

BRITISH LIBRARY  
6MAY1938  
OF POLITICAL AND  
ECONOMIC SCIENCE

51083

**BEHIND THE  
NAZI TRIUMPH**

See Page 90

**ABYSSINIA BEFORE  
THE LEAGUE**

See Page 91

# 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.*

Vol. XX. No. 5

[The Journal of the  
League of Nations Union]

MAY, 1938

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

## CONTENTS

	Page		Page
News and Comment ... ..	81	<b>A Story With a Moral: How the League Was Explained to the Troops in France.</b> By Prof. J. Holland Rose, Litt.D., F.B.A....	92
Is It Peace? (Editorial) ... ..	84	<b>International Sanctions:</b> By W. Arnold-Forster ...	94
<b>Black and White: A Controversy Over the Anglo-Italian Agreement</b> ... ..	85	<b>A Plain Account of the Greatest Experiment in Constructive Peace.</b> By Kathleen Gibberd. (No. 1: Right Ideas and Wrong Ideas) ... ..	96
<b>Issues in British Foreign Policy:</b> By H. P. S. Matthews	88	<b>For Spain and China and Peace.</b> By Gabriel Carritt ...	97
<b>The International Aspect of the Indian Situation.</b> By Carl Heath ... ..	89	<b>Readers' Views</b> ... ..	98
<b>Behind the Nazi Triumph.</b> By Ann Sitwell ...	90	<b>A China Bulletin: Supplied by the China Campaign Committee</b> ... ..	100
<b>Abyssinia Before the League.</b> By Our Geneva Correspondent ... ..	91		

## NEWS AND COMMENTS

### Abyssinia

ABYSSINIA is not finished. News which trickles out of that tormented country shows that Italian conquest is very far from complete. Resistance to the invaders becomes more widespread, more obstinate, and more effectual. And abandonment of Abyssinia to Italy sticks in the throat of the British people. Why, the public is asking always more insistently, is the Abyssinian case to be prejudged under British pressure at the May meeting of the League Council, although the rest of the Anglo-Italian Agreement is not to operate until some date in the indefinite future? If the League is persuaded to say to its members: "Yes, go away and recognise the conquest" or even "It is understood you are going away to recognise the conquest," then recognition is virtually an accomplished fact.

Why give Signor Mussolini in advance the thing he most wants when there is still no assurance that in the end he will himself give anything at all?

### Escape

VISCOUNT CECIL, in a letter to the *Times*:—  
The Covenant of the League does not exist to punish the wicked but to protect the innocent and to subject international transactions to the rule of law. I cannot think it defensible that in order to conciliate Italy and obtain, *inter alia*, certain political and military advantages for ourselves, we should now cast what moral influence we still possess into the scale against Ethiopia.

There is the brutal fact. A British bargain with Italy over Abyssinia is not the making of the best of a bad case for the sake of the Abyssinians. It is, in the most favourable view, the making of an escape for Britain.

### British Disarmament

EXPLAINING his Budget to the world by wireless, on the evening of its opening in the House of Commons, Sir John Simon dwelt on Britain's unilateral disarmament in the years immediately after the war, a disarmament which he said was undertaken as an example to the rest of the world, but was nowhere followed.

Sir John was repeating a version of history which is to-day common form. Great Britain disarmed; other countries did not disarm; Great Britain is compelled to re-arm. Is that quite true? The countries defeated in the World War disarmed, perhaps not to the full extent ordered in the Peace treaties, but nevertheless in large measure. The German navy virtually disappeared. Thereafter by international agreement at the Washington Conference the other Naval Powers limited their fleets. Great Britain, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy all joined in striking a comprehensive bargain and all did what negotiation has shown to be fair. Even with her navy thus limited by treaty Great Britain continued to spend large sums on her defences. From 1923, when the expenses of post-war demobilisation had been paid, to 1933 the budgets of the fighting services averaged about £112,000,000, without immense fluctuations; for the whole 10 years they exceeded £1,100,000,000. Further, successive British Governments worked on the assumption, approved by their experts, that Great Britain would not be involved in a large-scale war within 10 years of the peace.

The truth is that Great Britain held her hand longer than any other country, and did not begin to disarm until she was compelled.

#### Whose The Blame?

ON another page of the present issue of HEADWAY a correspondent protests against an answer to Mr. Neville Chamberlain which appeared in a recent leading article. He mistakes the point made by HEADWAY.

HEADWAY did not pounce unprovoked upon Mr. Chamberlain and accuse him of being the man who had wrecked the League. Mr. Chamberlain, speaking as Prime Minister, having recently taken the direction of British world policy into his own hands, had explained to the House of Commons that he used to believe in the League, but its failures had destroyed his faith. He had spoken as though the League were quite separate from the governments who composed it. HEADWAY replied that the governments were the League. The League's failures were theirs. The League had been on the upgrade from 1920 to 1931, because during that period the governments had worked it; the League had been on the downgrade since. Despite temporary reversals those general tendencies had been too marked to be denied. What, then, had the men who had held the highest offices since 1931 to say? Especially Mr. Chamberlain, who had made the attack?

No one will pretend that the blame for all that has gone desperately amiss in recent world affairs falls on Mr. Chamberlain, or the two National Cabinets in which he has sat during the past seven years. It is, however, idle to contend that they have counted for nothing. Because Great Britain wields an immense influence, their past doubts, hesitations

and mistakes have had a major part in creating present evils.

#### Director, I.L.O.

MR. HAROLD BUTLER has resigned. His going is a great loss to the International Labour Organisation. For six years he has been its Director; for the preceding 12 years he was Deputy-Director. Mr. Butler has been one of the master-builders of the now closely-knit and vigorously-active world alliance in the ceaseless struggle for social justice.

Without Mr. Butler there would probably have been no I.L.O. He did brilliant service in the British Ministry of Labour during the War; at the Paris Peace Conference he was the chief advocate behind the scenes and the actual draftsman of Part XIII of the Treaty, which is the one wholly constructive section of the settlement. It was he who persuaded the British Government to find the money needed to start the I.L.O. As Mr. E. J. Phelan expresses it in his illuminating biography, "Yes and Albert Thomas," he was a leader in the little band who "launched the ship and made it sound and seaworthy." Only the natural hesitation of France to accept at the beginning British holders of both the chief offices in the League system—Sir Eric Drummond, as the Secretary-General of the League; and Mr. Butler, as Director of the I.L.O.—prevented his being appointed Director in 1919. Mr. Butler's influence was decisive four years ago in bringing the United States of America into the organisation.

Mr. Butler will now become the head of the splendid new Nuffield Industrial College at Oxford. He will have there opportunities worthy of his powers. If the liberal and humane economic doctrines enforced by him in successive annual Director's Reports exercise a lasting influence upon the dominating personalities in British industries in the future, his transference from Geneva to Oxford will not be a loss without compensations.

#### Visit To London

IN offering his resignation to the Governing Body of the I.L.O., Mr. Butler referred to the diminished interest taken by the European Powers in the work of the I.L.O. compared with the increasing activity on the part of the non-European member States. He thought that the centre of gravity of the organisation had changed during the past five years.

Commenting on the change, the Geneva correspondent of the *Times* remarks that Great Britain is now regarded as one of the European countries which take a diminished interest in the organisation. Here is a challenge both to the L.N.U. and the British Trade Unions. The next autumn meeting of the Governing Body, which is to be held in London at the invitation of the British Government, when the visitors will be entertained at Buckingham Palace by their Majesties the King and Queen, and

at Guildhall by the City of London, and when the L.N.U. will do much to make the event historic, presents an opportunity that must not be missed. British public opinion must be taught to understand the I.L.O., and the I.L.O. must be saved by British public opinion.

#### League in the Schools

THE world's teachers are good friends of world peace. That is still true for most of them, although in some countries where nationalism has been made a religion the teachers have been converted into the priests of an aggressive propaganda. Between April 22 and 25 a conference of more than 200 delegates from 25 countries met in London to discuss how the schools could best advance the League cause. Most of them were working teachers. They heard addresses from distinguished authorities; they pooled their experience; they drew up four reports rich in practical suggestions on the international situation, on the teaching of international relations, on the training of teachers, and on out-of-school activities. Statesmen may hesitate, but teachers continue to build the League on the foundation which will guarantee its survival—the trained minds of the men and women of to-morrow.

#### Winged Words

HERE are some of the winged words spoken at the Conference:—

VISCOUNT CECIL: There is nothing more striking, interesting, or alarming than that a new religion has been founded which makes the State a divine person and calls on all citizens to serve the State as a religious duty. Anyone who looks at Europe, comparing it with the years before 1914, must be struck with the abdication and defeat of Christianity. As Christianity has lost its force as the governing ideal of various States, so the League of Nations has also deteriorated.

DR. GILBERT MURRAY: Teachers have the common task of helping youth to grow up in the atmosphere of a civilised world, a world that would not tolerate such things as the torture of prisoners, the persecution of people merely for their opinions or for their race, or the attempt by one nation of absolute mastery over the rest of the world.

THE DUCHESS OF ATHOLL: By clinging steadfastly to their freedom, the people of the democratic countries would help those whose freedom was suppressed.

THE CHINESE AMBASSADOR: Technical education is now ripening to make us cavemen as its final front, each of us being urged in the most highly educated countries to build his private cave in his own backyard and store his barest subsistence there.

MR. KENNETH LINDSAY, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education: There is too much of the entirely passive attitude to peace to-day—that of considering peace merely as a desirable alternative to war.

MR. H. G. WELLS, who spoke of that "weak, rotten string, the League of Nations" and "this League of Nations, this little bit of a paper hat on the top, not of a Colossus, but of a squirming heap of discordant patriotisms": A drastic revision of your ideas and methods is necessary before your teaching can be effective in that cause of world peace to which almost all of you gave lip service.

#### Books to Read

IN a gloomy world every ray of light is precious. One such ray shines from the publishers' list. Books on world affairs are pouring from the press in a fuller stream than ever before. And many of them are admirable. Amongst recent successes, thoroughly deserved, the first place belongs to "The Whispering Gallery of Europe," by Major-General A. C. Temperley. General Temperley was adviser at Geneva to four successive Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs. He tells the story of the Disarmament Conference from the inside.

Other illuminating arguments are Señor de Madariaga's "World's Design," Dr. Gilbert Murray's "Liberalism and Civilisation," Miss Eleanor Rathbone's "War Can Be Averted," and Mary Agnes Hamilton's "Arthur Henderson: A Biography." All these will be reviewed at length in the next number of HEADWAY.

"International Tramps," by T. F. Johnson, is more sensational reading. It makes charges against the League which must be read and must be answered.

#### Mr. F. J. Gould

HEADWAY regrets to have to record the death of a courageous and effective worker for international understanding and world peace. Mr. F. J. Gould, the Editor of *League News*, has died in his eighty-third year. Beginning as a boy teacher in a London elementary school, in 1871, Mr. Gould was the lifelong friend and fellow-soldier of many famous men and women of the later Victorian and Edwardian periods in their ceaseless campaigns for educational reform. He was specially interested in the teaching of history, and had no small share in enriching the history lessons of the typical English elementary school, with their present wide range and concrete social interest. In 1924 he produced the first number of a small school periodical devoted to the League. At the invitation of the L.N.U., he developed his venture in that same year into *League News* as it exists to-day. The magazine is now published each school term and more than 100,000 copies are distributed every year. Mr. Gould was responsible for all the 43 issues which have appeared. Most of the articles were written by him. Until the end he retained unshaken his profound belief that the peoples of the world had both the means and the will to build for themselves a happier future. He was a faithful servant of the League idea. An account of his work will be published in the next issue of *League News*.



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

## IS IT PEACE?

THE Anglo-Italian Agreement is both good and bad. When it was first published, the British people, with their characteristic generosity, were inclined to acclaim it. Second thoughts have left them much more doubtful. They are not convinced that there is nothing good in the bargain struck at Rome, but neither are they anywhere near persuaded, despite the propaganda to which they have been subjected, that in the end the good will predominate over the bad.

What is clearly bad is the British surrender on Abyssinia and Spain. Let there be no mistake. The dual surrender has been made, and the consequences, which to-day can only be guessed, may in the end prove disastrous.

In Abyssinia, Britain was not defending any narrow selfish interest. Such as it was, her resistance to Italian aggression was due to the belief of the British people that peace was the first interest of all nations. That the British political, economic and social system demands peace as the condition of its survival, that a second world war, on a vaster scale and spreading a more hideous ruin than the first, would destroy the British world commonwealth, the British people know very well. But that knowledge does not make their desire to escape from war by the only possible means, which is organised peace, an unworthy ambition. In taking their stand with the victim against the aggressor, they were not moved by any unfriendliness to Italy. They were not employing legal niceties to thwart a nation provoked by just grievances. At the time of her invasion of Abyssinia, Italy pleaded, with an immense elaboration of detail, that she had been driven unwillingly at long last to obtain, through the employment of her arms, a satisfaction long and obstinately denied her. But the case she then attempted to prove is now known, on the authority of Signor Mussolini himself and Marshals di Bono and Badoglio, to have been a diplomatic imposture. There was nothing of even wild justice in her invasion of a neighbour's territory, to whose respect and preservation she was solemnly pledged. She was taking advantage of what she considered a favourable opportunity to carry through a planned aggression. Italy and Signor Mussolini had no reasonable complaint to lay against Abyssinia, although it can be argued not unreasonably that Signor Mussolini had a case against the British Government. He sought to learn beforehand their

attitude towards his aggression; and it is only fair to admit that they failed completely to convey to him a determined and active disapproval. Nevertheless, no matter what mistakes British Ministers may have committed in their dealings with Signor Mussolini, the object publicly sought by British policy when the crisis arrived was no exclusive British advantage. It was the common good of all the world's peoples, since they would all alike be the lasting beneficiaries of the substitution of law for war. If now Great Britain abandons the cause she had adopted, and conciliates the aggressor with the assurance, "Yes, yes, the whole unhappy business is over. Not another word shall be said about it, provided that, on a number of points to which I attach importance, you give me assurances that you will respect my interests," she may inflict on world peace a deadly wound. For countries, as for individual citizens, a difficulty attaches to the championship of principle. It is not possible without discredit at a later date to forget principle and accept a profit.

On Spain also the agreement is bad. Long ago Signor Mussolini himself ceased to pretend that Italy was honouring her pledges of non-intervention. Indeed, he has boasted that she has not been neutral and that the victory is hers. Large Italian armies have fought in the civil war. They have taken with them aeroplanes, tanks, artillery, machine guns, rifles, bombs and ammunition of all kinds, despite the pledge not to supply either side. The agreement contains nothing for the effective stoppage of foreign help but rather contemplates the victory of Signor Mussolini's clients as a result of his assistance and bargains for the later voluntary freeing of Nationalist Spain from Fascist mastery. The agreement does not even suggest that the Italian military supplies shall be removed from Spain until the civil war is at an end. How far Signor Mussolini's promise of distant withdrawal falls short of inspiring confidence is obvious in the comments of newspapers devoted to Mr. Chamberlain. They have contained several hints that if Signor Mussolini and Herr Hitler do not relinquish their hold on Spain as soon as General Franco has secured control, then Great Britain and France will unite to enforce submission.

So much for what is bad. These evils are major evils. But they must not be allowed to obliterate the good. Something of good there is in the agreement. For the moment at least the rapid drift of the world towards war, which would be the final outcome of the ranging of the great powers of Europe in hostile camps, has been checked. No one who approves the League method of a fair hearing to the other side, of discussion rather than defiance, can object to confer on any matters which set countries in opposition to one another. The bad in the Anglo-Italian agreement is what is clear and concrete; the good is what is vague and uncertain. Yet not impossibly the good may in the end predominate. Signor Mussolini may be turned from aggression to collaboration. He may abate his military ambitions and co-operate in building up a happier future. The agreement may mark a decisive step in a return to a League policy. In the end the recent lessening of the strain between Italy and Great Britain may have the happiest consequences. Those consequences, however, have still to begin to show themselves.

## BLACK AND WHITE

### Two Views of the Anglo-Italian Agreement

HEADWAY has received very many letters and articles on the British negotiations with Italy and their results. It prints below (1) A communication from a distinguished correspondent who gives his disapproval an ironic expression, and (2) Letters from two fervent supporters of Mr. Chamberlain.

**Some surprise has been expressed that the following clauses were not included in the final form of the Anglo-Italian Agreement; but no doubt the provisions were held to be self-evident and not to call for special signature.**

I.—SPAIN. The two governments will continue to ensure by common action on the Non-Intervention Committee that the necessary Italian operations in Spain shall proceed undisturbed until General Franco's victory is complete.

The assurance that "Italy has no territorial aims and seeks no privileged position in Spain" does not exclude the provision by Italy of such political and economic advisers as General Franco may from time to time request, or, in the opinion of the Italian government, require.

II.—ABYSSINIA. Since it is in the interest of both Governments that neither of them should be annoyed by continual reminders of certain obsolete treaties and pledges, and in particular that the Government of the United Kingdom should be no longer molested by natives who have no cause for complaint except their own foolish and uncalled-for trust in the word of Great Britain, both Governments will co-operate cordially in the Bon Voisinage agreement with a view to stamping out those armies of national defence in Abyssinia which the Italian Government alone might be unable to overcome.

III.—GENERAL.

(a) In case the Italian Government should find it necessary on future occasions to resort to exceptional methods, such as the bombing of civilians, the use of poison gas, organised assassinations, mass executions or terrorism of other forms, and

reports of such actions should obtain currency abroad, the British Government undertakes, as before, to assure Parliament that it has no information on the subject, or alternatively that it knows all such reports to be untrue. The choice between these alternatives is left to the discretion of the British Government.

(b) In case it appears desirable to the Italian Government to annex, invade, or stir up rebellion in any small or ill-armed country, the British Prime Minister will duly conform to Italian policy, and in particular will repeat in clear terms to the House of Commons his declaration that no small nation will receive protection from the League of Nations.

(c) In order to maintain the relations of the two Governments on a permanent basis of mutual amity, it is here provided that

(1) If the actions of the British Government should ever cause displeasure or suspicion to the Italian Government, the latter reserves the right, with or without German co-operation, to re-occupy the Balearic Isles, to close the Straits of Gibraltar, to establish submarine and air bases on the coasts of Spain, to incite and arm against Great Britain the Arabs, Egyptians, and other Islamic peoples, and to resume such propaganda by wireless or otherwise as may seem desirable.

(2) By a parity of arrangement, the British Government in similar circumstances shall be free to re-establish the Empire of Ethiopia, the Republican Government of Spain, and the League of Nations, any or all of them—if it can.

## Peace Depends on Good Understanding Between Nations

SIR,—May I draw the attention of critics of the Prime Minister's foreign policy to the following points:—

### I. Present Position of the League of Nations

- The League having failed in its first function (that of promoting international co-operation and goodwill) must expect trouble if it attempts to carry out its second function (that of coercion).
- Since the defection of the U.S.A., the League has been an unbalanced League, largely dominated by the victorious European Powers.
- The League came into being as part of the Peace Treaties, and has been consistently used to maintain the *status quo* as established by the Peace Treaties. It has, however, never been able to deal with injustices arising out of these Treaties.
- The League is regarded by the dissatisfied Powers as part of the hated Versailles system and as an instrument to preserve injustice by force.

### 2. The Strategic Aspect of Collective Security under the League

- Of the seven Great Powers, only three (Russia, France and Great Britain) remain in the League. The remaining smaller states count for very little from a strategic and military point of view, since they depend upon the Great Powers for munitions and military support.
- Many of these small states can be easily isolated, by the fact that the Central European *bloc* extends from the Baltic to the Mediterranean.
- The small states who remained neutral during the Great War will remain neutral under any conflict in which the League is involved. To this number has been added Belgium, and almost certainly Canada. Consequently, the resources of the existing League are considerably less than those of the Allies who took four years to defeat the Central Powers in the war. To refer to the potential strength of the present League as

"overwhelming force" is ludicrous.

- (d) The British Fleet cannot maintain either Imperial communications or our country's food supplies if it has to meet three hostile Powers in the North Sea, in the Mediterranean, and the Far East. Hence the absurdity of "sanctions" with a non-universal League.
- (e) Without the freedom of the Mediterranean, Great Britain cannot pull her full diplomatic weight.
- (f) Economic sanctions will not work unless the League is universal. Loopholes will always occur through non-members.
- (g) Economic sanctions in the last resort depend on military and naval power, because in a non-universal League a blockade would have to be enforced, and further, if the aggressor regarded economic sanctions as an act of war, the force must be available to resist attack.

### 3. The Future of the League

- (a) The League must be dissociated from the Treaty of Versailles.
- (b) The League must be regarded primarily as an instrument of justice. This requires a fundamental change in the attitude of League supporters, who have up to now regarded the League primarily as a policeman. Article 19 of the Covenant is more important than Article 16, and has never been fully utilised. (See Lord Cecil's letter to L.N.U. members in last month's HEADWAY. The words "No doubt" prefacing the reference to the remedying of international grievances implies that the function of the League as an instrument of justice is secondary to that of the policeman.)
- (c) The League must not be used for political ends, such as "anti-fascism," "support of democracy," etc. The League was intended to be a universal League, not a League of countries whose political constitution is approved of by certain

ideologists in this country. If, as is frequently claimed, the League is to be a League of the democratic nations, Russia and India have no claim to have been admitted, nor had Abyssinia any right of appeal!

- (d) It is plain that general sanctions will not work, and there is not the slightest chance of the U.S. co-operating in such sanctions. The League should be a court of arbitration, and security should be obtained by regional pacts with limited and definite commitments.

### 4. The Function of the L.N.U.

This should be primarily educational, rather than partisan-political. World problems should be studied impartially years before they reach a crisis, e.g., the position of the Sudeten-Germans in Czechoslovakia is something more than a minority problem. It is a highly complex question which cannot be solved by the simple declaration that "the League" will not tolerate any act of aggression by Germany. Such declarations, whether in regard to this problem or to our conversations with Italy on the position in the Mediterranean, satisfy the conscience of purists, but by slamming the door on negotiations, they defeat the real purpose of the League.

I would finally point out that it is very easy for countries like Great Britain and France, which have grabbed all they want in the past, and for Russia which possesses a self-contained and self-sufficient empire, to describe themselves as "peace-loving." Other nations regard this attitude as hypocrisy. I venture to suggest that the true peace-lovers are those who, like Mr. Chamberlain and his supporters, strive earnestly both by word and deed to promote that "good understanding between nations upon which peace depends."

Yours, etc.

Ridgefield,  
Arborfield Cross, Nr. Reading.

JESSIE CAPPER.

## Mr. Chamberlain's League Record

SIR,—

I SHOULD like to take the opportunity of drawing attention to an observation appearing in the Editorial to the March, 1938, number of HEADWAY. I consider this unfair and insupportable.

We read: "Ever since 1931 Mr. Chamberlain has been a most influential member of the British Government. That has been the exact period of the League's decline." This sweeping generalisation is absurd enough as it stands—but, lest silence should be construed as acquiescence, I am anxious to lodge a protest, supported by a few salient facts.

In the first place, I cannot see the relevance of attributing the alleged decline to the baleful influence of one single member of the Cabinet. From 1931 to 1935 the late Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was Prime Minister, with Earl Baldwin as Leader of the Conservative element in the National Government, and from June, 1935, to May, 1937, Lord Baldwin himself was Premier; while Mr. Chamberlain has headed the National Government for close on ten months. Why not ascribe this sinister conduct to any other member of the Government? What evidence can the writer adduce in support

of this extremely pitiful exhibition of apparent political spite? However that may be, I suggest it can be demonstrated that firstly the League achieved some notable successes before its influence was—temporarily at any rate—impaired by the intransigence of certain aggressor States; and that in the second place the National Government—and Mr. Chamberlain in particular—have always accorded their most loyal support to the League. The question of Mr. Chamberlain's supposed culpability will not therefore need further consideration.

With regard to League successes since 1931, we have ample evidence. In a booklet published by the League of Nations Union itself, we read the following illuminating passage: "In 1934 and 1935 the League, on two occasions, dissipated the fear of imminent war by intervening and reconciling national disputes in the Saar, and as regards a bitter quarrel between Yugoslavia and Hungary. On both occasions the British Government took initiative, pressing for full use of League machinery." ("What the League has Done," p. 6.) Other successes—as, for example, the settlement of disputes regarding Memel (1932 and 1935), Columbia and Peru (1932–34), or Great Britain and Persia (1932)—could well be enlarged upon.

I am aware that the cases of the Sino-Japanese War of 1931-33 and the Italo-Abyssinian War of 1935-36 may be regarded as the acid tests of the League's efficacy. But in commenting upon these, opponents of the Government resort to methods of argument which are indicative either of gross stupidity or deliberate dishonesty. The British Government is treated as if it and it alone constituted the League. The obstructions in or timidity of other constituent members is ignored and setbacks debited to a Government whose sole and obvious interest is the preservation of peace. With respect to China and Japan, the British Government's position was unassailable.

Precipitate action during the early stages of the dispute would have been fatal to any successful settlement, in view of the conciliation measures pursued at Geneva; and neither the report of the (League) Lytton Commission nor the U.S. Government Note of January 7, 1932, nor the various League resolutions, advocated the employment of sanctions against Japan. The only countries, two, which could have applied effective economic sanctions were the U.S.A. and Soviet Russia (both then non-members of the League)—and they made no proposal whatever to do so. Two speeches by eminent League supporters completely vindicate the Government.

The (Liberal) "News Chronicle" for March 8, 1932, reported a speech by the late Viscount Grey of Falloden, veteran Liberal statesman and one-time President of the League of Nations Union, in which he pointed out the difference between European and Far Eastern questions in relation to the League, declared his belief

that the dispute was not one that should involve sanctions, and stated that the British Government had supported anything proposed by the U.S. Government and should do no more. And Professor Gilbert Murray himself opined: "There may be exceptional cases—the invasion of Manchuria was perhaps one—in which the League Powers could not act with any certainty of rapid success. If so, they must be prudent . . ." (*The Times*, September 27, 1935).

Perhaps I may conclude with some evidence of Mr. Chamberlain's own loyalty to the League. In view of recent reverses, no one of ordinary intelligence could insist that the League should to-day be relied upon under all circumstances. It is imperative to move back the League from convalescence to health and vigour, and Mr. Chamberlain, as a realist, recognises the need for relieving it from overstrain. But the fundamental principles of British policy remain the same. Speaking recently in the House of Commons, the Prime Minister explained his attitude towards the League in language which was frank, lucid and sincere, and which at the same time revealed the consistency and honesty of his policy.

I venture to hope that the mischievous statement which gave rise to this letter will be received with the contempt which it deserves.

Yours, etc.,

F. W. SENIOR.

"Claremont,"  
Beswick's Road, Winnington, Northwich.

Note: A reference is made to this letter in "News and Comment."—Ed.

## WAR CAN BE AVERTED

by

ELEANOR F. RATHBONE

EXTRACTS FROM REVIEWS

### J. L. Hammond in the SPECTATOR

"Miss Rathbone's brilliant little book . . . is a frank, realist, incisive analysis of our foreign policy, and of the various moods and ideas, prejudices and inhibitions, that make up or paralyse the public opinion of this or that party, this or that movement. As a piece of writing it is at once sparkling and serious; its subject is as grave as any subject can be, but it is handled with a skill that will entertain its readers as much as it instructs them."

### NEW STATESMAN

"Few will remain unmoved by her effective attack on the character of British policy."

### Donald Hodgson in the NEWS CHRONICLE

"This is the most brilliant piece of political writing that I have read for a long time. I find it, moreover, completely convincing."

### TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

"Miss Rathbone, as befits an Independent M.P., distributed impartially the sharp shafts of her criticism . . . Her own remedy is persuasively argued . . . She wants a non-political United Front on the broadest basis formed in this country now and a group within the League of Nations pledged to resist aggression."

(Gollancz 5s.)

# Issues In British Foreign Policy

By H. P. S. Matthews

IN times such as the present, in which a distracted World staggers from crisis to crisis, it is exceedingly difficult for the ordinary man to discern, behind the alarms and excursions, the fundamental developments or the principles which should guide the policy of the country. We see the ultimate end—peace. We see the particular problem—shall we say that of Czechoslovakia. It is less easy to fit the particular problem into a general and consistent policy designed towards the maintenance of peace.

It was the recognition of this fact that led the Royal Institute of International Affairs to organise the series of discussions which are reprinted in the current number of "International Affairs."\* The resignation of Mr. Eden had suddenly directed opinion, which had been occupying itself primarily with day-to-day issues in Spain and in the Far East, to the fundamental issues of British Foreign Policy. Prof. Arnold Toynbee, who opened the discussions, was peculiarly well qualified to do so. He is an analyst and historian of current events without a rival; he was followed by Lord Cecil, Lord Lothian, and Mr. R. A. Butler, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

I have not read a better short analysis of the present position of Great Britain and of the alternative policies which confront her than that with which Professor Toynbee opened the discussion. Throughout the nineteenth century the British Empire was in a peculiarly fortunate position. Thanks to

her sea-power, she kept all the other Great Powers of Europe at a distance, and yet, in Europe, she always had a majority on her side because she stood for the maintenance of a balance of power which meant championing the liberties of the many against the ambitions of the few. Outside her "naval ring round Europe" she had the rest of the world for herself, and yet she aroused no envy, because she kept trade free for all. From the impregnable base which our island position gave her she could dispose of her sea-power wheresoever she listed. To-day, the basis for the nineteenth-century "Pax Britannica" is no longer available. There are two great Powers—Japan and the United States of America—outside the "naval ring." The new factor of air warfare has deprived the British Isles of their former invulnerability.

The possibility that Britain, by her unaided strength, and through the use of her navy and her financial power, can keep the peace of the world, is at an end. But would it not be possible, Professor Toynbee suggested, to "put the Pax Britannica into commission"? That, in effect,

\*2s. 6d. Published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, London, S.W.1

was the meaning of the League of Nations. The task which Britain was wont to perform should be entrusted to a grand alliance of powers, pledged to maintain the peace, as Britain maintained it in the nineteenth century. It was time the British people realised that their country, so far from being simply a "consumer of security" for others, was to-day a "producer of security." Alone, Britain cannot hope to maintain her great position against the onslaught of three "predatory" Great Powers. She will herself be disunited unless her people feel that it has a higher role in international affairs than merely that of holding on to the heritage of the past.

There was, indeed, a surprising measure of agreement between Lord Cecil, Lord Lothian and Professor Toynbee on the general principle of policy which Great Britain should follow. True, they differed in their analysis of the cause which had led to the present lack of confidence and prevalence of suspicion. They agreed, it is true, in deploring the failure to create a stronger régime of security during the first years of the League's existence.

But whereas Lord Cecil felt that the fundamental cause of our failure had been lack of courage in opposing aggression and building up a sense of security, Lord Lothian felt that the principal fault had lain with those who had failed to remedy Germany's grievances in time. There was, in Lord Lothian's view, something inevitable in the attainment of the unity of the German

people. It was the means whereby that end was attained, rather than the end itself, which he deplored. But now that that end had been attained, and that the legitimate ambitions of Germany had been satisfied, we were in a stronger position. For the British people could not be whole-hearted in opposing the demands of Germany so long as, in its heart of hearts, it felt that Germany was only freeing herself of acts of discrimination which could not, by their nature, be eternal.

Mr. Butler felt that the great danger was the division of the world into opposing ideological groups. Great Britain alone, could build a bridge—and indeed she had already done so through the medium of the Anglo-Italian agreement. The League of Nations, which had provided the countries of the British Commonwealth with a common policy, must remain the ultimate ideal of policy. But that fact must not preclude attempts to approach closer to non-League Powers.

There have been times recently when one has felt that the great weakness of British policy was the deep-rooted cleavage of opinion throughout the country on fundamental issues. A reading of this discussion gives an impression of a greater measure of unanimity than I, at any rate, had dared to hope for.

## EMERGENCY YOUTH CAMPAIGN

organised under auspices of  
Youth Groups of L.N.U.

During May large rallies will be held in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Manchester, Birkenhead, Sunderland, Sheffield, Leeds, Birmingham, Nottingham, Bristol and Cardiff.

leading to a  
**NATIONAL RALLY**  
at the  
**EMPRESS STADIUM**

Sunday, June 12th, 3 p.m.

**WE FACE WAR UNLESS WE DEFEND PEACE**

# The International Aspect of the Indian Situation

BY CARL HEATH

IT is important to-day, when the Far East is in flames, and British policy, in face of an aggressive Eastern Power, is hesitant and doubtful, that India should come with clearness into the picture we form of the international situation in the East, and of its future implications.

India at this time is, it is true, chiefly occupied with internal politics and the rapid evolution of a new type of organised national life. None the less, her leaders have their eyes very much on the Eastern situation.

Naturally enough, all advanced India sympathises with the widespread struggle of the Chinese against an imperialist and militarist invasion. It could not well be otherwise. But there are other facts to be noted which we in Great Britain are strangely apt to forget. India is watching to-day and reflecting on the curious and quite new situation where a militarised Japan is apparently successfully ignoring both Great Britain and the United States, seemingly disbelieving in the serious intention of either to follow a policy of creative world peace, and quite cynical as to their willingness to engage in one of war. One day it is the British Ambassador whose car is bombed from the air; another, an American gun-boat is sunk; and nothing happens. Or again, a Japanese Minister talks openly of stopping all Chinese supplies through Hong Kong, and Great Britain remains quiet. Then India remembers that whatever part the League of Nations plays, or might play, in this Eastern struggle, India's so-called representative does not represent India at all, but is merely a second nominee of Great Britain. Progressive India is wholly cold to the League. Her left-wing leaders demand that she come out of it.

But much deeper causes of unrest are at work. Great Britain imagines herself to be developing self-government in India under the new Constitution Act of 1935. And so, in large measure, she is. India, however, observes that this Act gives her no control whatever over the Army in India, British or Indian, and no say whatever as to the costs of that Army, though these are almost wholly borne by the Indian taxpayer. In all that relates to the direction, maintenance and disposition of the military forces a rigid, centralised control, with ultimate reference in all things to Whitehall, is firmly held to, right through the new Act. And with this military power, centred in India in the Viceroy, and in Great Britain in the Secretary of State and the British Cabinet, goes all control over India's Foreign Affairs and India's Foreign Policy.

These things go to the making of what may presently become a dangerous situation. For clearly the East is waking up to a realisation of its latent power. China, as a result of the present war, may be dominated by

the Japanese. Inevitably that will involve, as it is even now doing, the militarisation of the Chinese. The policy of the Western Powers toward this development may be what it may. But can there be any question as to the vast importance for the future peace of the world of a friendly and co-operating India, an India, that is, that feels free and able to choose to be at one with the progressive nations of the Western world; and notably with Great Britain and the Commonwealth.

Having started on the path of recognising the right of India to govern herself, why should we hesitate to accept the full implications of that policy? Why not take His Majesty's Ministers in the Indian Provinces into frank consultation forthwith upon the burning and most irritating problem of India's central government, and of her right as a nation to control her national finance, her foreign affairs and, above all, her Army. It is said that in India the British official world is already admitting the need for an Amending Act to meet certain claims of the State Princes. But why not to meet the more serious claims of the self-governing Provinces?

India, as a member of the Commonwealth under the Statute of Westminster, with a free voice in the League, could and would play an enormous part in the pacification of the East. In her struggle for nationhood, she is inevitably on the side of progress and democracy. Nor will her leadership be otherwise whilst Mahatma Gandhi is her most living inspiration. But he will not lead for many years more. India, like China, is peace-minded, but it is folly to suppose that she will always remain pacific, if her own free life is continually thwarted, and she is kept in subjection to the Cabinet in Great Britain. And the less so as she sees a successful Asiatic Power defying the West in terms of their own most modern weapons of war.

Great Britain intends both justice to and freedom for India. But she is strangely slow to observe the deadly effects of her slowness in advancing to her goal. India, thrown by this slowness and the sickness of long-deferred political hopes into the arms of a triumphant Asiatic imperialism, spells disaster for any international policy aiming at peace in the Orient of the world.

Courage and a clear-sighted policy of political liberation could, however, win India to a deep political friendship and to the basis of a powerful solving of the Eastern situation. It would be worth taking the obvious risks of such a forward policy. For in politics and in international affairs the adventure of faith counts for much. And when that adventure spells friendship and conciliation, freedom and acknowledged justice, it is not only the useful and the realistic, but the one true course for statesmen to take.

# BEHIND THE NAZI TRIUMPH

By ANN SITWELL

*The article which follows is by a trustworthy correspondent who was herself in Vienna at the time of the Austrian plebiscite and was a witness of the happenings she reports. In a covering letter, she says: "The feeling of freedom and release when one crossed the Italian frontier was quite wonderful—strange though it sounds."*

VIENNA during the plebiscite was like nothing except a nightmare.

The propaganda department of the German Government had done its work thoroughly. The beauty of Vienna was concealed behind a solid screen of red, white and black bunting. Houses, palaces, museums and churches were draped with swastika flags. Enormous scarlet banners drooped from the spires of baroque churches. Hitler's face glared from every shop window in varying sizes. Loudspeakers blared Nazi songs and speeches at every street corner and at the station as one got out of the train. The streets were full of Storm Troopers, German police and soldiers, who also stood on guard outside all the hotels. Cars and lorries filled to overflowing with boys, age from about 16 to 18, dashed through the streets; the boys shouted slogans like "Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer," obviously enjoying themselves tremendously. Boys of the same age—Hitler Jugend—marched up and down singing and shouting; they marched in perfect step and the standard of their physique appeared to be exceptionally high.

Schuschnigg gave a solemn warning against the slightest resistance to the German occupation of Vienna. "I command you not to resist," he said to the people who had cheered his determination to keep Austrian independence, not many days before. If avoidance of bloodshed is always the highest consideration, Schuschnigg was right. As the German troops entered Vienna, German bombers flew over the town. If one shot had been fired, they would have dropped their load of bombs. The day before, leaflets had been distributed in the streets of Vienna. On them was printed "Hitler, you will never leave Vienna alive." Immediately a rumour was circulated that if a hand were raised against Hitler there would be a pogrom which would leave not a single Jew alive in Vienna. One man who with almost crazy courage handed out leaflets with the slogan "Heil Moscow" was lynched by the crowd.

The prisons are so crowded that schools have been commandeered as gaols, and the children are given continual holidays. Many hundreds of Monarchists and supporters of Schuschnigg have been sent to Dachau, notoriously the worst concentration camp in Germany.

Plundering of Jewish shops went on for a week after the German occupation. Property was looted and windows were smashed. Even blocks of flats were broken into and their residents robbed and sometimes beaten. The Viennese mob, led and encouraged by S.S. and S.R. men, were chiefly to blame for these outrages. The German officers behaved on the whole decently and even attempted to stop Jew-baiting on occasions.

Storm troopers have the right to seize Jews, men or women, whether they are working in shops or walking along the street, and force them to scrub the pavements, wash dishes and clean floors in German military barracks. Jews are even taken out of their Temple where they

worship every Friday, and are made to work at these tasks. The S.S. and S.R. men prefer to make Jews clean the streets, because then they are exposed to the jeers and insults of the worst type of Austrian crowd.

All Jews employed by Aryan firms are being dismissed, unless they served in the war or their fathers were killed in the war. Jewish firms are forced to employ a certain percentage of Aryans, so that in many cases they have to dismiss Jews. Jewish lawyers are not allowed to plead in Court and cannot become barristers or judges. The position of Jewish doctors is made impossible because it is easy to fake charges of performing illegal operations, etc., on Aryan women. So many Jewish doctors left Vienna before the plebiscite that now numbers of Aryan medical students are practising as fully-qualified doctors. The majority of Jewish university professors and lecturers left Vienna before the plebiscite. Even foreign lecturers are now asked to produce the birth certificates of their parents and grandparents to prove their Aryan descent. Many actors, opera singers, musicians and producers have lost their jobs and would be thankful to be employed as domestic servants abroad.

In the schools, Jewish children were segregated from the others the day after Hitler entered Vienna. In some cases, teachers encourage the Aryan children to persecute the Jewish children.

No organisation of any kind is allowed to exist among the Jews in Vienna. Any attempt to hold meetings would be followed by imprisonment or worse; even gatherings of two or three people in the street are immediately suspected and broken up. Apart from their appearance, Jews are marked out by the absence of the swastika badge from their clothes; they are the only members of the community who are not allowed to wear it. Nazi "Kommissars" are employed in all Jewish shops and firms and are responsible to the Gestapo for keeping a watch on the Jewish employees. The Kultus-gemeinde, or Board of Jews has been stopped and its President and Vice-President are in prison. There is no Jewish newspaper and news is passed round by word of mouth.

It is no exaggeration to say that starvation or exile with the possibility of starvation are the two alternatives before vast numbers of these unhappy people. Thousands of former Socialists have been and are being sent to Germany by the Government, where they will be given better employment and wages than before; for "Brot und Arbeit," which Hitler promises and which he has already supplied to very large numbers of workers, are the strongest inducements to join the party of National Socialism. But no unemployment relief exists for the Jews. The State is not responsible for their lives—only for their deaths. In the words of one of them, fatalistic as they are forced to become, "They want us to starve and they do not care whether it is here or in foreign countries, so long as we do not live."

# Abyssinia Before The League

By Our Geneva Correspondent

GENEVA, April 22, 1938.

*"The evil that men do lives after them."*

THE stage speaker of these lines, it will be remembered, came "to bury Caesar." The trouble about next month's session of the League Council is that Caesar does not want to be buried.

The recent decision of the Negus to be represented, as is his undoubted right, under Art. 4, paragraph 5, of the Covenant, has immensely complicated the task of those who are prepared apparently to sacrifice international justice to the political necessities of the moment. The agenda of the hundred and first session of the Council, Item 17, raises the question of "the consequences arising out of the existing situation in Ethiopia." Everyone knows that this item has been added to the agenda at the request of the British Government. Everyone knows that the British Government has suggested this item as part of a bargain with the Italian Government. Everyone knows that the British Government is seeking international support for one of the clauses of a bi-lateral agreement. It is common knowledge that the Italian Government would have preferred a direct recognition by Great Britain of its conquest of Abyssinia. The student of international politics must concede that in this the Italian Government was acting in accordance with reality. But the "realists" of Downing Street thought otherwise. To the humiliation of the British Government is to be added the humiliation of the League of Nations.

The presence of an Ethiopian delegation in Geneva raises questions, partly of procedure and partly more fundamental, the solution of which it is difficult to foresee. Can the Council refuse to permit an Ethiopian delegation to sit at the Council table when a question concerning Ethiopia is under discussion? To do so would be to beg the whole question which the British Government asks the Council to discuss. From the point of view of the Council Ethiopia is a member State of the League of Nations. As such, she is entitled to be represented. It can hardly be supposed that the British Government would invoke paragraph 4 of Art. 16 of the Covenant, by which the Council is entitled to expel any Member of the League "which has violated any Covenant of the League." Even the cynicism of officialdom will not run to this.

Suppose an Ethiopian delegation sits at the Council table. If so it will presumably vote against its own extinction. Even in the unlikely event of the other Members of the Council being unanimous for burial, the vote of the corpse is an obstacle to a legal resolution of the Council. It may be sought to turn the difficulty by means of a recommendation on procedure. This I understand is what the British Government has in mind. If so it may well be asked what is the future of a League

of Nations which can regard the disappearance of a Member State as the result of conquest by another Member State as a mere question of procedure? To ask such a question is to answer it. The answer is hard, but must be faced. The policy of the great Powers has resulted in reducing the idea of international collaboration to a catastrophic sham which should be buried even quicker than the corpse of stricken Abyssinia.

Those of us who have still some lingering faith in the importance of international honour have been heavily adjured in the past few weeks "to face realities." We are accused of living in the clouds, of ignoring the historic fact that Italy has conquered Ethiopia. Very well, says the international observer, we will recognise historic facts, but we must not be asked to pick and choose our facts. If it be a historic fact that Italy has conquered Ethiopia—and there are indications that this is not entirely the fact—it is also a historic fact that fifty independent nations condemned Italy as the aggressor. No Council resolution, no political chicanery of any kind can wash out that historic fact. The League as an institution may "go to Canossa," but history will refuse to follow it.

I have dwelt on this item of the Agenda because it clearly involves the whole future of the League ideal. But there will be many other disquieting subjects under discussion next month. The Spanish Government—if its members are not shot by General Franco before May 9—is to make a final appeal to a non-existent international conscience. I am informed on good authority that there will be not only an appeal but a plain statement of the responsibility of certain nations for the merciless extinction of liberty in the Spanish peninsula. Senor Del Vayo will not mince his words. Why should he? He has nothing to lose.

Although the Sino-Japanese question is on the agenda, I have good authority for stating that the Chinese delegation will not make it a major issue. They are more likely to stress the Ethiopian issue and, in all probability, to vote against any resolution of the Council for the burial of Ethiopia. In so doing they can and will point to the analogy of Manchukuo.

The Swiss request for integral neutrality will probably be referred to next September's Assembly. Indeed the Swiss have somewhat "fluttered the doves" by appealing to the Council at this juncture since their problem involves the Assembly, and there are many who hold that the Assembly should be convened for the Ethiopian and Spanish questions. Needless to say, the British and French will fight to the last ditch against the convening of the Assembly. They will probably be successful. But it should be remembered that theoretically the Assembly is still in session, having been merely adjourned on the Sino-Japanese question. *Qui vivra verra.*

# A STORY WITH A MORAL

## How The League was Explained to the Troops in France

By PROFESSOR J. HOLLAND ROSE, Litt.D., F.B.A.

STUPENDOUS is the strain upon troops during a long war. Indeed, the result depends largely upon their power of endurance. Accordingly, aged men should strive to help them "stick it out" and disregard the malcontents who try to weaken the morale of the army. These mischief-makers usually do most harm among regiments which, after exhausting times at the front, come back to rest at the large rear camps. During the years 1914-18 the chief of these were at or near Le Havre, Rouen, and Etaples.

There and elsewhere our Y.M.C.A. started many huts, which provided cheap food and "soft" drinks by day, and at night services, concerts, or talks and discussions. As I had given in England many addresses to troops and civilians on the causes and importance of the War, I resolved to spend all my Cambridge Vacations in work with the Y.M.C.A. in France. By day I generally worked at the counters of the huts; for there one could often hear from the soldiers their needs or grievances, which we sought quietly to meet. In the evenings, I rallied my weary faculties so as to seek to interest the men by talks as to how the War came about.

The essential facts were but vaguely known to our troops; and some of them even shouted at me that we had provoked the War. This I disproved and then showed the necessity of fighting on to secure the independence of Belgium, on which depended that of the Dutch, as well as our own safety and that of France. A map made this clear. Yet it was difficult to convince hard-pressed troops in those crowded huts beset by smoke and coughing. Fault-finding is a national habit, and it burst forth at question time.

Finding that many of our troops disliked the French, I gave talks on "Glorious France," describing her efforts for liberty and equality during her Revolutions, also her services to art, culture and civilisation. This made little impression; for some of our men had suffered from the bad state of the trenches which the French handed over to us; and many more had been cheated in cafés and shops. Indeed, the arrival of an army always attracts the worst and greediest of the natives, thus breeding dislike between allies.

Once or twice, at Le Havre and Rouen, I addressed a few French troops. These welcomed me cordially, and whenever I hesitated for the right word, those in the front murmured it to me, whereupon I replied: *Bravo, l'Entente Cordiale*. I told them how our Navy had assured the arrival in France of our troops, stores, and food; also that it prevented German warships from forcing landings in North France behind the chief Allied Forces. Further, its constant efforts against German cruisers and submarines helped to keep the seas open to the Allies and to close them to the Central Powers and Turkey.

During some vacations I visited our troops nearer the front, and occasionally on fine days addressed in

the open air a battalion formed in hollow square. After long experience and with much effort I made all hear. Being well up in the latest news from all quarters I tried to widen their outlook as to the conditions both on land and at sea. Officers assured me that the result was uplifting; for as a rule the men knew little beyond what happened on their own front, and that was often depressing.

In the spring of 1917 I found their depression quite alarming. It was after a strange though not uncommon blunder of the Passport Department had prevented my going to France for the Christmas Vacation of 1916-17. When I reached Le Havre at Eastertide, 1917, I found the prospects very gloomy. Failures at the front, increasing risks from German submarines, and a hard winter and spring caused so much alarm and distress as to start a movement to stop the War. At different huts the same arguments were shot forth at question-time, until some officers forbade all talks, because malcontents at home were known to be stirring up this movement. When possible, I strove to point out that if Germany triumphed, she would set back human progress both in Europe and the Near East.

More telling was my argument that her torpedo policy was now forcing the United States to side with us and thus provide an overwhelming reserve in men and supplies. Great, too, was the relief when American troops arrived in increasing numbers, so that at Le Havre our Y.M.C.A. handed over to them one or two of our huts. There I served and also spoke on the origin and import of the War. This had good results. But I heard that some defeatist French peasants hissed at them for coming and thereby postponing the collapse of the Allies and the coming of peace!

I next found the morale of our own troops drooping at our camp outside Etaples on the coast of Picardy. "I hate Etaples" was a phrase often found in our soldiers' letters written near that dirty little town; for there life was wretched and bombing frequent until one of our hospitals was burnt. We Y.M.C.A. workers struggled hard but in vain to ease the discontent of our troops. Finally, after I left Etaples, quite exhausted, a serious rising occurred; but our workers kept open their huts all night and helped to pacify the mutineers.

Far better was the condition of our great camp south of lovely Rouen. There I gave talks to our Indian Division on the dangers to the Near East if Germany and her Turkish allies there prevailed. The Indians welcomed the news of our advance into Palestine, where we then had help from the Arabs, against the tyrannical Turks. We were "liberators"; and all welcomed the Balfour Declaration in favour of Palestine as "a national home for the Jews." I showed that our successes there might be a forecast of the issue in the West.

In the spring of 1918 I went out to our camps in parts of Flanders whence the German offensives had been driven back or at least checked. Yet, as the situation

was still critical, I pointed out that Germany had lost one of her chief hopes, that of mastering the Near East; also that our naval successes and the arrival of great American reinforcements threatened her and her allies with exhaustion.

Steadily our prospects brightened. Yet, as our troops were absorbed in the doubtful events close by, they wondered how long it would be before they would reach the Rhine, and finally Berlin. So I proved to them from former wars that peace came generally from exhaustion or despair, not necessarily from the capture of the enemy's capital. More hopeful were the New Zealanders, with whose Division I spent a wonderful time in front of Bapaume, recaptured by them on August 29th, 1918. Still, we were often under fire; and during one of my hut talks every light but the smallest had to be put out because a German airplane was overhead, out of range of our then poor air-guns. Yet we held on to the end, discussing the now more hopeful prospects of the war as a whole.

Later, interest began to turn towards the conditions of a sound peace, which I set forth privately to officers' clubs or publicly in the huts. Heartily I welcomed the invitation of a company of Maori workers to speak to them, and all the more when they chose my newest subject—"A League of Nations and World Peace." On this I could speak with adequate knowledge. For, early in 1918, I had been elected a member of Lord Phillimore's Committee of Inquiry into former efforts for General Peace, and had studied the reasons for their failures down to that of the Holy Alliance in 1816-18. Also in several meetings at the Foreign Office the Committee had considered recent proposals, especially those of President Wilson for a League of Nations. So now in France, I gave carefully guarded accounts of the present bright prospects opened up most vividly by President Wilson at Washington. Heartily were these welcomed by two or three of the Maori workers. How wonderful that those sons of the desperately hostile Maories of the 'sixties should now help us in France and eagerly welcome the new American plan for assuring a lasting peace. None of our officers' clubs or troops listened more keenly than those Maories to this transatlantic gospel. (The worst blow of my life came in 1919 when the United States left the League.)

As the autumn of 1918 dawned, our hopes ripened; for in turn Bulgaria, Turkey and Austria-Hungary collapsed, while even dominant Germany wavered. In my last talk, at Rouen, on the conditions of a permanent settlement, I suggested frontier changes in Europe not unlike those of the Peace of Versailles, except that Italy's improved military frontiers in the North and North East were *not* to absorb many thousands of hostile Germans and Slovenes. Also I expressed the hope that Britain and France would retain Germany's Colonies in Africa only as a pledge until she paid up her War Reparations. Even so, my moderate forecast awakened grave doubts; and a bleary-eyed soldier came up and blurted out—"By God, Sir, we'll have to fight for years before all that comes about." In vain did I strive to hearten him.

Yet, a month later, we in Cambridge went half mad with joy at the end of the War. About a year later, during a public meeting at the Guildhall, Sir Arthur Yapp, Chairman of the Central Y.M.C.A., declared that my addresses to the troops in France had been of national importance.

## Join The SOCIALIST BOOK CLUB

(Incorporating The Labour Book Club)

There is no Subscription

Members buy recent popular  
books published at 7/6, 8/6,  
10/6 and 12/6 for only

2/6

THE BOOKS ISSUED each month are selected from various publishers' lists, well bound in stiff covers, with an attractive jacket.

THE APRIL SELECTION is "THE SOCIALIST CASE," by Douglas Jay. A brilliant survey of democratic socialism written to prove that the Socialists' ideals can be achieved by democratic means. It discusses the problems of to-day in detail. This is a book that will be welcomed by all as a real contribution to intelligent reform, by one of the best known of the younger Socialists. (Published by Faber & Faber at 12/6.)

THE MAY SELECTION is "SMOKY CRUSADE," by R. M. Fox, factory worker, active member of the Socialist Party, journalist, poet. This book is vivid and inspiring Socialist history, as well as the moving story of one man's important part in the struggle for Socialism and world peace. (Published by the Hogarth Press at 10/6.)

DON'T MISS THE FIRST CHOICE  
JOIN NOW.

The Club is supported by—

Mr. R. W. Sorensen, M.P.	Mr. Laurence Housman.
Mr. H. W. Nevinson.	Prof. C. E. M. Joad.
Mr. Will Thorne, M.P.	Mr. J. Griffiths, M.P.
Mr. James H. Hall, M.P.	Dr. L. Haden Guest, M.P.
Mr. William Whiteley, M.P.	Mr. Ed. R. Pease, Etc., etc.

### YOUR MEMBERSHIP FORM

To The Secretary,  
The Socialist Book Club, 46, Southampton Row, London,  
W.C.1.

I wish to join the Socialist Book Club, and will accept the monthly selection costing 2/6 (post extra outside London). I will pay for it on receipt each month, for a minimum period of six months and until countermanding my order by giving four weeks' notice.

Name .....

Address .....

HWY .....

You may join through your local bookseller.

#### SEND NO MONEY

Unless you prefer to pay a six months' subscription of 17/6\* (thus saving yourself and the Club much time and detail work) when you will receive the monthly selection for six months post free to any address in the world. These books at published price would cost you about £3.

\*15/- in the London area.

Issued by the Socialist Book Club (R. F. Batty).

# INTERNATIONAL SANCTIONS

By W. ARNOLD-FORSTER

WE are accustomed in the League of Nations Union to maintain that "collective security," collective action to prevent and stop aggression is a desirable and practicable policy. We have argued that the authors of the Covenant were right in assuming that some kind of international sanction is one of the necessary foundations for a peaceful commonwealth of nations. We have recognised, as they did, that if war is to be got rid of, if the arms race is to be stopped, and if the anxious countries are to be induced to accept those peaceful changes of their rights which are found to be desirable in the general interest, the members of the international community must act together to restrain lawless violence. We have insisted that this policy of "steady and collective resistance to all acts of unprovoked aggression" was not simply an attractive dream dated 1919 but the sanest basis for the defence of this scattered and vulnerable British Empire. And we have rejected, as a travesty of the truth, the contention that Sanctions were fairly tried out in the Ethiopian case and proved a failure, and that "the League"—something outside ourselves—was given a task which was beyond its powers to fulfil.

To-day, four great Powers are outside the League, three of them hostile to it. Aggression is being committed in three continents, and the League is being used nowhere to restrain it. In no country is there, at present, any substantial confidence in the reliability of the League's guarantees of support to a member State which may be the victim of aggression; and this is not surprising after what has happened to China, Ethiopia and Spain, and after such speeches as Mr. Chamberlain's on February 22. Indeed, the British Government itself, which was returned to power after pledging itself to a policy of collective security, has contributed much towards the liquidation of the League's open alliance against war. Yet still we in the Union support that policy of collective defence. Still we urge that our Government should aim, during this dangerous time of transition, at creating conditions in which the collective peace system can work properly, rather than at "making anarchy work." We go on urging that it is less dangerous for our Government to strengthen the League's open alliance against war than to revert to the alternative policy of isolation or exclusive alliances against private enemies. And this brings us up against frank militarists and isolationists, against imperialists who pretend to be pacifists, and against absolute pacifists who will not face up to the crucial question—"for what purpose should the nation's power be used if used at all?" So our task, as an all-party organisation, is now in this respect, more important and much more difficult than

ever before. If we are adequately to defend the case for Sanctions as a necessary part of the collective peace system, we must—or at least a good many of us must—have at our command much more than a bagful of facile slogans about "collective security," "power behind the rule of law," or "carrying out our obligations under the Covenant"; we must be equipped to arouse the moral, political and technical objections that will be raised now, in the League's much weakened state.

The book under review is a valuable contribution towards this equipment, on the technical side.

Do not look here for a full analysis of the ethical questions debated by the P.P.U. The book only touches upon that debate. It recognises the fundamental differences between police action within the state, and international Sanctions against "an aggressor"; it recognises that "the strength of law depends essentially upon the consent . . . of the more powerful elements amongst those who live under it"; it stresses the necessity of genuine, working provisions for peaceful change, as a *complement* to Sanctions; but it summarily rejects the claim that peaceful change (it might have added, general disarmament) is a practical *alternative* to Sanctions.

"There is always a minority which does not accept the law, and when the law is flouted . . . law must be supported by Sanctions

if its rule is to survive and not to dissolve in anarchy."

Do not look here for direct expressions of opinion upon the policies of governments, such as those which so fortunately salt Prof. Toynbee's great volume on the Ethiopian War in the Chatham House "Survey." Some readers may feel that the attempt to eliminate political judgments has not really succeeded: others will feel that the elimination gives to such a book a certain unreality. But the facts, within the range to which the authors have limited themselves, are set out impartially; and it would be difficult, reading between the lines, to avoid the conclusion that French and British policy in the Ethiopian case was disastrously short-sighted and muddled. These bare facts, incomplete as they are, amount to an indictment, not of the policy of Sanctions and mutual defence against aggression, but of the governments which made nonsense of that policy.

The main subject of the book is a review of the various kinds of Sanctions, and of some of the problems arising from their application. The chapters dealing with economic and financial Sanctions are read mirably done and bring out many important points. Note, for instance, the difficulty of making financial Sanctions fully effective. Note the extraordinary fact that rubber tyres

THE  
**ANNUAL CONFERENCE**  
OF THE  
**WELSH NATIONAL COUNCIL**  
of the LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION will be held at  
**BARMOUTH**  
ON  
**FRIDAY and SATURDAY, JUNE 3 & 4**  
It is hoped that every Branch in Wales  
and Monmouthshire will be represented  
Full particulars may be obtained from the General  
Secretary, 10 Museum Place, Cardiff

were not included in the rubber embargo against Italy. Note the evidence that the oil embargo could have had an important effect if promptly applied even though, in such a war as this, Italy did not have to use great quantities. Note also that this weapon of oil embargo is rapidly losing its potential power against such countries as Italy, Germany and Japan owing to the development of substitutes for natural mineral oil.

The chapter on military Sanctions seems inadequate. There are some unprejudiced pages on the problem of an international force; the conclusion reached is similar to that commonly expressed in the L.N.U., viz.: that "There cannot be an 'international police' until there is an international Executive"; and that, whilst an international "police force" is "logically the ideal development of all forms of Sanctions," "there is a formidable list of conditions, both political and technical, which will have to be fulfilled before the world is ripe for the setting up" of such a force.

One of the most useful chapters deals with public opinion. It brings out the point that "if a system of Sanctions is to be a matter of party politics, advocated by one group, decried by another, the security which it will offer will be a highly problematical affair, depending upon the swing of the electoral pendulum." It would be hard to put more clearly the case for a steadfast, all party League of Nations Union.

In a final chapter, the authors summarise the experience of the Ethiopian experiment. They hold that if Sanctions are to be effective, they must be applied

immediately; and this evidently means that the League's members ought to equip themselves in peacetime with all the powers necessary for applying Sanctions when required. They hold also that there must be "the co-operation of all States, without serious exception," in enforcing the Sanctions. This seems to the reviewer to be an overstatement; though it is obvious that the Sanctions cannot serve their purpose unless the League has on its side the States which can bring to bear a preponderance of power in the area of conflict.

The book ends with this cautious but excellent hint to the reader:—

"The reader may possibly conclude that it is the absence of this 'union of wills' rather than any technical obstacles, or lack of efficacy in the measures available, which prevents the Sanctions of the Covenant from being the safeguard of peace and deterrent of aggression which they were considered to be by their designers. The question still remains whether, if the world lacks the spirit of courageous and self-sacrificing co-operation on which the Sanctions depend, any alternative course is available whereby the calamity of war can be permanently averted."

## INTERNATIONAL SANCTIONS

*A Report by a Group of Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.*

Published by the Oxford University Press. Price 12/6

## Don't spare the Rod and spoil the League

*No sincere believer in the ideals of the League can afford to miss reading*

## INTERNATIONAL TRAMPS

From Chaos to Permanent World Peace

by T. F. JOHNSON

(formerly Assistant High Commissioner of the League)

The author was responsible for the creation and execution of many of the League's outstanding successes and in this brilliantly written book he explains, from his 15 years' intimate inside knowledge, the causes of the League's failure and applies his practical mind to the **FIRST CONCRETE PROPOSALS FOR A BIGGER AND BETTER LEAGUE.**

### Some Press Opinions

"Should be read by all who are looking for methods of saving the world from further catastrophe"—*Reynolds News.*

"A great book and a fine work"—*Christchurch Times.*

"In this remarkable book Mr. Johnson takes you behind the scenes of some of the most remarkable events of the post-war world"—*Sheffield Telegraph.*

"Mr. Johnson tells the story with sincerity and eloquence"—*The Times.*

*We regret we have only room for these few out of the hundreds of flattering reviews the book has received.*

HUTCHINSON & Co. (Publishers) Ltd., 34, Paternoster Row, London, E.C.4



# THE I.L.O.

A Plain Account of the Greatest Experiment in Constructive Peace, by  
Kathleen Gibberd, Author of "The Unregarded Revolution"

## No. I. WRONG IDEAS AND RIGHT IDEAS

WHEN in years to come the standard history of the I.L.O. is written I think there should be a chapter on early misunderstandings. I hope that the unfiled letters and postcards which the Registrar in the Geneva Office has set aside as curios will not have been thrown away. Turning them over I wonder what the future historian will think.

There is the sheet of foolscap paper covered with large writing and dotted about with blots; it is from a man in a distant country who wants the I.L.O. to establish his claim to a pension of 7,000 francs. There is another long communication which begins: "J'accuse l'egoisme des nations" and explains what is wrong with the world. There is a rather involved letter from a citizen of the British Empire who describes himself as "a man that is eager to stretch his hands across the world," and goes on to say that "attendant upon that is the probability of my adding to the small stock of foreign stamps I possess."

There are a number of letters describing mechanical inventions that the writers have failed to get taken up, there are postcards bearing biblical texts, there is a printed plan for the abolition of suffering and death, there are pitiful letters from the unemployed—"Please do let me know a place for work."

But it is not only among the eccentric and the humble people that strange ideas about the powers and purposes of the I.L.O. have arisen. I learn upon unimpeachable authority that the government officials of a certain European country were once exceedingly troubled to receive an I.L.O. communication in a red cover; it was interpreted as revealing some connection with Communism. Again, in my own experience, the burgesses of an English city that is renowned for its learning and culture took strong exception to the use of a municipal building for a meeting about the I.L.O. on the grounds that the meeting was concerned with party politics.

But let criticism begin at home. As far as our country is concerned it is ourselves, members of the League of Nations Union, who have the responsibility for spreading information about the I.L.O. Have we done our job? I doubt it. Have we even taken enough trouble to inform ourselves adequately? I doubt that also. We have concentrated our attention on the political side of international co-operation and while we have been harassed by the spectacle of failures and set-backs on that front there has been twenty years of unregarded success in another field. Perhaps the name under which this other experiment has been carried on has daunted us. "International Labour Organisation" is no slogan;

nor does it bring a picture to the mind like "League of Nations." But all the more reason then why we should get a clear notion of what this Organisation is and what it is doing. And since the name is an awkward mouthful we can speak of it as they do in Geneva by its initial letters.

It will be the object of the series of articles, of which this is the first, to review the I.L.O. for HEADWAY readers. In the remainder of this introductory article let us, having recognised how easy it is to misunderstand the Organisation, get perfectly clear as to what are the underlying ideas. What does I.L.O. really seek to do? What, to use a tiresome word, is the ideology behind it?

I suggest that the "ideology" can be summed up in three simple statements:

1. The workers of the world have a right to humane conditions of labour, i.e., to social justice.
2. These conditions can only be obtained by international arrangement.
3. If you do not bring about social justice you cannot hope to preserve peace.

The recognition of these facts was one of the outcomes of the Great War. There had, of course, been humanitarian people from the early days of the Industrial Revolution

whose sympathies had been touched by the hardships of the workers—by child labour, by the exploitation of women, by the underpayment, the long hours, the victimisation of trade unionists, and so on. But sympathy is not so strong a motive for action as self interest. It was when the governments of European countries realised that victory depended on the co-operation of the workers that they were prepared to engage upon some permanent plan for the progressive removal of hardship and injustice.

But one of the greatest handicaps to better labour conditions was international competition. One nation could not afford to reduce working hours, increase wages, introduce social insurance and like ameliorations if other countries who were its competitors in world markets did not do the same.

And then there was the realisation that social injustice, the treatment of workers as if their health, happiness and leisure were of less importance than the conditions of life enjoyed by other people, created a festering sore. In Russia this social injury led to civil war. And who knows where civil war may not end?

And so it came about that the Peace Conference which met in Paris in 1919 had to devise some international organisation which would bring about an international march towards social justice.

### VISIT GENEVA IN JUNE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE

A party organised by the Union will leave London for Geneva on Saturday, June 11, to study the work of the International Labour Conference which will be then in session. Every facility will be given to follow each stage of the proceedings, and qualified members of the Staff of the I.L.O. will give lectures on different aspects of the work. There will be opportunities to visit the Offices of the League Secretariat and the I.L.O. The party will arrive back in London on June 19, and the fee (third class throughout and full accommodation) is £10. Write for fuller particulars to 15 Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

## FOR SPAIN AND CHINA AND PEACE

Report on the proceedings of the National Youth Groups' Council held in Edinburgh, April 15th—18th.

By GABRIEL CARRITT,

Secretary, National Youth Committee

THE Duchess of Atholl, Miss C. C. Koo, daughter of the Chinese delegate to the League; and Miss Olga Schieslova, of Czechoslovakia, brought messages of courage and urgency to the public meeting on the eve of the National Youth Groups' Council, at Edinburgh, on April 15. They received a great reception, starting with bouquets of flowers in the colours of the Spanish Republican, Chinese, and Czechoslovakian flags, and ending with a collection of £31 for relief of the Spanish and Chinese people.

That meeting struck a note which was maintained throughout the Council's business sessions.

No National Council meeting has revealed such clarity as to which are the main issues, nor such unity of purpose as to what must be done.

The delegates to the Council coming from all over England and Scotland again and again expressed their conviction that:—

(1) The principles of the League could still prevent aggression and that the foreign policy of our country must be directed towards drawing together immediately the Great Powers first, and the Small Powers next, to form a peace alliance against aggressors.

(2) That the key to peace for Britain is the defence of Spain. The Spanish Government can still win, said the Duchess of Atholl. The delegates agreed, and demanded that the Spanish Government be accorded its rights to buy arms and munitions.

(3) That the Anglo-Italian Agreement is a betrayal of our obligations under the Covenant and a shameful return to the machinations of power politics which will lead to another 1914.

(4) That the realisation by the people of the vital issues at stake is such, that the Youth Groups have a particular responsibility to overcome all party and sectarian barriers and mobilise the forces of the younger generation to play its part in deciding its own future.

To this end detailed proposals were adopted for (1) Developing the movement, and extending co-operation with branches, Junior branches, and the B.U.L.N.S., and with other organisations; (2) Organising an Emergency Youth Campaign to take the form of youth rallies in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Manchester, Birkenhead, Sheffield, Leeds, Sunderland, Birmingham, Nottingham, Bristol and Cardiff, to be followed by a National Rally at the Empress Stadium, London, on June 12; (3) Producing a more popular quarterly Youth Journal, and, in addition, eight monthly Youth chronicles.

The recommendations adopted by the Council are printed, together with the main resolutions on policy, and are available from the Secretary of the National Youth Committee.

If anyone doubts the force and enthusiasm latent in the Youth Movement to-day, let them come to the meetings and hear for themselves not only what the speakers say, but what the audience is prepared to give to carry the policy to victory.

£1,000 invested in  
the Planet Building  
Society a year ago  
is still worth  
£1,000 to-day

No 20% drop in market value.  
No anxiety about Income either.  
So if you are looking for an investment which will give you greater security of Capital and a good and reliable interest on it, the Planet meets your requirements. Moreover, your money is always available at short notice whenever you should wish to withdraw all or part of it.

The current rate is 3½%.  
As there is no Income Tax to pay, this is equivalent to

**£4·16·6%**

on a taxable investment

**PLANET  
BUILDING SOCIETY**

Founded 1848.

Funds £2,240,000

Reserves £150,000

Full details from the Secretary,

**R. J. DAY, 36 PLANET HOUSE,  
FINSBURY SQUARE, LONDON, E.C.2**

## READERS' VIEWS

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

### M. CODREANU

SIR,—I think it unfair that HEADWAY's space should be used in this manner, as shown by Mr. Macartney's long reply to my short objection to HEADWAY interfering in the Party politics of countries where the League of Nations is not concerned. I must, however, as he challenges me, deal with his letter. I am informed:—

(1) It is not true to say that M. Codreanu stated that Roumania should resign from the League although I should think that many attacks such as Mr. Macartney's would not pre-dispose him in favour of the League.

(2) It is absolutely incorrect to say that M. Codreanu was in any way a party to the murder of M. Duca; at the trial his innocence was clearly established.

P. HARRINGTON EDWARDS.

[NOTE.—Mr. Harrington Edwards thinks it fair for him to take up 31 lines of HEADWAY with a "short" attack on Mr. Macartney, ending with a demand for "some very good authority" for Mr. Macartney's statement and a protest against "article after article libelling those who are not Communists." But he thinks it unfair that Mr. Macartney should be given 35 lines in which to make a "long" reply. HEADWAY cannot see that Mr. Macartney's extra four lines are unfair to Mr. Harrington Edwards. The English courts are not accused of injustice because the defence is longer than the indictment. Mr. Macartney will have at his disposal adequate space for his rejoinder. It is HEADWAY's rule to allow those who are attacked in its columns to defend themselves in the same place.—EDITOR.]

### LAW AND ORDER

SIR,—Is it not time that prominent and responsible citizens who have been ridiculing the League of Nations since its birth should cease their antics? The alternative to a system of law and order through the League is now apparent. Had these citizens focused their attention, energy and ridicule on our local courts, magistrates and judges, there would not be peace in Britain, but anarchy and mob law. Long live law and order—nationally and internationally.

Thornton Heath.

A. E. LEGG.

### A BOLD POLICY IS NEEDED

SIR,—How much longer is this Hush! Hush! policy to be tolerated?

Where Great Britain is concerned Mr. Neville Chamberlain is the League of Nations; he and his supporters share a greater responsibility for its failures than any other member of the League. For six years it has been floundering, waiting in vain for a powerful nation to give it a vigorous lead.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain never has, and never will believe in a League of Nations; he has no intention of trying to make its machinery work. The same may truly be said of many of his supporters.

If it is right to fight Lord Beaverbrook, why is it wrong to fight Mr. Neville Chamberlain? Or is the L.N.U. to follow Mr. Chamberlain's example, oppose only when expedient, and truckle to powerful opponents.

Every enemy of the League should be fought. Avoidance of this issue is unfair to the League, and to Great Britain's

honour by acquiescence in the scuttling away from our obligations to smaller nations. Let us appeal to the Government ranks to fight their leaders on the peace question, support Mr. Eden, and secure the abandonment of the power policy and a return to the League. Lord Beaverbrook and Mr. Neville Chamberlain are not the people. The Peace Ballot showed that the one thing the people want is peace. The League's appeal can and will beat any person, however powerful.

The L.N.U. is killing itself by kindness. Its negative, watered down policy of peaceful penetration is sapping the enthusiasm of the pioneers.

A new spirit, a rallying and jumping off point, is long overdue. A bold forward policy would provide it, and give drive to the peace movement, which is so sadly lacking to-day. Loss of membership there must be for a time, but the loss would be the people who, in any case, would leave the movement at the first test.

Party before peace members and corporate membership are a delusion and a snare.

Our present policy has attracted many elderly ladies (bless them for their great loyalty) and a smaller number of elderly gentlemen. Eleven millions signed the Peace; a bold policy would appeal to these younger people. I would be prepared to increase my subscription four-fold, and would undertake to secure a new member for every one lost by the local branch.

The L.N.U. is always asking branches to secure youth. Let it first adopt a programme worthy of the enthusiasm of youth.

Is this a voice crying in the wilderness? I feel there must be many similar voices if they will only let themselves be heard.

R. A. WHEELER.

Rottingdean.

### POSTERS

SIR,—During the past year, I understand, the number of League of Nations Union posters used throughout the country has increased. With this increase in the number of posters used, and a decrease in the cost of production, the poster account of the L.N.U. shows a small profit for 1937.

May I appeal to all those Branches who do not already display a poster to obtain at least one poster site for 1938, and to those who possess only one poster site to increase their number. In this way the funds of the Union will be augmented, and at the same time the minds of those people who never attend meetings, and never read HEADWAY, etc., will be influenced by League principles.

Cases for the display of L.N.U. literature, and lists of Peace books to be obtained at the public libraries, also for advertising the special activities of the Branch, are extremely useful. They are, in fact, the next best thing to a "Peace Shop" for bringing before the public suitable literature.

Let us lose no time in making good use of this cheap, and yet effective, means of creating support for the League.

L. BOLT.

Sale, Cheshire.

### BOYCOTT JAPANESE GOODS

SIR,—Many are the enemies, conscious or unconscious, of justice, especially collective justice: and Mr. Cecil H. S. Willson is one. He opposes the trade boycott against Japan; and would paralyse all collective justice. He has no moral way to resist the Gangsters only to wring his hands in despair, and—do nothing!

"Such boycotts" (he says) "inevitably arouse bitter hatred and severe hardships among the masses of the boycotted nation, most of whom hate war as much as the L.N.U. They will only achieve the suffering of the innocent who are not responsible in any way for the war."

Mr. Willson's view is sentimentality gone mad. Such boycotts done thoroughly would make the gangsters desist, and seek peace, far quicker than without and so would save 450 millions of suffering, innocent, betrayed, fellow-human Chinese, whom he would cowardly desert.

He says again: "The experience of sanctions against Italy went to show that economic pinpricks merely exacerbate the aggressor nation, and achieve no effective result."

Yet Marshal Badoglio, in his book, admits that those same half-hearted sanctions (the only time they were ever tried) all but succeeded in stopping Mussolini; and Mr. Willson seems not to know that glaring fact. Besides, does he really expect the police never to exacerbate a murderer and burglar, in inconveniently stopping him? What sort of a mystical world (it is certainly not a very moral world) does Mr. Cecil H. S. Willson live in? Surely, his constituents ought to diagnose his attitudes.

Let him work for a strong, just League, and for collective justice, security, and defence, and not weaken the efforts of all good men by his paralysing, demoralising, evil cant, which would defeat that central justice which it is the main aim of the L.N.U. to promote.

ERNEST A. CAVE

The Laurels, Ickenham, Middlesex.

### COUNCIL'S VOTE

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

Bedlington, Frome, Fraddon and Queens, Fleet, Guernsey, Heyford, Hexham, Heanor, Leominster, Margate, Melbourne, Derby, Methwold, Roundhay.

### UNION MEMBERSHIP

#### Rates of Annual Subscription

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

**Registered Members**, to receive HEADWAY: 5s. a year, minimum.

**Subscription Members**, to receive the monthly NEWS SHEET, or, alternatively, the QUARTERLY NEWS, insofar as their respective Branches will distribute copies: 2s. 6d. a year, Standard Rate.

**Charter Members**: 1s. a year, minimum.

**Life Members**, a single payment of £25.

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

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

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

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

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

## The World's Design

by

SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA

"Senor De Madariaga writes with a wit, a fire, and an indifference to the approval of Governments and parties which are rarely to be found in books on international affairs, and with a wealth of experience rarer still."—*Manchester Guardian*.

"With the armaments kings working overtime it sounds like a voice in the wilderness, yet it suggests sincerity and sanity."—*Edinburgh Evening News*.

10s. 6d. net

George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

"GIVE to the World your BEST and the Best will come back to you"



The motto quoted above hangs in the workrooms of our Crippleage where Crippled Girls are trained to make artificial flowers. So realistic are these flowers that they are often mistaken for natural blooms.

90% of our girls are unemployable in the ordinary channels of industry. The training enables them to become partially independent and also self-respecting members of society. But it is all we can do to maintain our present strength—340 girls. Our WAITING LIST grows and grows. Funds are short to-day—we need your help.

Will you send us a contribution? Come to Edgware (any day except Saturday) and see what we are doing to help the Crippled Girls of Great Britain. Latest Annual Report gives fuller details. Would you like a copy?

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

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

# A CHINA BULLETIN

Supplied by The China Campaign Committee

## INTERNATIONAL AID TO CHINA

*Hankow, April.*

Dr. Norman Bethune of Montreal, Canada, well known for his blood transfusion work with the Government forces in Spain, arrived at the head of the medical unit from the U.S.A. The unit has been organised by a group of people in New York, among them William Dodd of the American League of Peace and Democracy. The unit consists of Dr. Bethune, a Canadian nurse, and, possibly, Dr. Charles Parsons of the Benediction Hospital, Kingston, New York. It will organise a field hospital to serve with the 8th Route Army in Shansi.

*Letter from Jawarlal Nehru, Anand Bhawan, Allahabad, March 23, 1938 :*

"There is very considerable feeling all over India against Japan's aggression in China, and a strong desire in many people not to purchase Japanese goods."

*Letter from Rammanohar Lohia, Secretary, Foreign Department, Indian National Congress :*

"The Indian National Congress was among the first mass organisations in the world to have expressed its solidarity with the Chinese people in their defence against foreign aggression. On two different occasions the President of the Indian National Congress declared all-India days for China when meetings were held throughout the country, even in remote villages, condemning Japanese aggression. It is difficult to give accurate numbers of people in the thousands of such meetings. But they might well be estimated between 5 and 10 million. You will also remember that India was perhaps the first country in the world where the people were asked to resist the purchase of Japanese goods. This was the only way in which we could have most effectively weakened the fighting capacity of Japan. . . . The Indian National Congress has also taken the lead in the rendering of financial assistance to the Chinese people. Several funds in support of the Chinese people have been started here and the total collections amount to something over £5,000. . . . There is a proposal to send an Indian medical unit to China. . . . I can only tell you that as soon as it got into the press that there was a proposal to send a medical unit to China I received a large number of letters from qualified surgeons, medical students, volunteers and even an Indian aviator, who were willing to volunteer their services for China.

*Egypt :*

The Women's International League in Egypt is organising a China exhibition in Cairo.

Great Britain: *Things Done and Doing :*

*April 5 :* At a Private Members' meeting in the House of Commons arranged by the China Campaign Committee, Dr. Sun Fo, President of the Legislative Yuan of the Chinese Government, stressed China's need for credits for purchasing railway material, etc.

*April 11 :* The China Campaign Committee organised a Press Reception for Bishop Paul Yu Ping, Vicar Apostolic of Nanking. Bishop Paul spoke of the unity

of China, of the Japanese atrocities at Nanking and of the preparations China was making to continue the war.

*April 24 :* Queen's Hall meeting to celebrate China's victories and intensify the boycott.

*April 25 to 30 :* China week at Unity Theatre ending with two performances at the Phoenix Theatre.

*May 19 :* A dance at the Princes Galleries, Piccadilly, under the patronage of H.E. The Chinese Ambassador, Mme. Quo, the Lord Mayor of London and others.

*Southampton Aid China Committee* consists of representatives of the Free Church Council, the League of Nations Union, Society of Friends, Church of England, Co-operative Development Committee, Co-operative Men's Guild, two local Labour Party wards, Left Book Club, Trades Council, central branch of E.T.U., Daily Worker League and Communist Party, Temperance and Band of Hope Council. It undertakes house to house collections, boycott poster parades, sales of Chinese literature, and is arranging for the performance of a play and deputation to shops, etc.

Recently the Chinese Government has been able to extend its credits abroad. According to the *Agence France Monde* she has obtained credits of :—

Two hundred million gold francs from France.

Seven million pounds for building railway and £20,000,000 for stabilising her currency from Great Britain.

Fifteen million dollars for the purchase of railway engines from the U.S.A., 3,000,000 Czech crowns for the purchase of arms and munitions from Czecho-Slovakia.

The recent congress of the Kuomintang Party at Hankow at the beginning of April was very important. It recognised Chiang Kai Shek's position as leader of the party, laid plans for reorganising the Kuomintang and for bringing the people into the government, announced that China would only make a peace that was compatible with justice, and cemented the alliance between the Communists and the Kuomintang.

Behind the war areas the Chinese pursue their work of reorganisation. Two great roads are being built, one from Yunnan to Burma, the other from Lanchowfu in Kansu, through Urga to Alma Ata in the Soviet Union. The road from Lanchow to Urga is now completed. They are to be connected by a railway from Yunnan to Lanchowfu.

From Canton, Hankow, Szechuan and Shensi comes news of the reorganisation of agriculture. Refugees are being settled on waste land, dykes strengthened, fresh land is being sown, farm co-operatives started and plans are in hand for increasing harvests and simplifying distribution of crops.

### SUMMER SCHOOL IN FRANCE

"The Science of Peace" is the subject of an International Summer School to be held at the Chateau du Montcel, near Versailles, from August 16-29. Lecturers include Madame Montessori, Bart de Ligt (author of "The Conquest of Violence"), Arnold Groeneveld, and Simone Weil. Accommodation for campers.

For fuller particulars, apply

**R. H. WARD, 72 Abbey Road, N.W.8**