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**CHINA AND SPAIN AT
 THE ASSEMBLY**

See pages 190 and 191

**HEALTH, HAPPINESS, PROSPERITY,
 PEACE**

See pages 188 and 189

51083

HEADWAY

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

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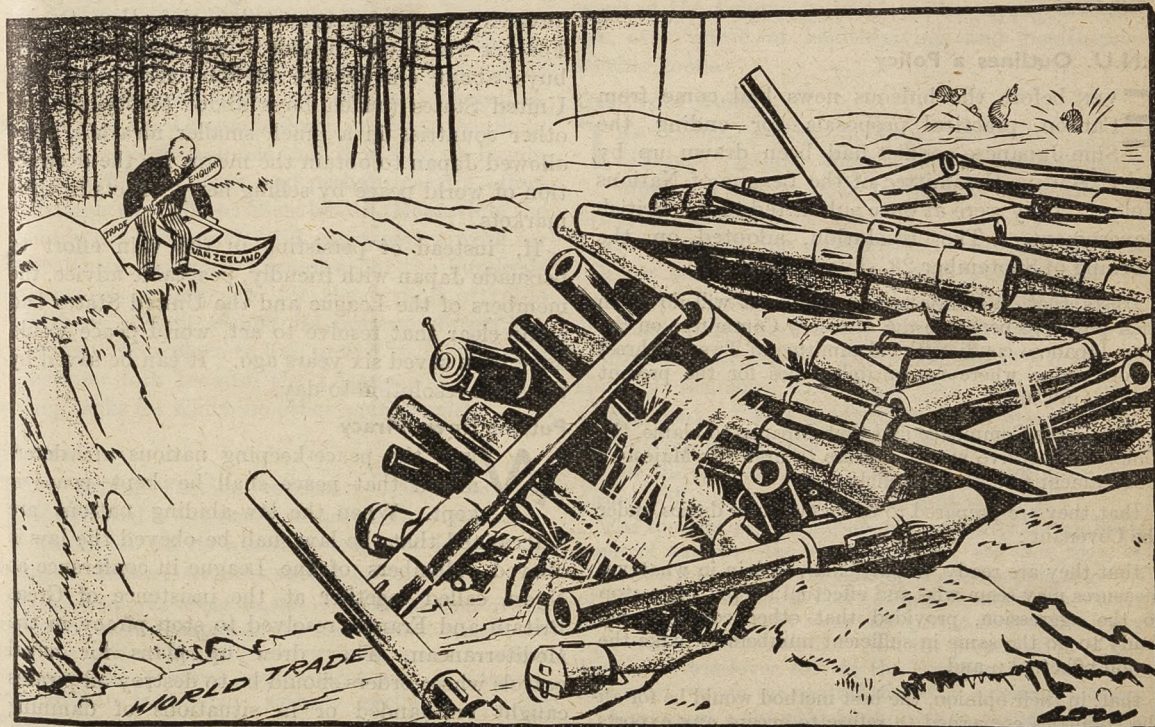
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CHOKED STREAM.

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NEWS AND COMMENT

Massacre by Bomb

ON September 19, 1931, the Japanese army seized Mukden, the chief city of Manchuria. It went on to occupy all the three Northern Provinces, and before long invaded also other neighbouring Chinese territory. The League advised, protested, condemned. A League commission, headed by the Earl of Lytton, visited the Far East, ascertained the facts and suggested the terms of a just settlement in a constructive report. The members of the League pledged themselves not to recognise the puppet State of Manchukuo which had been set up by Japanese arms. But they did not take any action to defend peace-keeping China against war-making Japan.

September, 1937, has seen Japanese warplanes raining bombs upon helpless Chinese in Shanghai, Nanking, and Canton. On September 23, a peculiarly horrible onslaught from the air was made against Canton. Several thousand men, women, and children were killed by Japanese bombs. The vast, crowded city of Southern China is 1,000 miles away from the fighting in the Yangtse Valley. It can play no part in the Chinese resistance. It is not a factor in China's military strength. The slaughter of its unarmed citizens could be designed for no purpose except the intimidation by ruthless terror of the Chinese people. By the end of September the number of Chinese civilians killed by Japanese warplanes in Shanghai, Nanking, and Canton was many more than 5,000—perhaps more than 10,000.

L.N.U. Outlines a Policy

EVEN before the hideous news had come from Canton, practical proposals for ending the Sino-Japanese conflict had been drawn up by the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union. They were at once submitted to the British Government. The resolution, adopted on the morning of September 23, says the L.N.U.

trusts that His Majesty's Government will do all in their power to persuade the Advisory Committee on the Sino-Japanese conflict (the Committee of Twenty-three) to determine where responsibility lies for the present fighting in China.

Should the Committee find that Japan is to blame, the Union's Executive would venture to urge His Majesty's Government to declare publicly

that they are prepared to carry out their duties under the Covenant ;

that they are ready, in particular, to join in whatever measures may seem wise and effectual for putting a stop to the aggression, provided that other countries are ready to do the same in sufficient numbers to make the action effectual ; and

that, in their opinion, the best method would be for all the countries concerned to refuse to accept any exports from Japan.

Call for Protests

THE same afternoon the British Executive Committee of the I.P.C. decided to ask all co-operating organisations to adopt, both nationally and in their branches throughout the country for despatch to the Foreign Secretary and Members of Parliament, a resolution which

protests against the indiscriminate bombing by Japan of the civil population in China, as, for instance, Shanghai and Canton, and urges the British Government to take action under the terms of the Covenant of the League to put a stop to this horrifying slaughter.

Sanctions Not Tried

TWO points must be driven home with relentless reiteration. Japanese aggression in the Far East does not condemn sanctions. Sanctions have never been tried. It condemns surrender.

For six years Japan has plundered China, taking from her territories more than three times the size of Japan and inhabited by close upon 40,000,000 Chinese (the Japanese people number 70,000,000). These figures, which disregard the vast area recently occupied in Northern China south of the Great Wall, show how wide of the mark is talk about a "Have Not" Power. Japan has an area of 140,000 square miles and a population of 170,000,000 ; Korea (a possession held by the sword) an area of 85,000 square miles and a population of over 20,000,000 ; Manchukuo (a possession held in the same way) an area of 460,381 square miles and a population of nearly 40,000,000. Japan is a great Imperialist Power exploiting her subject territories and peoples for her own exclusive advantage and finding in each advance an encouragement to launch further attacks. For six years the British Commonwealth (which buys about one-quarter of the whole) and the United States (which buys about one-third), and other countries in a much smaller measure, have allowed Japan to obtain the means for the destruction of world peace by selling her products in their markets.

If, instead of persisting in the vain effort to persuade Japan with friendly, peaceable advice, the members of the League and the United States had made clear that resolve to act, world peace would have been saved six years ago. It can be saved by the same resolution to-day.

Putting Down Piracy

WHEN the peace-keeping nations are determined that peace shall be kept peace is kept. When the law-abiding nations are determined that the law shall be obeyed the law is obeyed. Members of the League in conference at Nyon, called together at the insistence of Great Britain and France, resolved to stop piracy in the Mediterranean. They drew up plans for naval patrols whose orders should be to destroy all pirates caught red-handed or in situations of damning suspicion.

The facts are these : For many weeks before the meeting at Nyon surface vessels, aircraft, and especially submarines had been destroying merchant ships in the Mediterranean. In defiance of humanity and international law the crews and passengers were not first placed in safety. Many of the ships attacked were neither going to nor coming from Spanish ports. Others were carrying supplies to Loyalist Spain.

The identity of the criminals is still disputed ; but the crimes are not anywhere denied. Neither is the effect of the threat to use force against the criminals doubtful. The crimes have virtually ceased. Collective defence has attained its object without violence. And the refusal of Italy to join in the agreement at Nyon has not proved a serious obstacle. Italy herself has since demonstrated that her refusal was a mistake by entering into negotiations for its withdrawal.

No Bribe

THE Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, on September 23, adopted the following on the negotiations with Italy :—

While the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union would welcome the genuine co-operation of Italy in collective action against the international crime of piracy in the Mediterranean, it believes that it would be fatal to attempt to secure the co-operation of Italy in this or other matters by the condonation of any other international crime, as for example, by the recognition of Italy's conquest of Abyssinia.

Courage in the Assembly

IN the 1937 Assembly of the League of Nations the tone which has prevailed has been dictated by the difficulties of the times. The speeches have confessed disappointments, failures. But there is no loss of courage. The resolve to make the League a success survives ; expressed in quieter language it is more grimly fixed than ever. No one entertains a thought that the League is dead, or dying, or likely to die. Everyone assumes that it will go on living, and ultimately by dour, and perhaps painful, effort will struggle through to robust health. Meanwhile the Assembly has done much solid, constructive work for the health of the world's peoples, for the hundreds of thousands of refugees, for the revival of trade everywhere. Even amidst its present alarms the world is a better place to live in and its inhabitants are happier folk because the League goes on performing tasks for which no other agency exists.

Mr. Eden

THE British Foreign Secretary (Mr. Anthony Eden) had a constructive proposal to advance, which for all its restraint was not lacking in courage. In his Assembly speech he said :—

Wishing to give effect to the recommendation of the committee on raw materials, the British Government are ready, as part of the efforts now being made to effect economic and political appeasement and to increase international trade—but without prejudice to the principle of colonial preference—we are ready to enter into discussion with any Powers which may approach

the United Kingdom Government for an abatement of particular preferences in non-self-governing colonial territories where these can be shown to place undue restriction on international trade.

In these quiet words a policy open to wide and fruitful development is announced. They promise an effectual contribution to the pacification of a world part of whose restlessness is due to its poverty.

Prosperity, Health and Peace

ON September 19, over 100,000,000 people in 60 countries listened in to the world's statesmen broadcasting messages of peace. The initiative had been taken by the friends of the League in the United States ; the occasion was the meeting of the League. Mr. Cordell Hull, United States Secretary of State, spoke first. He was followed by Mr. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada ; Mr. Eden, British Foreign Secretary, M. Chautemps, Premier of France ; M. Van Zeeland, Premier of Belgium ; Dr. Schuschnigg, Chancellor of Austria ; Dr. Lopez, President of Columbia ; Dr. Hodza, Premier of Czechoslovakia. From half a dozen capitals came the same message. There must be international co-operation for world peace, and world peace must be built securely on the health and happiness of the peoples. World trade must be freed from political fetters.

Mr. Cordell Hull said :

We must make our contribution to the realisation of conditions upon which peace everywhere can be maintained or ultimately we shall have to sustain and protect ourselves amid an outside world ridden by war and force. Is it not evident that if the rule of law gives way to international anarchy, the security of this country will become seriously jeopardised ?

The same constructive idea has been behind the work of the League to increase the supply and the use everywhere of health-giving and health-preserving foods.

Gas-Proof Suite

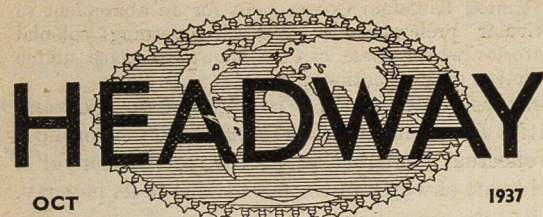
THE *Times*, on September 17, printed on three different pages three matters superficially unrelated which it is perhaps not fanciful to bring into relation.

The usual Public Appointments notices filled a column and a-half ; one column was devoted to vacancies in the Navy, Army, or Air Force. On the back page, amidst the houses for sale, a conventional estate agent's advertisement of a desirable country residence contained two italicised lines which read : "The study and room attached are heavily reinforced and constitute a gas-proof suite."

Our third quotation comes from an article by the paper's Washington correspondent :—

The American Constitution was primarily the embodiment of an idea—the idea of Union ; the idea that, in their own interest and for their own safe-keeping, a group of 13 states unequal in size and wealth must forgo their jealousies and transfer some elements of their sovereignty to a central Government. And the preservation of the Union, at whatever cost to the Constitution, has been and must remain the central theme of American history.

A moment's thought is enough to extort from the third matter a moral suggested by the other two.



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SOME THOUGHTS ON THE WORLD TO-DAY

THE League of Nations is not dead, is not dying. In this fact convinced believers in the collective system find little consolation. But it has made a deep impression on the outside world. The enemies of the League are going about saying: "Most surprising. This Assembly should have been the finish. The League has failed at each crucial test. We have always argued that the League is a fad, a fashion, a Utopia. By now Governments and peoples ought to be disappointed, disillusioned, tired of spending money and effort. Instead they go on paying the bill and devoting the labour. And plainly they intend to go on indefinitely. Do they, then, see something worth having in the League? Does it serve a purpose which they value? Are they afraid to face a world from which it had vanished? Men will not make continuing sacrifices to keep a detected fraud. Since the League has done all that is possible to be found out it cannot be the fraud we had supposed."

An institution which survives because the world needs it has the soundest assurance of survival. Incidental mistakes cannot destroy it; it is guaranteed time in which to learn from its blunders and to correct them.

Such is the lesson of the Assembly, and events in the outside world since the Assembly met have served only to confirm it. At Nyon, those members of the League who are also, even in a remote sense, Mediterranean Powers met to do a piece of work which was essentially League business. In order to conciliate Italy, who advertises a dislike of Geneva at every opportunity, but significantly refrains from handing in notice of withdrawal, an inconvenient meeting place was chosen a few miles away from the seat of the League. Italy, by refusing to attend, provided an accidental demonstration that Nyon really was Geneva, and the loyal members of the League soon advertised the sane truth by returning themselves from the village to the city. Confronting an impudent challenge—a situation which demanded immediate action if it were not to get out of hand with disastrous consequences—they very quickly devised and approved plans for the defeat of lawless pirates by collective defence of the law.

Whose submarines were sinking peaceful merchantmen in the Mediterranean was a relatively unimportant detail; what mattered supremely was the ruthless attempt, intensified from week to week, to intimidate the peace-keeping nations into a surrender of their

rights. The reply was the declaration of a firm resolve to meet force used against the law with an overwhelming superiority of force used to defend the law. The declaration was backed up with an immediate drafting of adequate naval forces to the Mediterranean. Thereupon the pirate campaign came to an end. The cessation may be dated from the moment, even before the Nyon Agreement was signed, when the resolve of the peace-keeping nations was made unmistakably clear.

Here is a concrete example proving two things. First, the exponents of the collective system are right when they say that, provided it be honestly and courageously worked, it will not defeat an aggressor, but will prevent any aggression. Secondly, once again, the League is a world need. Unless the League had existed, unless it had prepared the minds of statesmen for joint action and taught them the lines along which joint action must proceed, unless it had brought them together with a consciousness of duty to the world community in the forefront of their minds and a readiness to consider how that duty could be fulfilled, the meeting at Nyon would have been dangerously delayed; and when finally assembled, it would have betrayed a still more dangerous divergence.

After Nyon, China. The tragic happenings in the Far East are a condemnation of the failure six years ago on the part of the Members of the League to honour their obligations under the Covenant. It would be a mistaken loyalty to attempt to disguise that unhappy fact. But they are also conclusive evidence that the world cannot do without the League. They show to what barbarities a great nation may be partly cajoled and partly dragooned when it cuts itself off from the world community, renounces its share in the common task of building a world order, and acknowledges no other law than its own appetites, dreams, and fears. In every part of the world the peoples, horrified by the spectacle of cruel, senseless, systematic extermination, have turned their eyes in a desperate hopefulness towards Geneva. Anxious that the League shall act, they are perhaps even more anxious that it shall speak; and already it has spoken. The Advisory Committee of twenty-three, which attempted in vain to bring peace by conciliation without force to the Far East in 1931 and 1932, has been revived. It has condemned Japanese aggression, and has branded the inhumanity with which the Japanese land, sea, and air forces are seeking to break the spirit of the Chinese people.

Condemnation, however, is not enough. Humanity must do more than protest. The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, before Japan had committed its worst outrages, had pointed to the right policy. As right policies have the habit of being, it is both wise and practical. Cut off the export of goods from the nation which defies the law to the nations which are resolved that the law shall be kept! Such is the Union's demand. The thing can be done. It was done in the Abyssinian War with an effect which might have been decisive had there been more courage behind the doing. Japan is vastly more exposed to economic pressure than was Italy. Beyond almost all other nations, she lives by the sale of her products in foreign markets. Particularly is she dependent on the custom of the British Empire and the United States.

We have the means, if we have the will.

WHEN BRITAIN AND FRANCE ARE DETERMINED

By OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Geneva, September 25

IN theory the decision to hold the anti-piracy Conference at Nyon instead of at Geneva was a ridiculous example of the lengths to which Britain and France were prepared to go to save the susceptibilities of the Fascist powers. Equally ridiculous were the arrangements which had to be made for the holding of this important conference in a tiny town. The arrangement actually concluded, after two days of moving around in circles by all the powers present, could be legitimately criticised as grossly unfair to Spain and as giving many facilities for continued bad behaviour to the owners of the "unknown" pirate submarines.

Actually, however, from the day when it was first suggested that a Conference should be called to put an end to these piratical attacks, the attacks ceased and have not been resumed. Even before the Nyon Conference opened, it had succeeded. But better things were to follow; a mixture of anxiety at the unexpectedly stern line taken by the British and French and fear of going to Berlin in a bad diplomatic position induced the Italians to subdue their tone. It was clear that the reason why there was quiet might be that Mussolini had drawn back a little way in order to attack Spain again from another angle, but it will not be possible even to guess what is going to happen until the results of the Hitler-Mussolini talks reveal themselves. But whether things take a turn for better or worse depends largely on whether the British and French continue to maintain the firm stand which they took up over the destruction of non-combatant merchant vessels.

Under the circumstances, the complications of the various technical negotiations which drew up the rules in accordance with which submarines, aircraft and surface vessels are to carry out their operations do not matter very much. What it amounts to is that any attacks—except on vessels flying the Spanish flag, or the rebel flag—must keep within international law as laid down in the various Hague Conventions and the London Submarine Treaty of 1936, which provide that no merchant vessel is to be sunk until its crew have been placed in safety. Attacks on Spanish ships however, can continue—an obvious flaw, morally, but not one of very great practical importance as there are very few Spanish ships, most of them having been transferred to other registers.

What was important in the early stages of the Nyon negotiations was the refusal of Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia to take part in patrol work on the high seas. Their excuse was that they did not have the vessels required for this work. Actually, their concern was over the possibility of one of their warships becoming involved with a pirate submarine which might turn out to be Italian. The unwillingness of these powers to take any risks now contrasts with the way they assumed their obligations under the sanctions schemes, and shows as clearly as anything that perhaps the most alive international agreement at present in

existence—in its effect on Europe—is the Hoare-Laval Plan. Heaven knows when that will be lived down by the British and French.

But while all this was going on, tension was gradually increasing—not simply in Geneva or in Nyon, but in the world.

Loyal Spain has received hardly any help from the outside world since September last; all that she has had is what she could make out of her extemporised resources. Her leaders know that if all goes well for Franco at the Berlin talks between Hitler and Mussolini, then the strength of two of the strongest powers in Europe will be at his disposal. Everything then will argue that he should, before winter, launch the biggest offensive the world has seen since November, 1918. The Loyal Spanish soldiers have learned many things. They have learned the tremendous power of even a single machine-gun to stop an attack; but they have also learned that without machine-guns the attack cannot be stopped; and they have not got the guns.

While the world sits back and waits for what may be the last campaign in Spain, left-wing elements in France, far more conscious of realities than their "opposite numbers" in Britain, are throwing their all into an effort to convince the government, which depends on their votes, that at all costs Spain must be supported. The Pyrenees, they contend, must be opened to war materials and to volunteers. While the present negotiations that have developed from Nyon are in progress, MM. Chautemps and Delbos can withstand this pressure; but if the negotiations break down we may at last see the enthusiasm of the Popular Front flow down across the snow-capped mountains—carrying with it lorry load after lorry load, train after train of volunteers, armed with that material which has been patiently accumulated on the French side of the frontier against just this day, when the two great democracies of Western Europe would really take warning what non-intervention has meant. This sounds very fine and glorious to the supporters of the Spanish republic—but it is bringing Europe terribly near the final catastrophe. And among the men who see that are the members of the French General Staff, who are issuing to the Government, as is their duty, if they are convinced of the truth of their assertions, the most solemn caution against the danger of provoking Germany and Italy by opposing their plans for the conquest of Spain.

This article started out to be about the Nyon Conference. Actually, as I have tried to show, the Nyon Conference succeeded before it began; piracy in the Mediterranean ceased before the Conference opened. The mere suggestion that Britain and France were determined to stop it caused the master of the submarines of "unknown nationality" to keep his vessels in harbour. It was a happy augury of what could be obtained if Britain and France continued to act together.

At the present moment it remains possible that the British and French, startled by their own daring, may not persist in the road which led to Nyon. But if they do—

L.N.U. GENERAL COUNCIL

on the

WAR IN CHINA

The Executive Committee of the L.N.U. has summoned a meeting of the General Council of the Union at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on October 12.

A resolution will be submitted calling upon the British Government to press the League Assembly to declare (1) that China has been the victim of aggression, and (2) that it is the duty of all League members to prevent their nationals from furnishing Japan with the sinews of war, in particular, by refusing to purchase her goods, provided that other countries out of the League will co-operate.

The resolution also asks for financial assistance to China and the dispatch of food and medical aid, for an immediate British gift of £100,000 towards the cost of League Medical Missions to China, and for the League Assembly to remain in session until effective action has been concerted.

PALESTINE: THE NEXT STEP

By MRS. EDGAR DUGDALE

THE Parliamentary Debates of July left the British Government pledged to support of a policy of dividing Palestine into three parts. Certain areas, including the Holy Places, were to remain under British Mandate, the rest to form two independent States, to be created by Treaty with Arabs and Jews respectively. This was the basis of the Recommendations of the Royal Commission, but the Government made it clear that in accepting the principle of such a partition they did not commit themselves to any of the specific suggestions made by the Commission for carrying it into effect. Mr. Ormsby-Gore merely sought approval from Parliament before applying to the League's Mandate Commission for the sanction, without which the League Council would have been prevented from giving the necessary permission to the Mandatory Power to work out a scheme with the other parties concerned. Parliament, after debate in which it showed itself highly critical of the proposal, and of the policy which had led up to it, gave no blank cheque to the Government, but raised no obstacle against negotiations for a plan of partition, to which it might, or might not, give approval later on. Similarly, the Mandates Commission in August declared itself "favourable in principle to an examination of a solution involving the partition of Palestine." It recognised the present Mandate to have become "almost unworkable," since the Royal Commission had declared it to be so. The World Zionist Congress, whose 485 delegates met in Zurich at the same time that the Mandates Commission was preparing in Geneva its Report for the League Council, did not acquiesce in this attitude of defeatism, or realism (both words are accurate). They refused to admit the "unworkability" of the existing Mandate, they continued to demand its fulfilment, and they declared, what the Mandates Commission had only hinted, that a main obstacle to co-operation between Arabs and Jews in Palestine had been the "vacillating attitude" of the Mandatory Power. But they also (by a two-thirds majority) empowered the Zionist Executive to "enter into negotiations with a view to ascertaining the precise terms of H.M. Government for the proposed establishment of a Jewish State." Like the British Parliament, they reserved the right to approve, or disapprove, any scheme that may emerge.

Meanwhile, the attitude of the Palestinian Arabs towards even the principle of partition appears, from every public indication, to be simply uncompromising opposition. These matters stood when the League Council examined the situation on September 13. No symptom of enthusiasm for partition had appeared in the Resolutions of any of the parties concerned. Nevertheless, there had been things said in Zurich (most notably by that powerful leader, and firm as well as candid friend of Britain, Dr. Weizmann) which show that the proposal for a Jewish State in a part of Palestine will be judged by two tests. Will it afford a basis for building up a Jewish life in Palestine worthy of the name, and will the boundaries and conditions of the new State be such as can contribute to the

solution of the tragic problems of Jewry outside? If so, Jews may recognise the continuing spirit of the Balfour Declaration, and no longer cling to the letter of its pledges.

When Mr. Eden laid the British view before the League Council, it was clear that neither the obstructionist attitude of the Arabs, nor the lukewarm consent of the other principal parties had weakened the decision of the Mandatory Power. He asked the Council for authority to proceed "forthwith" to work out a partition scheme "if possible in co-operation with representatives of both Jews and Arabs, it being understood that no scheme will be put into effect without approval by the League Council." Consent, on those terms, has been given. The Assembly has voted in the same sense. The next step is to be the despatch of a new British Commission, to visit Palestine, and negotiate with Jews and Arabs, and to submit to H.M. Government proposals for a detailed scheme. It is to be hoped that this step may be taken, as Mr. Eden said, "forthwith." The prolonged uncertainty is already proving itself almost the worst of all things for Palestine, economically and politically. The Jews will enter negotiations. What the Arabs may decide to do is impossible to foretell. Any scheme that may emerge will have, once more, to run the gauntlet of criticism in the British Parliament, the Zionist Congress, and the League Council. It is already manifest that no plan will win approval with these bodies unless it proves to be a development, and not a contradiction of the existing Mandate. Thus, it will have to provide the Jews with the scope and conditions for the increased immigration on which their National Home depends, and the Arabs with the opportunities for self-government, at which they aim. The proceedings at Geneva have shown that in this matter at least the League machinery is being operated vigorously, and without fear or favour.

LEAGUE OF NATION'S PUBLICATIONS

The Relation of Nutrition to Health, Agriculture and Economic Policy.
—Final Report of the Mixed Committee of the League of Nations. (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1937. II.A.10). 327 pages. 7s. 6d. (2.00 dols.)

After an account of the part played by nutrition in the striking improvement in public health during the past century, and a summary of the physiological bases of the new science of nutrition, as established by recent research, the Report turns to the agricultural and economic aspects of the problem. It traces the changes in food consumption habits which have occurred in recent years, in their relation both to nutrition and to agriculture, and concludes that consumption habits have been tending in the desired direction and that agriculture stands to benefit from an extension of the movement towards better nutrition. The influence of food prices on consumption, the effects of production methods and organisation, commercial policy and distribution costs on food prices, and the influences of income and education on nutrition are then studied; the Report concludes with evidence showing that, despite the improvement which has occurred in recent years, malnutrition, though varying in extent, remains to-day a serious problem in all countries.

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At the Parting of the Ways

by SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA

(famous as a leader of Liberal thought in Europe, formerly Ambassador and Minister of the Spanish Republic and permanent delegate of Spain in the League Council)

THE question of the recognition of imperial rights over Abyssinia to the King of Italy has been raised by a joint letter sent to the British Press by Lord Cecil and Professor Murray, who declare against it. Every attentive student of world affairs is sure to concur with the two great English leaders on this grave issue.

It is hoped that British readers will not take amiss this candid opinion on what may at first sight look like an exclusively British question. If to-day the author of these lines sees his country torn between two warring factions, both of which claim to represent her inherent interests and spirit, it is *partly* because in 1931 the Sino-Japanese conflict led to a failure of the League, *partly* again owing to the policy adopted at the time by the Western Governments. Nor should this be read as a condemnation of that policy. It is a mere statement of a relation of part-cause and effect, a proof that, whatever our nationality, we are all concerned in important decisions by important Governments on important issues; and an apology for entering a debate which, British as it looks, is in fact a world debate.

Deeply convinced as the author of these lines is that his country's peace, and indeed world peace, are closely dependent on a good understanding between Great Britain and Italy, he is nevertheless strongly of the opinion that the recognition of the Abyssinian conquest should not form a part of the bargain. The reasons against the recognition are grave enough to justify this position.

True, as Signor Mussolini reminds us, Abyssinia as a State is dead. But it died a violent death and about 50 Governments officially declared their conviction that the responsibility for this violent death was at the door of one particular Government. All this happened last year, and while violence may have to be suffered it should not be rewarded.

Three arguments are usually put forward to condone the violence done to Abyssinia and to the world community in 1936: that the necessities of daily intercourse with "an old friend" should not be sacrificed to a dogmatic position; that a pure legal fiction cannot be carried on through life and serves no useful purpose; and that the League is dead, anyhow.

The first is a two-edged argument. It applies mostly to the Italian Government. If Italy is the old friend of, say, Great Britain (the same argument can be applied to her relations with other States, such as France), why does she allow a dogmatic position, such as the recognition of the king as Emperor of Ethiopia, to stand in the way of her good relations with her old friend? Why not adopt a less dogmatic one such as that taken in Manchukuo by another old friend of Great Britain known as Japan? Why insist on this evident humiliation of English public opinion and of the whole League? Must Italy's friends pay all the expenses of the friendship? And how has Italy's Leader ever recognised wisdom and compromise in others except by exulting over it and pouring contempt on their most cherished ideals which, Napoleonlike, he

calls "ideologies"? Finally, is compromise possible between a policy of peace and a policy of violence? Evidently not, for if Great Britain were to recognise the conquest of Abyssinia, led by her spirit of peace (which in itself would be self-contradictory), it would be interpreted as a victory in an Italy led by the spirit of war—and the sacrifice would have been made in vain.

Obviously, a policy of agreement with Italy must be tried. But, since agreement never meant surrender, Italy should be made to feel that there are sacred preserves which cannot be the object of diplomatic barter—and the foundations of world order are amongst them.

This brings in the second argument. "But how can we carry on daily affairs with a fiction in our midst?" and "what is the good of a fiction in life?" As to the first point, affairs *are* carried on in life alongside of fictions which, far from being in the way, are most useful indeed. The King of England was King of France till the other day, so to speak, which did not prevent his appointing ambassadors in Paris. The King of England, moreover, still is "Defender of the Faith." Might he not interpret this proud title in a new way and become the Defender of the Faith in world unity and order? He could not let his birthright go for a mess of Mediterranean pottage, nor, indeed, for all the lovely orchards of Italy.

For, and this is the main argument, the League is not dead. Poor, shallow observers who, looking at things from the cold desks of chancelleries, think the League has died because they have perhaps to read fewer papers about it than in the days of Briand or Chamberlain! The League as a piece of diplomatic machinery may be at a standstill and even somewhat rusty. As a living spirit in the world it never was stronger than since it suffered the two setbacks inflicted on it by the Japanese and Italian Governments. This or that nation may leave it, this or that question may be discussed "outside" of it. All that is machinery. But the conviction that the world is one and must be governed as one is growing amongst men and women all over the world. The Governments of free nations—*i.e.*, of nations ruled by agreement—cannot countenance with their official acquiescence, the victory of the methods of violence over the methods of agreement—less than ever in these days when, on both flanks, they are threatened by political organisations which believe in solving national affairs by violence and not by agreement.

The Covenant is the basis of civilisation. It has been twice disregarded violently. The nations of the world have been unable to oppose legal force to illegal violence. But there is no reason why they should surrender their moral force as well and add humiliation to patience and accept insult after injury. The world is at the parting of the ways. The choice is not between Fascism and Communism, nor between right and left. The choice is between violence and agreement, physical force and moral force, tyranny and liberty, mental slavery and freedom of thought. Such is the dilemma behind the recognition of the Abyssinian conquest.

HEALTH, HAPPINESS, PROSPERITY, PEACE

An account of the League's work to give the peoples more and better food

FOR two years a Committee of the League, under the chairmanship of Lord Astor, has been considering the subject of nutrition.* This was a Mixed Committee; it included representatives of the I.L.O. and the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome. It was appointed by the Sixteenth Assembly in 1935.

The reaction of some people to the word "nutrition" is to think of food-faddists and diets for slimming and to say that the real problem of health is just as much over-eating as under-eating. In order to understand the real value and importance of the League's work, it is necessary to perceive exactly what is implied by better nutrition and to realise the implications of the title of the report, which refers to the relation of nutrition policies to the world's agricultural and economic policies.

Over large areas of the world there is an acute lack of the most elementary foodstuffs. In China, for example, according to an official comment, "most of the people are under-nourished all the time." The Astor Committee, however, has not dealt with the separate problems of the Far East.

The fundamental fact about the diets of peoples of western countries is that they may be adequate for providing energy which will enable man to get through his daily work even though they are insufficient in those usually more expensive articles of food, such as fresh fruit and vegetables, meat and dairy products, which provide vitamins and mineral salts. Both vitamins and salts are essential, though in relatively small quantities, for maintaining full health and physical development.

An immense amount of research on the precise nature of the factors in food that affect health has been done since Sir F. Gowland Hopkins made his pioneer discoveries of the vitamin 25 years ago.

Humanity Below Standard

The Astor report establishes that the physical condition of a large part of the human race is still far below the accepted standard and that recent advances in medical science brand such inferiority as largely due to imperfect nutrition. This is not to say that there has not been an improvement in health and physique, which can be attributed in considerable measure to the larger and more diversified supplies of foodstuffs that became available through the opening up of world trade and transport.

The increase in population during the nineteenth century was caused rather by a drop in the death rate than by an increase in the birth rate; and although the fall in the death rate was partly due to better sanitation and improvements in medicine, a comparison of dates shows that some of the changes in health and mortality took place before the new medical and bacteriological discoveries had been made or applied. The increase of average stature, which must be mainly due to nutrition,

*The Final Report of the Mixed Committee of the League of Nations on Relation of Nutrition to Health, Agriculture and Economic Policy. (G. Allen & Unwin, 7/6.)

was over 3 ins. between 1840 and 1926 in Sweden, a country that has kept health and vital statistics over a long period. Increased diets of protective foods, particularly milk, have been proved experimentally to bring about a rapid gain in stature and weight in children compared with a control group not receiving such increases.

The new knowledge in the physiology of food consumption has made it possible to lay down diets which, with due reference to national habits, are full and varied enough to ensure general good health. The consumer will not suffer from any of the ills or lack of resistance that may be caused by either too little food or too little of the protective foods supplying the various vitamins A, B, C, D, etc., and the essential mineral salts. When it is said, as it is in the Astor report, that widespread under-nutrition exists even in the most advanced countries, what is meant is that a high proportion of families are consuming diets which fall short of the optimum standards that can now be prescribed.

Here we may pass from the health to the economic aspects of the problem. Two years ago, when the inquiry was initiated, the world was preoccupied, probably slightly more than it is at this moment, with the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty. There were stocks of such foods as wheat, sugar, and coffee so large that producers were destroying part of them. For many other foods Governments all over the world were devising restriction schemes.

New Light from League

The League's work on nutrition throws new light upon this paradox. In the first place, throughout the world there is still a need for greater quantities even of such foods as wheat and sugar. But in order to supply more cheaply the more expensive items of food, it would be desirable for some countries to diversify their production. There are, for example, some countries where cereal crops are grown largely because the peasants follow the traditions of the large estates that have now been broken up and because they lack capital to change over to dairy farming or growing fruit and vegetables. Other countries have given high protection to domestic cereal growing for the benefit of their farmers and have added to what are, in the short run, the sufficient supplies of the more staple foods when they could, for the health needs of their populations, more advantageously have promoted the production of fresh milk and dairy products, fruit and vegetables. The report emphasises in convincing detail the need for certain changes in agricultural production which, if they take place, will probably eliminate the paradox that puzzled the world in the depths of the depression.

To show that improvements in the general levels of food consumption are desirable and would bring about general improvements in health is not, in itself, a contribution to practical politics unless it can also be shown that those changes can be realised in the world

as it is. It would, for example, have been interesting but quite useless to have demonstrated in the Middle Ages that the population would have been healthier if it could have eaten fresh meat during the winter, when in fact, in the state of agricultural knowledge, it was necessary to kill and salt cattle at the beginning of the winter because of the lack of feed for them.

Problem of Organisation

What the Astor report claims is that the technical capacities of the world for production can now satisfy nutritional needs and that the problem is one of organisation. It suggests that present-day knowledge of nutrition should be capable of giving a new direction to social policies. All western countries devote a considerable fraction of the national income to health, housing and educational services. In quite recent years the distribution of milk and free meals to school children and of milk to nursing mothers has been developed. These methods of social provision offer one line of advance to better nutrition for certain groups of the population. International collaboration through the I.L.O. to bring about better standards of living, is also capable of precious contributions. The problem of nutrition is to some extent one of getting people to know upon what kinds of food they ought to spend their incomes—but it is much more a problem of income. When this has been said, it becomes clear that almost the whole range of Governments' economic policies are capable of coming under review in the light of nutritional criteria, since these policies affect the general level of income of their peoples. Real income is not a question of money wages only, but of the prices of foodstuffs, and if it happens that Governments, by excessive protective measures, raise foodstuff prices to levels that are 200 or 300 per cent. above the prices of similar foods in other countries, it may be that those countries could with advantage to the health of their populations pay increased attention to their levels of consumption of those foods.

Cheaper Countries and Dear

The following table, based on material from the report but reproduced in the form in which it has been adapted by the *Economist* (September 4, 1937) gives an interesting first approximation at a comparison between the retail prices of food in urban centres in different countries and shows the very considerable differences that exist:—

Index No. of Retail Food Prices, October, 1936.

	100 = average of 20 countries.
Argentina	53
Australia	99
Austria	122
Belgium	94
Canada	108
Czechoslovakia	99
Denmark	91
Estonia	54

France	123
Germany	178
Great Britain	115
Hungary	75
Latvia	62
Netherlands	101
New Zealand	87
Poland	69
Sweden	101
Switzerland	130
U.S.A.	148
Jugoslavia	86

The figures shown are the retail prices of the following eight foodstuffs—wheat flour, beef, pork, bacon, skimmed milk, butter, eggs, dried peas—in each country expressed as a percentage compared with the average for 20 countries = 100.

New Direction to Control

During the nineteenth century the world was engaged under *laissez faire* principles in utilising the technique of the industrial revolution to build up supplies of foods for its increasing population. Having achieved great increases in average wealth but a level still below the potentialities of the economic system, the world has turned away from *laissez faire* and Governments have taken, rightly in many respects, an increasing share in the control of economic life. The substance of this report provides information that might give a new direction to this control, insofar as it affects food supplies. It should, for example, stimulate productive efficiency in agriculture in view of the proved need for larger supplies of food even in the relatively well-fed countries. It might lead to some modifications in quota and tariff policies and an increase in world trade in order to avoid the maintenance of unduly high prices where such have been brought about during the economic crisis. Even in the intricate field of international financing, the League's work on nutrition may lead to the conclusion that there is, contrary to the expectation of some persons, still scope in the future for a resumption of overseas lending to the less-developed food-producing countries.

Most Important Book of the Year

It need hardly be said to readers of HEADWAY that all the reports of the technical sections of the League are on an extraordinarily high level. This report is no exception, but it may perhaps differ from some other reports in appealing to a much wider public in view of the human interest of its contents. It is at least to be hoped that it will be widely read. The *New York Times* recently commented in a review: "If the test is elemental human interest and bearing on the basic problems of our time, by all odds the most important book of the year is the 330-page report on 'Nutrition,' just published after years of research by the Mixed Committee of the League of Nations."

The League Assembly.

CHINA AND SPAIN ASK FOR JUDGMENT

By FRED A WHITE

1.—Council.

Geneva, September 20.

It rained, outside in the dark. Inside, among the buzzing crowd, many of whom had waded to the bus-stop, one looked anxiously for wet footprints on the creamy indiarubber floor.

The Council was meeting in private, on the Chinese appeal. Then a communiqué was given to the Press; the Chinese situation was to be considered by the old Committee of Twenty-Three, which had been adjourned after the Assembly of February, 1933, but never dissolved. This Committee had an American member, who could take his place if the United States wanted it.

The journalists and a filtered few of the public went into the Council-room. It is all moss-green, grey, and gold, with energetic and rather perplexing allegorical frescoes on the walls. The seats are luxuriously upholstered, and far too scarce. There is inadequate space for the Press, little for the "diplomatic" audience, none for the plain public.

The Council members filed in and took their seats behind the table, which is shaped in a wide arc. Italy's seat was empty. Señor Negrin, the Spanish Prime Minister, vacated his presidential chair in favour of Ecuador. The silence of the packed room tautened.

Señor Negrin is a burly, blunt-faced Spaniard, with more of resolution than of subtlety in his mien. He spoke clearly in a French much better than his countrymen can usually manage. Spain had protested to the Council last December against interventionist naval activity. Since then Almeria had been bombed in reprisal for the "Deutschland" incident; was the official indifference to this, which would hitherto have counted as violation of international law, a sign that such acts were to be held legitimate?

Lately, merchant ships had been sunk at sea, as was the "Campeador" by two Italian destroyers, without warning and without assistance to the drowning crew. Spain appealed to the League. The other Powers conferred at Nyon without Spain. Nyon worked quickly and its results might be useful. But its protection was offered only to non-Spanish ships. "Spanish vessels can be sunk by submarines or surface vessels by any or every method." This exclusion should be abolished. In order to restore law in the Mediterranean "the first thing necessary is to brush aside the fiction that the acts of aggression are due to some kind of natural phenomenon whose origin and sources are unknown and impossible to discover. The anonymous State whose warships are trying by means of constant acts of aggression to create a state of terror is Italy."

Señor Negrin was followed by Mr. Jordan, of New Zealand. He supported Spain, and urged the application of the Covenant, in a warm-hearted and sincere, if somewhat illogical speech. The strength of his language was more popular, perhaps, with the small than with the great League Powers.

2.—Assembly.

How it rains! The Batiment Electoral drums with the noise of it. In the street hundreds of people are

standing, soaking, cold but faithful, in a queue to the public entrance. Inside it an official examines passports and credentials with infinite slowness.

Ivan has finished his speech. Surely through the translation the people will be allowed in to fill those empty public and "diplomatic" galleries. They would have been till the anti-publicity campaign of recent years. No. Five people are admitted to the public gallery and the door is shut inexorably. The people have, many of them, worked for the League for years, saved their money, and used their holiday to come here—to stand in the rain.

Dr. Wellington Koo makes his appeal to the Assembly. Slight and delicately framed, experienced diplomat, accomplished linguist, he expresses the dignity of a race which has practised civilisation like an art. His speech is grave, accurate, understated even in its account of the bombing of undefended towns, refugee trains, the Red Cross. Japan's need for population room was a pretext, since Japan colonised neither Korea, nor Formosa, nor Manchuria, and could support her people by industrialisation. Nor did the want of raw materials justify aggression. Most of these did not come from China, such as cotton from the United States, oil from America and the Dutch Indies, iron from India and Malaya, wool from Australia. China had always been willing to cooperate economically, and some Japanese statesmen had wished it also. But Japan is once more in the grip of the war party which revels in keeping the people in a fearful state of war psychosis in order to usurp political power at home and achieve territorial conquest abroad. The end pursued was not only the domination of China but the elimination of foreign interests. China, in resisting aggression, was also defending the rights of foreign Powers. The conquest of China would be the prelude to further aggression and world war.

What should be done? First this policy of armed aggression should be denounced. The blockade of China's ports should be repudiated. Air bombing of non-combatants should be condemned. Dr. Koo quoted the Governments of Britain, Russia, the United States to prove that the principles of the Covenant and of international law applied to this conflict; that collective security demanded the repression of invasion. He appealed under Articles X, XI and XVII. The Council answered later by reviving the Committee of Twenty-Three.

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Geneva, September 27.

THE first week of the Assembly saw numerous and awkward questions posed by the victims of aggression. Ethiopia wrote to protest against the continued Covenant-violation of Italy. Spain demanded the prevention of Italian and German aggression, the withdrawal of foreign forces and the inclusion of Spanish ships in Nyon. China asked for a League inquiry and verdict upon the Japanese invasion under Article XVII. These were questions which only the Great Powers could answer, and when France, Britain and Russia spoke, all ears were open for their replies.

No public word has been said about Ethiopia. Gossip says that Italy asked for "recognition" of her annexation during the post-Nyon negotiations, and was refused; the price of recognition is to be a general appeasement, and Spain out of the way. It would be a gamble to take such gossip seriously.

Spain to some degree was answered in the Assembly speeches of France and Britain. M. Delbos observed, rather ironically, on non-intervention: "You know what has been the result of that policy, which France persists in thinking to be the best, provided that it does not become ridiculous. That policy is evidently possible only if it is observed by all, with an effective supervision, and above all with a unanimous and sincere acceptance of the law by all, manifested by the withdrawal by each country of those of its nationals who are participating in the civil war." He alluded as darkly to "the menace of a rupture of equilibrium." These words were the gentle public version of the much more forcible private conversations in which Italy was being told that she could only be admitted to the sea-patrol of Nyon at the price of withdrawal of the legionaries.

Britain has appeared more attached to the non-intervention policy than France. Mr. Eden did his best for it, averring that it had "played the main part in preventing a European conflict." But he admitted that there had been breaches. Like M. Delbos, he envisaged its end: "If the policy of non-intervention is abandoned, Europe will be swept into deeper and more dangerous waters. A leaky dam may yet serve its purpose, but we alone cannot decide the fate of this policy."

Mr. Litvinoff, in a fine flow of vituperative wit, reviewed non-intervention and summed up: "The London Committee did not of course achieve one single objective of those it set before itself." On this he based the moral that attempts to withdraw conflicts from Geneva in order to obtain "universality" was doomed to failure. "There can be no successful co-operation between the sincere partisans of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states, the defenders of the right of every people independently to determine its internal régime, and the equally sincere and frank supporters of interference in other people's affairs and of the imposition on other states of one régime or another by bayonet and bomb." Nyon, he pointed out, succeeded, in spite of the absence of universality.

China is very difficult. She herself is afraid of the declaration of war and a complete Japanese blockade recognised by other Powers. It is declaration also which mobilises the American neutrality legislation—though that would cut both ways. The Powers on their side seem quite determined to do nothing.

The speeches of Mr. Eden and M. Delbos were eloquent in their omissions. M. Delbos said: "The tragic happenings in the Far East are evidence of a general crisis to be overcome." *Un point, c'est tout*, as his own people say. Mr. Eden had a curious, stiff little paragraph: "It must unhappily be admitted that not one of the several efforts made by third parties to end or assuage this conflict has been of any avail."

The real policy of Great Britain, it is generally assumed, was that voiced by Mr. Bruce, of Australia. He produced a view of the Covenant which assumed that Articles XII to XVII applied to League members, while Article XI was universal. He doubted if Article XVII were applicable when hostilities had broken out. Further, "to proceed under it would inevitably, in my view, confront the members of the League with the necessity of determining whether they are prepared to take action under Article XVI—or to do so in the geographical area in which the limited membership of the League would be most crippling. I suggest that from a practical point of view the League cannot in its present condition proceed under Article XVII." Instead, Mr. Bruce proposed a Conference outside the League, of states concerned in the Far East, whether League members or not, to get into touch with the disputants and to try to make a settlement.

Now the way people argue in favour of Mr. Bruce's plan is this. If the League acts, it must inquire and report upon the conflict, and the facts are such that it must decide that Japan has committed aggression. Upon such a report Japan will declare war; and the other countries will have to recognise belligerent rights, for this is not a pseudo-civil war as is the Spanish, but an international war. Belligerent rights mean that Japan can stop and search ships and cut off all supplies from China. "International lawyers"—meaning Foreign Office advisers—are said to support this view.

International lawyers are, indeed, very queer fish. To the lay mind it seems obvious that the Covenant has abolished the old rights both of neutrality and of belligerency in international war. How can League States allow the aggressor rights to stop trade with its victim, when their duty, on the contrary, is to stop their own trade with the aggressor? Or how can their Treaty obligations fade away if they go to some other place than Geneva? It is useless to argue Nyon as an analogy. Nyon was a small section of collective security, a partial fulfilment of Article XVI. It is a Treaty to do something, while Mr. Bruce's plan is a Conference to evade doing anything. What China asks for is a League basis for action, if action should become possible, based upon recognition that Japan is committing aggression. Such a recognition would certainly preclude the granting of belligerent rights.

LONDON CONGRESS OF THE I.P.C.

THE First National Congress of the British Section of the I.P.C. will open with a Public meeting on Friday night, October 22, at the Central Hall, Westminster. Delegates to the Congress and the general public will hear speeches from Lord Samuel, the Lord Mayor of Manchester, Mr. A. M. Wall (Secretary of London Trades' Council), Mr. Vyvyan Adams, M.P., with Lord Cecil in the chair.

As the delegates enter University College on the Saturday morning they will see in the cloisters two exhibitions. A model exhibition on the Four Points of the I.P.C., which will be available for local organisations after the Congress, and also a critical review of all existing Peace Propaganda with notes on the expenditure involved and the methods of production.

Passing through the cloisters they will find assembled under the chairmanship of Lord Cecil, delegates from the widest variety of organisations. Trade Unions and Co-operatives will perhaps form the largest section of the Congress; but with them will be sitting representatives from Borough and City Councils, Doctors sent from British Medical Association branches, Civil Servants delegates from women's organisations, and of course many delegates from Peace Councils and L.N.U. branches. Those who lament that the forces for peace cannot do more will see a really representative cross-

section of the British public with tremendous potential influence on public opinion if they choose to unite their efforts.

After the opening plenary session, when the main resolution of the Congress will be introduced, the delegates will divide up into the professional commissions. During the whole of Saturday afternoon they will plan the means whereby their profession and their professional ability can most effectively help the existing peace organisations.

On the Saturday night the delegates may, if they wish hear and see well known actors and actresses using their talents to attract a wider audience to the peace movement. At the Central Hall Westminster, on Saturday night not only the delegates, but the general public as well will be invited to a first-rate entertainment organised by the Theatre, Film and Music Professions incorporated in the Arts Peace Campaign.

Finally on Sunday afternoon the delegates will assemble again to hear the reports of all the Commissions as well as reports from the Resolutions Committee and the Finance Committee. On September 23, delegates from 54 organisations had already been elected. If your branch is not represented at this Congress you will have missed a great opportunity to serve the cause of peace and to assist the work of the League of Nations Union.

A MISTAKEN PARALLEL

Lord Cecil Answers a Correspondent

VISCOUNT CECIL has received from Mr. W. Cobbett Barker, of Rochester, a postcard on which are the following questions:—

Is there any essential difference, either in premeditation or execution, between the Boer War and the Italo-Abyssinian result? Many, including Sir Edward Clarke, considered Chamberlain's policy with regard to South Africa as unmitigated burglary in the interests of the mine-owners, who even defaulted on their forced levy of £3,000,000. Did not Burke say one cannot draw an indictment against a continent—and are we sure we are always right—to say nothing of spotless?

Since Mr. Cobbett Barker did not give any further address than Rochester Lord Cecil cannot be sure that his answer has reached his correspondent. In these circumstances it is now printed in HEADWAY.

Lord Cecil sees no analogy between the Boer War and the Italian invasion of Abyssinia.

(1) We did not invade the Transvaal. It was Kruger who declared war and invaded Natal and Cape Colony.

(2) We broke no treaties either with the Transvaal, or still less with other countries. Italy's action was in the teeth of special treaties with Abyssinia and engagements to all members of the League that she would not resort to war with any member of the League, including Abyssinia, which had been admitted to the League largely at the instance of Italy, until the cause of dispute had been investigated and decided upon by the League. We now know that the causes of dispute were fictitious and that the war was unmitigated aggression.

(3) At the time of the Boer War there was no international machinery for settling international disputes or obligations to utilise it. The serious charge against Italy is that in defiance of her pledged word she struck a blow at the machinery which as a result of the catastrophe of the World

War had been erected in order to prevent a repetition of that terrible event. Unless such machinery can be made effective there is little hope for the future of civilisation.

ARMISTICE LITERATURE

The following literature is available for use at Armistice time, and should be ordered from the League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1:—

- 1.—ARMISTICE DAY LEAFLET. A new edition has been prepared for use at Armistice time, and it is hoped that it will have a wide circulation. The price is 1s. 9d. per 100, or 15s. per 1,000.
- 2.—SERMON NOTES, for use on Armistice Sunday, will be issued at 2d. a copy, post free.
- 3.—SERVICE FOR ARMISTICE DAY. A new Service for use on Armistice Day has been published in leaflet form at 2s. 6d. per 100.
- 4.—SUNDAY SCHOOL LESSONS for Senior and Junior Classes may be had on application at 2d. a copy, post free.
- 5.—BUILDING FRIENDSHIP. A new edition of "A Course of Lessons on the League of Nations for Six to Eight Year Olds," which has proved very popular in the past, is available at 3d. a copy, post free.
- 6.—THE UNION'S HYMN SHEET has been revised and printed in larger type. Copies may be had at 3s. 3d. per 100.

VISIT TO ROUEN

Following on visit to London of members of the Rouen Branch of the French League of Nations Society, an account of which appeared in the September "Headway," a small party is being organised to visit Rouen from November 6-8. The object of the visit is to discuss with the Rouen Branch, who will act as hosts, the present situation of the League and the future of our work. Further particulars can be obtained from the Secretary, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1. It is hoped that many active members of the Union who are able to speak French will join in the visit.

THE PASSING OF A LIBERATOR

By VANDELEUR ROBINSON

THE world, with its sad lack of great men, is the poorer for the passing of one of the greatest. Democracy and freedom have lost a mighty champion. The Czechs are mourning the death of their "Liberator" and the father of their country.

The settlement of Europe in 1919 and 1920, whatever its defects (and they were glaring), at least went a very long way towards giving every nationality the opportunity to rule itself, and to make what contribution it could to the common civilisation of Europe. Of all the liberated peoples, the Czechs were the most advanced in culture and ability, the most progressive, the most democratic. That they obtained their freedom, that they made good use of it, that their queer-shaped country, with its huge agglomeration of minorities, has been able to establish itself, and that the Czechs, in an era of dictatorships, manage to retain the institutions and the practice of a free country—all these achievements are due in very large measure to the personality of the philosopher-statesman who led their movement for independence and who guided their destinies for so many years as President of the Czechoslovak Republic.

Masaryk was a man whom English people can readily admire. Unlike most of the national leaders of 1919, he was a statesman. Unlike the modern dictators, he was a liberal-minded democrat. Unlike the picturesque liberators of several Eastern European countries, he was a civilised, cultured, deeply learned man. Unlike too many professional politicians, his body was as active as his mind, and he appeared publicly on horseback at the age of 85. In modern Europe, he was unique.

The Czechs regarded Masaryk, as well they might, with the utmost veneration. President Benes, until recently an active party leader, has had his detractors; not so Masaryk, who before the War a pioneer of Czech freedom, after the Peace set himself above party. The worst that was said of him was by those ardent nationalists, "plus royalistes que le roi," who complained of his complaisance to the national minorities; such criticism can only reflect credit upon its object.

During the War Masaryk came to London, where work was found for him at King's College. Here he learned greatly to admire England, and at the same time he worked with Professor Seton-Watson and Mr. Wickham Steed in the cause of Czech liberation. Together with his pupil Benes and the Slovak General Stefanik, he set up the Czechoslovak National Committee in Paris, and this was eventually recognised by the Allies as the Provisional Government of the projected Czechoslovak Republic. These activities earned him a sentence of death from the Austrian Government; but fortunately he never fell into their hands. The worst that the Austrians could do was to imprison his daughter, Dr. Alice Masaryk.

In December, 1918, Masaryk returned to Prague as the Liberator of his country, to which he gave a further 16 years of laborious service as President of the Republic. In December, 1935, he resigned the Presidency on account of ill-health, and recommended his collaborator Eduard Benes as his successor. On September 14 Masaryk died. Long may his work survive him!

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Should L.N.U. Policy Be Less Ambitious?

By Sir WILLIAM MUNDAY, a leader of Conservatism in the West of England and a Member of the L.N.U. since its inception.

THE League entered on its chequered life with a *damnosus hereditas* in the intensified nationalism cherished by most of its members. In none of them was the international spirit sufficiently developed to yield up any material portion of its national sovereignty to the League. Unfortunately, in the early enthusiasm of its supporters, this fundamental disability of the League was overlooked, and its grave consequences were unforeseen.

The failure of the League to realise the too optimistic expectations of its founders has split sincere well-wishers of the League in this country into two quite distinct schools of thought. For convenience I will refer to them as the A and B Schools.

School A holds that the League should act as, in effect, a super-state possessing sovereign and coercive authority, directing "a collective preponderance of force" over all its members, and that it is only the weakness or wickedness of certain statesmen which has hindered the League from successfully wielding that force against refractory nations.

School B tempers ideals with realism. For experience has taught it that sanctions are no preservative of peace but, on the contrary, a dangerous international irritant. It believes that the League should be maintained and used as an instrument of international conference, co-operation and conciliation, substituting reason for material force in all international relations. Probably, School B would consider the greatest and most beneficial functioning of the League to lie in its less spectacular but widespread social and health activities, in the organised co-operation of its member states for the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of human suffering throughout the world. In such social non-political combination nationalist antagonisms tend to be allayed, if not forgotten.

To School B may also be attributed the view that the supreme interest of Great Britain is peace, that in present world conditions to be disarmed, or only imperfectly armed, is really a provocative invitation to aggression, but that, though adequately armed, Great Britain should resolutely refrain from intervention in the internal affairs, the ideologies, or the quarrels of other countries, or from military adventures of any kind, where neither the wellbeing of our own people nor our national pledges require us to take action. And Great Britain alone must be the judge whether or not the conditions have arisen to justify our going to war. As Dr. Jacks has said, the British Fleet will not take its orders from Geneva.

An international police force may, let us hope, some day materialise. But to-day it is no more than an attractive ideal, a vision of a distant future. In this connection, to quote the late F. S. Oliver, "a nation cannot afford to indulge itself in hatred or affection, magnanimity or revenge. . . . A Government which goes knight erranting out of sympathy for foreign

nations is like a trustee who subscribes to charities out of the property he has undertaken to administer."

With the same pacific intent, School B heartily supports the Prime Minister's efforts to restore our former good relations with Italy. Though sympathy with Abyssinia is as natural as it is futile, sentiment should no longer delay our recognition of the accomplished fact of Italy's conquest and annexation of Ethiopia. But, to judge from the utterances of its prominent representatives, School A is opposed to reconciliation with Italy, and would maintain an unhappy feud with that country.

From School A is drawn the present majority of L.N.U. members. School B, though probably in a large majority outside, is a dwindling and uncomfortable minority within the L.N.U.

Is it not possible for these two main sections of the L.N.U. to agree to differ, and so make the so-called Union a reality which it is not at present? Some of the affiliated societies and some individual members, to whom party propaganda is the first consideration, would, no doubt, object. But surely the educational value of the L.N.U. and its influence, too, would be greatly increased if, like the Institute of International Affairs, it concentrated its activities on the objective study and the free discussion of foreign affairs, and refrained from taking a vote or passing resolutions at its meetings. Such resolutions, particularly when inspired by Headquarters, are adopted by branches of the L.N.U. without adequate knowledge of, or reflection on, the complex issues involved, and the quick turn of events often makes these dogmatic pronouncements look ridiculous in retrospect. In any case they carry little weight.

And to listen to a highly coloured narrative of the respective iniquities of General Franco and Signor Mussolini may provide a lively evening's entertainment, but is hardly an educational experience. It is jazz politics and nothing better.

Study circles in L.N.U. branches with public addresses, from time to time, by qualified persons, preferably a national, on some one country or other and its problems, or on the League's social and humanitarian activities (which, happily, are not yet subject matter of British party polemics), followed by questions and a discussion, but without taking a vote or resolution, would make up a really useful and not uninteresting winter's programme. No doubt, such a scheme would be far too humdrum for your ardent politician who sees in the difficulties of the League a handy weapon for smiting the National Government, and in a L.N.U. platform a point of vantage for brandishing that weapon.

But, as one who has been a member of the L.N.U. from its inception, and who still believes it has much potential usefulness, I venture to suggest that a less ambitious, less provocative policy than that in which the L.N.U. has been engaged in recent years is not unworthy of the consideration of those who direct its activities.

JUNIOR SUMMER SCHOOL

By HUGH LYON

This year the Junior Summer School at Geneva of the L.N.U. was attended by over 300 boys and girls.

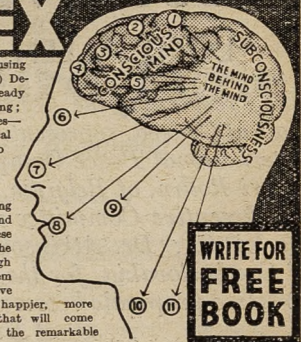
THE very words "summer school" suggest that happy mixture of intellectual, æsthetic, and physical enjoyment which filled our ten days. Hours of bathing and sunbathing; the stiff climb through lovely Monnetier to the top of Salève; the narrow streets and proud old buildings of the ancient city; Chamonix, with its panorama, and the heights and hollows of the Mer de Glace; Chillon dreaming above the Lake; the concert in the crowded hall of the Collège, and the service in the 600-year-old Chapel of John Knox; the spacious, beautiful town with its bridges, its lights, its fountains—all these are woven into our memory of the things we heard and saw of the League and its work, all these made our visit a holiday as well as an inspiration.

Yet an inspiration it surely was. We visited the new Palais des Nations, the International Labour Office, the Disarmament Building, the old Assembly Hall. Here we learnt a little of the valuable tasks which the League is quietly carrying out for the good of mankind; here we were told something of the heroism, the faith, and the loyalty which have helped to build up a new world, a world where disease and poverty and vice and war are being challenged upon a scale hitherto undreamt of. Geneva is often believed to be the home of idle visionaries; yet no man who spoke to us was afraid to face the facts or anxious to belittle difficulties; just as not one of them had been bullied by misadventure or the failure of governments into losing that faith in the League and its work which was the guiding principle of his life.

There is no space for a list of speakers, still less for an account of what they said. Many who read this article will know at first hand what sound sense and enthusiasm come from such men as Frederick Whelen, Arnold Forster, Alec Wilson, and Alfred Zimmern. Such a quartette could hardly be matched in this country or any other for clearness of vision and directness of approach. Of the many League officials who gave up time to speak to us we remember best, perhaps, Captain Mackenzie, with his graphic account of the war against plague and cholera; Duncan Hall, with his reasoned analysis of the League's importance to the Empire; the frank idealism of M. Zilliacus; and last, but far from least, the grave and kindly words in which we were welcomed to the new League buildings by the Acting Secretary-General, Captain Walters. Yet clearest in my own mind are the last two talks of all, which came like cold douches of invigorating reason into the middle of our own rather hurried discussion groups and reports; first, the Rector of Geneva University, Professor Rappard, sitting under the great tree in the Collège garden, speaking in faultless and idiomatic English of what democracy meant to him and might mean to us all; and then, at the end of the crowded last morning, that brilliant half-hour in which Sir Norman Angell infected us with his own indomitable inspiration, and sent us out determined to be crusaders in this noblest of all causes.

INFERIORITY COMPLEX

is a disturbance in the Sub-conscious Mind, causing (1) Self-consciousness; (2) Shyness; (3) Depression; (4) Fear; (5) Weak will; (6) Unsteady gaze; (7) Nervous catarrh; (8) Stuttering; (9) Blushing; (10) Trembling; (11) Nerves—and other personality weaknesses or physical ailments for which there is apparently no cause. These are symptoms of "something wrong" within you—sending out powerful negative impulses, over-coming your positive impulses, robbing you of the pleasures of achievement and the joy of living. You cannot control these impulses—the harder you fight them the stronger they get—but you can—through this revealing self-knowledge, remove them altogether, building up powerful positive forces to carry you forward to a happier, more successful life. This is the realisation that will come to you within the next few days through the remarkable book which is here offered to you free.



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Peace Maker And Law Protector

LORD ALLEN SUBMITS THE L.N.U. POLICY TO THE ASSEMBLY

The President of the Assembly of the League of Nations received on September 16, in the Assembly Hall at Geneva, representatives of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, the International Peace Campaign, and the World Youth Congress. Speeches were made by Senator Henri Rollin, of Belgium, President of the Federation; by Lord Allen of Hurtwood, a member of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union; Pasteur Jezequel, Vice-President of the I.P.C.; Dr. Atkinson, of the American League of Nations Association; and M. Kasperek, of Czechoslovakia, for the World Youth Congress. Lord Allen's address, with its practical, constructive proposals became immediately the topic of eager discussion at Geneva and in the capitals of Europe. It is reproduced here. Lord Allen said:—

Anxieties Bewilder The Peoples

THINK the best service we can render to the Assembly is to explain the anxieties which are bewildering great masses of the people to whom the Assembly is responsible. Will you pardon me if I suggest that you do not always pay sufficient honour to their faith or their courage? The public have lost none of their belief in the League system. They know the League is weak. They admit it is now most difficult for the League to decide how to restrain the breaches of international law which are taking place. They acknowledge that the present immediate task is to rebuild the League system so that it may function successfully. They want to see the empty chairs filled at the tables of this Assembly.

I am confident the British people would be prepared to make sacrifices—national, imperial and economic—provided in this way they could restore the League system and complete its membership without betraying its principles. But I say frankly that public opinion finds it difficult to see any plan or well-considered design in your proceedings. They watch the Assembly as its members clutch at each successive crisis, forced upon it by one aggressor after another. They ask: Surely it is possible to devise some common plan to meet all this danger. On the one hand they see that you hesitate to restrain the aggressor; but neither do you go out to meet him with a wholehearted offer to consider his grievances.

Ready for Collective Defence

It is true—I should be false to deny it—that the great mass of ordinary men and women in every country want nothing so much as to be kept out of war. But you do them and the peace of the world a great wrong if you let it be thought that because people hate war they are not prepared to defend the law. To say that is to give direct encouragement to the aggressor.

At least we beg the Assembly to give the peoples a chance of considering some plan by which collective force could prevent war. They would most certainly prefer their armaments to be used for this work of prevention than to drift into a situation where fighting comes in the end—but only as before in 1914 in confusion and anarchy.

Hour Calls for Action

How is this to be done? I certainly am not one of those who believe that in the present state of Europe public confidence in the League system can be restored by merely repeating some vague formula about honour-

ing our obligations to resist aggression under the Covenant. Something far more precise than that is now required. In these days, when the League is broken, it is necessary to take steps that will prove which nations will join in rebuilding the conditions under which the League system can operate.

That is the reason why we believe a very practical opportunity to restore faith in collective force as a means of upholding the law is now offered in the Spanish and Mediterranean crisis. Here, without doubt, the aggressor nations can be restrained. Here it is especially worth noting that the aggressor cannot excuse his breach of law by claiming to be suffering under any grievance. I am profoundly convinced that the peoples of all the nations loyal to the League will in this case support the intention to defend the law. Here political necessity, geographical advantage and public approval can all be linked together. If this opportunity is resolutely seized, the whole moral prestige of collective action could be restored—with consequent benefit in all other cases where aggression may be threatened.

Common Plans for Restoring Peace

But allow me to say that public opinion asks something more of the Assembly than this. They ask you at this critical Assembly Meeting not only to show them and the world that there are occasions when you will resist the aggressor, but that you also have a common plan for restoring the peace of Europe. They feel that ever since the Treaty of Versailles we have committed the mistake of trying to enthroned the principle of law without first building the foundations of justice.

They therefore ask—and this is the submission I

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Post-Time is Adventure-Time!

By Anita Richmond

"You're very excited, Norah. What's the matter?"
"It's time the postman came."
"But—"
"Ah, there he is!" Norah jumped to her feet and ran to the front door. When she returned, she bore a letter which she flourished triumphantly in her friend's face.
"It's quite an adventure nowadays!" she exclaimed.
"I don't understand," said Marjorie. "Besides, that letter isn't for you. It's addressed to Miss Blanche—"
"My pen name. This letter's from an editor and—"
"For heaven's sake explain, Norah! Don't be so tantalising."
Norah sank into a chair, her eyes bright with excitement. "I'm a real live author, Marjorie. Really I am. I've been writing now for over a year, and I've made—simply pounds. You wouldn't believe it." She pointed across the room. "See that bookcase? That cost me three hours' work—if it can be called work. Really, it's the most fascinating hobby imaginable."
"But you, Norah!" exclaimed the other in amazement. "Why, you never—"
"I know. That's the wonderful thing about it. I never dreamt I could do it, although I always longed to be able to. One day I saw an advertisement of a correspondence course in article and story writing, and sent for a copy of the prospectus."
"And you joined?"
"Eventually I did. I doubted my ability to write; but the Course people were so friendly and helpful in their letters that I plucked up courage and enrolled."
"I don't believe in those correspondence courses," said Marjorie, shaking her head.
"I didn't till I learnt more about this one. My dear, you wouldn't believe the trouble they take. I hadn't the foggiest notion how I should even start an article before I joined, yet two months afterwards the Director of Studies wrote and said that my last exercise would be up to standard if I revised it in a certain way, and he gave me a list of papers to send it to."
"Well?"
"The first paper bought it. I got two guineas. Since then I've sold nearly everything I've written."
"It's perfectly wonderful, Norah. I wish I could do it, but then, writers are born, not—"
"Rubbish! It's a matter of training. If you can write a good letter you can learn to write 'copy' for the papers—I'll tell you what I'll do, Marjorie. I'll write and get the Institute's new prospectus for you."
"The Institute?"
"The Regent Institute, Palace Gate."
"But I couldn't afford the fee, Norah."
"It's really quite reasonable, and you can pay it in instalments. You might get it back in no time. I did within five months. Do let me get that prospectus for you."
"I'll think about it."
"Take my advice, Marjorie, and act now. I wish I hadn't waited so long. I'd have earned pounds more."
"All right, Norah." Marjorie rose to her feet. She was quite enthusiastic by this time. "Let's send for it now, dear."

LEARN TO WRITE

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Striking parallels to above are to be found in the records of the Regent Institute. Some students have earned the fee many times over while taking the postal tuition in Journalism and Short Story Writing. One woman pupil reported that she had earned £100 while learning; another made £72 after eight lessons.

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respectfully make to you. Cannot some of you in this Assembly be set free from the duty of handling these separate crises? Cannot some of you be entrusted with the task of working out a new plan which might have some chance of rebuilding the League? And is not the best procedure for this purpose to make an offer that the Assembly is willing to negotiate with the utmost care a revised settlement of Europe which could remove at least some of the inequalities and grievances under which certain nations claim to suffer? We all pay tribute to Article XIX of the Covenant, but we set up no machinery to operate it. It may be true that we often exaggerate the evils of Versailles. Many of those grievances have indeed already been removed—but it has always been under pressure, and not by the spontaneous initiative of justice. As a result, no goodwill has followed any of the changes that have been made. The League has been thought of too much as a law protector. Could it not now become a peace maker?

The Law Must be Just

Public opinion does not ask for the revision of the Covenant. But it does ask for life to be given to that function of the League which would enable grievances to be considered. If the people are to be called upon to defend the law, they must feel in their hearts that it is just.

I beg the Assembly most earnestly not to imagine that all we plead for is one more World Conference. You have had your fill of such conferences. We fully acknowledge that you, with your wide experience, believe it essential that diplomatic exchanges ought to precede the calling of a Peace Conference, so that some measure of agreement may first be ensured. We accept that. But surely great benefit would result if there could at least go out from this Assembly a preliminary declaration which would make clear that you desired to set in motion workmanlike machinery to ascertain the facts behind the grievances advanced. Especially would this be so if, for the first time since Versailles, that declaration made it known that the Assembly was willing to approach the task of negotiating a new settlement on the basis of absolute equality of status between all nations. In the discussion that might follow, it would be right and proper to insist that if a new agreement were reached, then every signatory would have to prove his sincerity by resuming membership of the League, and accepting the limitation and international supervision of his armaments.

Who is on the Side of Peace?

A declaration such as this, followed by the nomination of some among you to approach this difficult task, might be of incalculable value to Europe at this critical moment.

Even if it failed to evoke a response, or even if it fed the appetite of the aggressor, no new injury would have been added to the perils that already surround the peace of Europe. On the other hand, it would have been made clear who is on the side of peace, and there would have been conferred upon the Assembly a new moral authority and power to arouse the support, the understanding, and the resolution of public opinion not only amongst the peoples you represent, but in America and elsewhere.

The occasion to negotiate a Peace Treaty is in the time of peace and not after the conclusion of a war.

READERS' VIEWS

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

"PARTISAN SPEECHES"

SIR.—Sir William Munday complains that the foreign policy of the National Government is attacked on L.N.U. platforms. If the Union may not attack an anti-League policy because it happens to be that of the Government of the day, I can see no use whatever in its existence.

Under such circumstances it certainly could not claim to be non-partisan. M. A. PRATT.
Kingsbury, N.W.9.

WE MUST BE PRO-LEAGUE

SIR.—Surely the L.N.U. is a "spiritual home" for all sincere supporters of the League irrespective of their political affiliation. If indeed Conservative or any other party policy does not accord with League principles, then the Conservative or Liberal or Socialist can scarcely expect to find a "spiritual home" in the Union. It is the business of the Union not to be pro-Conservative or pro-Labour, but to be pro-League. If in the process it is anti-Conservative, then that is the fault of Conservative policy, not of the Union. If Sir William Munday joins the Union it is up to him to forget he is a Conservative and remember only he is a supporter of League principles.

To me there is something a little sinister in this suggestion of partisanship on the part of Union members. Your own journal (HEADWAY) has always steadfastly stood for the principles of the Covenant, and in so doing you have often had to criticise the policy of Conservative Governments. Are we to understand that in future you must temper your sails to a Conservative wind, that you must no longer take your stand on the principles of the Covenant but must advocate a Conservative League policy? Then indeed the League will lose its moral appeal.

It is not the business of the Union to oppose the present Government's policy, but it is certainly the business of the Union to criticise that policy if it does not follow League principles. I have heard plenty of criticism in Union circles of the present Government's policy from a League point of view, but I have never heard anyone advocate the political overthrow of that Government and the setting up of an alternative one. ALAN A. STARK.

IS CRITICISM UNDESERVED?

SIR.—There are at least two sides to this question of "partisan speeches." It is certainly true that it may be embarrassing for supporters of the Government to listen to attacks on Government policy from L.N.U. platforms; and one might agree that such attacks are indiscreet, because, on account of their unpleasantness, they may alienate supporters. Yet if the statements are true, and the speaker an enthusiast of the League, can he be said to be entirely wrong?

The L.N.U. not only desires but needs all the strength that a huge membership of all parties would give.

Criticism is not an unmixed evil, and seldom without cause. So when the Government comes under the lash, its supporters should do no less than see if there is not some reasonable remedy. In this case if the National Government will from now onwards honestly and consistently support League principles, League members will give generous praise. W. CAWTHORNE.
Wisbech.

MANCHURIA, ETHIOPIA, SPAIN

SIR.—Like Alderman Munday, I object to L.N.U. platforms being used for partisan criticism of the Government, but I also object to their being the media for partisan support of this or any Government. I have in mind some of the eulogies of the Government's policy of unlimited rearmament and the recruiting speeches which at times emanate from L.N.U. platforms.

I suspect, however, that Alderman Munday would take exception to almost any criticism of the present Government. As I see it, one purpose of the L.N.U. is to give praise where praise is due, and to blame where blame is due. Supporters of a Government which has side-tracked the League of Nations on all major issues—Manchuria, Ethiopia, so-called "non-intervention" in Spain—must expect some criticism from those who join a society whose main object it is to prepare public opinion for the fullest use and development of the League of Nations.

When the Government chariot is directed along the road of international anarchy and away from the Covenant of the League, I, for one, refuse either to be dragged in the dust or completely muzzled.

Falmouth.

STANLEY W. HOLDICH.

TOTALITARIANISM

SIR.—We have but to imagine Sir William Munday's principle—that no voluntary society formed to support the Covenant should criticise its own Government adversely, whatever the latter may do—to the case of hypothetical societies in Italy, Germany, or Japan, and it becomes evident that any such rule would reduce all propaganda on behalf of the League to futility. A Russian and a German L.N.U. would have to maintain opposite principles, each vigorously denouncing the other. An Italian L.N.U. would have to condone acts regarded by similar societies in democratic countries as dastardly crimes which destroyed the very basis of mutual faith.

This demand for non-criticism is, in fact, the first step towards totalitarianism—or rather, it constitutes the first stage of totalitarianism itself. If whatever a Government does is to be deemed right, except in the eyes of foreigners, all independence of conviction and freedom of speech become impossible. It would mean fostering, at least tacitly, that very illusion of national infallibility, that national self-righteousness and narrowness of outlook, which is doing so much harm in the world to-day.

It is just because all Governments, our own included, are tempted to play false to principle that outspoken prophets and preachers are so necessary. Most of the troubles of the present day arise from the insincerity, the duplicity, the faithlessness, the unprincipled conduct of Governments.

A reformer is impartial and non-partisan not when he stultifies himself by holding his tongue or by putting darkness for light and light for darkness, but when he criticises all Governments and all parties impartially. The L.N.U., for instance, should be a stern critic of all shortcomings on the part of Liberal or Socialist Governments. But since no such Governments have existed in this country for many years it must be rather hard to find much to criticise in them.

There are few things that could so fill one with despair for the cause of the League as the manifestation of a spirit of subservience, flunkeyism, or false patriotism on the part of the voluntary societies.

Chesham Bois.

R. GORDON MILBURN.

OUR DUTY IS TO THE LEAGUE.

SIR.—We hear much about the Union's responsibilities now that Mr. Chamberlain has joined us, and less about those which Mr. Chamberlain has assumed by becoming a Union member.

The Union as a "non-party" organisation is concerned not with the political complexion of the Government of the day, but only with the attitude and conduct of the Government towards the League. If the Government's policies do not accord with the welfare of the League then it is undoubtedly the right and duty of the Union to say so as plainly and as vigorously as possible. If the term "non-

party" has any meaning at all it is that as Union members our party loyalties take second place to our common loyalty to the Covenant, and that while we are friends and supporters of any Government which shows a desire to enhance the authority of the League we must be resolute critics and perhaps opponents of a Government which shows contrary tendencies.

Viewed in the light of the Covenant the National Governments have a bad record. They were offered a golden opportunity to place the League in a position of unassailable authority. They made a great show of acceptance and then, with a *volte-face* almost unique in the history of parliamentary government, they crippled the League and opened the floodgates of rearmament. It is useless to plead that they were only one of a black flock. If they had led resolutely, France and the other nations would have followed. Since that time disaster has followed disaster—in Abyssinia, in the Rhineland, in Spain, and now in China. The Covenant is forgotten and international morality has ceased to exist. Broadly speaking, this is the view of many Union members, and their disgust has brought them to the point of conviction that the situation cannot be retrieved under a "National" Government. Most disgusted of all are those members who happened also to be good Conservatives.

Mr. Chamberlain cannot escape responsibility for his share in the events of the last two years. Neither can Sir John Simon, who said that he would not risk a single British ship to save Abyssinia, and who is still a Vice-President of the Union.

As a humble member of the Union's rank and file I beg leave to doubt the desirability of a long list of Vice-Presidents chosen haphazard from the great ones of the earth, without regard to the conditions normally attaching to membership. If we must have a picture gallery let it be of men and women who really believe in the objects for which we are working. The Union will survive by faith and hard work, not by great names or great numbers.

Port Said.

BRANCH SECRETARY.

REWARD FOR GOOD CONDUCT?

SIR.—As a regular reader of your inspiring paper may I thank you for your firm stand against the recognition of Abyssinia as an Italian colony.

However, the day must come when the Italian people awake from their sleep and re-establish democracy in Italy. If, as must be one day, an Italy arises which plays its full part in international affairs, faithfully fulfilling all its obligations, then surely a reward for "good conduct" should be considered?

Would it not be wise for HEADWAY to make it clear that in future years it would be prepared to reconsider its attitude to the conquest of Abyssinia?

An Italy in the hands of peace-loving democrats would surely deserve some reward for their toil, and in recognising Abyssinia as Italian would prove to all that the "good conduct" of nations—as with individuals—always receives its reward.

As an ardent supporter of HEADWAY, may I ask whether this suggestion of mine is worthy of consideration?

Putney Hill, London, S.W.15.

G. H. KNIGHT.

COUNCIL'S VOTE

The following Branches have completed their Council's Vote payments

For 1937:—

Arnside, Bourne, Bentham, Bluntisham, Blackham, Barcombe, Church Stretton, Coalville, Cove, Crawley Down, Caterham, Chalford, Cartmel, Darwen Lower, Desborough, Fordingbridge, Finchingfield, Forest Row, Guildford, Grasmere, Goole, Heversham, Hartford, Hebden Bridge, Hadleigh, Halesworth, Kirkby Lonsdale, Lowgill, Minchinhampton, Manley and Ashton, Morecambe, Milnthorpe, Midhurst, Mayfield, Nantwich, Newick, Paulton, Portslade, Rottingdean, Spratton, Staveley, Storrington, Selmeaton, Thetford, Woodborough.

WHAT BECOMES OF BRITAIN'S CRIPPLED GIRLS?



Picture a home in the poorer quarters of a great city. There are five children. The eldest, 16 years of age, has spinal trouble. She cannot take part in outdoor activities, neither can she hope to get a job or render much needed help to harassed parents. Do you wonder that she feels fate has dealt unkindly with her—that she is an unwanted member of Society? Just over 70 years ago the late John A. Groom determined that something must be done for these helpless crippled girls. Assisted by that great philanthropist the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, he founded

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

where crippled girls could be trained to make artificial flowers and so become largely self-supporting. To-day, at Edgware and Clerkenwell, 320 girls are employed. Some are blind, some deaf and dumb, some have only one arm or effective hand, and some have severe spinal trouble. Full Trade Board wages are paid, but the cost of training and maintenance is heavy and is a severe tax on the funds, which are dependent upon VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS. Will you help by sending a donation NOW—and also ask sympathetic friends to join in? There is a long waiting list of deserving cases. Legacies are urgently needed. Visitors are welcome at Edgware Way any day except Saturday.

The flowers are obtainable in leading London and Provincial Stores.

Latest Report gladly sent on receipt of postcard bearing name and address JOHN GROOM'S CRIPPLEAGE, 37, Sekforde St., Clerkenwell, London, E.C.1

LIBERALISM AND CURRENT PROBLEMS

LECTURES at 8.15 p.m.

in the

MANSON HALL, 26, PORTLAND PLACE, W.1

(Near Broadcasting House)

No. 1 October 5th

RELATIONS WITH INDIA

by SIR LAURIE HAMMOND, K.C.S.I., C.S.I., C.B.E.
Chairman: Rt. Hon. LORD MESTON, K.C.S.I., LL.D.

No. 2 November 2nd

RELATIONS WITH THE DOMINIONS

by Professor ERIC WALKER, M.A. (Oxon), F.R.Hist.S.
Chairman: The Most Hon. THE MARQUESS OF CREWE, K.G.

No. 3 December 7th

RELATIONS WITH THE COLONIES

by LEONARD BARNES

Chairman: SIR ROBERT HAMILTON, M.A., F.R.G.S., F.S.A. (Scot.)
Further Lectures on January 18th, February 15th and March 15th, 1938

Tickets for each lecture (2/- and 1/-) and Syllabus on application to the Lecture Committee, Liberal Party Organisation, 42 Parliament Street, S.W.1, or tickets may be obtained at the Hall on the evening of the lecture.

While playing Bowls we smoke—and pitch,
With "bowls" well filled with TOM LONG rich.

PEACEFUL CHANGE

By THE SECRETARY OF THE UNION

THE League of Nations failed to save Abyssinia from the clutches of Italy in 1936 as it had failed to prevent Japan's attack on China in 1931. Many people, who ought perhaps to know better, are now saying that the League is obviously no good for preserving peace. Its other work, they say, might go on; improving labour conditions, making people more healthy, seeing after children's welfare, putting down the white slave trade, controlling the traffic in dangerous drugs, fighting slavery, and protecting native races against people who would use them for their own ends.

Yet the foundations of the League of Nations were well and truly laid in its Covenant. In the making of that Covenant the lead was taken by the English-speaking peoples: the nations of the British Commonwealth and the U.S.A. For the nations of the Commonwealth, the question of making war against one another has already been thrown on the scrapheap. If they can do this for one-quarter of the world why should it not be done for the whole world with the other nations' help? That was the idea in 1919 when the foundations of the League were laid in the Covenant. These foundations stand, despite the League's severe shaking by the tragedy of Abyssinia. No other foundations will serve for the rebuilding of peace. We must get back to the principles of the Covenant, the principles of freedom and fair play for all the peoples of the world.

Since there can be no real freedom unless law and order are maintained, the first business of the League is to prevent war from ever breaking out at all. But nations will not be deterred from taking up arms in defence of their rights, as they believe them to be or fancy that they ought to be, unless they see a peaceful way of gaining more while risking less. The Members of the League are therefore pledged to use the strength of all for the defence of each, and so to make it a very risky business for any State to attack another. At the same time they hold open a way for States that are on the verge of war to reach an agreed settlement without fighting; and each of them has undertaken to follow this path should war seem near.

By these means—collective resistance to aggression and international settlement of disputes “likely to lead to a rupture”—the League has already averted several wars; and, when its members give it their solid support, it can prevent other wars from breaking out.

But fair play for all peoples would not be assured if war were banished by these means alone. If that were all, the result might even be to “stereotype” injustice. Makeshift settlements, hurriedly patched up under the threat of war, are hardly likely to be models of fairness. There is, however, an exception when legal rights alone are in dispute. Then, indeed, the whole trouble may be ended, once and for all, by an award of arbitrators or a decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice. This Court, set up by the League, has on the whole been a great success; 64 cases have come before it; not once has its decision been defied.

But ours is still a comparatively lawless world. And such laws as are in force tend to become out-of-date or

unjust in the absence (hitherto) of reliable means to revise them when any interested State refuses its consent.

Seeing fair play between nations in such a world involves revising treaties and laying down new laws even in face of opposition. This is no mere question of waiting for a dispute to occur and then getting judges or arbitrators to decide what the law is, who is right and who is wrong. The worst grievances more often arise from a sense of the harshness, unfairness, and injustice of the existing law itself than from any feeling of injury due to this law being broken. But the League's power to revise treaties and lay down new laws in face of opposition exists only in germ. The germ (in Article XIX of the Covenant) needs to be developed until the use of this power becomes practical politics.

It is true that many harsh or unfair treaties have already been altered without any immediate threat of war. But in none of these cases was there any stubborn antagonism to overcome. For example, at Montreux, in July, 1936, Turkey asked for and obtained changes in the Treaty by which she was bound not to fortify the Straits between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. In spite of many cases of this sort, where justice has been done with the consent of all concerned, no nation yet feels sure that it will get what is fair and just by bringing its grievances to the notice of the League.

The League of Nations Union is urging that the League should now be furnished with the means for revising treaties, removing national grievances and promoting international justice, if need be against the will of one of the parties to a dispute. The Union has ventured to suggest how this might be done. When a Member of the League brings a grievance to its notice and asks for a remedy, the League (in the Union's view) should appoint a Commission of Inquiry to find out the facts and to see what should be done. The League's Assembly, representing four-fifths of the people of the world, should then “recommend,” by a vote of the majority, the line to be taken by the States concerned. If any of these States does not act on this “advice” within a reasonable time, the League's Council, which includes all the Great Power Members of the League, should decide (under Article XI of the Covenant, but without counting the votes of the States directly affected) to “take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.” In some such way as this the League might develop the power to remove national grievances by a process of peaceful change.

Germany or Italy or Japan would then feel able to go to the League and to get Justice—what the world would think was just—in all such matters as supplies of food and raw materials, openings for trade, colonies, movements of population, and even changes of frontier. In return these Powers would have to go back to Geneva and agree with the League and the U.S.A. to an all round reduction of armaments down to the low level that suffices for the uses sanctioned by the Covenant. A new settlement on these lines would save the world from war and might prevent the break-up of the British Empire.