and Moravia. By Elizabeth Wiskemann. Royal Institute of International Affairs and Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d.

FIVE years ago, when the National Socialists took power in Germany, the question of the relations between Czechs and Germans in the Czechoslovak republic was a closed book to all save a few specialists. Even as recently as the summer of 1935, when the Henlein Party secured the support of 70 per cent. of the German minority at the polls, the existence of that minority of 3,250,000 came as a shock to many people. We had been accustomed to think of the Polish Corridor or of South Tyrol as the principal German minority questions.

Even to-day, when the subject has been under discussion for many months and has seldom been far from the forefront of the international situation, many people think of the Czech-German question as being in its essence post-War. One of the great merits of Miss Wiskemann's study is that she shows the struggle as being essentially an old conflict, dating back many centuries and embittered by memories which go back to the Hussite wars and even earlier.

Rivalry between Czechs and Germans has pervaded almost every aspect of life—political, economic, cultural and religious. Even the rival sporting organisations of the two nationalities have carried the conflict into the playing-field. Herr Henlein, elected Chairman of the "Sudeten German Party" on the dissolution of Nazi and Nationalist German parties in 1933, was himself president of the German "Turnverein," or union of gymnastic clubs, which competed with the Czech "Sokol" in its field of the national struggle.

Miss Wiskemann examines the question with a thoroughness which gives the book a very real interest. Her study is illuminating, not merely as an examination of the particular minority question of the German in Czechoslovakia, but as throwing light on the question of minorities as a whole. Minority problems are, in essence, psychological. The question whether good or bad relations shall subsist between a minority and a governing race depends upon the atmosphere in the area in question quite as much as upon the legislation of the State in which the minority lives. Unfortunately, it is usually the case that one arrogant or corrupt official can more than undo the good work of ten men of good will. Friction is essentially self-perpetuating, every act of discrimination or injustice leading to some counter-measure, every affront contributing to the atmosphere

in which tempers become frayed. Only an exceedingly wise and exceedingly firm government can combat the natural tendency of every minority problem to maintain a perpetual feeling of tension.

The age-old struggle between the two races has been fought with many and varied weapons. To the Czechs the present German areas are the "Germanised" areas, for they claim that they are German only because the successive invasions of German colonists have driven back the Czechs from their former strongholds.

Under the old Austria-Hungary the battle was fought out in Vienna, in Prague, and in local municipalities. In local affairs the property qualification worked in favour of the Germans, for land-holders and industrialists tended to be German.

In matters of education the Germans enjoyed advantages, and the Czechs were hard put to it to secure a schooling for their children in their native tongue. Many of the excesses committed during the post-War period by the Czechs become understandable when one remembers their sufferings in pre-War Austria. Miss Wiskemann speaks of one Czech friend of hers who could remember the insults

offered to his mother because of her inability to speak German.

There is singularly little difference between the pre-War and the post-War problem, saving only that the roles are reversed. The Germans, formerly the governing element, have become the minority. But the struggle continues with much the same weapons as before. In the economic field the Czechs increase their share in the control of industry. The minority schools are now German, instead of Czech, but, where the Central Government builds a Czech school, and the local municipality a German school, there is often cause for complaint, for the means at the disposal of the Central Government are often more lavish than those of which the municipality can dispose.

To-day it may be argued that the minority problem as such has tended to disappear behind the greater problem of the relations between Czechoslovakia and the Great Germany which has emerged through the Anschluss. Many people believe that, though Herr Henlein might well come to an agreement with M. Hodza, the driving force from Berlin will compel him to adopt an intransigent attitude.

SCOTLAND

SWITZERLAND

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HOLIDAYS!

The Union's travel programme for 1938 includes Edinburgh, with a visit to the Empire Exhibition at Glasgow, a series of holiday conferences in Geneva in August, a Youth Groups' Expedition and a visit to the League Assembly in September. There is also a very interesting study tour in Czechoslovakia during August, led by Mr. Alec Wilson.

Send a post-card to the
LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION, 15, Grosvenor Crescent,
London, S.W.1,
asking for the leaflet that describes these activities.

For Peace and Freedom

On the evening of June 12, the L.N.U. Youth Groups brought together 12,000 men and women in a great rally at the Empress Stadium Hall, Earl's Court.

"THE TRIUMPH OF PEACE": as the rich music of the trumpets rang out and the vast audience rose to take the personal pledge in support of the League and the victims of the aggressors at the end of the Great Rally at Empress Hall, this was the dominant note which expressed the whole Rally and the whole Emergency Campaign. The Rally itself was a triumph for those who are working for peace. Nearly 10,000 in the hall, another 2,000 outside—80 per cent. of them Youth—a demonstration of such vividness and colour has not been seen before in all our work. It was something new and something vitally important. The vast hall was alive with imagination and a passion to see that the united forces of Young People should be carried forward and convinced for collective action.

YOUTH PLEDGE

"I pledge my support to the Emergency Campaign uniting Britain's youth for peace and freedom.

"I pledge my support for united action by the peaceful nations to stop the aggressors.

"I will do all in my power to help the victims of aggression.

"I will do all in my power to unite young people for action through the League to defend the freedom of Spain, China and Czechoslovakia."

Right at the beginning the note was set, when cheers rang out for the Archbishop of York's message of greeting to the Rally, which ended:

"It is immensely important at the present time to secure that all the forces standing for Peace are really united and make their voices heard."

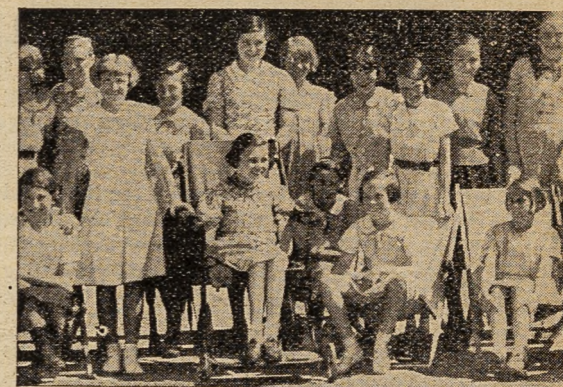
"Do you realise just what you have done?" an acute observer asked us after the Rally. We believe we do. We have brought a new life, a new purpose to the Youth Peace Movement, which finds its expression in that over six hundred young people then and there signed forms to join the Youth Groups. Such a thing could only have been done by the united forces of the youth organisations, and it is one of the great achievements of the Youth Groups that this has been done under their leadership.

Organised entirely by young people, youth speakers—whose average age is 25 years—and with them that great international figure, the friend of all youth, Paul Robeson, expressing by his presence and his songs everything for which youth is longing and working to-day—this was our rally.

The trumpet has sounded; the call has gone forth; Youth has pledged its service to Peace and Freedom, pledged itself to make collective action work.

V. D. J.

Hundreds of Crippled Girls urgently need a holiday by the sea



For several years, through the kindness of our supporters, we have been able to give some hundreds of crippled girls a fortnight's holiday at JOHN GROOM'S HOLIDAY HOME, CLACTON-ON-SEA.

Most of the girls have some serious disability. It is a touching sight to see them starting off for the beach. Some are pushed in chairs, others hobble along with sticks and crutches. Yet all are merry and bright and in the highest of spirits, for this fortnight's respite is, to them, just like "a little bit of heaven." You would not find a happier party anywhere.

We want to do the same again this Summer for as many cripples as possible. How many depends, of course, upon the contributions received. Will you help? The girls are anxiously looking forward to it. Whatever happens WE MUST NOT DISAPPOINT THEM! Included in this seaside holiday plan are girls from our own Crippleage, 90 per cent. of whom are unemployable in the ordinary channels of industry. You can read about the good work these cripples are doing by sending for Latest Report, or you can come and see them making beautiful artificial flowers at Edgware Way, Edgware, any day except Saturday.

The "Church of England Newspaper" says:

"It would be difficult to find anything with a stronger appeal than to help these cripples to have the pleasure of a holiday."

Please send contributions to "Cripples Holiday Fund,"

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

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

WORKING OUT A WORLD POLICY

By G. CARRITT, Secretary, L.N.U. National Youth Committee

THE SECOND YOUTH CONGRESS WILL BE HELD AT VASSAR COLLEGE, NEW YORK STATE, from AUGUST 15 to 24.

THE hundreds of delegates from all over the world who gather at Vassar College, New York State, for the Second World Youth Congress in August, will face an even more dangerous situation, presenting more difficult problems, than when the first Congress met in 1936.

Since the first Congress in Geneva, when delegations from 36 nations and 11 international youth movements took a decision to build the World Youth Congress Movement, great developments have taken place both within the youth movement of the different nations and within the World Youth Congress Movement itself.

The agenda for New York is worded in phrases conforming with the official aims of the Congress, which are:

To provide an opportunity to exchange ideas.
To discuss practical means to collaborate.

To strengthen the links between youth themselves and between youth and the League of Nations.

And to reach an agreement as to a common policy.

It is possible, however, to foresee the issues around which the most important discussions will centre. First, and perhaps of greatest importance, will be discussion of the rôle of U.S.A. in world politics in general and European affairs in particular. Decision on this matter rests in the last instance with the American people, but it may have far-reaching effects that right in the heart of the classic land of isolation, several thousand picked American young men and women will discuss the factors determining this vital issue with members of their own generation from the Central European States and Balkans, the Latin American countries and the great democracies. If it is true that the foreign policy of the U.S.A. is based on the continued validity of the Monroe doctrine, then the logic of enlightened self-interest will play its part, and the evidence of witnesses from South America may weigh heavily in North American counsels.

Second in importance is the question of colonies and raw materials. Can the world be redivided in the interests of peace? A number of points of view will be presented at the Congress in answer. There are those from all countries in the world who take their stand on religious and humanitarian principles. They believe in the practice of world brotherhood. To them it is unacceptable that any great power basing its principles of Government on a world philosophy of racial superiority, should be permitted to take back its "right" to exploit the labour and recruit the man-power of the African people. Further, if exploita-

tion of colonies and access to raw materials is secured as the absolute right of these aggressors, then that which they lack now in the way of materials for war, and that of which economic sanctions would quickly deprive them, would be put at their disposal, and the possibility of collective defence against aggression would be rendered still more difficult.

This point of view will be repudiated by others who support the proposals of the Van Zeeland report, which implies that credit facilities and raw materials should be made available to Germany and Italy, and that the mandates system should be developed under international control. Already, for too long, such questions involving the future of millions of our fellows in India, Africa and the colonial territories have been discussed by us and not by them. This time the British Youth Peace Assembly, with the co-operation of all its supporting organisations, is making an effort to raise sufficient money to provide for the fare of delegates from the Bantu and West Nigerian Youth Movements. Funds for this purpose are still urgently needed. Without them we can only come to inadequate decisions.

At this great gathering of the youth of the world, which is sponsored and welcomed by leading figures in the religious and political life of many nations, and which will be graced by the presence of Mrs. Roosevelt, the British delegation carries a weight of responsibility. We believe, and rightly believe, that circumstances place upon our country the duty to lead. By that we mean, the extent of the Empire, and the resources of our country are such that our falling prestige can be re-established and the honour of our people again raised high if we present a policy which can be accepted with confidence by those who have, in a spirit of desperation and defeatism, lost hope in the possibility of co-operation through the League, to check aggression and establish justice. It is not arrogant nor quixotic to propose this. In all earnestness we face these grave times and ask what our contribution shall be.

Before we leave for America, the British delegates will meet to discuss the questions on the agenda and the proposals we shall make.

In the United States and Canada, the maximum number of 50 delegates and 50 observers have already been chosen. 2,000 members of the American Youth Movement will camp round. The attitude of the American delegation to the problems of the Congress Agenda will be determined at an important convention of youth leaders in Cleveland, Ohio, on July 4.

For the first time, the youth of Latin America is taking the chance to enter into close contact with the youth of the rest of the world. 50 delegates are expected from Mexico and strong delegations from Cuba and Porto Rico. Delegations are coming from Chile, Peru, Colombia and Venezuela, and it is hoped

Wanted—Women Writers!

By MARGERY TUDOR
(A Successful Woman Journalist)

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * * * *

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from the Argentine. The biggest student federation in Latin America, the C.E.A.D.A., is holding its Conference immediately after the Congress to hear reports of it. This will assure strong student delegations.

The response from the East is the most remarkable. 15 delegates are coming direct from China, 6 or 7 Chinese students from Europe, and about 80 will join them in America. India will be represented by at least two delegates who will travel direct from India and the same number are coming from Indonesia. Two delegates are coming from Burma and one will represent the Buddhist youth. From Palestine, both Jews and Arabs will be present.

Three white South African delegates have already been nominated and a congress is being called at the end of this month in South Africa, from which it is hoped a Bantu delegate will be sent. The West Africans are making strenuous efforts to raise the money for their two delegates. We in England are doing what we can to help the youth of Africa by raising a fund.

Three Australian delegates, one from New Zealand, are on their way to the Congress.

France and Czechoslovakia will be sending delegations of 20 each. A very welcome piece of news is that Roumania is sending 29 representatives. Yugoslavia and Bulgaria are working hard to raise the money for their six appointed delegates.

The smaller countries are not behindhand. Three delegates are coming from Belgium, equal numbers from Norway, Sweden and Denmark, and one or two each from Finland and the Baltic States. Poland is sending eight delegates, who will be bringing with them detailed plans for a World Agricultural Youth Conference to be held in Warsaw next year. Greece, Hungary and Switzerland will be represented by at least two delegates each.

Both the Italian and the German Youth were invited, but they refused.

Spain, despite the war which demands so much of the Youth Movement, has appointed 15 delegates.

Five delegates will be coming from the Soviet Union.

Finally, the B.Y.P.A. already has a strong and representative delegation of 30, and we have hopes of raising this number to 50. Some of the organisations already represented on our delegation are the Y.W.C.A., the National Council of Girls' Clubs, the Young Liberals, the Young Communist League, the Student Christian Movement, the League of Nations Union Youth Groups, the Federation of University Conservatives, and many other important youth organisations. In addition, Scotland and Northern Ireland will be represented on our delegation and we want a representative of the Welsh Youth. Towns and Regions throughout England are showing a great enthusiasm for the Congress and are working hard to send delegates.

A number of international organisations are sending delegates. The World's Y.W.C.A. has appointed its 10 delegates from as different countries as possible, including the Philippines, Japan, China and Brazil. Some other international organisations who have appointed delegates are the following:—

International Federation of University League of Nations Societies, the World Union of Jewish Youth, the World Student Association and the Young Socialist International.

READERS' VIEWS

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

WISE AND TIMELY?

If (1) Mr. Oswald Earp (having been refused permission by the police to carry a revolver) had been attacked by a burly footpad; (2) two even burlier policemen summoned to his assistance had boldly told the footpad he must accompany them to the station on a charge of attempted robbery with violence; (3) the footpad had replied, he'd be—er—dashed if he would; (4) the policemen had thereupon suggested that Mr. Earp should "compromise" the matter by executing a deed of gift of one-half his entire fortune in favour of the footpad—would Mr. Oswald Earp have written to HEADWAY, thanking those policemen for their "wise and timely effort" on his behalf?

ERNEST E. CHITTY.

Dover.

THE HOARE-LAVAL SCHEME

SIR,—Several of your correspondents seem to take it for granted that Mussolini would have accepted the Hoare-Laval scheme, and from this supposed readiness on his part to compromise they deduce certain things. But from what the papers said at the time I gathered that the Duce was in no way prepared to accept less than the total submission of Abyssinia to Italian rule. This throws an entirely different light on the matter, upsetting among other things Mr. Oswald Earp's "No man can deny, etc.," in your June issue. I do distinctly deny his conclusions. This aspect seems to me so important that I should value your confirmation or even your modification of it from your wider knowledge. Do Dictators compromise? A point of great psychological and diplomatic import.

WILLIAM PLATT.

(Who at the outset opened three new branches for the League of Nations Union.)

Stanmore, Middlesex.

WHAT IS "BETRAYAL"?

SIR,—Your correspondent, Oswald Earp, is highly indignant that the Hoare-Laval proposal for the partition of Abyssinia should be called a "betrayal."

If a policeman sees a thief stealing someone's watch and chain it is his duty to prevent the theft and arrest the thief—not to propose that the thief shall be allowed to have the watch if he agrees to leave the chain to the owner.

In September, 1935, Sir Samuel Hoare at Geneva said: "My country stands for the collective maintenance of the Covenant in its entirety, and particularly for steady and collective resistance to all acts of unprovoked aggression."

If his subsequent proposal was not an act of betrayal the word no longer has any meaning and might as well be removed from the dictionary.

B. C.

Bournemouth.

ONLY THE BIG STICK

SIR,—Mr. Burne is not the only one who deplors the omission from the Union's policy, as approved by the General Council in April, of any reference to peaceful change. All who share his belief that the fundamental problem is to remove the causes of war will regard it as disastrous that the Union should have abandoned all such hope and restricted itself to the lop-sided policy of the big stick and nothing else. The June General Council confirmed this attitude. The only resolution dealing with peaceful political change was one from the Executive advocating an extension of the mandate system.

Collective security by all means, even to the point of pre-organised sanctions and an unhampered international

force. But without collective justice to control it, it is merely a glorified arms race which will assuredly end in the usual way.

"SWORD AND SCALES."

MR. CHURCHILL'S CAMPAIGN

SIR,—As an active supporter of the Union from 1921-31, the critical years for the League, I am much disturbed by Mr. Churchill's campaign, the object of which would seem to be the enlistment of supporters of the League for an approaching war to stabilise the Versailles settlement.

The Union has consistently criticised successive British Governments for their betrayal of collective security under the Covenant; now that the National Government expects to be involved in a war to maintain British control of trade routes (*vide* Sir Thomas Inskip's broadcast), the Union is being asked to support the Government in the name of collective security. The success of this specious and palpably false plea would inflict an injury upon the League idea which would fatally prejudice its future usefulness, which should be jealously preserved for the service of mankind as soon as the nations have learnt the folly of selfish national aims and the attempt to maintain or secure them by aggression.

I suggest that the Union should at once make it clear that its members cannot justly listen to any plea of collective security through the League unless the British Government declares its desire (1) to bring all colonial administration under the mandate system; (2) to establish international control of the world's trade routes in accordance with Article XXIII(e) of the Covenant; (3) to surrender the weapons of blockade and aerial war into the hands of a reconstructed League; and (4) to discuss general appeasement through amendment of the Treaty of Versailles.

The prostitution of the League's scheme of collective security for the service of our own and certain other empires and their economic value is the most formidable, as it is also the most insidious attack, that the League has ever been subjected to.

F. TALBOT.

Fleet, Hants.

"INTERNATIONAL TRAMPS"

SIR,—No friend of the League of Nations ought to allow to pass unchallenged one phrase in your reviewer's notice of Major Johnson's "International Tramps." He refers to the Nansen International Office for Refugees as "barely supervised by absentee Presidents."

If the reference is intended to the period of Nansen's Presidency the statement is simply untrue. I was associated with Nansen during the whole of his philanthropic work carried out in connection with Geneva. I was honoured by his close personal friendship and I think I enjoyed his complete confidence. It is within my knowledge that until the very end of his life he took the keenest detailed interest in all that was done at Geneva and that he was consciously responsible for the general policy followed.

I ceased to share any responsibility for the work after the Assembly which followed Nansen's death. I am not qualified to express any opinion on the subsequent history of the refugee problem. I am still a believer in the League and I am prepared to do what I can for its restoration as a world influence. But I can see nothing to be gained by failing to realise that in its relation to Nansen and his work the bureaucratic machine at Geneva does not show up too well.

Nansen was a single-minded idealist. If he thought something was right he was not prepared to compromise. The League asked him to look after refugees and to the

limit of his powers and of the resources which the world placed at his disposal he applied his unbounded energy to the problem.

A Bureaucracy is never idealist to the degree and in the sense that Nansen was an idealist. It is its duty so often to attempt to reconcile inconsistent ideals that perhaps it ought not to be. At any rate, it is common knowledge that the Secretariat in Geneva was not at all times whole-hearted in its support of Nansen's philanthropic work. In the political sphere it desired and worked for and achieved something which was inconsistent with such whole-hearted support. History will decide whether the policy was justified.

But I can assure your reviewer that up to 1930 the secretariat was very far indeed from considering or treating Major Johnson as the "virtual dictator of an autonomous bureau."

T. LODGE.

Blunham Grange,
Blunham, Beds.

DOES COLLECTIVE SECURITY WORK?

SIR,—In your leading article of June you say that Czechoslovakia was saved from the fate of Austria "because at the last moment the Great Powers, whose concern is peace, intimated that they would join in the defence of the victim against armed aggression." Perhaps I am unintelligent or ill-informed, but certainly I do not know what Great Powers intimated that they would fight Germany on the Sudeten question, or when.

England, France and Russia have no frontier that marches with the Czech state; England and Russia have no frontier that marches with Germany. Again, I may ask: Why should England be concerned to keep 3,000,000 Germans, who were formerly part of the Austrian Empire, under the domination of the Czechs?

Cambridge.

J. E. ALLEN.

COUNCIL'S VOTE

The following branches have completed their Council's Vote payments for 1937:—

Fleetwood, Goldington, Huthwaite, Kington.

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Foundation Members, to receive HEADWAY and specimen copies of pamphlets and similar literature published by the Union: £1 a year, minimum.

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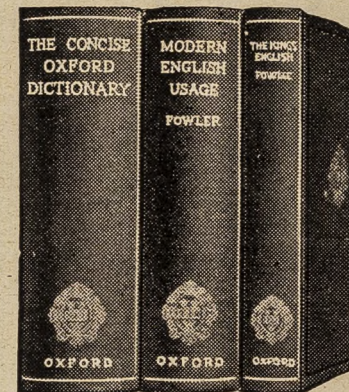
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Particulars of the work in Wales can be had from *The Secretary, Welsh National Council, League of Nations Union, 10, Museum Place, Cardiff.*

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CANTON AND OIL

A Bulletin Supplied by the China Campaign Committee

BETWEEN Monday, May 2, and Wednesday, June 8, Canton was raided 13 times by Japanese bombers. 6,000 people were killed and untold numbers injured. The raids were the worst of the war.

June 1. The Chinese Ambassador presented a note to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs:—

“China must now once more appeal to the world’s conscience. It is the earnest desire of the Chinese Government that on humanitarian grounds, if on no other, His Majesty’s Government and other Governments should take such urgent and effective measures as would restrain Japan from continuing the wholesale slaughter of innocent non-combatants, largely women and children.”

The Mayor of Canton cabled to the International Peace Campaign in Paris:—

“Canton does not ask for your pity, new China will look after herself, but Canton will never forget your sympathy and assistance in this hour of terror.”

To Viscount Cecil, chairman of the joint protest meeting at Queen’s Hall, on June 15, the Mayor telegraphed:—

“The raiders deliberately attacked business and residential areas. As their houses burned or crumbled, hundreds of mothers died helplessly with their babies still clasped to their breasts, and hundreds of others were blown to pieces. Many educational institutions, churches, hospitals and Red Cross Headquarters have been ruthlessly destroyed, and parties of rescue workers were expressly sought out as machine-gun targets by the diving planes. As Mayor of the city now undergoing this harrowing experience, and in the interest of mankind as a whole, I appeal to you for every possible assistance in restraining the aggressor from continuing these wholesale slaughters. Any step you can take to-day towards restraining Japan and obtaining justice for us will help to forestall further wanton attacks on mankind, and safeguard civilisation. Your sympathy with our suffering and your protest against the outrages give us great encouragement and strengthen our conviction that justice must eventually triumph over brutal might and that righteousness is not giving way to savagery.”

Another telegram showed that many Japanese also condemned these outrages:—

“Peace loving Japanese people join your mass meeting in expressing horror and indignation at the atrocious bombings of Chinese civilians in Canton and other undefended Chinese cities. We beg the British people to help to destroy Japanese militarists who are not only crushing China, but also crushing the freedom of the Japanese people. We need your support in either an official or an unofficial boycott of Japanese goods and an

embargo on shipments of war supplies to Japan.”

Haru Matsui and Japanese Peace Society,
New York. June 15.

When, on June 14, the Japanese Ambassador was interviewed by Miss Margery Fry, Mr. Wilfred Roberts, M.P., Mr. Richard Aeland, M.P., and others, he stated that these bombings were intended to demoralise the Chinese people. It might seem illogical to Europeans, he added, but this was the way in which Japan tried to make the Chinese their friends. It was necessary to break down the anti-Japanese feeling in China.

Japanese officials have stated that worse raids are to follow.

Japan’s home oil production, including Manchuria and the Japanese empire, was in 1936 less than 10 per cent. of her civilian requirements. In 1936, 63.3 per cent. of her oil imports came from the U.S.A., 26.6 per cent. from the Dutch East Indies, and 6.6 per cent. from British North Borneo. According to the Mitsubishi Year Book the oil trade is almost entirely in the hands of the Standard Oil Co. and the Royal Dutch Shell Co., or their subsidiaries. In October, 1937, Japan stopped publishing oil import figures, but the 1937 figures that do exist show that in the first ten months oil imports from U.S.A. and the Dutch East Indies increased by 36 per cent.

Decrease in Japan’s exports to:

	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.
	%	%	%
British India ..	5	19	26
Straits Settlements ..	53	74	76
Dutch East Indies ..	34	45	51
Philippines ..	13	35	13
Hawaii ..	50	31	25

(Sources: League of Nations *Bulletin of Statistics*, U.S. Monthly, *Summary of Foreign Commerce*, Tokio Dept. of Finance Return of Foreign Trade.)

“The consumption of several more commodities has been regulated since the beginning of May. Rationing, which began with crude rubber and cotton yarn, has been extended to crude oil and petrol. The use of copper has been more widely restricted.

“The list of materials whose consumption is now regulated includes raw cotton, raw wool, steel ingots, cast-iron, gold, platinum, copper, lead, spelter, tin, brass, nickel and antimony, besides those under the rationing scheme.

“Capital is being increasingly directed to war industries. According to the quarterly report of the Treasury, new capital authorised by the Capital Adjustment Committee during the first three months of this year amounted to 645.6 million yen. Of this total, 457 million yen or 70.8 per cent. was allotted to auxiliary processes and services involved in munition production for the re-equipment and extension of capacity.”

Economist, June 11, 1938.