

**LORD RUNCIMAN
IN PRAGUE**

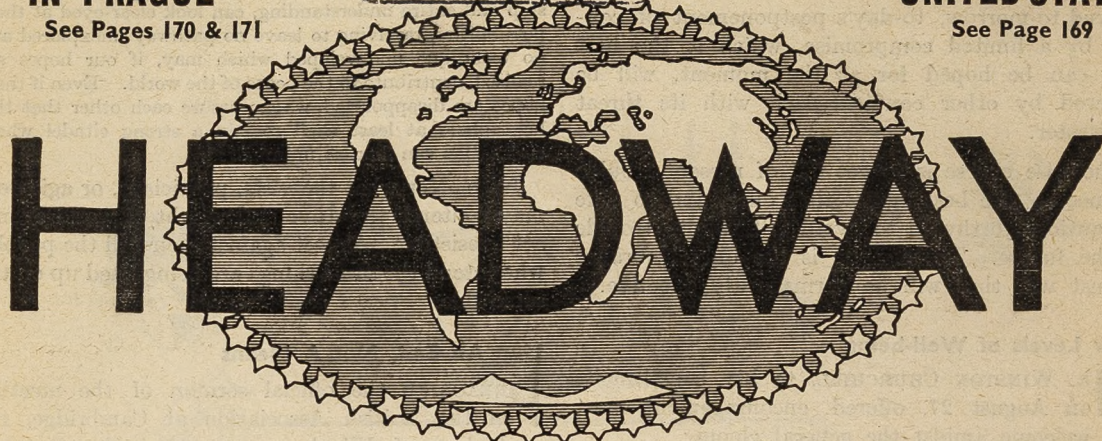
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**SUPPORT FROM
UNITED STATES**

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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. 9

[The Journal of the
League of Nations Union]

SEPTEMBER, 1938

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

Price 3d.

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NEWS AND COMMENT

Bad News and Good

POLAND, one of the chief beneficiaries of Geneva, is detaching herself from the League. She is relinquishing the semi-permanent seat on the Council to obtain which she provoked a crisis in 1926. It is a shock which would have been worse if her loyalty had not weakened continuously in recent years.

Further resignations are expected from South America. That is bad news. The Little Entente, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, and Yugoslavia, announces that its members mean still to stand together and will sign parallel non-aggression treaties with Hungary. Placing a high value on the League they will support it in such action as is practicable. Good on the surface, the news carries implications which are less agreeable. How resolute a collective stand for peace will be made in Central and South-Eastern Europe remains in doubt.

But, overshadowing everything else, and a stimulus to new and vital hopes, is the most welcome development in United States policy. It is a development and not an essential change, and for that reason the more important. President Roose-

velt and the Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, have declared more clearly than ever before that the American people are for the democracies, if they defend peace, and against the dictatorships, if they provoke to war. Going further, they say the United States is on the side in the world at large of the political system and the social practices—representative government and individual rights—which are part of the American tradition.

To-day and To-morrow

THE League of Nations is waiting to be used. That familiar comment on tormented Europe must be made again and again until it is acted upon.

To-day the League has been too gravely enfeebled by irresolution to offer an immediate means of averting disaster. But to-morrow a revived League can be capable of averting war, and not only of averting war, but also of calling into existence a world order in which all peoples, and all governments, will see that war is finally irrelevant. Admittedly, the problem of to-day comes first. It must be solved now. The problem of to-morrow, however, demands scarcely less

prompt attention. For, unless the League is revived to-morrow, to-day's postponement of conflict by a limited compromise, which is the best that can be hoped for at the moment, will be followed by other conflicts each with its threat of disaster.

The wise course is to get out of present trouble at once by the best means that offer, and to take precautions forthwith to avoid falling into trouble in the future. The League is the only insurance against war that will be permanently effective.

New Levels of Well-being

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL, to his constituents on August 27, offered encouragement most welcome amidst the general gloom:

If these perils pass the road will open to many good solutions for the mutual benefit of all. The road will also be open to a large expansion in the daily life of the great masses of the people of every race.

We might indeed even see a movement forward which would raise the human race to new levels of security and well-being such as have not been attained in any former age.

But, whatever may happen, foreign countries should know—and the Government is right to let them know—that Great Britain and the British Empire must not be deemed incapable of playing their part and doing their duty as they have done on other great occasions which have not yet been forgotten by history.

Where Thought Is Free

AT Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, on August 18, President Roosevelt made a speech which is interpreted everywhere as an encouragement to the democracies and a warning against aggression. He told a cheering audience:

The Dominion of Canada is part of the sisterhood of the British Empire. I give you the assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if the domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other Empire.

Developing his argument, he stated more clearly than he had done before the facts on which United States policy must be based:

We cannot prevent our people having an opinion in regard to wanton brutality, in regard to undemocratic regimentation, in regard to the misery inflicted on helpless peoples, or in regard to the violation of accepted individual rights. All that any Government, constituted as is yours and mine, can possibly undertake is to help make sure that the facts are known and fairly stated. No country where thought is free can prevent every fireside and home within its borders from considering the evidence for itself and rendering its own verdict, and the sum total of these conclusions of educated men and women will in the long run become the national verdict. That is what we mean when we say that public opinion ultimately governs policy. It is right and just that this should be the case.

We in the Americas are no longer a far-away continent to which the eddies of controversies beyond the seas could bring no interest or no harm. Instead, we in the Americas have become a consideration to every propaganda office and to every General Staff beyond the seas. The vast amount of our resources, the vigour of our commerce and the strength of our men have made us vital factors in world peace,

whether we choose or not. Happily, you and we, in friendship and entire understanding, can look clear-eyed at these possibilities, resolving to leave no pathway unexplored and no technique undeveloped which may, if our hopes are realised, contribute to the peace of the world. Even if these hopes are disappointed, we can assure each other that this hemisphere at least shall remain a strong citadel where civilisation can flourish unimpaired.

No matter what theorists, politicians, or agitators may contend, the drive and weight of world events are irresistible. Almost against their will the peoples who intend the same things are being lined up on the same side.

Man An End, Not A Means

PREACHING the official sermon of the meeting of the British Association at Cambridge, the Bishop of Winchester accepted the "ethical neutrality" of science. But he did not find the world which science has helped to make a heartening spectacle:

New and formidable barriers have been set up by a distorted and exaggerated nationalism. The totalitarian State uses the resources of science to make itself self-efficient and to provide itself with explosives and gas to make effective its power politics. In the Press, the wireless, and the cinema it finds channels for unscrupulous propaganda on behalf of a narrow and perverted nationalism, and for the poisoning of the minds of its subjects against other countries. . . . If there is to be true charity the individual must be recognised as an end and not a means; but many States treat their subjects as mere instruments of their will, with no individual rights at all. . . .

With the growth of nationalism and the loss of freedom there has been a revival of deliberate cruelty. In Russia whole classes have been deliberately exterminated. In Germany and Austria the Jews are suffering the kind of persecution which was typical of mediæval savagery at its worst. In Spain and in China the civilian populations are ruthlessly slaughtered from the air. East and West the army of wretched and penniless refugees steadily increases.

We are experiencing something like this great terror which swept over Christendom at the end of the first millennium when the end of the world was prophesied. Judged by the test of charity our civilisation is largely a failure. . . .

The Ape Has The Aeroplane

AFEW days earlier Professor C. E. M. Joad had made the same point in the livelier fashion characteristic of himself and suitable to the London Vacation Course in Education for Teachers:

Men of genius by the dozen, men of talent by the hundred, laboured in order that wireless might be. The miracle was performed, but with what result? The ultimate ether vibrates to the sound of negroid music and wireless waves transmit such announcements as: "Ladies and gentlemen, Syd Ambone will now sing 'Tripe and Onions.'"

It is this contrast which constitutes the danger to our civilisation—the contrast between the marvel of man's powers and the imbecility which he brings to the use of them. The symbol of this contrast is the aeroplane, the greatest of man's inventions, which, nevertheless, threatens his civilisation with destruction. The Superman made the aeroplane and the ape has got hold of it.

We must not let loose on a modern community any more inventions, or subject it to any more mechanisation until we have prepared the community for their impact.



MR. JUSTICE RUNCIMAN RESERVES JUDGMENT.



HEADWAY

SEPT. 1938

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A REVIVIFIED LEAGUE

ALL EUROPE longs for peace. War is a nightmare fear which chills millions of hearts. Propagandists may dress violence in deceptive colours and give it misleading names. The peoples see the reality. They know that war means the slaughter of soldier and civilian alike. Bombs and poison gas spare neither young nor old. And in the general ruin civilisation will be overwhelmed. In another world war there would be no victors, no vanquished, but only victims. A military parade announcing a bloodless triumph may excite a transient acclamation, although even then enthusiasm is subdued by the anxieties of the decent, quiet men and women who are the vast majority of every nation. A death struggle would arouse very different feelings. The men who began it could not hope to stave off the passionate resentment of their own people. Yet a war that ought to be impossible threatens Europe.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain and Sir John Simon are not war-makers. Their worst enemies would not bring against them the charge of active mischief implied in the word "maker." The accusation rather is that by their refusal to take sufficiently strong action in good time they permit the darkening of difficulty into danger and pave the downward path towards disaster. The only sense in which they provoke war is that they fail to prevent it. Their friends, and they have many, contend that their smooth words and deprecatory attitudes have exercised a precious influence for the preservation of peace. On one point friends and enemies are agreed. Mr. Neville Chamberlain and Sir John Simon are not men who cause trouble by being too quick to suspect aggression and too stiff in resisting it. All the more significant is it that they should have felt themselves obliged to utter and to repeat words of the gravest warning. In Czechoslovakia statesmanship is being put to the test. At any moment an inability to see that there are two sides to the question, an insistence that all the claims of one party shall be satisfied and all the rights of the other ignored, may begin a war to whose range no limits can be set. Mr. Chamberlain, who is still trying to conciliate Italy in Spain, and Sir John Simon, who tried to conciliate Japan in Manchuria, say Great Britain cannot remain indifferent in face of such a calamity. No one must count on her standing aside. In the most formal fashion in the House of Commons, on March 24, Mr. Chamberlain warned the possible aggressor. On August 28, after consultation with Mr. Chamberlain and Viscount Halifax, and with the collective assent of the Cabinet, Sir John Simon repeated the Prime Minister's declaration. The words used by the two leaders of the Government carry a far heavier emphasis because they are the same.

How is it possible that Europe is plunged into such dangers of her own creating within 20 years of the close of the first world war? The answer is—through failure to use the League of Nations. Between 1918 and 1938 the rulers of the world, and not merely of Europe, have thrown away chance after chance to organise peace on the basis of the Covenant. They have been lavish in promises. Occasionally they have ventured upon a partial performance. But at moments of crisis they have refused the adjustments and withheld the efforts necessary to convert into political facts: collective security, peaceful change, the settlement of disputes between nations by process of law, disarmament. They have shrunk from the supreme task of changing the law where it is unjust and enforcing the law where it is just. And the peoples, not fully informed how disastrous must be the consequences, have allowed lack of vision and failure of courage to be passed off as prudent statesmanship. The argument that a bold course would be too risky and too expensive has captured an often doubtful assent. To-day the results are plain for all to see; the fatal brood are coming home to roost. In spite of astronomical arms budgets which are draining industry of its resources and diverting its activities to unproductive uses, the risks of to-day have grown so hideous and so real that they make the risks of yesterday appear in comparison no more serious than childish fancies. In the Far East the massacre of the Chinese people goes on. They are dying in uncounted thousands of wounds, disease, and famine. The more prosperous, finer, happier future they had been building is shattered in the dust. The general ruin involves vast British economic interests founded on devoted work during several generations and giving employment to whole communities in Great Britain. Throughout Africa the credit of the white race is shaken by a war of naked spoliation; the dark continent is threaded by the journeys of passionate missionaries preaching the doctrine that Imperialism has no law either for white or black but only privileges for the one and penalties for the other. Much of poverty-stricken Spain has been trampled into desert by foreign armies which still refuse to leave that tortured land to find its own peace. The policy of living safe and saving money and losing the League has not been a success.

At long last the exact opposite must be attempted. At long last but not yet too late. The League must be called into vigorous life. The nations who mean their renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, who are ready for the peaceful settlement of all disputes, who will play their part in making the law just and in enforcing a just law are still numerous enough and strong enough to save the world's peace. They can convince the whole world that only by peaceful means can the remedy of just grievances be obtained whereas a resort to war must provoke complete disaster. Through the League the great aims can still be attained to serve which the League was established. The first step must be bold leadership in the League Assembly by Great Britain and the British World Commonwealth, by France, and by Russia. Foresight and courage will win the support of Scandinavia and much of Central and South-Eastern Europe, of the Baltic Republics and Turkey, of much of the outer world. It will encounter no formidable opposition.

MAXWELL GARNETT

By The EARL OF LYTTON, K.G., *Chairman of the Executive Committee League of Nations Union*

THE closing of a chapter in any human story has its elements of sadness, and the retirement of Dr. Garnett from the Secretaryship of the League of Nations Union is definitely the end of a chapter in the history of our organisation. It is a chapter on which he will be able to look back with pride and satisfaction. When he first became its Secretary, in 1920, the Union was but a small organisation. During the 18 years in which he has been responsible for its administration he has seen it grow from strength to strength, increasing annually in numbers, popularity and influence until its peak was reached in 1935 with the achievement of the National Peace Ballot, when it succeeded in getting its ballot papers into almost every house in the country without the aid of any official machinery, and polling nearly 12,000,000 votes—a larger number than any political party had ever secured in a General Election. That was a truly remarkable feat of organisation, quite apart from the sense in which the overwhelming majority of the votes were cast.

In the last three years the Union has suffered from events for which it was in no way responsible, and a decline in its membership was the inevitable consequence of a discouragement caused by the repeated failures of the League of Nations to deal effectively with the serious international crises which have followed in quick succession the first betrayal by Japan, in 1931, of the principles of collective action for the maintenance of peace which are embodied in the Covenant. The Union is now faced with the necessity of a drastic reorganisation of its work and a curtailment of its expenditure. The need for retrenchment was one of the causes which led some members of the Executive to consider that a change of Secretary was desirable. But other causes also existed. In times of adversity, when things are going badly, criticism is always apt to fall on those in charge of a movement, and the critics are not always very discriminating in their judgment of cause and

effect. Nerves become frayed and harmony is destroyed. In such circumstances a change of personnel is usually advocated as the best means of restoring unity and confidence. It is a common experience in all political movements, although this knowledge affords little consolation to those who are the victims of such circumstances.

Among Dr. Garnett's critics there were none who did not realise and admit his sincere devotion to the cause of the Union and the untiring zeal with which he has worked for its welfare. He never spared himself, and it was through overwork and anxiety for our cause that his health was seriously impaired in the spring of this year. As one who had the privilege of working with him I can honestly say that no man ever gave himself more generously and wholeheartedly to his work than Dr. Garnett. His ability, his character, and the high position which he held in the educational world was a great strength to the Union and he will be a difficult man to replace. Like all of us he had the defects of his qualities and found it hard at times to accept the limitations which are necessarily imposed on an executive officer. It is sincerely to be hoped that before long he will feel able to join our Executive Committee and help us in the shaping of our policy, not as a servant but as a colleague.

I have spoken of Dr. Garnett's retirement as marking the end of a chapter, but it was only the first chapter in the history of a movement which has still a great future before it. The important thing now is to look forward rather than backward, to start writing the next chapter and concentrate all our efforts on making that chapter a record of progress and success. Next year we shall be celebrating the Union's 21st birthday and a united effort is required by all our branches during the coming 12 months in order that in October, 1939, we may be able to assure our Presidents that all is well with the Union.

HOSPITALITY FOR REFUGEES

To The Editor of "Headway"

SIR,—May I make an appeal through your columns on behalf of the Hospitality Sub-Committee of the Co-ordinating Committee for Refugees? Briefly, the work done by this body is the organisation of hospitality over here in England for Austrians and Germans who have, because of racial persecution, been obliged to seek refuge outside Germany and Austria.

In many cases these refugees have been through the most distressing experiences and are pathetically grateful for hospitality in a country where they are secure from persecution. Therefore any offer of hospitality will be most gratefully accepted, but in particular offers in or near London are most urgently needed so that those refugees who are emigrating to other countries may keep in close touch with the Authorities until their emigration papers are through.

Secondly, offers of hospitality for a short time to meet emergency cases while accommodation of a more permanent nature is being arranged, will be of infinite value.

Finally, it would be of great service if offers were made a short while before the kind host or hostess is prepared to

receive guests, for the Home Office does not permit refugees to enter the country until accommodation has been arranged for them. If the Committee therefore know beforehand what accommodation can be relied on, arrangements will be much facilitated.

To illustrate the kind of work that the Committee are doing I would like to quote, in conclusion, a particular case of a man and his wife, both of them medical doctors, leading useful lives. The husband was arrested for no other reason than his Jewish descent and put in prison, and his wife did not dare go out into the streets for fear of a similar fate. These people will be emigrating to the United States of America shortly, and in the meantime hospitality is being given to them in England.

May I therefore appeal to any of your readers who are in a position to tender a real service to their less fortunate fellow creatures, to communicate as early as possible with the Hospitality Secretary at 20, Gordon Square, W.C.1?

MARY ORMEROD,
*Hon. Secretary, Co-ordinating Committee
for Refugees.*

AUSTRIA UNDER THE NAZIS

By MARGARET O. H. LEWIN

who tells what she saw and heard in Vienna during a recent visit.

IN their treatment of Austria the Germans are proving themselves bad psychologists. At the time of their entry in March the enthusiasm was so widespread and so genuine that even those Austrians who have never had any leanings towards National Socialism, say that the results of the plebiscite were not so fantastic as one might suppose. With a free and secret vote, Hitler would certainly not have got 99½ per cent., but he might easily have got 70 per cent. In the inner districts of Vienna voting was secret, but in other places one more or less had to vote outside the polling tent, because the S.S. man in charge asked if one would save time by voting at the table, or if one wanted to go inside. It is not recorded what happened if one seriously voted No, but an 80-year-old acquaintance of mine polled outside the tent, and being a little short-sighted, put her cross against the No. Before she had time to put it in the ballot box, the man in charge said: "I think you have voted in the wrong place. Here is another paper and that is where you put your cross." It would be interesting to know whether a younger person who had inadvertently been so courageous, would have received such gentle treatment.

In considering the feelings of the Austrians one must divide the period since the *Anschluss* into two parts—one from March 11th until April 10th, and the other from April 10th onwards. Until the plebiscite, the Austrian Nazis were contented because they thought that their turn for power had come at last, and the populace generally hoped that the coming of the Third Reich might herald a new era of prosperity. The authorities did everything to foster their hopes and keep the Party Armies under control.

During the last three months, however, the situation has worsened progressively. The Austrian Nazis saw that the Germans did not intend to give them control over Austria, and all the jobs for which they had hoped were given to Party men from the Reich. As a consolation they received adequate encouragement to take the persecution of the Jews into their hands, and as a demonstration against the government they instituted a system of terror and robbery not only of Jewish but also Aryan property, which was entirely unauthorised by the Party. The persecutions which have taken place in Vienna have, according to the most authoritative German opinion, exceeded anything which took place in Germany in 1933, and have made the non-Nazi Austrians glad that the Germans are there to check them.

The working classes have also found that they are very little better off than before. It is true that employment is on the increase and there are far fewer able-bodied beggars on the street than under the last government. But wages are not high and since workmen are often sent without their families to work in distant parts of Germany, they have to support two establishments. This together with rising prices has raised the cost of living considerably.

Among the professional classes there have also been

great changes. The majority of the civil servants and business men of about 40 or 45, whom I knew when I was in Vienna before have been dismissed with very small pensions. These men are now unable to support themselves and their families and have no hope of employment in the future. Although their lives and freedom are in no way endangered, they very naturally wish to leave the country to make their living elsewhere, but there is even less possibility for them to emigrate than the non-Aryan refugees of the same class, who must go as soon as possible in order to escape imprisonment and persecution.

It is only reasonable to expect that the young Austrians who have taken the places of these middle-aged men would be in favour of the government, although they are mostly not Nazis. Their positions and salaries are far better than they could have expected under the old regime, even if they are not as high as those of the men they have succeeded. Without exception, however, I found that these young men were just as discontented as their elders. Many of them asked me if it was not possible for them to emigrate to the British dominions as they had, in return for their jobs, been pressed into some party organisation and were forced to spend part of their time investigating and spying on suspects, the alternative being a sojourn in Dachau. They were tremendously shocked at the indiscriminate persecution of the Jews, and, though anti-semitic in theory, they now have a profound sympathy with the Jews and never say a word against them.

The violation of Austrian tradition, such as the abolition of the old provincial boundaries of Vorarlberg and Burgenland, the pulling up of the lilacs in the Heldenplatz in Vienna and the transfer of pictures and treasures from the Viennese museums to Berlin, have created great unrest. The greatest cause of discontent is perhaps the limitation of freedom. The old regime was not very liberal, but at least there were no informers; letters could be written without fear of their being opened in the post and the newspapers gave fairly accurate news of the outside world. But now they are cut off from their friends abroad and have no means of communicating with them openly.

The Austrians realise that the *Anschluss* is now irrevocable and they admit that a union with Germany as such is highly desirable for Austria. It is the quite separate process of Nazification which they dislike and also the fact that they are expected to put aside their own civilisation and traditions in return for another one which means very little to them. Since, however, they know that general discontent is very far removed from a constructive opposition to National Socialism, they are willing to resign themselves to the present regime, in the hopes that it may in time become more liberal, rather than exchange it for a worse form of tyranny, which would almost certainly follow a revolution at the present time.

World Conference on the Bombardment of Open Towns and the Restoration of Peace

By A Member of the British Delegation

THE present state of emergency in which the victims of aggression are placed demands the most intense effort by all lovers of peace on their behalf. It becomes yet more necessary that the Governments should apply a policy based on the principles of Collective Security. It becomes vital that steps should be taken to end the bombardments of civilians, and, moreover, that the peoples should make every effort to assist materially the civilian populations, whose desperate plight, quite apart from all other considerations, weakens politically their Governments and thus endangers the whole future of peace.

It was to develop and intensify every form of assistance to the victim nations that the International Peace Campaign organised the recent Paris World Conference.

The response to this appeal was remarkable: 1,000 delegates from 34 countries met in the Palais de la Mutualité where the Conference was held. They included such widely varying personalities as Viscount Cecil, who presided, Senator de Brouckère, the Bishop of Albany, Leon Jouhaux, the Duchess of Atholl, La "Pasionaria," Commissioner Cunningham, of the Salvation Army, Martinez Barrio, President of the Cortes, Theodore Dreiser, the Abbé Mahieu, and Marcel Cachin.

The strong British delegation represented all sections of opinion in Britain. It included Parliamentary representatives of all parties, Mayors, Church leaders, national Trade Union officials, scientists and intellectuals, and editors of famous periodicals. British peace organisations, especially the L.N.U., Women's organisations, Youth organisations, and Relief Committees were strongly represented.

M. Leon Jouhaux opened the first session. He was followed by M. Pierre Cot and Lord Cecil. Lord Cecil, who was received with immense applause, outlined the aims of the conference, and emphasised that the underlying solution to all these evils was the strengthening of the League. M. Pierre Cot laid great stress on the urgent need for the conference to arrive at the essentially practical decisions which the situation demands. This call for action was echoed by the other speakers. It met with an even more striking response from the delegates, who, indeed, ultimately demanded and obtained a modification of the agenda which limited the speeches and extended the time allocated for the work of the Commissions. Other speakers, during the first day, included Mgr. Maingold, Martinez Barrio, who presided over the second session, the Dean of Chichester, M. Thunborg, the President of the Swedish Trade Unions, and M. Jaques Duclos.

The terrific heat which prevailed was alleviated, thanks to the civilised customs of the French, by the presence of an excellent bar. A pleasant café, close to the entrance of the Palais, won the favour of many delegates, especially the British Trade Union delegates, who, when absent from the hall, were always to be found there, sampling, albeit with a tinge of dissatisfaction, iced French beers.

The work of the conference was carried out in the two Commissions. The Commission on the Bombardment of

Open Towns met in the Cercle des Nations, the club founded by the French R.U.P. The Commission on Food Supplies met on Saturday in the Salle des Savants, and on Sunday morning in the Palais de la Mutualité.

After the speeches of Senator de Brouckère, Dr. Prochazka, from the Czech delegation, the Bishop of Albany, Senator Cachin, the Duchess of Atholl, and M. Paul Boncour, the delegates considered the resolutions, which they unanimously adopted. The General Resolution expressed regret that "... The weakness and acquiescence of certain great States..." had strengthened the hands of the aggressors. Pointing to the actual strength of the democratic powers and welcoming the declarations of Mr. Roosevelt and his ministers, the resolution appealed for the revitalisation of the League and energetic preventive action by the democratic Powers.

The Conference adopted a detailed policy which the delegations pledged themselves to press their governments to apply; amongst its clauses were the following:

- 1.—(a) The withdrawal of all foreign combatants from Spain.
- (b) In the meantime the restoration to the Spanish Government of all rights of trade.
- (c) If efforts to obtain withdrawal are unsuccessful, the immediate transfer of the problem to the League.
- 2.—The removal of the ban upon the purchase of weapons, etc., needed by the victims of aggression for defence against aerial bombardment.
- 3.—The granting of loans to the victim countries for the purchase of such defensive material.
- 4.—The application of a ban on the sale of materials used in aerial attack (petrol, etc.) by aggressor states.
- 5.—The organisation of the evacuation of civilians in threatened areas employing any transport services, shipping, etc., that Governments may own or control in that area.
- 6.—Use of the fleets of the democratic governments to protect ships carrying food to the victims of aggression.

It was resolved also that a campaign should be conducted round the League Assembly, that protests should be organised at times of large scale bombardments, and that governments should be petitioned to co-operate with international organisations to prevent bombardments and to provide efficient anti-aircraft defence.

But these decisions will have been of no value unless they are translated into living fact. The British National Committee is resolved to utilise the wide representation at Paris, and the proposals that were produced, as a basis for widening and intensifying the activities undertaken in Great Britain. In order to ensure this, a series of Regional Conferences is being organised at which specific measures for implementing these proposals will be taken. Already definite arrangements have been made for such conferences in London (September 10), Manchester (September 10), Portsmouth, Hucknall, and Surrey County. Plans are in hand also in Newcastle, Leeds, Liverpool, Glasgow, Belfast, Bristol, and other important centres.

The leading role in the present world situation is inevitably for the British people. It is hoped, by means of these conferences, that much wider sections of the public will be made active in fulfilling this role in the fight against aggression, and in assistance to its victims.

How Britain and U.S. Can Help World Trade

By E. V. FRANCIS,

the well-known financial journalist, who forecasts the provisions of the Anglo-American Pact

NO ONE who scans the international horizon with hope of rescue can fail to recognise the vital importance of the negotiations which are shortly to bring into being a new Anglo-American trade treaty. It is on this treaty that the hopes of the democratic countries are concentrated not only for its potential contribution to world trade but also for the vindication of the principles of economic liberalism by which they stand.

For Britain and the United States, it is, needless to say, of the greatest significance both as a test and a climax of their respective commercial policies. For it is designed to throw a highly strategic bridge across the gap now existing between the commercial systems which each has created out of a series of well-integrated trade treaties with other countries. Between them, the U.S. and this country alone account for 30 per cent. of the world markets.

Of the progress of the negotiations, it is known only that they are progressing satisfactorily, that the tariff bargaining difficulties which might have held them up have now been resolved, and that the Treaty may be expected within a month or even less.

The lines along which the agreement will run are fairly well-defined. In the first place, the United States may have required concessions from Britain on lighter manufactured imports, such as electrical apparatus, typewriters and the like, which are now taxed by tariffs ranging from 20 to 30 per cent. and motor-cars, which pay 33½ per cent.

While it is possible that some of the benefits will be conceded, the tariff reductions involved are likely to be restricted in all cases where the goods are directly competitive with British production. The Federation of British Industries has already made itself clear on this point. Nevertheless, there is no reason to believe that any fundamental difficulties will have arisen. In the first place, a large range of American goods are so specialised as not to be directly competitive with British products. Secondly, U.S. manufacturers have been able to some extent to escape the higher import duties by opening branches in Canada for the production of motor-cars, tinned foods and so forth, thereby qualifying for Imperial Preference. In such circumstances it should not be difficult for the two Governments to strike a compromise on the question of finished goods.

What is more certain, however, is that the U.S. Government will have stuck out for worth-while concessions on its agricultural exports and very possibly on timber too. And here the whole crux of the problem lies. For concessions on agricultural imports can only be made at the expense of the Dominion producers who benefit by imperial preference, seeing that there can be no interference with the protection of British farmers. Even in this case the difficulties are less formidable than might appear at first sight. Of the U.S. principal imports, cotton is already tax-free, tobacco is not directly competitive with the Empire product, mineral oils receive no preference, while wheat appears in recent years to have been affected more by adverse weather and the New Deal than by tariffs.

On the other hand, the U.S. is also very much concerned with having an easier entry into this country for bacon, hams, and timber, imports of which have declined sharply since 1929. Wheat may also be included in the list, now that the U.S. promises again to be a substantial exporter of this commodity. These products are directly competitive with Dominion products and the countries most likely to be affected are Canada and Australia. In return, therefore, for any possible loss of preference they now receive, Canada and Australia will expect compensation from the United States in the form of a modification of the Hawley Smoot Tariff in their favour. This contingency has been foreseen well in advance, and is being dealt with accordingly by bilateral negotiation. There should be no grounds for pessimism on this score in view of the favourable attitude of the Dominion Governments concerned.

Without under-estimating the difficulty of making concessions, there does seem on the British side to be a sufficient margin of manoeuvre to make possible the conclusion of an effective trade pact. What then may be expected from the Americans? Let it be said from the outset that the large favourable balance of trade which the U.S. has with this country cannot be regarded as any measure of Britain's counter-claims for concessions. The U.S. has an unfavourable balance with the rest of the Empire, and any attempt to readjust trade on these grounds alone would gravely prejudice colonies like British Malaya and British West Africa, which have no chance of buying as much from the U.S. as she buys from them.

The case for American concessions to British manufacturers rests on the unreasonably high character of U.S. duties on some sixty commodities, in the export of which they are most closely interested. Among these commodities are, firstly, high-class textiles, which are not strictly competitive with American industry. Secondly, there are others, like anthracite, tin-plate, linen yarns, which account for such a small proportion of domestic sales as not to make much impression on the U.S. manufacturer. In the third class also are exports like cotton goods, ferro-alloys, heavy woollens which have lost ground in America on account of vindictive tariff treatment. In all such cases Britain may justifiably expect concessions, for apart from the reciprocity argument, it may be claimed that the losses incurred in American markets have not been due to competitive inefficiency on the part of British manufacturers but rather to tariff discrimination.

On both sides, then, there are considerable opportunities for reducing trade barriers between this country and the U.S. It is to be hoped that these possibilities will have been fully realised when the Treaty comes shortly to be published. Such an agreement has everything to recommend it. In times like the present, when liberal economic relations throughout the world are being undermined by the subversive restrictionist tactics of the totalitarian Governments, it is, for political as well as economic reasons, wise, expedient and necessary.

Mr. CORDELL HULL

Order Under Law Must Prevail

The Text of a broadcast to the World from Washington on August 17th

ALL nations have a primary interest in peace with justice, in economic well-being with stability, and in conditions of order under law. Each of these objectives is to-day seriously jeopardised in many parts of the world. All Governments and all peoples should, therefore, be on guard against certain dangerous developments.

There confronts the nations to-day a clear-cut issue: Is the future of the world to be determined by universal reliance upon armed force and frequent resort to aggression, with resultant autarchy, impoverishment, loss of individual independence, and international anarchy? Or will practices of peace, morality, justice, and order under law, resting upon a sound foundation of economic well-being, security, and progress, guide and govern in international relations?

All will have to go in the same direction. The first of the alternative ways lies through military adventuring to international lawlessness, the result of which is chaos. The other way leads through the exercise of moral restraint and the observance of international obligations and treaties to conditions of order based upon law.

No modern industrial nation can maintain proper standards of living without international trade. Shut off from international trade, nations face deterioration and decline. As trade barriers mounted on every side, as the movement towards economic nationalism gathered momentum, it became only too clear that either the excessive trade barriers between nations must be reduced or the pressure of nations to gain access to needed raw materials and to equally necessary foreign markets by conquest of additional territory and the tactics of the mailed fist would become intensified.

To-day invasion of territory of sovereign States, destruction of lawfully constituted governments, and forcible seizure of hitherto independent political entities . . . interference in the internal affairs of other nations, wholesale violation of established treaty obligations, attempts to adjust international differences by armed force—all these appalling manifestations of disintegration seriously threaten the very foundations of our civilisation.

There is and there can be no doubt as to the preference and desire of the people of the United States. We want peace, we want security, we want progress and prosperity for ourselves and for all nations. We believe in, we support, and we recommend to all nations economic reconstruction as the foundation of stable and international well-being.

We believe in, we support, and we recommend respect for and observance of treaties, including in connexion therewith modification of provisions of treaties when and as needed, carried out in a spirit of helpfulness and accommodation.

We believe in, we support, and we recommend self-restraint in pursuit of policy and non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations, and the settlement of differences by processes of peaceful negotiations.

We believe in, we support, and we recommend collaboration between and among representatives of the nations, and the freest possible intellectual interchange between and among their peoples—to the end that thereby understanding by each country of the problems of others and of problems that are common to all may be promoted and peaceful adjustment of controversies be made more readily possible.

We are also convinced that no other programme can in the long run check and reverse the present ominous drift towards international anarchy and armed conflict on a gigantic scale, which, if it comes, will destroy not only the material achievements of the past centuries but also the precious cultural and spiritual attainments of our modern civilisation.

Each day's developments make more and more clear the fact that our own situation is profoundly affected by what happens elsewhere in the world.

Whatever may be our own wishes and hopes we cannot, when there is trouble elsewhere, expect to remain unaffected. When destruction, impoverishment, and starvation afflict other areas we cannot, no matter how hard we try, escape impairment of our own economic well-being. When freedom is destroyed over increasing areas elsewhere, our ideals of individual liberty, our most cherished political and social institutions, are jeopardised.

When the dignity of the human soul is denied in great parts of the world, and when that denial is made a slogan under which propaganda is set in motion and armies take the field, no one of us can be sure that his country or even his home is safe. We well know, of course, that a condition of chaos will not develop overnight; but it is clear that the present trend is in that direction and the longer this drift continues the greater becomes the danger that the whole world may be sucked into a maelstrom of unregulated and savage economic, political, and military competition and conflict.

Hence it is necessary that as a nation we become increasingly resolute in our desire and increasingly effective in our efforts to contribute along with other peoples—always within the range of our traditional policies of non-entanglement—to the support of the only programme which can turn the tide of lawlessness and place the world firmly upon the one and only roadway that can lead to enduring peace and security.

As more and more nations accept this programme and demonstrate their will to work together for the restoration of sound economic relations, of international morality, and of the principles of international law and justice, it will become more clear—even to the nations which now profess to place their reliance solely on a policy of armed force—that the overwhelming majority of mankind is determined to live in a world in which lawlessness will not be tolerated, in which order under law will prevail, and in which peaceful economic and cultural relationships will be inviolate.

WHAT PRAGUE THINKS OF LORD RUNCIMAN

By VANDELEUR ROBINSON

who lived for several years in Czechoslovakia, is one of the few Englishmen who speak Czech fluently. He is a recognised authority on the country.

Prague, August 18, 1938.

It must be extremely exasperating for the Czechs (or so one would imagine) to have to endure a running fire of French and British advice upon their internal problems, and to have a British investigator in their country, passing judgment upon matters which, by international usage, belong to the exclusive sovereignty of the Czechoslovak Republic. We should be most unwilling to admit a Frenchman or a Russian to tell us what to do about the Welsh or the Scottish nationalist movements. The Czechs, however, entirely conceal any resentment that they may feel beneath a remarkable cloak of sweet reasonableness.

Our excuse for interference is nothing less than the motive of self-preservation. In 1914 a dispute between Austria-Hungary and Serbia, whose affairs as such were of no concern to us, precipitated a war in which there perished 9,000,000 men, of whom 1,000,000 were British. Our inability to influence the course of Austria's quarrel with Serbia was too costly in its consequences to bear repetition. However diffident we may feel about interfering, no country's sovereignty can prevent us from endeavouring to forestall a similar chain of circumstances. Hence the mission of Lord Runciman.

The Czechs have accepted Lord Runciman with excellent grace. They like him, and they have confidence in his ability to form a just appreciation of their position. Sincerely convinced of the justice of their cause, they believe that truth is great, and will prevail. So long as the Sudeten question is argued along the lines of genuine grievances, and the means of redressing them, they are prepared with an answer upon every point; either a concession is possible, and will be made, or it is not possible, and its refusal will be convincingly justified. Arguments of an emotional character, such as: "Where there beats a German heart, it beats for Hitler," are not expected to impress Lord Runciman.

The Government proposals, when they reach their final shape, will be submitted to Parliament in the form of a Nationalities Statute, Languages Statute and Administrative Statute. Some parts of these measures will be carried by the votes of the ordinary majority of Deputies supporting the present Coalition. Others involve alteration of the Constitution, and the law provides that they can only be adopted by a three-fifths majority; that is to say, by 180 votes in an Assembly of 300. Herr Henlein can count upon the votes of 45 Deputies of his own party, and an uncertain number of those who were elected as German Christian Socialists and German Agrarians, but whose parties have thrown in their lot with the Sudeten Deutsch Partei. If Henlein rejects the Government's concessions, and his supporters vote against the Bills in Parliament, it will

only be possible to carry through the provisions which affect the Constitution by means of the support of some of the non-Coalition parties, such as the German Social Democrats, the non-German minorities, the Slovak opposition (Father Hinkla has just died), the Communists, and the National Democrats.

Yesterday I conversed with a number of eminent Czech journalists and editors of leading Prague dailies. They thought the Czech public was prepared in principle for concession, but would have to be further educated in regard to the particular concessions contemplated. They did not attach importance to the manifesto purporting to be from a body of army officers (reported in London papers) which demanded that no concession be made.

The National Democrats are the Right Wing party, formerly led by the late Dr. Kramar. They stand for private enterprise and free (or freer?) trade. It is here, if anywhere, that Chauvinism might be expected, and consequently resistance upon nationalist grounds to concessions to the Germans. The party has not yet defined its attitude, but its Chairman told me to-day that he considered the Germans in Czechoslovakia had already the substance of equal rights, and the Statutes were therefore only concerned with embodying the "de facto" position in legislation. He thought the reforms were really quite unnecessary, but was willing to concede them to oblige Great Britain and France, and to show the Germans that there was no desire to humiliate them by an *appearance* of inequality, which might rankle.

The National Democrat leader was particularly glad that Lord Runciman understands economic questions, because much has been made of the economic difficulties of the Sudeten Germans. He trusts Lord Runciman to realise that these are matters affecting Czech and German equally; he and his party make the same criticisms of the Government's economic policy as do the Sudeten industrialists and other Right Wing parties. He flatly denied that the policy, however much he disliked it on other grounds, was discriminatory as between Czechs and Germans.

Upon the economic problem of Germany herself, the view was expressed that, although Germany opposed the Hodza and Tardieu Plans for a Central European economic bloc, she might now come into such a scheme if she were allowed to participate. Such a solution would remedy some of the economic ills of Germany and of the Danube Basin without damaging the political independence of the non-German States.

All the Czechs, official and otherwise, with whom I have conversed are absolutely opposed to the suggestion that the predominantly German areas should be given

territorial autonomy and control of their officials and police. This attitude is justified by two considerations. First, if the Sudeten Deutsch Partei controls the frontier districts, it will be in a position to paralyse the defence of the country, thus depriving Central and Eastern Europe of their bulwark against German expansion. Nobody here believes in the theory that Hitler only covets lands inhabited by Germans. Secondly, the Czechoslovak Republic cannot betray to the horrors of Nazi oppression the hundreds of thousands of its citizens in the German districts who are Czechs or Jews or German Social Democrats. Already the Jews are abandoning their businesses in these areas. Some of the larger factories have been bought by Czech concerns, such as Bata and the Zivnostenska Banka. "Personal autonomy" for citizens of the minority peoples, in whatever part of the Republic they may live, can be conceded; but not the administrative control of territorial areas by Nazis, which would entail the loss of "personal autonomy" by the minorities inside autonomous areas.

The problem of the relationship between the two peoples of Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia is not a new one. It was frequently canvassed in the Austrian Empire from 1849 onwards. In 1880 a plan for a Bohemian Diet with a Curia for each of the two peoples was suggested, but rejected. In 1905 a similar arrange-

ment was put into force in Moravia, and apparently gave satisfactory results. There was a Moravian Diet, which appointed a governing Council and the bodies responsible for education and similar matters. The Czech members of these bodies were chosen by the Czech members of the Diet, the Germans by the German deputies. Each office had thus its German and its Czech departments, dealing with German and Czech business. A revived Moravian-Silesian Diet and a similar Bohemian Diet are the basis of the proposed Administrative Statute. The various minorities in Slovakia are to be dealt with by a Slovak Diet on the same lines.

The Czechs would not be human if they did not hope that, brought face to face, through Lord Runciman, with the realities of the Czechoslovak situation, the British Government will realise the community of interests between Great Britain and Czechoslovakia. Against the German minority as such there is no vindictiveness; but there is a determination not to submit to Fascism. Lord Runciman is sifting the genuine minority problem from the threat of aggression and oppression.

The Czechs speak the language of reason and of democracy; they are passionate lovers of liberty, and they are prepared to die for their love.

Author of "International Tramps" Replies To A Critic To The Editor of "Headway"

SIR,—I would beg the hospitality of your columns for a brief reply to the review of my book, "International Tramps," which appeared in HEADWAY.

In accusing me of writing in a revengeful spirit, your reviewer surely exposes his own inspiration, since it is difficult to find any other explanation for the combination of bias and ignorance displayed by him. He should at least have a passing acquaintance with an important League activity.

It is most regrettable that the reviewer did not apparently acquaint himself fully with the organisation of the Nansen Office. Nor could he have appreciated the relevant chapters of my book. He would, if he had done so, have avoided committing himself to the astoundingly inaccurate assertions that I was "the virtual dictator . . . of the Nansen Office . . . loosely controlled, on the basis of annual reports which he himself composed . . . and barely supervised by absentee presidents."

As a matter of fact, the Nansen Office, by virtue of its statutes, was controlled by a Governing Body, a Managing Committee and a Finance Commission, with which were associated numerous advisory committees. In the absence of the statutory president of the office, there automatically came into force a rota of acting presidents resident in Geneva. An acting president was therefore in daily control of the Office.

With reference to the annual reports to the League Assembly, these were submitted not by me, but by the Governing Body, in conformity with the statutes of the Office. They were first approved by the Managing Committee and Finance Commission and finally by the numerous individual members of the Governing Body, including the Secretary-General of the League and the Director of the International Labour Office.

It is true that "the author was unique among League officials . . ." but it is not true in the ambiguous sense implied by your reviewer. Dr. Nansen was good enough to attach so much importance to the retention of my services for the Nansen Office that he insisted on obtaining

from the League an assurance that my engagement should continue so long as the League was doing work for refugees. No other official of the League, within my knowledge, possessed such an irrevocable contract. This, I hope, is a complete answer to your reviewer's offensive suggestion concerning my resignation. Since 1921 disgruntled political elements had endeavoured to force the resignations of Dr. Nansen and his personal collaborators, who had resisted efforts to make them the instruments of political intrigue. When, finally, I was reluctantly forced to the conclusion that it was a waste of time to continue to fight for impartiality, I decided to resign. This decision, and the reasons for it, were fully explained in my book. My policy and action were fully vindicated by subsequent events—among them the decision to liquidate the Nansen Office and to set up an impartial organisation for the refugees.

Your reviewer further accuses me of decrying my former collaborators. Actually, I devoted considerable space to ungrudging praise of those who shared my devotion to Dr. Nansen's principles—notably Professor Noel Baker, Colonel Procter, Messrs. Frick, Lodge and Quisling. My criticisms, supported by facts, were confined to those who for political, personal, or allied reasons betrayed Nansen's principles, the ideals of the League and the interests of the refugees.

Not one of those criticisms has been met openly, although, in pursuit of the policy I deplored so much in my book, the President of the Office has communicated privately his observations thereon to League circles. The readers will doubtless draw the obvious conclusions from that procedure.

And may I be allowed, finally, to call attention to the reviewer's assertion that Judge Hansson, the present President of the Office, draws no remuneration? Those who have read my book will now know that remuneration in the League assumes many and varied forms. Some of them—such as a personal allowance and freedom from all taxation—are enjoyed, *inter alia*, by the present President of the Nansen Office.

T. F. JOHNSON.
Kensington, W.8.

THE NEW "HEADWAY"

READERS WILL HELP TO REINFORCE FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE

SEPTEMBER HEADWAY is the last of the old order. The next issue will be bigger, better and brighter. It will contain more articles by famous writers. It will be fully illustrated. It will employ every device of honourable journalism to capture the attention of intelligent men and women. It will appeal to learned and unlearned. It will ask from its readers only the ability to understand plain straightforward English and a willingness to think seriously sometimes on serious problems.

The post-free distribution will continue to all members of the League of Nations Union who make an annual contribution of 3s. 6d. or more to the Union's funds. The 3s. 6d. subscription ceased to be open to new members from January 1, 1938. In addition, the paper will be sold to the general public on all bookstalls and through all newsagents. Every trade channel will be used to secure the vastly wider circulation which the supreme importance of the topics it discusses and the policy it champions ought to command. Expert opinion is unanimous that time and circumstance are uniquely favourable. The British people were never more eagerly, even desperately, interested in world affairs. There is imperative need that they should be. Shadows of war are the commonplace of their morning and evening papers and of the news bulletins of the B.B.C. War planes sweep across the sky singly or in flights or squadrons; few parts of the country do not see daily evidence of their increasing numbers and their ceaseless activity. A.R.P. appeals flame on the hoardings and are debated in local council chambers. Rearmament absorbs always larger sums from a trade whose volume shrinks ominously. There is an unsatisfied demand for trustworthy information and competent guidance. The new HEADWAY has an opportunity to perform a public service of high value and immediate urgency. The experts agree that the demand exists; success depends on the enterprise and energy with which the paper is conducted.

And on one further condition. The active loyalty of the paper's 60,000 present readers must be preserved, and their help, and the help of all the Union's 350,000 members, enlisted in making the new order known to the general public and in enlisting new supporters. Publicity is a crucial difficulty in all adventures in popular persuasion. Whoever sets out to rally a people behind a policy must first get a hearing. He must induce them to listen while he tells them what he is doing. Then he can go on to explain why he is doing it. The Union is continually faced with this puzzle. How can it bring to the knowledge of its innumerable potential sympathisers its meetings, its conferences, its campaigns?

HEADWAY, read by the general public as well as by members of the L.N.U., with a total circulation of 200,000 or more, will be an organ of regular publicity for the Union and the League such as they have never possessed. Their case will have a monthly audience all the year round and month after month which spreads far

beyond the limits of actual Union membership. By that very fact, a most promising field of recruitment for the Union will be created, maintained, extended.

From the new HEADWAY the Union cannot fail to receive many and great benefits. But first the paper must be made known. The news of its appearance must reach every likely reader. Here is an immense task. Its full accomplishment is impossible unless there is brought to it the enthusiastic help of every friendly agency. In particular, the part played by Union members during the next few weeks will make or mar the venture. Through their branches or as individuals they can give the new HEADWAY much of the publicity which it needs. They can obtain mention of it in their local newspapers, they can exhibit its posters, they can distribute its leaflets, they can mention it to their newsagents, they can persuade their friends to order it, they can buy an additional copy and give it to someone they think will be interested.

No effort will be spared to make HEADWAY worthy of such service. The present development is possible because a group of convinced believers in a resolute League policy as the only way of escape from disaster for Great Britain and the world have subscribed a substantial capital. As an additional assurance that the paper's continuity shall be maintained, and to associate its readers directly with its growth, some of the shares are open to subscription by Union members in small units to limited amounts. Particulars of these can be obtained from HEADWAY, 19, Devereux Court, Strand, W.C.2. What is more, a substantial share of the profits is guaranteed to the Union. Neither the Union nor its members are being deprived in any sense of the profits or the paper by the introduction of adequate funds. And, as necessary as money, great abilities will be devoted generously to the work. Many leaders of national life have promised to write for HEADWAY. Amongst them are Mr. Anthony Eden and Viscount Cranborne. In high office, at a time when many great questions thronged to be decided, they learnt that the world needs a vigorous, revitalised League; now as private members of Parliament they are making full use of their recovered freedom to extend and strengthen popular support for the cause.

Other famous contributors to the new HEADWAY will be the Hon. Harold Nicolson, M.P., Lady Violet Bonham Carter, and Mr. Wickham Steed; articles by all these will appear in the October number. The writers in later issues will be no less brilliant. Regular despatches from correspondents in the world's capitals who are compelled to remain anonymous will tell the inside story of world diplomacy. Often it is surprisingly unlike the official version. Another feature will be "The Facts Behind the News," supplied by men and women with unique sources of information; they are in positions to know what is happening.

For such a paper there is a place. In helping such a paper to succeed, its readers are reinforcing the foundations of peace.

WHAT THE LEAGUE COULD DO TO PREVENT CRUELTY TO ANIMALS

By I. U. BAILEY

IN his recent book, "Ends and Means," Mr. Aldous Huxley reminds us that "real progress is progress in charity." If this is so, is it not time that the League of Nations concerned itself more than it has done with kindness to animals? Whatever else it is, charity includes kindness.

Advance has been made by means of education and legislation in this and other countries; but much remains to be done and many necessary reforms in the treatment of animals and the prevention of injury cannot be put into practice without international action. The nations to-day are so intimately inter-related that often it is impossible, or useless, for one country to act without the co-operation of others concerned. Oil waste from ships, for instance, is no respecter of territorial waters.

Examples of cruelty spring all too numerous to mind—the fox caught in a steel trap in some forest, dying slowly of starvation and thirst, or frozen to death, while suffering agony from its lacerated limb—baby seals left to starve on snows, their mothers slaughtered for their skins—ospreys and egrets exterminated for their plumage while their young die from starvation or exposure—sea gulls, their wings clogged with oil waste, perishing of starvation on the seashore.

These and many other forms of cruelty cry aloud for redress, and there are signs that public opinion—notably among women—is beginning to realise the necessity for international action. The International Council of Women, at its jubilee conference in July last, passed a resolution to include "the protection of animals and their legal status in its programme of work."

The Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals—the oldest animal protection society in the world—which has done splendid work in inculcating kindness to animals and initiating legislation, tried in 1936 to get Article 23, section (a) of the League Covenant amended so as to include animals. This article refers to "humane conditions of labour for men, women, and children," and it was proposed to add the words "and animals." The attempt was considered inopportune and for the moment has been dropped, but it is felt by many that section (b) of the same article, where the words "just treatment of the native inhabitants" occur, points the way to what should be the rule for animals.

Meantime, a start has been made and the League has drawn up three conventions relating to animals or birds, but only one of these is yet in force. This is a Convention for the Regulation of Whaling which was ratified by 20 countries and came into force in January, 1935. This applies only to whalebone whales and "prohibits the taking or killing of Right Whales, Calves, Female Whales and Immature Whales." A further international agreement on whaling made between Great Britain, Germany, Eire, Norway, U.S.A., and Mexico, came into force in May this year. This covers about half-a-dozen kinds of whales.

An important convention affecting cattle, horses, sheep, and other animals, is the International Convention on the Transit of Animals, Meat and other Products of Animal Origin, drawn up by the League and signed by the representatives of nine Governments, in

March, 1935. This includes provisions for the unloading of animals only under the control of Government veterinary officers and for the proper loading, feeding, watering, and cleaning of the animals during transit "in order to avoid unnecessary suffering." Unfortunately, so far only four countries (Belgium, Latvia, Roumania and U.S.S.R.) have ratified this convention which cannot come into force until a fifth has done so.

In one other direction the League has taken action. On the initiative of the British Government, it was decided at the League Assembly, in 1935, to call an international conference to formulate an agreement on oil pollution of the sea and consequent damage to sea-birds. A draft convention and final act were drawn up and sent to Governments with a request for replies by April, 1936. Among other things, the draft act laid down that Governments should urge shipowners to instal separators on new vessels and should provide facilities in ports frequented by oil-burning vessels for separating oil and water. Up to the present, the international conference has not been held because, although some Governments have replied, several important maritime countries have not yet signified their willingness to participate.

One of the most urgent needs is for an international convention on draught animals, so often over-loaded, over-worked, ill-fed and ill-treated, especially in some of the Eastern lands where, not merely callousness or thoughtlessness, but bad roads and poverty conspire to cause misery to "our dumb friends."

Many countries are less advanced than our own in regard to the use of the humane killer, and this is another pressing problem which the League might tackle.

These are but a few among many questions which demand international co-operation. In the treatment of women and children, hours and conditions of labour and other matters, the League is working steadily to raise standards and to level up the lowest till they approximate to the higher. In this intricate question of kindness to animals, it is surely time that the League accepted the major responsibility and initiated international action on a large scale to raise the levels of conduct all over the world.

Does this sound too remote from the League's primary task of peace-making? Are not indirect methods sometimes of great value in achieving desired results? and may not co-operative action in *positive* acts of saving life and engendering kindness towards animals prove a strong link in the chain that one day will bind the nations together in brotherhood?

How can the individual L.N.U. member—and especially the woman member—help towards such an end? Interest and inform her friends, initiate discussion and get resolutions passed at branch meetings, suggest a public meeting with a special speaker on the subject, write letters to the Press; train children in kindness to animals; refuse to wear ospreys, sealskin or furs from cruelly-trapped animals. In other words, help to form an enlightened public opinion which, in the end, is what gets things done!

How The I.L.O. Machinery Works

By KATHLEEN GIBBERD, Author of "I.L.O., The Unregarded Revolution."

THE other day someone said that the International Labour Organisation was the most efficient piece of international machinery that had so far been contrived. In this my last article of the series, I propose that we go behind the scenes and find out how the machinery works.

There are two parts of the I.L.O. machine and they are closely related. One part is concerned with the new labour laws. The other is concerned with collecting information. Let us examine the second part first, as the other really depends on it.

The International Labour Office in Geneva is a long building with rows of windows looking East and West, like so many eyes watching the world. And in point of fact there sits behind each window an international official scrutinising the world, not through his window, but through the facts and figures on the table before him. Every now and then the door of his room opens and a white-coated messenger enters. On to the desk he dumps a pile of papers—newspaper cuttings, periodicals, Government publications, letters from five continents. Patiently the official goes through the pile, sifting, sorting, copying, selecting. In some rooms this work will be interrupted in order to dictate a letter. Very often the letter is asking for more information. It may be going to Belgium or Brazil, Switzerland or Siam—to any of the 62 countries that belong to the I.L.O.—or even to Germany who belongs no longer. Thus there is being collected in Geneva a great mass of carefully-docketed information about industrial affairs—about unemployment, about health insurance, about dangerous trades, about workers in the tropics, about workers on board ship, about hours, wages, emigration, rural life, domestic service. And that is only a short selection from a very long list. Governments, employers and workers from all over the world make constant use of this information, but what is equally important, it serves as the basis of the new labour laws with which the other part of the I.L.O. machine is concerned.

What are these laws? How are they arrived at? Are they effective?

The I.L.O. is not a supreme authority, superior to the governments of the countries that compose it. It is, like the League of Nations (from which by the way it gets its money), a society of States, and it cannot therefore enact laws, it can only offer proposals. These proposals are of two kinds. The more important are *Conventions*—that is to say, draft laws. The others are *Recommendations* and are precisely what the name implies. Both must be passed by a two-thirds majority at the International Labour Conference. This Conference meets in Geneva in the early summer, and to it each State-Member sends two Government representatives, an employer and a worker. Any Convention or Recommendation passed by the International Labour Conference must be considered by the national parliaments within 18 months. Conventions, if adopted ("ratified") must be adopted precisely as they stand. They cannot be adopted in part only.

But a great deal of work is done both before a Convention is debated at the Conference and after it is passed. Let us take as an example that interesting Convention which says that all workers shall have a week's holiday with pay every year. For years the workers had wanted a Convention on this subject and hoped to see it on the agenda of the Conference. But the executive committee of the I.L.O. decides on the annual agenda. This committee is called the Governing Body. It is composed of equal numbers of government, employers' and workers' representatives. In 1933 the Governing Body said the word "Go" as regards this reform. Immediately a number of officials behind those windows in the Geneva Office began to examine the world to find how many workers and in what countries already had paid holidays. They produced a Grey Report setting out their discoveries. At the 1935 Conference every delegate was presented with a copy. The question before the Conference was: "Has the time come to make this reform universal?" The majority answer was "Yes." Again the office workers got busy. They wrote to the Government of every country in the I.L.O. asking: "Do you agree to a Convention on this subject? Do you consider a week a year to be the length of holiday for adults? Do you agree that young persons should have a fortnight? They published the answers in a Blue Report. Again the Conference met. Now each delegate had a Blue Report. The crucial moment arrived. The vote was taken on the Convention. The requisite majority was obtained.

And now the officials in the Office keep badgering the Government to know if they are going to ratify. And when they have ratified the officials will every year send out a series of searching questions to make sure that the law is being enforced, that the workers are, in fact, getting their holidays.

And so we come to the question: Are these Conventions effective?

The answer is undoubtedly, yes. The Geneva Office produces a printed sheet showing the response it has had to the 62 Conventions already passed. It is a quite impressive sheet, but it does not tell everything. It does not tell you that when one of these Conventions is passed it is universally recognised as the standard and that whether ratified or not the reform it embodies tends to come about. A Convention makes the whole world of governments and of industry wake up; it gives a tremendous impetus to social progress. Have we not all been hearing more about holidays with pay since 1936 than ever before? The officials behind the Geneva Office windows read their success in the newspaper cuttings that the messenger now brings to their desks. And I know that in this month of August, 1938, some of them look out of their windows to the mountains of France, a few kilometres away and reflect that as for their own summer leave this year it is no good counting on going there. For in Geneva now we hear that the French hotels in the Jura and Savoy are quite full up with French workers enjoying their paid holidays.

What May Happen in the League Assembly

From Our Special Correspondent

GENEVA, August, 27

IT cannot be said that there is so far much enthusiasm here for the forthcoming Assembly of the League of Nations. The Assembly opens in an atmosphere of such international tension, connected mainly with subjects with which clearly the Assembly is precluded from dealing, that it is hardly likely to prove a focus of news interest, unless something very unexpected occurs.

Of the twenty-six items so far on the Agenda of the Assembly, one only can be described as a vital present-day interest, namely, that of the bombing of civilians by military aircraft, an item placed recently on the Agenda at the request of the Spanish Government. Here, although there may be some plain speaking, it is difficult to see what practical action the Assembly can take, since the bombing is clearly being carried out by States which either are not, or will soon cease to be Members of the League of Nations.

For particulars about shares in the new HEADWAY, available to members of the L.N.U. in small units to a limited amount, write to HEADWAY, 19 Devereux Court, Fleet Street, London.

The rest of the Assembly's Agenda is routine work of which almost the only items of interest are the election of three non-permanent Members of the Council and the election of a new Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice to fill the place of Mr. Ake Hammarskjöld, of Sweden, recently deceased. It is interesting to note in this connection that, for the first time for some years, representatives of two non-Member States will sit on the Council and the Assembly to assist in this election. These are: Brazil, which resigned in 1926, and Japan which left the League in 1931. It is worthy of note that the German Government has not even replied to the Secretary-General's invitation to be represented as a non-Member at this election.

The elections for the Council are for the purpose of filling the places vacated by Ecuador, Poland and Roumania. Any of these three Powers may, of course, offer themselves for re-election. But beyond the fact that it is fairly certainly known that Poland will not seek re-election, there is no hint as to who the successors are likely to be. Poland's decision not to seek re-election may be regarded as certain. She is gradually eliminating herself from the League of Nations, and her decision finally to close down her permanent delegation accredited to the League as from November 1 next was made official this morning.

The only other question of interest which will probably arise during the Assembly is that of the unfortunate Article 16 and Sanctions. It is practically certain that, at some time during the Assembly, and under one or another procedure, the Oslo Group will propose an Assembly Resolution concerning the optional

interpretation of the penal clauses of the Covenant. Any debate on such a resolution means the re-opening of the famous discussion of last January in the Committee of Twenty-eight, when the British Government, through the voice of Lord Cranborne, so nobly defended the Covenant in its entirety. The conditions will be somewhat different in September, though it is only fair to the British and French Governments to realise that they are faced now with a much more considerable opposition to the Covenant as it stands than they had ever anticipated. That this is partly their own fault is neither here nor there, but there can be no doubt that the South American States, for example, will watch this debate with the closest attention, and it is more than possible that any decision re-affirming the letter of the Covenant may lead to further resignations from the League. All these resignations may be postponed until a further impetus to pan-Americanism has been given by the Lima Conference at the end of the year. Meantime, League circles suck what comfort they can out of the friendly, if somewhat ambiguous references to the League made by President Santos of Colombia on assuming office early this month.

It may be well for the League if next September it has no history. There is much to be said for lying low in time of trouble. But one cannot escape a depressing feeling that the whole vast organisation in the great building by the Lake is revolving ponderously in the void, rather like, as a colleague put it to me the other day, a very expensive motor-car engine turning over in neutral.

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HUTCHINSON

THE MIDDLE SEA

A review by Freda White of "The Mediterranean in Politics" by Elizabeth Monroe. (Oxford University Press, 10/-)

THESE are many contemporary books about international affairs, many bad books. It would be a pleasure to write a Philippic on their badness, but the temptation, though severe, must be resisted. The virtue of rarity of "The Mediterranean in Politics" is that it is neither the tough kind which the learned swallow with pain but the unlearned cannot even chew, nor the tasty kind which the infantile gobbler and the adult nauseate.

For one thing, it is well written. The style is clear and straightforward, as pointed as the best journalism, and that is a very different thing from journalese. It is concise; the whole book is, thank goodness! short. And it is frequently, thank goodness! funny. The Mediterranean heat gives off sparkles, which the author transmits, as one herself a sparkler can. An immense amount of solid information is behind the lucid writing. There is plenty of it in the text, for that matter, but it is as lightly and as exactly managed as the rapier in an expert swordsman's hand. The economic material is excellent and given due weight; indeed, it may sometimes cross the reader's mind that Miss Monroe, in her own fashion, belongs to the Marxian or economic school of historians. Except that she by no means holds the Marxian view of capitalism. In fact, the book has an intrinsic importance, subject apart, as work written on a serious topic by a scholar for popular reading. It has an immense potential public.

But the subject is the thing. There lies the Mediterranean, tideless, warm, and still, till it whips up into one of its vicious tempests. Since the war the cyclone of nationalism has deepened steadily over it; the old peaceful trader's sea has become a political storm-centre. The Powers—Britain, France, Italy, Turkey; the lesser States—Spain, Yugoslavia, Egypt, Greece; the Arabic subject-races along the South and East, from Morocco to Syria, are all troubled; expanding, or threatened, or seeking freedom. And each of them is involved with all the others; if you doubt it, read what Miss Monroe has to say of the importance of Greek policy to Britain.

Why Remain in the Mediterranean? That question, which would never have entered our grandfathers' heads, is a clue. "Modern war, since the menace of air and submarine attack have turned the whole 1,900 miles from Gibraltar to Port Said—not to mention the further 1,200 miles down the Red Sea,—into a canal too narrow to allow of the defence device called evasive routing." A second is the trade-route, a route which is vital to Italy, and extremely valuable to Britain. A third is what we vaguely call Power Politics—a discordant harmony carried on a growling jazz counterpart of subject-race discontent. For example, the Syrians hate the French, the Palestinian Arabs and Jews hate the British; the Egyptians do not like even the remnants of British influence. Yet if they are offered Turkey or Italy as a dominant partner they think again. They remember Turkish rule, although Arab nationalists may take Italian money, as nations at war, great and small, have always taken any money they

could get; they knew all about the Italian extermination system in Cyrenaica.

Something I owe to the soil that grew,
More to the life that fed
But most to Allah Who gave me two
Separate sides to my head.

The sense is as sound as the verse is bad. Miss Monroe qualifies by this test which should be self-applied by all who deal in foreign politics. She gets into the skin of France and Italy; sees the view of the Turk and the Algerian. The most enthralling chapter, to me, is that on French interests. Much of it is new in English print. And it has a unity due possibly to the French artistry in thinking. Those who suppose that all French colonial officials are still imbued with the crude doctrine of "assimilation" for North Africans will be surprised. But the most pressing Mediterranean problem now is, of course, the rivalry between Italy and Britain. Miss Monroe sets out its elements; for Britain established interests, duties of a ruler of Jews especially, value as a protection for Egypt, desire for peace, damaged repute since 1935. For Italy trade interests, rehabilitation of the Italian settlements abroad, Germany on the Brenner Pass, Mussolini's resolution to dominate *mare nostrum*. Over all the imminent threat of war.

The author devotes her last chapter to her view of what British policy ought to be. She has the best right to back her fancy. And yet

I would go without shirts or shoes
Friends, tobacco, or bread,
Sooner than for an instant lose
Either side of my head.

The question is: "How can the peaceful states cope with the war-mongering Dictators?" Miss Monroe answers: "By concession, by purchase, by avoiding occasions for dispute." Dictatorial psychology is such, she argues, that if Mussolini is to climb down, from Spain, for instance, he must be offered a ladder. The policy of Mr. Chamberlain is hers. Yet it would have been fairer, and more interesting if she had stated the alternative policy, too. She puts the issue as expediency against the indecent betrayal of Ethiopia. But that is incomplete. There is the other view of expediency, the reckoning of Dictators' psychology which prompted Nyon, and May 21, 1938, and reckons that they can best be brought to terms by determined opposition. Dictators have been known to seize the ladder, set it up on the ledge where they stand, stamp on the hands of the profferer, and climb up further. They reckon that a *détente* means a period of immunity from protest. Mussolini celebrated the Gentleman's Agreement of 1937 by sending brigades of troops to Spain; and the Anglo-Italian Agreement of 1938 by more troops and the bombardment of British ships.

However, the sincerest compliment to any political book is that it arouses argument. The importance of this one, readable as it is, may be gauged by the fact that any reader will want to discuss it for hours.

MODERN LANGUAGES A Geneva Impression

THE international conference held in Geneva in July on the teaching of Modern Languages has been an experience of absorbing interest. The magnificence of the white Palais des Nations, the beauty of its site looking across the end of the lake to the clouded summits of Mont Blanc, the efficiency of the cosmopolitan secretariat, their technical resources for the documentation of a conference, the virtuosity of the interpreter, that is one aspect. Another is the sense of confraternity among the delegates. In England we consider little enough how our colleagues in another university handle an educational problem; here we learn the problems encountered in our own line of teaching by professors from France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Switzerland, Spain and elsewhere. We have little or no nationalist axe to grind, for each teaches the language and life of some other nation. Methods of teaching English will be expounded by our Czech and Swiss colleagues: the Frenchman teaches German; I teach French, but wish to see other languages more taught, as well as to place "modern studies" on a genuinely modern basis.

An abiding feature of the conference has been the Chairmanship of Gilbert Murray. At 75 years of age he is not only the perfect Chairman for meetings lasting six hours a day; he also has a quiet way of raising the moral tone of the conference every time that he addresses us. An American lady assessor mentioned the problem of good translations, instancing Omar Khayyám and the Authorised Version of the Bible. Not many men in an international conference could have carried conviction as did Gilbert Murray with his explanation of the unity underlying the Authorised Version. This was that, throughout, the translators had the deep feeling that they were translating the word "God."

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READERS' VIEWS

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

LORD SALISBURY'S WARNING

SIR,—I was glad to read your extract from a speech delivered by the late Lord Salisbury, in 1897, wherein he anticipated the appeals which have come since the World War for a Concert or Federation of Europe embracing all the nations thereof leagued for the purpose of preserving peace. During the following year, he was increasingly alarmed by the contrary developments, and on two occasions at least, speaking as Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, he gave two very serious warnings, which have a notable bearing on the troubles of to-day. In May, 1898, he said:

"The nations of the world can be divided into two classes. In the one are the Christian and civilised nations armed to the teeth, with splendid organisations, able to concentrate vast armies, and possessed of weapons ever growing in their efficiency of destruction. In the other division are the weak and dying nations, which decades after decades are becoming weaker and poorer. The necessities of politics, or the pretences of philanthropy, will gradually lead to the encroachment of the strong upon the weak, bringing causes of conflict which may deluge the next century in blood."

In November of the same year he repeated this warning in similar words, except that for the phrase, "deluge the next century in blood," he used the words: "And that is the cause of war." The warning was neglected. There came the Boer War (1899—1902) and after that the World War of 1914—18, which alas brought the predicted "deluge in blood."

Mr. H. G. Wells, in his "Shape of Things to Come," predicts other deluges that are to fill the next two decades. I think he would be glad if his predictions were not fulfilled. Only through finding substitutes "for the encroachments of the strong on the weak" can the fulfilment be obviated. The Christian religion says: "Help the Weak." That is a substitute worth trying. It needs knowledge, sympathy, patience and perseverance in well-doing. These can be acquired if we try and try again and conquer the spirit of domination.

The "other fellow" may need more than we do the warning and the advice, but we can meet his need best by showing an example—by trying earnestly to remove the causes of war for which we are responsible.

The very fact that the war of 1914—18 was a world war led to the formation of a World League of Nations. We cannot go back on that, and the European and American repercussions of Japan's attack on China shows we cannot leave out Asia and America. In the task of consolidating the existing League we must, however, give a prominent place to the world problem—religious as well as political—set by Lord Salisbury—the finding of a substitute for conquest.

W. ROBERTSON.

Millimbar, Aberdeenshire.

THE HOARE-LAVAL BETRAYAL

SIR,—The two apologists for the National Government's share in the Hoare-Laval betrayals only tell half the story.

We have seen recently the enormous influence that the British Government has upon the French, exercised to keep the Pyrenees frontier closed in order to facilitate a speedy Fascist victory in Spain and the bringing into effect of the Anglo-Italian Agreement. This has caused the French to fly in the face of their strong instinct of self-preservation by withholding supplies from a natural ally, and against such action every instinct of the French Popular Front Government must rebel. Why did not the British Cabinet exert only a fraction of this pressure to make France honour its League pledges in the case of Abyssinia?

If Britain had made it clear to France that, if collective security was not to work for Ethiopia's salvation, it would be a doubtful starter when France's turn came, the compromised Laval would have been given short shrift, collective security would have triumphed, and we should not have heard of the Rome-Berlin axis for many a long day—if ever.

Instead of the rejection of the Hoare-Laval proposals driving Italy into Germany's arms, it was the cowardice of the democracies that drove Germany into alliance with Italy.

It must be remembered that the subjection of Ethiopia is only a part of Mussolini's plans for the hegemony of the Mediterranean; the conquest of Spain was the obvious next move, and Mussolini could not embark upon that without an understanding with Germany, which was to come into force providing the Abyssinian adventure was successful.

If they had gone through, the Hoare-Laval proposals would have been construed by both Fascists and Nazis as the defeat of the League and would have convinced Hitler that the Rome-Berlin axis was a profitable departure, for if Abyssinia could be partitioned on purely Italian threats, surely the addition of Nazi sword-shaking would make possible the partition of Spain and Czechoslovakia without recourse to a major war.

Finally, I would point out to Mr. Sengel that it was the National Cabinet that offered up Sir Samuel Hoare as a scapegoat to gull us that they were innocent.

Brandon, Suffolk.

BERNARD LINGWOOD.

"THAT SORT OF BUNK"

SIR,—I think better of the reasonableness and well-informedness of my fellow man than to suppose that he would accept the five highly questionable statements made by Mr. Earp in his reply this month. "The real situation" is that a gross aggression was committed by one member of the League against another member and that the rest of the States members, ignoring the obligations they had undertaken as to collective defence, allowed the aggressor to get away with it.

Mr. Earp says that "the natural concern" of British and French as to a possible Italo-German alliance "made effective opposition impossible." The ordinary realist sees that the timidity of Britain and France led them to refuse the one potentially effective sanction—oil—lest it should seriously embarrass the aggressor (cf., Sir Samuel Hoare's definite admission of this in the House) and that in the event this dishonourable cowardice has landed them with the very alliance they feared.

To describe as "wise and timely" a proposal (the Hoare-Laval scheme) to condone the aggression to the extent of securing to the aggressor the enjoyment of rather more than three-fourths of his stolen property suggests a curious code of international morality. No doubt Mussolini would have been "only too glad" to end his campaign on such terms.

But to say that failure to persist with such a proposal "forced" Mussolini to use poison gas on his victim is so fantastically absurd as to cause simple amazement. As well might one say that if a group of monitors did not facilitate the school bully's seizing with violence and keeping with impunity nearly all the treasured possessions of a small third form boy, and if thereupon the bully proceeded to maul, kick and otherwise torture his victim in order to extract the whole before his opportunity to do so was lost, those monitors must bear the responsibility of his savagery: they had "forced" him to it!

No, Sir, the ordinary man is too reasonable and well informed to swallow that sort of bunk.

Radlett, Herts.

E. M. WHITE.

COLLECTIVE SECURITY AND A.R.P.

SIR,—Referring to Mr. Stuart Friedenson's article in the August HEADWAY, "Collective Security is Vital to A.R.P.," it might be worth while enlarging on some of the technical points involved.

Mr. Stuart speaks of detection by "The electromagnetic effects set up by their engines' rotation"; I presume that he is referring to radiation from the ignition system, and if so this means of detection may rapidly become obsolete. For with the intensive use of wireless reception on board aircraft this radiation is a serious nuisance to the craft on which it originates; consequently steps are being taken to reduce it; the equipment is commercially available and has been publicly exhibited. Thus a precaution which has the legitimate primary purpose of facilitating communication with aircraft will also eliminate one proposed means of detecting the approach of military aircraft.

There are two suggested means of detection of aircraft which were not mentioned in the article. One of them does not appear to have been made public in detail as yet, but it suffers from the defect that it would not be operative during "Silent Approach." The other is very well known in principle, depending upon the reflection of wireless waves of short wave length from the object to be detected. In one form it has been fitted to a ship for the detection of icebergs; and the effect caused by passing aircraft is frequently reported to have been observed by those engaged on observation of the propagation of wireless waves of short wavelength. This would be effective during "Silent Approach."

I have not read Mr. John Langdon-Davies' book, but surely the Silent Approach must also be a comparatively slow approach? Perhaps Mr. Friedenson can quote approximate figures for the gliding speed of a bombing aeroplane, having a normal flying speed of, say, 250 m.p.h., when gliding at the rate of 10,000 feet in 100 miles (about 1 in 50). A probable speed seems to be not more than 150 m.p.h.

Eastlea, Gt. Baddow, Chelmsford, Essex. D. A. BELL.

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All Souls College, Oxford.

C. H. MACARTNEY.

The New HEADWAY No. 1—October 1st.

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