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# HEADWAY

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A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

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Bernard Partridge

THE BURGLAR'S DREAM:

OR, THE LEAGUE AS SOME WOULD LIKE TO SEE IT.

*With acknowledgement to the proprietors of Punch.*

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## NEWS AND COMMENT

## At the Albert Hall

ON May 8 an audience of 10,000 people filled the Albert Hall to show their loyalty to the League of Nations in one of the darkest hours it has known. The Emperor of Abyssinia had left his country and taken shelter under the British flag; organised resistance to the invader was at an end; Italian troops occupied the capital; Mussolini had proclaimed King Victor Emmanuel Emperor. Seemingly the crime was consummated, the criminal was in possession of his booty; to all appearances, independent Abyssinia had ceased to exist and the whole country had fallen under Italian sovereignty. The 10,000 in the Albert Hall were there to place on record their firm denial.

It was a remarkable audience, drawn from all parts of Great Britain, from all classes in the community, from all parties and all creeds. Many in it were young. Young men were much more numerous than they are usually in such places. Its temper was quiet, intensely earnest, set against any emotional excess. An assured peace, such as only the League could guarantee, was its deliberate choice, and it was deliberately ready to pay the price.

The singleness of mind with which it demanded from the British Government, and the Governments of the other League Members, a genuine League policy was revealed in its response to Mr. Eden's name. Lord Cecil twice acknowledged the good intentions of the Foreign Secretary. On the first occasion there was scarcely a cheer; on the second there was a sound of hesitating response. "We are giving nothing away; too much has been given away too easily elsewhere." Not until Sir Archibald Sinclair, speaking as a political opponent, repeated Lord Cecil's tribute with emphasis did the general reserve break down and Mr. Eden receive his due.

## Maintain Sanctions

THE resolution submitted from the platform exactly interpreted the general opinion and secured an almost unanimous vote. It ran:—  
This meeting—

Affirms its support of the League of Nations and the principle of collective security;

Pledges itself to take all constitutional means to strengthen the League as an instrument of international peace and of peaceful change;

Expresses its indignation at the invasion of Abyssinia by Italy in defiance of her treaty obligations and at her barbarous methods of warfare; and

Calls upon H.M. Government to urge the maintenance of Sanctions against Italy until she is ready to accept terms of peace approved by the Council of the League.

Defeatism raises its voice in Parliament and the Press. Faint hearts boast of their lost courage on public platforms. Yet when the L.N.U. throws open the doors of the Albert Hall the 10,000 who answer the invitation are found to be convinced supporters of the League, not hanging fearfully back, but demanding braver measures from the Government.

## Mr. Eden Misjudged

MR. EDEN is being called upon to pay the common penalty of high place in an hour of keen and widespread disappointment. He is not the man to complain. The attacks of the enemies of the League, who are also his enemies because of his League policy, he takes as a matter of course. But it would be only natural if he were to resent what some of the League's friends are saying, especially when it is based on a misapprehension. For example, he is accused of complacency, because of a passage in his speech at Leamington on May 2.

We had an obligation, a signed Covenant obligation, to play a part. We have sought to play that part to the full; and, so far as we have done this, we have nothing to reproach ourselves with, nothing to apologise for.

The plain meaning of this is, Britain cannot be blamed for having acted too firmly and gone too far; and the implication is, if Britain is blameable it is because she has not acted firmly enough and not gone far enough.

## World Leaders Speak

PROTEST against League weakness at the present fateful moment is not confined to any small group of League supporters, nor to any one country. Leaders of world opinion have spoken out in many parts of the world. The following quotations are representative.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, presiding in the Upper House of Convocation, on May 27:—

It seemed necessary to enlarge the membership and reconstruct the obligations of the League if it was to fulfil

its high purpose. They could not willingly acquiesce in its being reduced to the position of a mere Council of Conciliation. In a more favourable atmosphere the League might emerge as the permanent guarantor of international security. One of the first duties of a re-established League would assuredly be to resume the endeavour to bring about a general disarmament, and thus remove for the future one of the most patent causes of mistrust and fear. They could not abandon or even whittle down the ideal for which the League of Nations stood. The actual circumstances of the time might seem to have discredited it, but the ideal remained.

M. LEON BLUM, leader of the majority in the newly-elected Chamber of Deputies, and prospective Premier of France, in Paris, May 10, 1936:—

Much damage has been done and we have much to repair.

Our object is to rekindle in peace-loving Europe confidence in itself.

We must revitalise the League of Nations and resuscitate the spirit of international solidarity that showed itself last September.

GENERAL SMUTS, South African Minister of Justice, in a letter written on April 19, 1936:—

The German business seems somewhat in abeyance while French politicians are fighting their elections. But in Abyssinia the crisis is rapidly arriving—with Dessie occupied by the Italians and the Abyssinian forces melting away before aeroplanes and poison gas. Europe is getting an ocular demonstration of what the next great war will mean when it comes—as it is expected on the Continent to come within two or three years. If Italy succeeds in "getting away with it" we are up against a crisis as grave as has ever been faced since 1914. For if she does, the thing will be repeated on a much vaster scale than that of Abyssinia. I am for hanging on grimly to Sanctions, even if it prove impossible to add further Sanctions. They must not get away with it. If Sanctions cannot end the war they could, and should, secure a decent peace, even if Italy goes burst in the process. Sanctions should, in my view, be continued till a peace is made "within the framework of the League and in the spirit of the Covenant," as the phrasing has been up to now. Sanctions must be bleeding Italy white and the process should be continued even if she annexes Abyssinia. Unless this happens the League is broken and Great Britain either retires from the Continent or remains in as a party to some military alliance. In my view economic Sanctions—even without military or naval action—must prove effective if persisted in to the bitter end. And if they avail to rob Italy of the unholy fruits of her wrongdoing the deterrent effect for the world would be almost more striking than if they had succeeded in stopping the war.

GENERAL SMUTS, at Capetown, May 6, 1936:—

I feel it is no use speculating about another League of Nations. I see little hope of founding another League, and all alternative attempts have been time and again unsuccessful.

It is either for the nation members now to stand by the League to the uttermost, or it will go down before the Italian attack, and then the world will be confronted with the alternatives which faced it before the Great War.

In the awful perplexities and dangers which face the world to-day, I am for doing the straight thing—and that is to stand loyally behind the League until Italy is compelled to make peace within the terms of the Covenant.

If the Sanctions policy cannot be strengthened, it should at least be carried out on the present basis until the very end.

If the members of the League have the courage to do this, not only will the League be saved, but in my opinion the peace of the world will be maintained for many years to come.

The choice is not between this League and another League. It is between this League and chaos and destruction.

GENERAL HERTZOG, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, in the Legislative Assembly, Capetown, May 6, 1936:—

It was premature to say that Sanctions had failed.

If the League did its duty, it must maintain and continue Sanctions, even, if necessary, for years.

If that were done Italy would eventually be compelled to give in. There was not a nation in Europe that could permanently withstand the pressure of Sanctions such as those being applied to Italy.

Before we can say that Sanctions have failed, we must first be certain that the League does not propose to continue Sanctions, and if that happens the League will be dead. No country would desire to continue to be a Member of a League that had proved itself a broken reed.

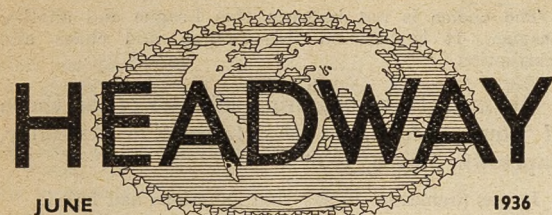
Except General Smuts' letter, whose message was repeated and confirmed after the Emperor's departure, these declarations were all made with a knowledge that effective Abyssinian resistance was at an end and that only the League stood between Mussolini and conquest.

## Humanitarian Services

IN some quarters an illusion is nursed that the League can cease to be the guardian of world peace, relinquishing the task as beyond its strength, and devote itself to humanitarian activities. It is an illusion. The League's world campaigns against disease, drugs, slavery, traffic in women and children, bad working conditions, succeed by persuading or coercing the laggards of the world community to mend their pace until they catch up the leaders. Such persuasion or coercion depends on the League's world authority. Backward countries are always tempted to be recalcitrant. While the League's credit is high they dare not face its considered and open condemnation; if its credit were low it would be flouted with a light heart.

## Refugees

AT the London School of Economics the L.N.U. called, in mid-May, a conference on refugees. The wide publicity given in the Press to the addresses and discussions was striking evidence of the general interest in a branch of League work which no other agency could attempt to perform. The eminent speakers drew a tragic picture of the desperate need. They utilised varied personal experience gathered in many parts of the world. More than 1,000,000 men, women, and children, by no fault of their own, have lost their countries. In pitilessly adverse circumstance they are driven towards destitution and revolutionary unrest. Where they are allowed a chance, they often create new wealth and establish new industries. The League organisation must be preserved, without fear or favour, to help them to such a chance, wherever possible.



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

## THE WORLD NEEDS A STRONGER LEAGUE

**O**F two things one. The League of Nations must be abolished—or strengthened. Those are the alternatives. Can there be any doubt which should be chosen?

Eighteen years ago thoughtful observers everywhere learnt one deep lesson from the world war. They might differ about details. But they agreed on the central fact. As Mr. H. G. Wells phrased it: "There is no way out of war except organised peace." The community of nations must follow the example set by the community of citizens and assume conscious control of its collective existence. Rival alliances and competitive armaments had led to the inevitable disaster. Law must take the place of war as the regulator of international contacts. The nations must find some way of arming the judge, not the litigant. The League was born. Has anything happened since its birth to show that its purpose was mistaken, that world peace and national security can be assured by other means than a collective defence to which all shall contribute and by which all shall benefit? To ask the question is to answer it. In the present crisis, not for the first time, failure of the League and rearmament and fear have kept pace with one another, ominously aligned. When the League has suffered a rebuff the nations have increased their war budgets and the danger of war has drawn nearer. A refusal of the strenuous effort required to strengthen the League and a feeble acceptance instead of its abolition would be a choice of war not long delayed. And, let there be no mistake, such a war would be not a warning, but the end.

Perhaps it may be argued that the wise policy is, indeed, to strengthen the League, but to do so in a negative way. The League should recognise the limits of its power; it should abandon the duties it is unable to perform; it should devote itself to the tasks of conciliation and humanitarian service; it should be content to see the fabric of world peace buttressed by regional alliances outside the Covenant. A plausible case, not yet more than vaguely outlined, already certain to be rejected by the British people! Popular hope clings to the League. Public opinion is ready for heavy sacrifices to save the League and make it work. But it must be a real League. A League which was only a facade behind whose respectable shelter military compacts were framed on the old model to protect national interests and promote national ambitions would collapse amid the general contempt. Conciliation without pressure will never succeed except where the parties wish to be reconciled. Humanitarian service is

denied its full practical results if world opinion is not continuously informed and promptly expressed through an institution whose authority attaches serious penalties to defiance. These are important considerations. Their true weight, however, is detected only by close students of world affairs. It is not apparent to the inexpert at the glance. What is decisive is the fundamental distinction, rooted in the depths, obvious on the surface, and not to be hidden by any ingenuity of discourse, between a promise of general peace and a project of sectional predominance. Nothing will persuade the British people that the two things are the same. The British people have a horror of war. They are profoundly pacific. They will enlist in no lower cause than world peace built on world justice. Hating war though they do, they will in the last resort fight to defend the right of all nations, themselves and their neighbours, to live contentedly side by side, unthreatening and unthreatened. Whoever seeks the same end may count upon their loyal and active partnership. Whoever plans to use them as a pawn in European power politics will meet with a complete repulse: not the most adroit enticements, decked out in the purest League phraseology, will prevent their retort, "a curse on both your houses," and their retreat into a watchful, uncompromised detachment.

A shrunken and diminished League, no matter how nicely its remaining business was adjusted to its modest resources, would fatally disappoint the expectations of the British people and be deprived beyond appeal of their support, which is one essential condition of the survival of a League of any kind. Thus the argument returns to the challenging alternatives, no League or a strengthened League. Since the acceptance of no League would be the suicide of civilisation the one practical question is, how shall the League be made stronger?

Elsewhere in this number of HEADWAY two articles, both written by experts, both based on probing inquiry, deal with League reform. One outlines the course which seems feasible at the centre of international politics, Geneva; the other explains what is judged desirable by the League's best friends, surveying the situation from London. Most significantly the two come to an identical major conclusion. Sanctions must stay. The peace of the world must not be left defenceless, a prey to any aggressor who chooses to make war. A multiplication of peaceful promises will not restrain such a man; he will not hesitate to dishonour his bond to gain his end. Recent experience proves it. He will listen to no argument except the probability of defeat. To-day he is rare as well as dangerous. To-morrow either a strong League, by demonstrating its powers, will have eliminated him or a weak League will have thrown the door wide open for his most reckless adventures.

Sanctions must stay. Not only in the special case of Italy but in the Covenant. And they must be reinforced. Admittedly sanctions are a snare if there is no resolute will in the League to apply them. But the source of feeble action is uncertainty of mind. Sanctions must be more clearly defined and more promptly decreed. When all League Members know beforehand what must be done they will be decided and united in doing it. Each will be much more ready to take their full share in active prevention before the worst has happened.

## LOOK THE FACTS IN THE FACE

BY THE SECRETARY OF THE UNION

**N**OTHING is gained by refusing to look facts in the face or by minimising the disaster which has befallen the League of Nations. Italy has now won the war.

But the League may yet settle the peace. If, when the Council meets again on June 16, convincing evidence shows that the continuance of economic and financial Sanctions for a few more weeks will bring Italy to her knees and compel her to leave the peace terms to the League, then these sanctions will, of course, be maintained.

If, however, the effect of non-military measures is still in doubt, a choice will have to be made between two policies. The first would be to intensify sanctions so that Italy shall not keep her prize. If Britain were to propose a blockade of the approaches to the Suez Canal, then (according to the Geneva correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, who is probably right because he had the opportunity of observing the trend of opinion among the Continental delegates to the May Council meeting) the proposal would be supported by France, Soviet Russia, the Little Entente, the Balkan Entente, Sweden, Denmark and Finland. A proposal by Britain to increase sanctions until Italy agrees to the terms of peace being settled by the League would in any case go a long way to restore British prestige and the honour of the British name. If adopted and acted upon, it would do more than that: it would revive faith in the League of Nations and in collective security: it would reverse the present trend towards a major war in Europe. By public meetings, by letters to Members of Parliament, by our private conversations, let us work to this end.

The second possible policy would be to recognise that the present sanctions cannot be maintained indefinitely with no clear object in view; that the sanctions front would break if another adjournment were proposed without any decision in prospect; and that therefore nothing remains but to acknowledge the failure of the League in general, and of Britain in particular, and to bring our great Fleet home. In other circumstances its home-coming might have been even more glorious than that of the little British Army from the Saar.

## INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE, 1936

By C. A. MACARTNEY

**T**HE International Labour Conference, when it opens its 20th Session on June 4, must feel that it is being asked to play Hamlet without the Prince. For several years past all the publicity and interest have centred in a single problem—the most controversial which the I.L.O. has touched for a decade, perhaps since its foundation.

Ought a convention to be concluded on reduction of hours, and if so, what sort of a convention? Should it provide for maintenance of wages or of the standard of living, or neither? Should it be general, or applicable only industry by industry? These questions were for

Even so, the failure of Sanctions to stop the aggressor on this the first occasion of their use, need not and must not mean the end of collective security or of the war-preventing power of the League. It will still be possible, although far more difficult, to prevent the outbreak of a second world war. If, with the active help of our Union, the British people stand firm by the Covenant, the League Powers, with Britain on the right, France in the centre, and Soviet Russia on the left, will still be able to rebuild collective security and so strengthen the League as to make it a reliable instrument for reducing armaments, for maintaining peace, and for removing injustices by a process of peaceful change.

In a situation which alters from week to week, one fact stands out plain for all to see. It is that, if the foundations of peace are to be rebuilt, the Governments participating in this enterprise must pursue in common a long-range policy. Overworked statesmen, preoccupied by pressing business which they are anxious to complete before the next Election, cannot be expected to pursue such a policy unless they know and are constantly reminded that it is demanded of them by an educated and organised public opinion. The long-range policy which will re-build world peace must first exist in the hearts and minds of the people. That is why the League of Nations Union is more than ever necessary. But some of its former friends are withdrawing their support because they prefer a short-range policy of immediate profit-making in Italy or Germany. Unless this loss of income to the Union can quickly be made good, the Union's activities will have to be curtailed at the very moment when they ought to be extended and intensified. Already members of the Union's staff have offered to accept a substantial reduction of their salaries or wages as from July 1 next, and several members of the Executive Committee are raising their subscriptions. It is certain that very many members of the Union will wish to help by paying money down or by increasing their subscriptions so soon as they understand the need. How they and the branches can restore the situation is one of the principal topics for discussion when our General Council meets in Scarborough this month.

J.C.M.G.

long madly debated, but last year's conference at last reached a decision on the main issue, in adopting a general convention which binds States ratifying it to nothing more than an acceptance of the principle of the 40-hour week with "maintenance of the standard of living." This is to be applied industry by industry in accordance with separate conventions.

One such convention was concluded last year, on the glass bottle industry. This year no less than five industries come up, four of which were given a preliminary discussion last year. These are coal mining, iron and steel, building and civil engineering, and public

works undertaken or subsidised by Governments. The fifth on the list is the textile industry, on the position of which a preliminary discussion was held last autumn at a special meeting. Last year's discussions were widely criticised as insufficient in technical knowledge on the grounds that the "40-hour week" had been taken as a single item, so that the number of technical advisers had been limited, under the Standing Orders, to two for each delegate. This year the five subjects have been entered as separate items, and on each of them two advisers may be brought by every delegate.

One of the remaining items on the agenda is comparatively non-controversial. This is the regulation of the recruiting of native labour—a pendant to the Forced Labour Convention concluded in 1930. There was little controversy during the first discussion last year, except over a demand with certain political implications, which was put forward by the Indian employers' and workers' delegates in rare concert. The question of holidays with pay might be expected to arouse more difficulties, but, in fact, the first discussion last year went off much more smoothly than had been anticipated. The remaining item on the agenda for a first discussion is the safety of workers in the building trade—an important but rather technical question.

The Directors' Report is sure to evoke a very interesting debate. As usual, Mr. Butler begins his report with a masterly survey of the world economic situation in the past year. To his opening question, Should 1935 be regarded as marking the beginning of recovery or "merely an interlude of mitigated depression?" he gives no definite answer one way or the other, but he is at least able to record certain signs of recovery in many countries in the shape of a revival in industrial production, an improvement in prices and a decline in unemployment. Against this must be set the fact that in some countries the "revival" is due largely to increased armaments programmes, which in the long run can add nothing to national wealth; that international trade shows little improvement, and that there remains a "hard core" of unemployment constituting a problem which so far has defied solution. The chapter

## II.—The Obstacles to World Trade Agreement

By J. E. MEADE, Lecturer in Economics, Hertford College, Oxford.

IN the first article of this series it was concluded that the two serious arguments against the lowering of tariffs were valid only,—if valid at all—as arguments against the lowering of tariffs by one country alone. There is an overwhelmingly strong economic case in favour of agreements among nations to lower their tariffs simultaneously. Why are such agreements not reached?

Tariffs may, of course, be imposed for other than economic reasons. Agriculture, for example, may be protected to give military strength.

There are two economic obstacles to agreed tariff reductions: the first is connected with the stabilisation of exchange rates between different currencies and the second with the "most-favoured-nation" clause of commercial treaties.

(a) It may be difficult for France to agree with England to a simultaneous reduction of tariffs, if the

entitled "The Curbing of Unemployment" betrays very clearly Mr. Butler's belief in the efficacy of expansionist policies. The chapters on "Social and Industrial Policies" and on "The I.L.O. in 1935" are too compact of detail to be summarised here; but Mr. Butler's final conclusions are, as always, particularly worthy of remark.

The founders of the I.L.O., he says, were right when they discerned an indissoluble connection between peace and social justice. In 1918 it was thought possible to reconstruct a peaceful Europe without paying any attention to its economic organisation. In 1936 the perception that the failure to secure economic and social equilibrium was the most radical flaw in the peace settlement was dimly beginning to dawn. The fact that the political crisis provoked by the re-entry of German troops into the Rhineland at once called forth suggestions for a world economic conference is an indication of the distance which comprehension has travelled since the Armistice. There is now a vague awareness that territorial claims and armaments programmes are not the fundamental issues and that it is impossible to allay the international tension which they have created without striking deeper. They are not the causes of our present discontents but the symptoms. The roots are to be found in actual or threatened impoverishment, declining standards of life, insecurity for themselves and their children which darkens the outlook of the present generation in so many countries.

The remedy is not to be found then in political pacts or further rectifications or disarmament conferences alone. These methods have been tried and have failed because they did not touch the real source of the trouble. So nowadays we are beginning to talk of the abolition of trade restrictions, the distribution of raw materials, the stabilisation of currencies, an international monetary agreement, the resumption of international lending, as things which are not merely required to promote economic recovery but which are indispensable to the future stability of the whole economic structure. Half blindly we are stumbling towards the realisation that political self-determination unrestrained by any attempt at economic integration is a suicidal formula in the modern world.

pound is not stabilised in gold value, and if, therefore, the rate of exchange between the currencies is liable to large variations. If France and England agreed to reduce their tariffs on each other's goods by 10 per cent., England might then—(e.g.) by stabilising the gold value of the pound at an abnormally low value—depreciate the value of the pound in terms of francs by 10 per cent. Since 10 per cent. less francs can now be obtained for a pound, the exchange depreciation of the pound would raise the price of French goods in England by 10 per cent., so that the tariff concessions granted to France by England would be offset by the English exchange rate policy. Countries are therefore unwilling to commit themselves to tariff reductions while the exchange rate between their currencies is unstable.

The obvious way out of the difficulty would appear to be simultaneous agreements between France and England to reduce their tariffs and to stabilise the rate

of exchange between their currencies. But in fact this solution is dangerous and should at all costs be avoided. If England were to make such an agreement with France she would lose all freedom to pursue an independent internal monetary policy to deal with her unemployment problem. In the modern world—and in England in particular—there are many money costs of production, including money wage-rates and interest on loans, which are more or less rigidly fixed in terms of money. Suppose that there is a large fall in the demand for English exports, either because a world slump develops and the fall in foreign incomes and prices causes a fall in the money spent on English exports, or because a new fuel is discovered, with the result that the demand for English coal falls off. England is faced with two alternatives.

1.—English prices and money incomes may be allowed to fall in line with prices and money incomes in other countries, so that the English demand for foreign goods falls off as the foreign demand for English goods falls off. This would not necessarily lead to unemployment in England, if all English costs fell as quickly as the prices offered for English goods, so that English manufacturers had no reason to produce less. But in fact English costs would not easily be reduced, and English manufacturers, squeezed between falling prices and rigid costs, would reduce their output and employ fewer men.

2.—England, through her banking system and through Government action, might take independent steps to prevent the internal money demand for English goods and so the money price offered for such goods from falling. Unless, however, the exchange value of the pound depreciated in terms of other currencies, the foreign demand for English goods would fall as foreign incomes and prices fell, while the English demand for foreign goods would rise as foreign prices fell in relation

to English prices. The balance between English imports and exports could in these circumstances only be maintained if the pound depreciated in terms of other currencies, so that the fall in foreign prices was offset by the fact that less foreign money could be obtained for a pound.

To sum up, it is difficult to obtain international tariff reductions unless exchange rates are stabilised at the same time. On the other hand, if its money costs are inflexible it is undesirable for a country to agree to exchange stabilisation which involves the abandonment of freedom in its internal monetary policy. This dilemma will be dealt with in the next article.

(b) The second obstacle to agreed tariff reductions is the "most-favoured-nation" clause in commercial treaties. By this clause one country promises to afford to goods of the other country treatment at least as favourable as it affords to the goods of any other country. If England and France agree to reduce their tariffs on each other's goods, and if both countries have signed commercial treaties with (e.g.) Germany which contain this clause, then England and France must give to Germany any tariff concessions which they give to each other. Both England and France may therefore have to give greater concessions than they receive. The obvious way out of this difficulty is to obtain an agreement between England, France and Germany (and all other countries with whom they have signed commercial treaties) to reduce their tariffs simultaneously in such a way that each country receives concessions as great as it gives. But the difficulties of bargaining between a large number of countries are great, and a few important countries, by refusing to join the agreement and at the same time insisting on "most-favoured-nation" treatment, might nullify the scheme.

In the next article an attempt will be made to resolve these difficulties.

## Esperanto Can Help The Nations To Know Each Other

By E. D. DURRANT

ONE word incorrectly translated—and the world was agog with intensified strain over the March declaration of Herr Hitler. This is an example, even if an extreme one, of the dangers arising from the language difficulty. But it is not an isolated case. It is surely an anachronism in these days of ever-widening international activities, that communication between the nations is handicapped by this factor. If even government specialists stumble over this obstacle, how much more frustrating it must be to the exchange of ideas between the peoples themselves! A better understanding between the citizens of the world is becoming increasingly urgent, and such instances as the above are a striking argument for the need for a common second language for international use.

During the nineteenth century various individuals gave attention to the question, although it was then in no way the real problem it has become to-day. Many attempts were made to create some means of international communication. From these efforts emerged the recognition that what was required was an international auxiliary language, which should be (1) neutral—i.e., not the particular property of any one group of people, but the second tongue and common

possession of all; (2) easily learnt; (3) based upon existing languages.

No real success was obtained, however, until the publication of Esperanto by Dr. Ludovic L. Zamenhof, of Poland. In his boyhood Zamenhof was dismayed at the bitterness and injustices, frequently leading to brutalities and bloodshed, which arose largely through misunderstanding. He decided that when he grew up he would devote his life to trying to overcome this problem. Fired by that ideal, he planned a language while still at school. His father disapproved of his "Utopian" ideas, and burned his manuscripts in his absence.

Undaunted, he started all over again. This time he worked out and polished his new language in secret. Then, in 1887, at the age of 27, he published it.

It is a logical and flexible language of precision, requiring far less time to learn than any national tongue.

Although it is only in its fiftieth year—a short period in the life of a language—vast strides have been made. In all countries there are people actively spreading the use of the language, with innumerable clubs and associations. The National Associations are linked through a central body, the Universala Esperanto-

Asocio, which has organised a worldwide network of "Delegates" (equivalent to honorary Consuls), enabling members to get into touch with one another for travel, business or pleasure. There is a growing and vigorous literature of translated and original works, with many monthly periodicals and a weekly newspaper. Many wireless stations abroad give regular broadcasts in Esperanto, ranging from lessons to talks and opera. Each year a *Universala Esperanto-Kongreso* is held in a different country. The number of participants is usually between 1,000 and 2,000 from about 30 countries. These events provide opportunities for wide social activities, in addition to business meetings. All proceedings are conducted in the one language—a striking contrast to the tedious and time-wasting method of ordinary international conferences employing several official languages and interpreters.

The 28th Congress is to be held this year in Vienna, at the invitation of the Austrian Government. Evidence

of official support is the fact that the Austrian President, Herr Wilhelm Miklas, is the chief patron of the Congress, and the Chancellor, Dr. Kurt von Schuschnigg, is the President of the Honorary Committee.

Since the War young people in particular have been attracted to the language, and they play a very important part in the movement. By using Esperanto for correspondence, and for individual and organised travel and interchange visits, they are carrying on the work of its author for the furtherance of international understanding and peace.

Ability to make contacts with people throughout the world on a basis of equality in a common language is a potent factor in creating a very real and comprehensive feeling of world-citizenship. And for people with international interests, such as members of the League of Nations Union, Esperanto opens the way to a wide field of useful possibilities—especially for members of the Youth Movement.

## THE CLOSING GRIP OF SANCTIONS ON ITALIAN TRADE

By  
E. I. FRANCIS.

ITALY is economically vulnerable, and of the major industrial countries none is less capable of resisting the persistent, concerted economic pressure of 52 nations. Her extreme deficiency in raw materials makes the operation of her industries completely dependent on a constant flow of essential imports and consequently a large volume of foreign trade. Moreover, the disastrous course of Fascist economics during the past decade, connected with attempts at self-sufficiency and a high prestige level of the lira, had already strained the finances of the State almost to breaking point before the war in Abyssinia had begun.

With the prospect of an insolvent dictatorship not very far ahead, Mussolini in his descent upon Abyssinia resorted to the time-honoured expedient of distracting popular attention from economic distress at home. The breaking-point, as measured by the willingness of the people to accept further reductions in their standard of living, was postponed. War needs a lot of money, however, while it solves no economic problems.

Mussolini risked the further rapid deterioration in financial position for the sake of the greater support he could evoke from the people during a period of artificially stimulated danger. But only temporarily; permanent success could come only from the recognition of his conquest by the League and his financial restoration by foreign loans as a result of the great prestige given him by such recognition.

The refusal of the League to condone his crime brings us to the question of Italy's power now to resist sanctions. In the first place, Mussolini's desperate system of internal finances long ago robbed him of credit abroad. From 1930 to 1935 the Italian Budget showed an annual deficit equal to about £60,000,000, raising the total debt by the sterling equivalent of £300,000,000 to £1,750,000,000. The 1934-35 Budget ended with a deficit of £33,000,000; that for 1935-36, which was to have a fractional surplus, did not provide for any of the expenditure in connection with the war in Abyssinia, which was reported earlier to be costing some £3,000,000 a week.

In recent months it has become practically impossible to get any precise information about Italian finances since the Government has retreated from its difficulties under a cloak of secrecy. Vast new extraordinary war credits have had to be raised, adding further burdens to National Debt service, which in 1935 required 7,350,000,000 lire as compared with 4,500,000,000 in 1930. Even without a war, the rehabilitation of Italian finances would have been a formidable problem.

Apart from sanctions, the war has increased tenfold the internal financial difficulties of the country. It has opened a further drain on the country's reserves by necessitating the import on an exceptional scale of commodities like cotton, wool, coal, oil and copper solely for purely destructive purposes. It has forced the Government to commandeer the entire reserve of foreign securities held by Italian investors. It has distorted the economic machine by intensifying, at the cost of loans and credits, the manufacture of unproductive war materials.

It has exacted from Italian citizens the necessary goods and services by borrowing, credits, and levies on charities. In this process Italy has printed so many notes that it has been forced to nationalise the banks and control its foreign trade and its foreign exchange. Any relaxation of these artificial props would lay bare the plight of Italy and the lira would come tumbling down.

At this point we come to the potentialities of economic coercion that lie in the enforcement of sanctions. There can be no pretence that sanctions have brought Italy to its economic nadir. They have not. The process of financial deterioration in Italy had been cumulative for over five years. But sanctions are operative at a time when Italy is at its weakest point of resistance. Therefore, even in their present and incomplete form they are capable eventually of preventing Mussolini from working the economic system which has to provide the money for his plans of conquest.

Under the present system of sanctions, Italy has the

power to buy where the Government is able to pay in gold or has a surplus of foreign exchange at its command. As for gold, the Government would find it difficult to hold out for more than six months longer at the latest rate of depletion of her reserves. Between October and March, Italy lost practically 50 per cent. of her gold reserves. Against this loss, the campaign for collecting the metal in the form of wedding rings and the like provided a pitifully small amount.

Italy's other source of financial assistance lies in a reserve of foreign exchange. Mussolini must secure a favourable trade balance: that is, he must induce the rest of the world to buy more Italian goods, sail more frequently in Italian ships, use Italian banks, or visit Italian pleasure resorts.

The crushing effect of sanctions on Italian trade has surprised those who were disappointed at their mildness. Italy's exports to thirty countries during the four months November to February, according to the latest League report, have declined from 17,025,000 gold dollars to 5,860,000 gold dollars. Imports into Italy from these countries during that period dropped from 18,511,200 gold dollars to 10,022,800 gold dollars. The effect has been and will be cumulative, the most recent months showing bigger declines in Italy's trade than the earlier period.

The total turnover (imports plus exports) is so reduced that many essential articles are no longer included in them which went to that country in the normal way. Furthermore, Italy's income from banking must have fallen in sympathy with the decline in commercial exchanges. There is good reason to believe, moreover, that her shipping and tourist services have been precipitously curtailed.

In order to make aggression pay Mussolini has to retrieve his financial position at home and exploit the conjectural wealth of Abyssinia. For this, the financial and economic co-operation of the League Powers is vitally necessary. Without it his position must deteriorate and his conception of a new Roman Empire become a shabby and expensive farce. Without League help, his war-stimulated industries will not have a chance of recovering from the slump that must follow on the return to peace.

As long as the League holds out against him, Abyssinia will be a wasting asset—a gigantic and costly barrack-yard—for he has not the capital resources that are required in almost unlimited quantities to exploit it. Even the huge black armies he may raise will be a drain on his notorious Budget. The boasted scheme of settling 300,000 Italians (after "pacification") on farms, the estimated cost of which is £250 apiece, will seem even more fantastic. Without a helping hand from the League, he will be cut off from the subtle expedient of using the Covenant as a cloak for further power politics in the Near East and elsewhere.

Time is moving fast, however. Sanctions, though effective, are working too slowly. If the League economic front is to be maintained more positive results must be obtained in a short time. In view of the desperate plight of Italy, swift action should be taken to make the financial basis of the new power policy intolerable. Sanctions should be intensified so as to include a ban on oil shipments, refusal to allow Italian ships harborage in sanctionist ports. An embargo on Italian tourism.

This article has dealt only with the possibilities of economic and financial coercion.

## TO KING GEORGE V.

A Dutch Admirer uses English for his last Tribute

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>I.<br/>Hark . . . a great King has died,<br/>A noble knight by God's grace:<br/>Strains of distress, bells of mourning,<br/>Sadly go through wide world's space.</p> | <p>VI.<br/>The faith of His ancestors,<br/>To Him meant highest good;<br/>Tradition did encounter,<br/>A deep religious mood.</p>                              |
| <p>II.<br/>He was your King, ye Britons,<br/>Of British blood and mood,<br/>Yet all the nations claim Him,<br/>First knight of brotherhood.</p>                         | <p>VII.<br/>His court, like med'val Sire's court,<br/>With Hostess, all did adore,<br/>Became in minds of millions,<br/>A fairy-tale of yore.</p>              |
| <p>III.<br/>He was a lofty example,<br/>Of serving, devoted Lord,<br/>He was so in His Empire,<br/>He was so, too . . . abroad.</p>                                     | <p>VIII.<br/>We mourn with you, ye Britons,<br/>These days of distress-tide,<br/>With you we feel united,<br/>Now your great King has died.</p>                |
| <p>IV.<br/>By intuition guided,<br/>Great Ruler He became;<br/>Wise statesmanship has led Him,<br/>To great historic fame.</p>  | <p>IX.<br/>Sad, we approach His tomb now,<br/>Our hearts of sorrow are mute;<br/>We follow all the thousands,<br/>Who bring a last salute . . .</p>            |
| <p>V.<br/>He was a King high-minded,<br/>Gallant knight of old langsyne;<br/>Tenderly loving His people,<br/>Inspired to acts sublime.</p>                              | <p>X.<br/>Hark . . . a great King has died,<br/>A noble knight by God's grace;<br/>But remain shall his royal name,<br/>For ever, throughout time's space.</p> |

The Hague,  
January 28, 1936.

GERARD UNGER.

# SANCTIONS MUST NOT COME FROM THE COVENANT

By OUR GENEVA CORRESPONDENT

Geneva, May 25

THE failure of the League of Nations to prevent the entry into Addis Ababa of the Italian army has naturally given rise to an insistent demand for an overhaul of the entire machinery of the Covenant.

This, of course, is natural. If any organisation signally fails to do what it is supposed to do, there is always an outcry and a demand that a careful study be made to determine the causes of failure and to see whether changes in the organisation could not be effected which would prevent the same failure from occurring again.

Some such inquiry is certainly required into the working of the Covenant during the Italo-Abyssinian War. The speeches of delegates to the Seventeenth Assembly next September will be full of references to the need for an inquiry—and full, too, of ideas for remedying the present unhappy state of affairs.

After the Assembly, it is hoped, the Members of the League will get to work on the problem. But when they do so, the troubles of the League will certainly begin; there will be no initial agreement amongst the States Members on the revision of the Covenant.

On one side will be the States who believe that because Sanctions have failed in Abyssinia to prevent the conquest of one member of the League by another, Sanctions should be dropped from the Covenant, and moral force should be the only power left to the League.

On the other side will be the States who believe that, because Sanctions have failed to stop a war of aggression in time, the Sanctions articles in the Covenant should be made stronger.

Revision of the Covenant is certainly most desirable in principle. But it should be remembered that revision does not necessarily mean a stronger or a better League. Far too many people would take advantage of revision to emasculate the League and reduce it to a debating society for the supervision of certain humanitarian activities.

Better than a new Covenant on such lines as those is the present one—which actually would be an admirable world-constitution if the majority of States took the trouble to observe it.

There is the crux of the matter. To scrap the existing Covenant and write a new one would serve no good purpose if the States Members of the

League continue to disregard the Covenant's provisions whenever it suits them.

No new Covenant of the League will be a worth-while document unless it contains an article binding its signatories, in advance, to carry out any measures which it prescribes for dealing with a treaty-breaking State.

Certainly there will be much opposition to such an article—and it is to be feared that some of that opposition will come from Great Britain. But, unless the article is included, then any new Covenant will be no better than the old, and probably a great deal worse.

Sanctions measures, say those who dislike the proposal, cannot be made absolutely compulsory and binding. A number of States will withdraw from the League rather than adhere to them.

Perhaps that is true. But, it must be asked, which is the preferable alternative: a League composed of a limited number of States sworn to defend each other and to defeat a war-maker, or a League composed of a larger number of States who will do nothing to help each other unless action happens to suit that momentary convenience?

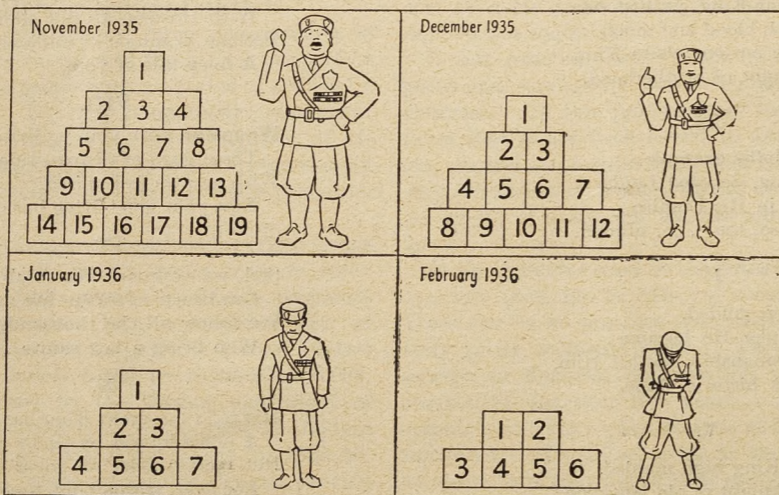
Critics may object that the first alternative is a proposal for a glorified alliance. But there is this vital difference. Any State wishing to join will be welcomed and will have the same rights as any other State Member.

A point which must be borne in mind when revision is considered is that, after the check that it has received in East Africa, the present League cannot carry on as it is to-day. It must either strengthen itself—if necessary by cutting out dead wood and sacrificing false prestige—or dwindle away into futility.

The Sanctions articles of the Covenant are not the only provisions that will have to be reinforced. The famous revision article—19—which has never functioned must be revived; nor can political revision and re-adjustment alone be the direct concern of the Covenant, as they are at present. Definite stipulations are needed concerning economic and monetary matters, and the

force of international law must be given to the principles of colonial equality and freedom of access to raw materials.

Here is a formidable programme for the League to face. Obviously it will not all be realised at once. Nevertheless, we dare not shelter behind illusions that time will take care of the debates and decisions on these topics. If a great



The diagram shows the shrinkage during four months in Italy's exports to 39 countries. The figures for March are not complete; the partial returns available indicate a continuance of the downward trend. Each cube represents trade worth £300,000

part of this programme outlined is not promptly realised, the League will die. Almost certainly it will be reborn, but the price of its re-birth will be immense. That price the generation of to-day and the generation of to-morrow will have to pay.

Some of the ideas put forward in this article find echo in the hearts of League members. France and Russia, and their allies, for example, will be glad of a cast-iron Sanctions arrangement. Other ideas, such as those on revision, raw materials, colonies, are championed by States outside the League. A bridge must be built between these two groups. If it is not, the amended Covenant will be as unsuccessful in a time of emergency as the present Covenant.

The nation which must build the bridge is Britain; if she does not do it, then there will be no bridge built. Greatness has its obligations.

Geneva, May 20

ON May 11th, the Council of the League met at Geneva to face the problem created in Abyssinia by the flight of the Negus and the triumphal entry into Addis Ababa of the Italian Army.

Two different tendencies were tugging at the Council Members throughout the meeting.

On the one hand it was urged that it would be a scandal, and an almost irreparable blow to the good name of the League of Nations—and, more especially, of its principal members—if the Italians, having flouted the Covenant in a brutal and cynical fashion, were allowed to install themselves in East Africa in defiance of all the ideals which the progressive elements of the post-war world had been striving to transform into laws of international conduct.

On the other hand were ranged those who believed that, since the Sanctions measures imposed against Italy by the League last November had failed to prevent the conquest of Abyssinia, they should be raised, and that the League should acquiesce, as gracefully as possible, in Mussolini's annexation of the entire territory of one of its States Members.

These two points of view were laid before the Council: Mr. Eden urged that it would be criminal for the League to turn back from the path of Sanctions, while the delegates of Ecuador and Chile said that the time had come when Sanctions should be lifted.

Save for the Argentine representative, who supported Mr. Eden, the rest of the Council Members failed to express any opinion at all. This negative attitude certainly did them discredit—for there were vital principles at stake upon which Members ought, in duty bound, to have pronounced.

However, the situation was such that, whatever the Members of the Council might have said for or against the support of the Covenant, nothing tangible could have resulted—for the whole Council and the whole League were caught in a kind of paralysis resulting from the fact that there was no Government in France. At the League's moment of crisis, one of its three principal Members was entirely out of action, and would remain so for another month.

It is difficult to see how anything at all could have been done. That does not alter the fact that an explicit acceptance of the principle of the maintenance of Sanctions in the face of successful aggression would have helped.

The passivity of the majority of the Council Members will be a great encouragement to the anti-Sanctionist forces, who are certain to renew their attack with much greater strength and vigour when the Council meets again on June 16.

Whether the attack is to succeed or not depends on the British and French Governments. Unless both Mr. Eden and the representative in Geneva of the new administration of M. Blum are ready to counter-attack with resolution, nothing will save Sanctions from being abolished, or withering away into complete ineffectualness.

It will not be enough for the British and French to insist on existing Sanctions being maintained. Despite the gradual, and increasingly severe pressure on Italian trade during the past six months, many States are now waiting to break further gaps in the Sanctions ring. As soon as they receive any sort of encouragement, they will desert. Existing measures may have reached their maximum efficiency; their effect may begin to diminish unless they are reinforced by the application of new and drastic proposals.

If new Sanctions are not put into force, and the old measures become a farce, Baron Aloisi, who withdrew from Geneva at the head of his delegation rather than sit at the Council table with the delegate of Ethiopia, will make a triumphal entry into the capital of the League—accompanied by his *Ascaris* (the nickname, taken from the title of Italy's native troops, which has been bestowed on the States Members of the League who have opposed Sanctions). Originally, there were three *Ascaris* States—Albania, Austria and Hungary. Since then Ecuador and Chile have allied themselves with Fascism, and they are likely to be followed by other Members of the League unless it can be shown that such desertion does not pay.

At the last two meetings of the Council, Mr. Eden, by dint of hard work, has succeeded in maintaining the *status quo*, and keeping Sanctions in being. He cannot hope to achieve anything further by that policy. With the help of the new French Foreign Minister, he must put forward new proposals.

The prospect of his obtaining support for a bold move is by no means hopeless. So much is shown by the decisions taken—away from the Council table—by the representatives of the so-called "neutral" States (Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Finland, Spain and Switzerland). They call for measures to make the Covenant work.

Obviously, these States can do little by themselves. But they would be extremely valuable supporters of a real initiative by France and Britain. At the time of writing there are no indications that an initiative will be forthcoming.

# TOWARDS A BETTER LEAGUE

By JOHN EPPSTEIN

(Author of "Ten Years' Life of the League of Nations" and "Must War Come?" and Secretary of the Union's Committee on the Reform of the League.)

A FRESH trial of ominous importance has been thrust upon the League of Nations, bringing every honest observer sharply up against an unpleasant, inevitable conclusion. If the League is going to be of no more use to other Member States than it has been to China and to Abyssinia, the nations will be thrown back upon rearmament and rival alliances—discredited and precarious alternative—as the only means of defence. That is why many good friends of the League are busy with schemes, some wild, some reasonable, for reforming it.

The discussion centres upon Article XVI of the Covenant. Does not this show a lack of proportion? Certainly it is important to see that a military invasion is brought to a halt as swiftly as can be. But there is nothing to prevent this in the Article as it now stands. If the French and British Governments, in concert with those of the Little Entente and Balkan Entente—to mention only those most closely concerned—had really been determined to stop the war in Africa, they would have withdrawn their Ambassadors from Rome on October 3, 1935. On the same day all trade, travel and intercourse between Italy and the Member States would have stopped abruptly, and British and French naval units would have held up any Italian ships seeking to enter the Suez Canal. And in so acting the Governments and the Council would have been fulfilling the Covenant.

No, what is wanted is not a change in Article XVI: it is the will to work it.

No doubt it would make it harder for individual Members to wriggle out of their obligations if the Council were definitely required (a) to give its opinion whether a resort to war had occurred, and (b) to fix the zero hour when economic sanctions should come into force. Further, it should lie with the Council to recommend the postponement of any particular measures proscribed in paragraph 1 of the Article, should it be thought undesirable or unnecessary to commit all States Members to an immediate and complete rupture with the aggressor. Amendments on these lines would be all to the good when an opportunity occurs.

But amending the Covenant is a long and laborious business—the amendments to Article XVI, voted in 1921, have not yet been ratified. If we are to choose one reform upon which to concentrate our efforts—and this *could* need a change in the Covenant—let it be the far more urgent business of helping the League to prevent war.

Most of the Council's endeavours to keep the peace, whether successful or not, have been under Article XI, which authorises it to "take any measures deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations." That sounds sweeping enough. But on closer examination it will be seen that the Article contains no provision for excluding the votes of the States between whom the quarrel has arisen. On one occasion the

Council,\* on another the Permanent Court,† have upheld the principle that "no one can be judge in his own suit." But this has never been applied to the procedure under Article XI. In short, the preventive action of the League has been restricted to mediation and conciliation—an endeavour, that is, to reach some compromise concerning the substance of the matter in dispute to which both parties will assent. This method has yielded valuable results: it is the system which appeals most to those who are firmly attached to the doctrine of national sovereignty. Even Sir John Fischer-Williams distrusts any proposal to exclude the votes of the disputants in reaching decisions under Article XI.

Certainly the mediatorial function of the Council must be maintained: it will doubtless avail in the future, as it has done in the past, to avert hostilities when the League is dealing with a State in which it is possible to appeal to the reason of the population. But a State ruled by a dictator or a military junta is not amenable to any moral or reasonable appeal, as the League's experience of Japan and Italy has proved. It is precisely from such States that aggression is to be feared: and it is intolerable that the Council's decision to take any practical step to prevent an outbreak of war should be impeded at the critical moment by the votes of the would-be aggressor. One way of remedying this defect would be to make an overriding amendment in Article V so that it read as follows: "Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting, provided always that in arriving at decisions concerning an international dispute the votes of the parties to the dispute shall not be counted." Alternatively, the change would be made in Article XI only.

Once relieved from this stultifying unanimity, the Council, minus the contending parties, would be able to fix a neutral zone on the disputed frontier, to send its own commissioners there, and even to police it with an international police force. It could recommend to States Members an embargo upon the supply of arms, oil and raw materials to either or both of the disputants, and take any other measures which it considered necessary to show a bellicose Government that the League was in earnest and would not tolerate the firing of a shot. It is not hard to imagine what a tremendous accession of public confidence such tangible evidence of the Council's determination to keep the peace would bring to the League of Nations.

Many other developments of the League and its activities are no doubt desirable—but they could all be obtained by alterations in procedure (such as practical improvements in the working of a cumbersome

\* Official Journal, 3rd Year, No. 2, p. 1166.

† Advisory Opinion No. 12 on Article 3, para. 2 of the Treaty of Lausanne.

Council), or by a better use of the League's existing powers (such as taking fuller advantage of the Permanent Court at the Hague for settling justifiable issues, and appointing fact-finding commissions of high authority to investigate and report upon other actual or potential causes of conflict). Territorial and political changes, if considered necessary "to safeguard the peace of nations," might well be promoted by the Council under an amended Article XI; otherwise, if time allowed for more ample examination and canvassing of the subject, the Assembly, by using the device of examination and report by committee, could recommend the reconsideration of existing Treaties or frontiers under Article XIX.

Any alterations in the *status quo* so desired by the Council or Assembly and accepted by the parties would, no doubt, have to be embodied in fresh Treaties and Conventions. Supplementary bilateral or multi-lateral agreements, negotiated under the auspices of the League, would also be necessary to diminish or remove political barriers to international trade; to remedy the monetary disorders of the world, and to secure a more equitable distribution of raw materials. But for all such purposes the creation or modification of international machinery would present little difficulty, if the determination to achieve reforms and the will to make the necessary concessions were to be found in a sufficient number of Governments, and if at least one great, disinterested Power were to take the lead.

Germany has proclaimed her intention of raising two issues concerning the future of the League—the colonial problem (too vast to treat here) and the separation of the Covenant from the Versailles Treaty: the latter proposal has a certain psychological value. The League would be involved in a maze of verbal tangles if it attempted to rewrite the Covenant so that it contained no reference to the Allied and Associated Powers. Nor would it be possible in existing political circumstances to wipe out the many references (some highly distasteful to Germany) which are made to the League in the several Peace Treaties, as, for instance, those relating to the Government of Danzig and the independence of Austria. A simpler method would be to draw up a Protocol, open to the signature of all States Members, in which they would declare their acceptance of the Covenant itself as an international instrument separate from the Peace Treaties of 1919.

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## BOOK NOTICES

**Humanity, Air Power and War.** By Captain Philip Mumford. (Jarrolds. 12s. 6d.)

Captain Mumford, whose quality is familiar to readers of HEADWAY, writes with knowledge on what Sir Norman Angell truly says is "perhaps the gravest aspect of the gravest problem that confronts us to-day." He has seen active service with the Air force in Iraq and he has pondered the things he has seen. Those who were lucky enough to hear him remember well his vivid intervention at the highly successful L.N.U. Conference on the problem of the air at the Caxton Hall in 1935. In the intervening months the need for wise action has grown still more urgent. The threat of the times to the civilised peoples is: "Enforce peace in the air or perish!" Mussolini in Abyssinia has proved (1) that air attack is even more deadly than popular alarm had suggested, and (2) that an aggressor will not be restrained by any treaties or pledges from making ruthless use of every means of destruction, even the cruellest.

Besides the urgency, which he emphasises with, perhaps, greater effect than any previous writer, Captain Mumford exhibits in impressive detail the close, constructive thinking already devoted in many widely different quarters to the problem of the air. He shows how remote from the truth is the common belief that the abolition of warplanes, the internationalisation of civil flying, and the creation of an international air police are the vague fancies of unpractical idealists. Governments, politicians, technical experts, soldiers, sailors and airmen have all at various times worked out definite plans. Indeed the fairest criticism is that the available plans are too many and too definite. Captain Mumford quotes chapter and verse. He brings together a most useful mass of material.

His conclusion is: "We, possessing most, have most to give, but placed in our unique position we have most to gain if sanity and decency are to replace the present chaos. A happy, prosperous and secure population upon our islands is an impossibility in the present international atmosphere and with the present scientific achievements prostituted to the purposes of mutual destruction. True patriots will perceive true values and help their country to help civilisation."

**We Europeans.** By Julian Huxley and A. C. Haddon, with a Chapter by A. M. Carr-Saunders. (Jonathan Cape. 10s.)

A brilliant piece of popularisation. The three authors, scientists of the first rank, deliver a shattering attack on pseudo-science. In the name of race purity and race ideals, hideous cruelties have been inflicted upon hundreds of thousands of men and women during the present century. The whole future of humanity is threatened by the passions which the dancing dervishes of race mythology have set themselves to inflame. For it is a mythology.

Despite the anxious parade of biological terms with which the public is bemused, biology gives no support

to the doctrine that the tall, long-headed, fair, blue-eyed Nordics, for example, differ specifically from the short, long-headed, dark, black-eyed Mediterranean folk.

There are different human types. One type prevails in one place, another in another. But humanity is a mixed lot. The mixture began very long ago and has gone very far. Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, in his fascinating "History of Europe," describes the inhabitants of the Continent as "energetic mongrels." Biologists and ethnologists say exactly the same. In "We Europeans" the evidence is marshalled simply, fully, expertly, which shows that any other opinion is foolishness. "The Nordic race, like other human races, has no present existence" is one of the author's conclusions. "Its former existence, like that of all pure races, is hypothetical." As for the Nordic, Aryan, and Germanic myths: "These contentions appear to be based on nothing more serious than self-interest and wish-fulfilment." Incidentally, it is significant that all the race theorists, without exception, exalt the race to which they believe themselves to belong. Nature has chosen it, and they with it, to sit on top of the world.

In Germany the worshippers of the Nordic hero do not for a moment doubt their own title to share in the Nordic splendour. Only the outer heathen remark that the hero is blonde like Hitler, tall like Goebbels, slender like Goering, manly like Streicher, long-headed like Rosenberg. But an illusion cannot last for ever. And already perhaps there are signs that the blunt denials of plain facts are stirring doubts in some German minds. Professor Kruse, for instance, announces that the shape of the human head is largely determined by the pillows provided for infants. He does so to explain away

the broad-headedness of most Germans. But the permanence of head form through countless centuries is one of the main foundations on which race theory is built. Kossinna, a Nationalist German anthropologist, ventures further, writing, "Nordic souls may be combined with un-Nordic bodies, and a decidedly un-Nordic soul may lurk in a perfectly good Nordic body." In other words, the Nordic argument is rubbish and cannot be defended except by a denial of the premises from which it starts. Hitler long since blundered into a less obvious but not less fatal self-contradiction. He denounces the Jews in terms of race, but the qualities he censures in them are social qualities, the product of environment.

**Towards Better Things.** The Story of the International Labour Organisation, by Nora Hewett, with an Introduction by Professor John Hilton. (Longmans, Green & Co. 2s. 6d.)

Says Professor Hilton: "At every turn of its career there have been perils and adventures and intense excitements—for those who can feel the throb of real issues." That is what needs to be known about the I.L.O. Once that is known the rest will follow. The public will be led on to more than a nodding acquaintance with a topic of absorbing interest. The I.L.O. has

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commanded the devoted service of not a few distinguished persons; its present Director, Mr. Harold Butler, has a notable gift of vivid writing. Yet the I.L.O. has never "got across." Its business—hours of work and wages and health in the factory and holiday pay and unemployment insurance—touches the lives of ordinary men and women everywhere. On its success depends in large measure the attainment by the League system of its ultimate object, which is to make worth preserving the new world order preserved by collective defence. Simple graphic explanation is required of matters certainly not tedious in themselves and capable of being set out without complication. Mrs. Hewett's book comes close to satisfying that need. It does not demand an excessive effort from the reader; its last page leaves him aware of the reasons why the world had to have an I.L.O. and broadly familiar with what the I.L.O. is and with what it has done.

**This Have and Have Not Business.** By Sir Norman Angell. (Hamish Hamilton. 3s. 6d.)

Sir Norman Angell by writing his latest book has not increased the debt owed to him by the friends of peace—because that debt was already great beyond all estimate. In itself, "This Have and Have Not Business" is a first-rate specimen of his best work, clear in its thought and clear in its expression, pat to the occasion as only a publicist of the very front rank could have made it. He is insistent on justice to Germany, Italy and Japan, but he points out that to accept political ambitions as economic grievances is to provoke trouble. Is Germany to have what was hers before 1914? Her possession of it then did not avert war. The solution is equal access to the world's natural resources and their equal use.

**The Hunting of the Snark.** Done into Latin Elegiacs by H. D. WATSON. (Shakespeare Head Press, Blackwell, Oxford. 5s.)

No apology need be offered for calling attention in HEADWAY to Mr. Watson's Latin verses. For one thing, Mr. Watson is a very old friend of the Union. For another, as he points out, the poem may be read as an allegory of the pursuit of peace. Thirdly, Professor Gilbert Murray has written a Foreword. And fourthly, the book contains some agreeable "Other Things" including "The Ballad of Two Knights," Sir Walter Napier (*Vala Sagax*) and Sir Willoughby Dickinson (*Villobius Senex*), two doughty champions whose exploits indeed deserve a lasting record, and "The Four Jovial Delegates," being some verses picked up from the floor of the League of Nations Assembly in September, 1925.

Those who are familiar with the art of writing Latin verse will appreciate at once the nature of the problem which Mr. Watson set himself in attempting a translation of Lewis Carroll's poem, and will certainly enjoy the result. Before reading the book they might consider for themselves how they would translate such words as "uffish," "Billiard-marker," "galumphing," "out-grave," "beamish"—to say nothing of "Bandersnatch."

Mr. Watson must be a very happy man. When he is not Saving Children, he is contributing to the delight of their elders. Or, as one might say:

*Dant tibi, Servator, juvenes ubicunque salutem, Qui recreas lusu versiculisque senes.* A. T.

## Official League Publications

**Permanent Central Opium Board. Report to the Council.** Statistics relating to the year 1934 furnished to the Permanent Central Opium Board under the terms of the 1925 and 1931 Conventions. (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1936. XI.1.) 170 pages. 7s.

This report is particularly interesting because 1934 was the first year in which the Convention of 1931 for limiting the Manufacture and regulating the Distribution of Narcotic Drugs was in full operation.

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## READERS' VIEWS

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

### SANCTIONISTS AND PACIFISTS

SIR,—The Union acknowledges with genuine gratitude the benefits it has derived in the past from the enthusiasm and labour of thousands of its "Christian pacifist" members. The course of recent events has shown, however, that the time has now arrived when the League of Nations Union must, if it is to pursue its specified objects, more clearly dissociate itself from the Christian Pacifist movement. Captain Mumford's article in your last issue makes a gallant attempt to postpone the pain of parting, but to me, at any rate, his reasoning is unconvincing.

For the pacifists, Captain Mumford says they are "the best propagandists for the growth of international conscience." On the contrary, I submit that they avoid facing up to the practical difficulties which obstruct the progress of internationalism. They shirk the problems of upholding justice and protecting the weak. The succour they would bring to the oppressed could, in actuality, be little more than sympathy. Their philosophy is egoistic rather than altruistic.

Secondly, Captain Mumford submits that "those whose consciences can be moved by the pacifist appeal are converts safely won for peace." When one remembers that the pacifist appeal is made entirely to the heart, one doubts if this can be true. Those converted to any cause by emotion alone are not "safely won."

The important question for us to consider is whether international peace and equity can be promoted better by a League of Nations Union co-operating with the pacifists or by a League of Nations Union proceeding with its practical tasks untrammelled, in a realist world, by association with unpractical idealists.

For the orthodox members of the Union, the sanctionists, Captain Mumford suggests that the field of action "lies amongst those for whom the pacifist appeal holds little practical hope." But how severely is the Union handicapped by being identified in the minds of most people with pacifism and unilateral disarmament!

The Union professes that it enjoys the support of all the three chief political parties in this country, but it is notorious that the great Conservative party is weakly represented in comparison with the other two. The reason is the popular impression that the Union's way to peace is to scrap the British Navy.

Personally, I hope that at the meeting of the General Council some resolution will be passed identifying the League of Nations Union with the growing demand for the establishment of an International Court of Equity supported by an International Police Force. If some such resolution was adopted we might lose many of our keenest members, but we should also lose all those cranks who, although they may be Pioneers of Thought, are a real handicap to any movement which depends for its success upon the support of public opinion.

When arbitration and conciliation temporarily fail to satisfy the grievance of some nation and that nation for a moment considers the possibility of a successful resort to arms, it should be confronted with such might (or potential force) that it would at once cease to contemplate an action which is so universally condemned. A crime would thus be prevented simply by the existence of potential force. It is not a question of punishing the transgressor. In international affairs, it is doubtful whether the possibility of "punishing" a state will ever again be seriously considered. Prevention is preferable.

Obviously the guns of the International Police Force must be real guns and it must be known that organised humanity supports the International Police Force for

its own protection. A lack of support, due to pacifist doctrine, would encourage Dictators to consider with optimism the chances of further successful aggressions, such as have recently taken place in Manchuria and Abyssinia.

One of the gravest dangers of the immediate future is the growth of the "Christian Pacifist" movement. It owes its expansion to an unstable emotional appeal, but it handicaps, by its apparent size and importance, all constructive plans for equity and security which depend, as they must, on the sanction of force.

Headingley, Leeds.

ERIC H. FOX.

### UNION POLICY

SIR,—The Executive of the League of Nations Union is urging Branches to bring pressure upon M.P.s and H.M. Government to secure the continuance of Sanctions against Italy "until she accepts terms of peace approved by the Council of the League"; these appeals are prefaced by the statement that "Italy has now won the War."

It is only necessary to glance at the correspondence columns of papers loyal to the League to be assured that the continuance of Sanctions (which failed to check Italy's victorious prosecution of the war) after the war has ended is a policy the legality of which under the Covenant, as well as its wisdom, is a matter of much difference of opinion among our members.

I suggest that the attempt to influence Branches to take the Executive's line on so controversial a matter lays our leaders open to the charge of trying to exploit members' loyalty so as to flourish a fictitious bludgeon of half a million votes at politicians who differ from them.

Where opinion within the Union is seriously divided, I submit that the expression of individual opinion should be encouraged, but that the use of mobilised opinion is a manoeuvre of doubtful fairness; in such cases it is the business of whole-time politicians to estimate public opinion from its free natural expression, and the task should not be made more difficult for them.

On the other hand, where there is a plain issue of right and wrong, of honour and dishonour, on which there can be no division of opinion among fair-minded men, it is right that such a body as the Union's Executive should point the way to the most effective expression of that opinion.

Italy's continued membership of the League and of its Council is surely such a question.

Italy seems to have brought to a successful conclusion a war undertaken in defiance of an unanimous League and of every League principle and carried through in repeated breach of solemn Treaties. If she retains her seat on the League's Council and takes part in directing its policy as if nothing had happened, every League Power will be guilty of compounding the felonies it has condemned. The League will then become a cynical mockery, the support of which should be unthinkable to any self-respecting nation, as well as to the plain men and women who form the League of Nations Union.

Here is an issue where the politicians are no better judges than the people; where "to follow right" were wisdom in the scorn of consequence.

Will not the Executive advise all Branches to demand the expulsion of Italy from the League under Article 16, section 4, of the Covenant?

What else is that section for?

Burpham, Sussex.

L. T. MOGGRIDGE.

### CHRISTIANITY AND THE USE OF FORCE

SIR,—To describe sanctions as "restraint," as Mr. Arthur Floyd does in your April issue, seems to us unrealistic, especially in connection with Italy's present war. For the fact of the matter is that for years—especially since the Great War—various countries, including Britain, have put obstacles in the way of Italy's economic life. Italy's inability to obtain adequate supplies of cotton for her textile industry is but one instance of many. As was stated a few months ago by the Director of the British Institute of Florence, "It is foolish to separate the present military campaign from the bitter economic war that Italy has long been waging with increasing difficulty against the aggressive economic nationalism of the rest of the world. It is all one fundamental problem—that of a poor nation—recently deprived of livelihood by the action of richer nations and faced by national bankruptcy and starvation." To-day we are faced by the fact that Italy is making a desperate effort to get out of the situation—i.e., by her war in Abyssinia.

In such circumstances sanctions, euphemistically called restraint, are, in fact, merely an intensification of the economic fight, which began before Italy's invasion of Abyssinia. (This is no more a defence of Mussolini than it is of the economic aggressors referred to above, but it is only intended to suggest that it is ridiculous to say that sanctions are, in the light of these facts, compatible with the Christian application of "love to all.")

With regard to the alleged use of compulsion to drive the traffickers out of the Temple, several things could be said, but we need not enlarge for the moment on questions of the interpretation of the actual text, which show that it is by no means certain that physical compulsion was used at all. Even if Jesus did force people out of the Temple, He had a moral authority which cannot possibly be claimed for anybody in the present situation. But it is seriously suggested that one man, however strong, could use physical force effectively enough to turn out a Temple-full of people who certainly were not pacifists? Is it not obvious that what really happened was that here was a Man Who was without blame shaming others out of the Temple by the force of moral character?

As for Mr. Floyd's citation of St. Paul, we would cite another, 13th, chapter from the same authority, viz., his first letter to the Corinthians, and would ask whether sanctions can really be regarded as compatible with love, as defined therein.

Looking at sanctions in this way, as a weapon used by aggressors against an aggressor in the absence of moral authority, we cannot agree that they can be "reliable." In other words, Satan can never cast out Satan.

J. W. COWLING.  
(Miss) K. M. KING.  
A. A. MISTER.  
H. F. MISTER.  
HUMPHREY S. MOORE.  
D. B. OLIVER.  
H. BRIAN OLIVER.  
(Mrs.) K. M. STROUDE.

8, Glendale Avenue, Wood Green, N.22.

### WHAT ACTION, AND WHY?

SIR,—In your February issue, "Christian Pacifist" invites criticisms. I ask him this question. If Communists or Fascists tried to overthrow the British Government by force, what action should the Government take, and why?

Minbu, Burma.

W. L. ROSEVEARE.

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### HERE AND THERE

#### NATIONAL CANVASS

During the past month, a number of Branches have sent in reports of their progress with the National Canvass; a few have actually finished the whole task.

Among the latter is **Arnside**, which has enrolled 102 new members, bringing the total membership in the place to 221, representing a quarter of the electors on the Parliamentary Register, and half the number of those who took part in the Peace Ballot in that neighbourhood.

The Branch at **Bourton-on-the-Water** has enrolled 55 new members, making its total membership 136, while that at **Holdenhurst and Throop** has more than doubled its membership.

Other encouraging reports are, that at the time of writing, the **Barton-on-Humber** Branch had obtained 185 new members, 150 of which had been obtained from about 800 houses. In **Egerton**, one canvasser alone enrolled 40 new members from 120 houses which he visited.

The **Oxford and Headington** Branches have combined to carry out a systematic canvass. The canvass was started in Oxford in 1934, and suspended for the Peace Ballot; the plans which are now being carried out are based on the experience gained in this previous effort. About 300 new members have been enrolled by the two Branches so far, the ground having been prepared in this case by a League Week, which preceded the actual distribution work. One plan which the Branch is using is to ask groups of people, such as Church Guilds or other organisations, to make themselves jointly responsible for dealing with a certain number of streets. This is a plan which will probably commend itself to many other branches.

One of the most encouraging features of the campaign is the fact that several Branches have sent in reports showing that, quite apart from the actual results obtained by the Canvass in the way of new members, the workers are conscious of having been able to do most useful spade work, which will prove its value later on, and they find general evidence of the strong belief in the League system, in spite of recent shocks and disappointments.

Many new members were enrolled at a meeting arranged by the **Bosham** Branch. The Rev. A. L. Chatfield, who presided, explained that the meeting was a revival of the branch which had been allowed

to lapse for two years. It is hoped that future meetings of the branch will meet with increasing success.

A demonstration urging the maintenance of Sanctions against Italy, was organised by the **Chigwell District Peace Campaign** on May 17 at the Loughton Cinema. Excellent speeches were given by Mr. Vyvyan Adams, M.P.; Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mr. James Shields and Mr. James Ranger.

#### SCOTTISH NOTES

Activities in the West of Scotland are at this moment being centred on a somewhat ambitious programme for next session. The visiting speakers who have accepted invitations to come to the West of Scotland make an imposing list. The West of Scotland intends to make a serious drive for new members next autumn and winter, and in this connection many meetings and new committees will be formed. The Branches in the West have already carried out the canvass with extraordinary successful results, and from its experience so far the West of Scotland recommends Branches to carry out the canvass.

Activities at the moment naturally centre round preparations for the International Congress. The town of Glasgow, with its customary generosity and goodwill, has not been behind with either work or money, and it is now certain that the Congress can be carried through as an effort of the Glasgow Branch itself without any public appeal for either money or hospitality being made. Delegates will be entertained free of all charge from the moment they arrive at the Central Station in Glasgow. The District Branches in the vicinity of Glasgow have supported the Glasgow Branch in its effort.

#### WELSH NOTES

On Friday and Saturday, June 12 and 13, the Annual Conference of the Welsh Council of the Union will be held at Barry. There are prospects of a record attendance of Branch delegates and representatives from all parts of Wales and Monmouthshire. In addition to the meetings of the Council and its various committees, the Conference programme includes a mass meeting, a public conference on the I.L.O., and a Festival of Youth. The chairman of the Barry U.D.C. is giving a reception to the delegates and representatives to the Conference.

The Welsh Council is deeply indebted to a host of friends who are organising "Daffodil Days" in aid of its funds in all parts of Wales and Monmouthshire. The Council has never been in greater need of this practical help. Numerous new Branches are also being formed, and a vigorous campaign for new members is proceeding.

The world broadcast of the Welsh Children's Message on May 18, 1936, was more successful than ever, and the number of replies from the countries abroad constitutes a record.

#### OVERSEAS NOTES

The following is taken from the "Times" of May 14, 1936:—"The **Belgian League of Nations Union** has passed a resolution deploring the delays and hesitations which have marked the action of the members of the League of Nations against the aggressor. It points out that the collective effort of the League did not prevent the invasion of a State-member by another member.

"The hope is expressed that this disappointing experience will give rise at the next Assembly to consideration of a reform of the League in the direction of the reinforcement of collective security, an essential guarantee of peace. It is contended that the Sanctions decreed against the aggressor, which were held to be justified when the Covenant was broken, remain justified after the military success, and should be maintained until such time as it is demonstrated that Sanctions cannot exercise any influence on the final lot of Abyssinia."

On Sunday, April 5, 1936, the **Port Said** Group of the League of Nations Union held a meeting at which the Rt. Hon. Lord Lytton, G.C.S.I., G.C.L.E., Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, spoke on "The Covenant and the European Situation."

The Eleventh Annual **International Summer School**, under the auspices of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, will be held in Geneva from Monday, August 24, to Friday, August 28, 1936. The session will deal with the League of Nations, World Affairs, and Training in World Citizenship. All information may be obtained from the Secretariat, International Federation of League of Nations Societies, 14, Avenue de France, Geneva, Switzerland.

An International Conference on the **Right of Asylum** will be held in Paris on June 13 and 14, 1936. Among the questions to be discussed will be the issue of identification papers to all political refugees; an amnesty for all political prisoners who are living in a

## VISITS TO GENEVA

**YOUTH GROUPS EXPEDITION**, leaving London July 18.

The arrangements include 5 days in Geneva, a holiday week in a mountain chalet, and a visit to Paris on the homeward journey.

Registrations are invited from members of the Union's Youth Groups and other young people, but as accommodation is limited, applications must be immediate.

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**JUNIOR SUMMER SCHOOL**, for Boys and Girls from the Upper Forms of Public and Secondary Schools, July 30 to August 9.

The School will comprise a series of Lectures and Discussions on International Relations since the War, and will include a short analysis of the factors which have led to the present upheavals. Minimum age, 15.

**GENEVA INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**—August 16 to 22.

The views of various nations on the Future of the Collective System will be examined. There will also be a Conference on the Teaching of World Citizenship, held in conjunction from August 12 to 16.

#### SOVIET RUSSIA.

Applications for this attractive tour, which leaves London June 27, must be made immediately, as the steamer accommodation is limited and only a few vacancies remain. This trip to Leningrad, Moscow, etc., costs from £31

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foreign country; the suppression of refusal to allow refugees to work in the country of asylum; and the right of refugees to participate in the public, cultural and trade-union life of the country of asylum. Further information may be obtained from the Organisation Committee of the International Conference for the Right of Asylum, 33, rue de la Grange-aux-Belles, Paris, 10e, France.

The women of **Hungary**, alive to the immediate need for international understanding, have issued an invitation to women of all countries in the world to take part in the "International Women's Week." This event is to take place at Budapest from July 8 to 15, 1936.

The International Women's Week is supported by the Hungarian Government. Its object is:—

- (1) To foster women's international understanding as a potent influence towards promoting peace.
- (2) To promote friendship between Hungarian women and women of other countries.
- (3) To show the visitors the characteristics of Hungarian home and social life, folk-lore and tradition.

Apart from the social side of the programme, with its meetings and receptions, delegates and their friends will be invited to private homes, where they will be able to share in the lives of their Hungarian hosts and hostesses, and also find opportunities to exchange ideas.

All particulars may be obtained from Miss Kemeny, International Women's Week, Mitre House, 177, Regent Street, London, W.1.

#### COUNCIL'S VOTE

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

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For 1936:—

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##### Terms of Subscription

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

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In many households several persons are members of the Union. Where one copy of each Union publication is sufficient for the family the Head Office will be glad to receive an intimation.

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

**Foundation Members:** £1 a year (minimum). (To include HEADWAY, the journal of the Union, monthly, by post, and specimen copies of the pamphlets and similar literature issued by the Union.)

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# Two Letters to the Union

## Lord Cecil's Most Serious and Urgent Communication

*This is perhaps the most serious and urgent communication that I, as President of the Union, have ever addressed to its members.*

*Italy has, so far, been successful in the fighting. But peace still has to be made. The obligation to preserve Abyssinian independence imposed by Article X on all Members of the League remains. It is vitally necessary to the authority of the League and the honour of our country that we should do our utmost to secure the discharge of that obligation.*

*The least we should insist upon is that the terms of peace should be approved by the League Council. Until Italy agrees to that, Sanctions should be maintained and, if need be, increased. It is not part of our duty to prescribe in detail the measures needed. That is for the responsible Governments to say. But, since our honour and the future of our civilisation is involved, we have a right to demand that our Government should openly declare its conviction that the Covenants of the League must be carried out and its judgment as to the measures required to protect those Covenants. In that way only can faith in the League and collective security be revived and the present trend towards a major war in Europe be reversed.*

*At present the issue hangs in the balance. The League of Nations may be saved by the League of Nations Union if its members will once again make the effort necessary for that purpose.*

*Will you, then, first of all, bring this letter immediately to the notice of as many as possible of the members of your Branch?*

*Will you and they write or telegraph to your Member of Parliament, to the Prime Minister, and to the Foreign Secretary?*

*Will you call public meetings, pass resolutions, and send them to the same three persons?*

*Will as many of you as possible write letters to your local newspaper or newspapers?*

Yours very truly,  
CECIL.

## An Appeal for £10,000

*No worker in the cause of Peace can fail to see that the L.N.U. is being called inevitably to greater responsibilities year by year. Its work for the "Peace Ballot" and for the rejection of the Hoare-Laval Treaty had a profound effect not only on British action, but on the political thought of all Europe. Had its membership and influence been stronger still, it might have brought the Disarmament Conference to an effective result and saved Europe from the perils of German re-armament and the ghastly race in armaments which has of necessity followed. At the present moment it needs all its strength to save the League from final defeat or emasculation.*

*The Executive of the Union has through these dangerous years done its best to rise to its responsibilities, and thereby, in spite of rigid economy, found its expenses continuously increasing, while its membership and its yearly income have remained more or less stationary. We have gained in the small subscriptions, but lost in the large donations. Members have subscribed most generously to causes such as the Peace Ballot, the Abyssinian Red Cross, the relief of refugees, and other special efforts, but, meantime, the organisation on which all these activities hinge, and on which the future peace of Europe largely depends, has been left in a condition of financial need so severe that it has now been forced to contemplate cutting down its activities, reducing all salaries—already low enough—and giving notice to several members of its staff. Such a course inflicts great private hardship, and is on public grounds deeply regrettable. The times*

*demand that we should go forward and not back. A retreat by the Union at this crisis would mean a serious blow to our whole cause. A vigorous effort must immediately be made to avert such a disaster.*

*We intend at Scarborough to put before the General Council plans for a permanent re-organisation of the Union finances. It is absurd to suppose that a movement which could muster in the Peace Ballot 11,000,000 voters can only supply half a million subscribers to the Union, and less than 12,000 who subscribe as much as £1.*

*That is for the future. The immediate need is for some £10,000 to tide over the present crisis. We have nearly three thousand Branches, more than three thousand Corporate Members. One Branch has already, in these first few days, promised (on certain easy conditions) a donation of £100, another has sent in £7 10s., others £2. One member of the Executive has given £150, two others £200. We beg earnestly that your Branch, or some of the wealthier members of it, may help to the best of their power.*

CECIL,  
President.

GILBERT MURRAY,  
Chairman of Executive Committee.

LYTTON,  
Vice-Chairman of Executive Committee.