

THE WORLD PROTESTS

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THE FUTURE OF SANCTIONS

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HEADWAY

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

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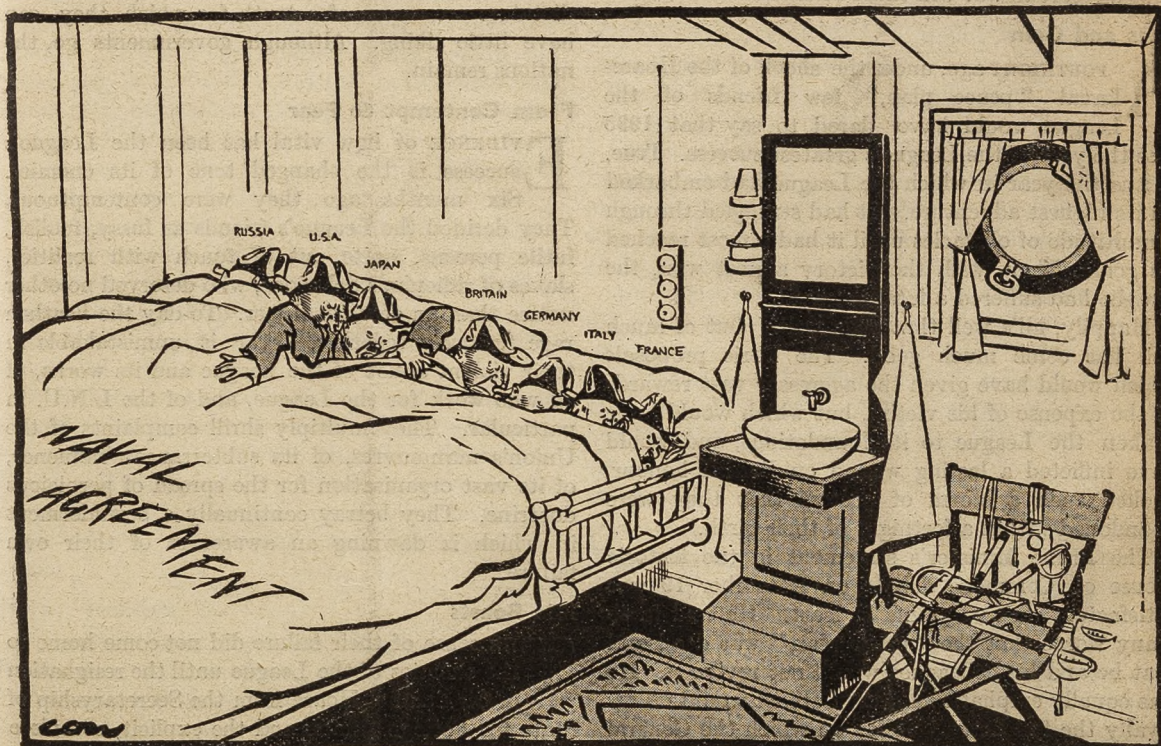
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AT THE NAVAL CONFERENCE



By courtesy of

JAPAN SAYS "TURN"— AND WE ALL TURN.

the "Evening Standard"

NEWS AND COMMENT

New Year Hopes

HEADWAY wishes all members of the League of Nations Union a prosperous New Year in which their dearest hopes shall be realised and the world shall set its face towards peace. 1936 promises to be a year of fulfilment.

For the League, 1935 saw moments of heart-breaking anxiety and not a few disappointments. But its closing weeks afforded proof that the League is built upon a sound foundation and is capable of emerging triumphant from the gravest dangers.

During the summer, Mr. Anthony Eden told the Union that the months ahead would be a testing time. They would make the League stronger than it had ever been, or they would leave it a hollow pretence not worth saving.

His prophecy has come true. Challenged by a Great Power, the League in 1935 gave the lie to many critics who were not unwilling to be its friends. They had been persuaded that the League would never act in a crisis. Especially would it be afraid to give clear judgment for the weak against the strong and to attempt to enforce its findings. The autumn and the winter of 1935 found the League condemning Italy for her attack upon Abyssinia and applying Sanctions to defeat the aggressor.

Much remains to do. It is, however, the first step which counts. Foresight and courage throughout 1936 will suffice to develop the beginning made in 1935, until even the most obstinate of would-be warmakers is driven to admit in deed, if not in word, that a resort to war will cause his ruin.

Loss and Gain

A FORTNIGHT ago, under the shock of the Hoare-Laval "peace plan," few friends of the League would have dared to say that 1935 was the year of the League's greatest success. True, it was the year in which the League had embarked on its highest adventure. It had struggled through a multitude of obstacles until it had almost reached its goal. Then, with the victory almost won, the League had suffered a fatal betrayal.

Happily, all's well that ends well. Out of much evil has come much good. The Paris proposals which would have given the aggressor vast rewards at the expense of his victim, but which would have shaken the League to its foundations, and would have inflicted a lasting wound on British honour, evoked such a storm of protest that they were abandoned within a fortnight of their birth.

The Prime Minister's statement in the historic House of Commons debate on December 19 was satisfactory on two points at least. He said in so many words that the "peace plan" was dead and that he and his colleagues would not revive it. He was equally emphatic that the Cabinet would follow loyally the full League policy on which the General Election had been won only five weeks before. He

confessed he had not seen in the plan anything in conflict with Britain's League obligations or with the Government's election pledges. But he had found "a deeper feeling manifested by many of my honourable friends in many parts of the country, on what, I may call, the ground of conscience and of honour. The moment I am confronted with that I know that something has happened that has appealed to the deepest feelings of our countrymen, that some note has been struck that brings back from them a response from the depths." A mistake had been made. It was admitted, and Great Britain must take her stand once more upon the firm ground of the Covenant, prepared to carry out all her League obligations in partnership with other Members of the League.

Grave damage has been done by what virtually everyone now admits was a major blunder in statesmanship. Confidence in Britain is shaken. Under a strain, admittedly severe, either the sincerity of British purpose or the clearness of British foresight failed. Whichever explanation is adopted, British credit suffers, in all parts of the world.

On the other side, however, has to be set great gain. An unanswerable demonstration has been given that the British people are for the League, understanding the liabilities involved and ready to discharge them. The world may scrutinise the words of British Ministers more suspiciously than it did a month ago. But it is assured to-day, as it never was before, that it can depend upon the fixed resolve of the British people. The final result is a most valuable increase in confidence, since even dictators are aware of a truth for which they can have little liking. Although governments go, the nations remain.

From Contempt to Fear

EVIDENCE of how vital has been the League's success is the changed tone of its enemies. Six months ago they were contemptuous. They derided the League's friends as fussy, foolish, futile persons, quite out of touch with realities, slaves of ridiculous delusions, who deserved no other notice than an occasional jeer. To-day the heathen rage furiously together. Fear is unmistakable in their violent abuse of the League and its works, of all who work for the League, and of the L.N.U. in particular. They multiply shrill complaints of the Union's manoeuvres, of its subterranean influence, of its vast organisation for the spread of pernicious doctrine. They betray continually a bewilderment in which is dawning an awareness of their own failure.

Idle Boasts

THE sense of their failure did not come home to the enemies of the League until the resignation of Sir Samuel Hoare from the Secretaryship of State for Foreign Affairs and the explicit, complete renunciation of the Hoare-Laval "peace plan" by the

British Government. They had watched uneasily the vigour of the League and especially the resolute leadership of Britain in the Italo-Abyssinian dispute. Discomfort had not deepened into panic because they believed Italy would crush Abyssinia in the field, that the non-League Powers would thwart League policy, that some League Members would evade in practice the Sanctions theoretically accepted, that M. Laval would save his friend Mussolini, that the British people would be intimidated by Italian threats. Several of the reeds on which they leaned had broken under their weight and the others were bending. Yet the League's enemies had managed to go on shouting loud enough to keep their courage up. Then there burst upon the world what seemed to them the glorious news of the Hoare-Laval proposals. At once they were jubilant. Of their delighted outcries, these two sentences from successive issues of the *Evening Standard* are typical examples:—

"The League will have confessed its failure to enforce the most elementary principles of its foundation, preservation of the territorial integrity and sovereign independence of Member States, great and small."

"The plan is being violently attacked by some sections of public opinion who claim that it means, in effect, to reward an aggressor. The claim is correct, but it should be remembered that the plan takes account of realities. Its proposals for peace are based on Italy's might, not on Italy's right. The inescapable position is that Mussolini already holds a great deal of territory in Abyssinia which he won by force of arms."

Old Tricks Fail

EXTRAVAGANCE in the moment of supposed victory served only to complete the rout which immediately followed. The impressive demonstration of national unanimity startled the League's enemies. They had not expected all sections of the British people to revolt. Fidelity to principle falls outside their habit of calculation. The Government's reversal of its previous decision threw them into dismay. In their alarm they fell back upon their old tricks of decrying the British Navy as a heap of scrap-iron, and dressing up their hero, Il Duce, as a goblin waiting to pounce upon and devour the helpless, terror-stricken British Empire. They still used all the old adjectives and all the old stage properties. Their voices, however, lost the old self-assurance.

The historic debates in both Houses of Parliament are said to have destroyed many things, including the reputation of the Prime Minister. That is as may be. What is certain is that they have exposed the pretence of the League's enemies. The British people are not behind them. They are behind the League.

Not a "Mandate"

A CAVEAT must be entered. In the recent discussions both in Paris and in London, embarrassed Ministers have dwelt on the mandate given by the League to France and Great Britain for the discovery of acceptable peace terms.

M. Laval, in particular, has stressed the difficulties of a task undertaken unwillingly, and only in response to an insistent League demand.

This dramatic version of events verges upon the untrue. What happened was that at the meeting on November 2 of the Co-ordination Committee of the League, which is the Assembly under another name, the Belgian representative asked: "Why should not the League entrust to France and Great Britain the mission of seeking under its auspices and control, and in the spirit of the Covenant, the elements of a solution which the three parties at issue—the League, Italy and Ethiopia—might find it possible to accept?" Later speeches revealed a marked hesitation on the part of other League Members. Plainly they were far from being in love with the idea. In the end, the Chairman, who did not put the matter to the vote, said he felt the committee approved.

Theirs the Credit

THE saviours of the League are known. They deserve to be kept in grateful remembrance. They are:

The British people, whose political instinct showed them that a vital issue had been raised; The newly-elected House of Commons, which insisted on honouring its election pledges;

Sir Austen Chamberlain who, to save the world's best hope of peace, ignored all lower considerations and gave his fellow Members of Parliament a determined lead;

The *Times*, which threw all its authority on the right side in articles admirable alike for dignity, force, and courage. The *Times* steadied world opinion under the first shock, and assured it that the better mind of Britain would not allow the "peace plan" to be accepted.

Two additions may be admitted to this short list. One without vanity.

In fair weather and foul, the L.N.U. has kept the League before the people of Great Britain. Its many years of intensive effort have spread an understanding of the League throughout the country, in all ranks of society, in all political parties.

And one without frivolity. The *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Express*, and their associated newspapers, sang their loudest in praise of the "peace plan." The public have heard their high notes too often to be deluded. At once they suspected someone had blundered. Lords Rothermere and Beaverbrook are always wrong.

Mr. Eden

SIR SAMUEL HOARE has resigned. His proposals shad to fail. But there was a day when he served the League brilliantly; to forget would be unpardonable. Mr. Anthony Eden has given the League cause a devotion beyond praise or reward. If the League is fulfilling its purpose to-day one reason is that Mr. Eden has never ceased to hope and strive. His appointment as Foreign Secretary is a guarantee for the future.

HEADWAY

JAN. 1936

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

THE BRITISH PEOPLE HAVE SPOKEN

ONCE again the British people have saved themselves by their exertions and are like to save the rest of the world by their example.

Last month disaster drew near. The British Empire, the League, the world—the Hoare-Laval "Peace Plan" threatened them all. Accepted by Italy, forced upon Abyssinia, submitted to by the League, because in default of a determined lead by a Great Power the other League members hesitated to declare that the struggle against the aggressor must go on, the "peace plan" would have given the signal for an age of despair. The rule of the jungle would have been proclaimed the law of mankind.

No excuses could have availed to conceal the result. In dangerous moments nations judge by deeds, not by words. To divide the victim country, to surrender one-half of it, either at once or after a short delay for absorption, to expose the rest to certain conquest at the aggressor's convenience; and to do so in order that the Covenant breaker, branded as such by the verdict of fifty nations, might be placated, would be to offer a conclusive proof that aggression pays. With the best will in the world no statesman would have dared any longer to risk his country's safety by putting the least trust in the collective system. The League's guarantee of world peace would have become worthless. A derisory League might have survived, shorn of the strength needed to restrain a would-be warmaker and to aid a peace-keeper in the hour of need. Suspicion and fear would have taken a seat in every Cabinet. The last desperate hope would have rested in armaments, and armaments alone.

Most lamentable would be the wreck of world confidence in Britain, the tarnishing of British honour.

Britain had given the world such a lead as it had long looked for in vain. Faith must be kept, she had said, and whatever costs were incurred in the keeping of faith must be met. Britain would do her full duty under the Covenant. A Member of the League, she would take her part with other League Members in whatever steps were needed to defend world peace. A bright, scarce hoped for dawn had risen, suddenly, upon a darkling world. Over fifty other nations had followed her lead. A collective judgment had been entered, unambiguously condemning the aggressor. Steps had been taken to prevent the consummation of his crime. Great Powers and small States alike had begun to honour their bond in practice. A demonstration, which was quite beyond precedent, had been given that three-quarters of the

world were resolved to enforce their right to go their ways in peace. In the common interest they had set about restraining a wilful disturber of world order.

Having achieved so much and having secured such support, Great Britain was pledged afresh. By her leadership she had contracted an added triple debt to the League system, to her associates, and to her own good name. The announcement that she was abandoning her leadership and preparing plans for the dismemberment of the victim to reward the aggressor sent a shock of disbelief around the world. When the news was repeated Britain's credit was flung down within a day from the heights into the depths.

Such was the situation in which the British people saved themselves and saved the world. Public opinion declared itself in a volume and with an emphasis that made resistance ridiculous. Individually and collectively, leaders of the national life and quiet private citizens stated their views and brought those views to the notice of Parliament and the Cabinet. In the middle of November at the General Election all parties had paraded as devoted champions of the League. A complete fulfilment of the obligations of the Covenant stood first in the Government's policy. On that the country had voted. Emphatically the electors had authorised Ministers to continue in the recent course. Prepared for difficulties and dangers, they were not prepared to abandon the task in hand, and in the face of foreign threats to allow the wrecking of the League and the ruin of peace.

The outcry was no party clamour. Here and there attempts were made to turn it to party uses, but they were swallowed up and lost in a truly national movement dictated by a profound national instinct. Conservatives, Liberals and Labour men united, not only in condemning the Paris proposals, but also in demanding that the British Government should formally renounce them. Upon Members of Parliament descended cascades of telegrams and letters. Supporters whose party allegiance had never been doubted, in whom candidate and agent had always reposed the most comfortable confidence, wrote to say: "If I had known of this, I would not have voted for you." "If you let this be done, I will never vote for you again."

Every day brought fresh proof that the nation, knowing the facts, confronting a clear issue, had entered a judgment which nothing could shake. The world's oldest, most deeply-rooted, soundest democracy was in action. Parliament, Ministers, party managers, knew no choice was left them. The decision was taken out of their hands.

The world is surprised and impressed. Some of the damage done by the British Government's acceptance of the "peace plan" remained. Foreign trust in British Ministers will not be recaptured easily or soon. But against what is lost, perhaps only for a time, a large and lasting gain has been set. As never before, the world is convinced that the British people mean the League and the whole League. The last month proves they mean it with such vigour that they will and can extort obedience to their orders from their Government, even when it is led by a Prime Minister of unrivalled popular appeal who commands an overwhelming majority in a recently-elected House of Commons. In future, when League declarations are made on behalf of Britain in Geneva and in the capitals of Europe, all hearers will be aware the British people are speaking.

THE FUTURE of SANCTIONS

The Hoare-Laval Agreement and the Oil Embargo.

[From our GENEVA CORRESPONDENT]

GENEVA, December 16, 1935.

THERE is no need to dilate on the stupidity and wickedness of the proposals for the settlement of the Italo-Ethiopian dispute drawn up in Paris by Sir Samuel Hoare and M. Laval. They have been condemned in whole-hearted unanimity by honest men, who see in them a flagrant betrayal of pledges solemnly given, and by those who believe that a system of international regulation for the maintenance of peace is possible. Inevitably the coming of such a system has been postponed by the bad faith of the Franco-British "peace plan."

When the first news of the Paris agreement was published in Geneva, nobody believed it. Not until the publication of the text of the accord, after five days' suspense, were diplomats, officials and correspondents convinced that the terms of the agreement were not only as bad as they had sounded at first, but much worse.

The impact was terrific: Geneva has never been so shocked, and for a couple of days—December 10 and 11—final disaster to the League seemed to be around the corner. The whole fabric of Sanctions against Italy,

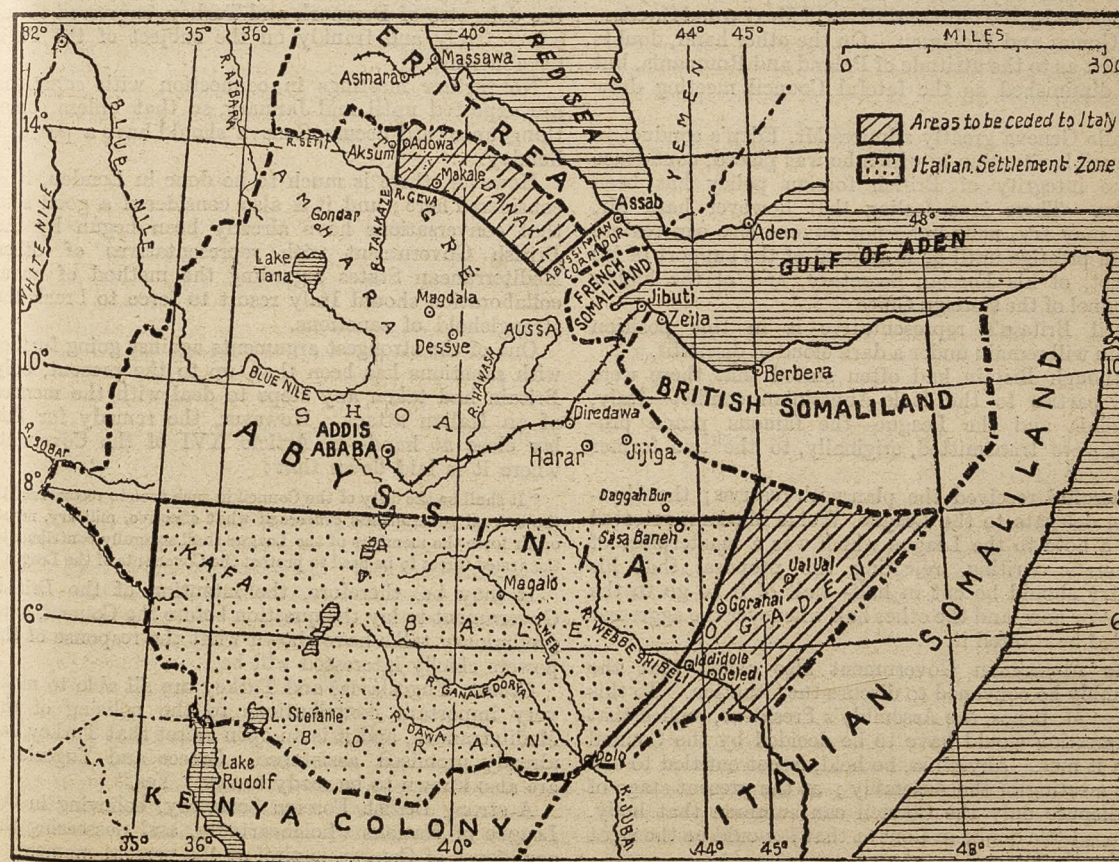
erected with such difficulty and triumph a few weeks before, was on the verge of collapse.

"What is the use of 51 nations taking the trouble and running the risks of sanctions when two of them could, behind the backs of the others, treasonably destroy the whole structure?" Such was the freely spoken reaction of most of the representatives in Geneva of the small States.

The first outward sign of this frame of mind was the tacit agreement between all concerned that the discussion in the Committee of Eighteen on the oil embargo, fixed for December 12, could not take place until the matter of the peace proposals had been thoroughly thrashed out.

Geneva anger was heightened when it was discovered that instead of a full public debate on the question, it was intended that the peace plan should be referred to the Council's Committee of Five—Britain, France, Spain, Turkey and Poland. On this body Britain and France might have found an ally to recommend the plan with them to the Council, and the situation would have been still worse.

ABYSSINIA AFTER "PEACE"



Fortunately, the common sense of the Polish delegate, M. Komarnicki, prevented disaster; he contended that the Committee of Five had ceased to exist, and the plan was dropped after some argument.

Behind M. Komarnicki in his stand was Mr. Eden. The British Minister for League of Nations Affairs had arrived in Geneva a few hours before the decision not to send the plan to the Committee of Five was made. At once he had pressed for the summoning of the Council so that the subject could receive the public discussion and clarification it so badly needed.

What Mr. Eden's thoughts were when he arrived back in Geneva on December 12 can only be imagined. He had laboured titanically to get Sanctions going. He had pledged, and he had had the right to pledge, British aid. He was the Minister for League of Nations Affairs and his Cabinet had approved an agreement which violated Britain's pledges and threatened to wreck the League.

Perhaps it would have been better for Mr. Eden's reputation if he had resigned instead of coming to Geneva, but emphatically it would not have been better for the League.

Mr. Eden was the only Englishman whom foreign diplomats could still trust; and quick action by Britain's representative, strengthened with the confidence of the small States, was needed if anything at all was to be saved from the wreck.

Mr. Eden set about making the best he could of a terribly bad job; his first move was his stand for a public Council discussion, as described above.

Mr. Eden's insistence was greeted with approval by the small States. The next step was to build up the weight of opinion necessary for voting the oil embargo. The voting could not take place until after the Council meeting of December 18, but the preparatory work could be got under way. This was done, a powerful impetus being given by the representatives of Mexico and Sweden, MM. Gomez and Westman. On the other hand, doubts were felt as to the attitude of Poland and Roumania, but they diminished as the fateful Council meeting drew nearer.

While Geneva greatly admires Mr. Eden's conduct in the terrible situation in which he was placed, confidence in the integrity of British foreign policy has been shaken. There is a feeling that however hard Mr. Eden may try, neither he nor anyone else can restore British prestige until he is assured of the support of his Cabinet, of his Foreign Secretary, and of the higher personnel of the Foreign Office.

Until Britain's representative is in this position Britain will remain under a dark cloud of discredit.

Although Britain had often stated that there were three parties to the Italo-Abyssinian conflict—Italy, Abyssinia and the League—the famous peace proposals were transmitted, originally, to the two former only.

Mussolini received the plan with reserve; the Abyssinian delegate to the League, Wolde Mariam, retorted with a note to the League which was a masterpiece of diplomatic writing, rejecting the proposal that his country should be cut in half—half of it to go to the aggressor now, and the other half whenever the aggressor decided he wanted it.

The Abyssinian Government also asked that the Assembly be convened to discuss the situation. To this request M. Benes, the Assembly's President, replied that the question would have to be decided by the Council when it met. Abyssinia, he held, is not entitled to ask for a meeting of the Assembly; at the present stage of the dispute only the Council can summon that body. There is little doubt in Geneva that it would be the right step for the Council to take.

GENEVA, December 24, 1935.

GENEVA heard the news of Sir Samuel Hoare's resignation with incredulity; after all hopes had been dashed by the news of the conclusion of the Paris agreement between the British and French Governments, it seemed incredible that the tables should be turned so dramatically. Geneva is really a pessimistic place, so pessimistic as to be extremely surprised when it had heard that its world had not fallen about its ears.

Of course nothing could have altogether re-established the confidence and the hope that was felt before the Paris talks, but the resignation of the British Foreign Secretary went a very long way towards doing so. The very fact that the Sanctions Committee of Eighteen at its meeting on December 19 did not vote the oil embargo shows that it did not go all the way, however.

Although Mr. Eden pressed for the embargo, and caused a minor sensation by bringing with him from London a petroleum expert attached to the delegation, he very soon saw that nothing could be done for the time being. Even delegates of small States, anxious to press on with the oil sanction, admitted that nothing could be done until the New Year, so drastically had confidence been shaken.

The only thing that Mr. Eden and his supporters from the small countries were able to accomplish was to make sure that there should be no slackening of the sanctions measures now in force. This in itself was an achievement, for when the news of the Paris proposals first reached Geneva, it seemed impossible that the pressure of sanctions could be maintained.

One other definite step was taken on December 19—the Council decided that it was, itself, in charge of all negotiations; it is also believed in Geneva that at a secret meeting of all members of the Council, save Italy, many representatives of smaller States, and notably the delegates of Denmark and Turkey, expressed themselves freely and frankly on the subject of the Paris negotiations.

No further meetings in connection with sanctions are expected until mid-January, so that unless something untoward occurs, Geneva should have a peaceful holiday.

However, there is much to be done in London, it is considered here; and it is also considered a good sign that conversations have already been begun by the British Government with representatives of other Mediterranean States regarding the method of naval collaboration should Italy resort to force to break the stranglehold of sanctions.

One of the strongest arguments against going further with sanctions has been that, up to the present, only Britain had taken any steps to deal with the menace of an Italian attack. However, the remedy for this lay close at hand—in Article XVI of the Covenant, where it is laid down that:

"It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several governments concerned what effective, military, naval, or air force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the Covenants of the League."

It may be, therefore, the intention of the British Government to lay the question before the Council, once preliminary talks have shown what the response of the powers chiefly interested will be.

Greece, Yugoslavia, and Turkey are all able to make very important contributions to the policing of the Mediterranean, and it is an open secret that Turkey has already promised assistance. Greece and Yugoslavia are also known to be ready to say "Yes."

A strong British Foreign Secretary, believing in the League of Nations wholeheartedly, and possessing the confidence of Geneva, is vital at the present moment.

Trust in the British Government has not yet been restored, for there were too many loose ends in the speeches of Mr. Baldwin and Viscount Halifax. There is a strong suspicion in Geneva that some members of the Cabinet in their hearts would rather have seen the Paris plan adopted and sanctions dropped. Mr. Eden's appointment has helped mightily.

Another key-post in foreign affairs which the British Government may soon have to fill is that of Permanent Under-Secretary of State, in succession to Sir Robert Vansittart. Geneva opinion expects he will soon receive an ambassadorship. Here again, it is vital that the choice should fall on a "League" man, if Geneva's confidence is to be re-won.

One of the reasons why it was impossible to make headway with the oil embargo at the recent meetings in Geneva was that President Roosevelt, for the time

Text of the Hoare-Laval Plan

THE text of the Hoare-Laval Peace Plan was circulated to League Members on December 13 by the Secretary-General, who had received it from the British and French Governments. It was headed "Outline of an Agreed Settlement of the Italo-Ethiopian Conflict." The version communicated to Italy was as follows:

I.—EXCHANGE OF TERRITORIES

The Governments of Great Britain and France agree to recommend to his Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia the acceptance of the following exchanges of territory between Ethiopia and Italy:—

(a) **Tigre.**—Cession to Italy of Eastern Tigre approximately limited on the south by the river Gheva and on the west by a line running from north to south, passing between Aksum (on the Ethiopian side) and Adowa (on the Italian side).

(b) **Rectification of Frontiers between the Danakil country and Eritrea,** leaving to the south of the boundary line Aussa and the extent of Eritrean territory necessary to give Ethiopia an outlet to the sea to be defined below.

(c) **Rectification of Frontiers between the Ogaden and Italian Somaliland.**—Starting from the tri-junction point between the frontiers of Ethiopia, Kenya and Italian Somaliland, the new Italo-Ethiopian frontier would follow a general north-easterly direction, cutting the Webbe Shibeli at Iddidole, leaving Gorahai to the east, Warandab to the west, and meeting the frontier of British Somaliland where it intersects the 45th meridian. The rights of the tribes of British Somaliland to the use of the grazing areas and wells situated in the territories granted to Italy by delimitation should be guaranteed.

(d) **Ethiopia will receive an outlet to the sea with full sovereign rights.**—It seems that this outlet should be formed preferably by a cession, to which Italy would agree, of the port of Assab and of a strip of territory giving access to this port along the frontier of French Somaliland.

The United Kingdom and French Governments will endeavour to obtain from the Ethiopian Government guarantees for the fulfilment of the obligations which devolve upon them regarding slavery and arms traffic in the territories acquired by them.

II.—ZONE OF ECONOMIC EXPANSION AND SETTLEMENT

The United Kingdom and French Governments will use their influence at Addis Ababa and at Geneva to the end that the formation in Southern Ethiopia of a zone of economic expansion and settlement reserved to Italy should be accepted by his Majesty the Emperor and approved by the League of Nations.

The limits of this zone would be: On the east, the rectified frontier between Ethiopia and Italian Somaliland; on the north, the 8th parallel; on the west, the 35th meridian; on the south, the frontier between Ethiopia and Kenya.

Within this zone, which would form an integral part of Ethiopia, Italy would enjoy exclusive economic rights which might be administered by a privileged company or by any other like organisation, to which would be recognised—subject to the acquired rights of natives and foreigners—the right of ownership of unoccupied territories, the monopoly of the exploitation of mines, forests, etc. This organisation would be obliged to contribute to the economic equipment of the country, and to devote a portion of its revenue to expenditure of a social character for the benefit of the native population.

being, believed he could not obtain Congressional approval for United States' action. Now, however, it is understood the possibilities are different. When Congress reassembles in the first days of the New Year, it may vote an oil embargo on its own initiative.

An additional element of uncertainty in Geneva's calculations is, of course, the chance that M. Laval will have to resign. No conceivable political change in France could do anything but make the work of the League easier.

In surveying Geneva's feelings in these critical days, it is essential to report the increasing sentiment that Mussolini is capable of even the most disastrous foolishness. His attitude towards the Paris terms, before he knew that the League would reject them, has converted to more detached and reasonable views some even of his few remaining friends.

The control of the Ethiopian administration in the zone would be exercised, under the sovereignty of the Emperor, by the services of the scheme of assistance drawn up by the League of Nations. Italy would take a preponderating, but not an exclusive, share in these services, which would be under the direct control of one of the principal advisers attached to the Central Government. The principal adviser in question, who might be of Italian nationality, would be the assistant, for the affairs in question, of the chief adviser delegated by the League of Nations to assist the Emperor. The chief adviser would not be a subject of one of the Powers bordering on Ethiopia.

The services of the scheme of assistance, in the capital as well as in the reserve zone, would regard it as one of their essential duties to ensure the safety of Italian subjects and the free development of their enterprises.

The Government of the United Kingdom and the French Government will willingly endeavour to ensure that this organisation, the details of which must be elaborated by the League of Nations, fully safeguards the interests of Italy in this region.

ABYSSINIAN TEXT

Two modifications were introduced into the text communicated to the Abyssinian Government. The first paragraph of Section II is drafted as follows:

The United Kingdom and French Governments recommend his Majesty the Emperor to accept, and will use their influence to secure the approval of the League of Nations of, the formation in Southern Ethiopia of a zone of economic expansion and settlement reserved to Italy.

A few words have been added to the end of the first sentence of the fourth paragraph of Section II. These are as follows:

The control of the Ethiopian administration in the zone would be exercised, under the sovereignty of the Emperor, by the services of the scheme of assistance drawn up by the League of Nations and already accepted by the Emperor as extending over the whole area of Abyssinian administration.

NOTIFICATION TO LEAGUE

The following letter from Mr. Eden and M. Laval to the Secretary-General was sent with the proposals:

Since the failure of the efforts undertaken by the League of Nations to find a peaceful solution to the Italo-Ethiopian conflict, the desire has been expressed on several occasions, both in the Council and the Assembly, to see the conflict brought to an end by an agreed settlement as soon as possible.

The Governments of the United Kingdom and France have worked out together, bearing in mind the deliberations of the Committee of Five, the bases of a settlement of this nature, and instructed their representatives at Rome and Addis Ababa on December 10 to lay before the Italian and Ethiopian Governments certain suggestions in this sense.

We have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of this document, which we should be glad if you would communicate to the members of the Council. We shall not fail to transmit to you, in the same way, the replies of the interested Governments as soon as they have been received.

GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING

BRITISH PUBLIC

THE winter meeting of the General Council of the League of Nations Union, held in London on December 4 and 5, was notable in many ways. It would have been still more notable if it had been held a week later.

Perhaps its early date was a happy escape. Informed of the Hoare-Laval Peace Plan, which suggested the dismemberment and annexation of Abyssinia, part immediate and part deferred, as a reward to Italy for having betrayed the Covenant, and attacked a fellow-League Member, the accredited representatives of the Union's membership might have expressed themselves with an emphasis which they would afterwards have regretted. Though what emphasis could have done even bare justice to the facts is difficult to conjecture.

However that may be, it was a notable General Council, assembled in a mood of brave, if critical, confidence, which will not soon be surpassed. The attendance was large. The debates were close-knit. The keynote was responsibility. Such a movement as the Union is exposed to the seductions of formulae. The enthusiast produces a well-sounding phrase; contemplating its beautiful simplicity, he is apt to overlook its failure to take account of realities. But the cause is now escaping the danger. Thanks to a widening experience and to the patient, thorough work of the Union, both within its own ranks and amongst the general public, the day is visibly arriving when everyone will agree that the Union serves one supreme

practical purpose, which must overshadow all others. It exists to persuade governments, by the steady insistence of an instructed public opinion, to fulfil regularly their League obligations and make the collective system of security an assured success. Here, as in other more generally recognised respects, the Peace Ballot has exercised a decisive influence. The immense popular success of the Ballot, the new firmness in British League policy after the Ballot, the eager professions of all political parties at the General Election of their whole-hearted League loyalty, gave many thousands of

Union members a new vision of the part the Union is called on to play in shaping the future of Britain and the world.

The General Council gave repeated proof, the more convincing because usually it was implicit, that Union members now feel the Union is an integral and operative part of the British system, which in its totality has a vastly wider range than the official machinery, for the building up of an ordered peaceful world.

Evidence of this practical, constructive frame of mind was the brevity of the speeches. Nearly everyone, intent on being helpful, was simple and precise. There was a common assumption that if it could be done this was a thing worth doing and that this was the way to do it. So ran contribution after contribution to the debate.

Other evidence was the ready acceptance of Lord Cecil's guidance. The authority of the President of the Union was never more promptly decisive. The General Council, doing a job of work, knew how to accept advice from a working statesman when he gave it.

Some of Lord Cecil's interventions were singularly happy in his characteristic blend of courtesy and colloquial vigour. A delegate, speaking on Italy's war, thought that the peace terms should take account of the League's slow and feeble action in the first phases of the crisis. Italy must be compensated for the mess she had been allowed to get herself into. Lord Cecil objected. If a policeman is not on the spot, when he ought to be, to stop a crime, that is no reason why the criminal should be let off.

The war in Abyssinia was rightly the chief topic of discussion. It produced from Professor Murray a speech which could hardly have been bettered, in the closeness of its reasoning, the clarity of its form and its restrained delivery. One after the other, the Chairman made the essential points of the case, whose consequences will be decisive for the future of civilisation. Either the nations take a long step forward towards a peace, which will be lasting because it guarantees justice and is provided with effectual means of defence, or they plunge backward to a worse jungle of fear and cruelty than 1914.

The aggressor must not profit by his crime. Mussolini must not defeat the League, the League must defeat Mussolini. The victory must be won by collective action. For Britain alone to thwart Mussolini's plans of conquest would not be enough; would, indeed, be nothing to the purpose. For the issue which was now being tried was not who should possess Abyssinia, or whether Abyssinia should be independent. But should a single nation be able to say, in defiance of all legal and international restraint, caring nothing for the impartial judgment of the world: "I have made up my mind to do this thing and do it I will."

If force had to be employed to defend the Covenant, he would like to see the British Mediterranean fleet joined by a gunboat from every loyal League member possessing a gunboat. He did not suggest that the British Navy alone would be unequal to the task. Those admirals with whom he had had the pleasure of talking scoffed at the idea. The essential thing was that collective authority should be aided by collective action.

Finally, the settlement which will ultimately be reached must have been negotiated through the League by a proper use of the organs of the League. He distrusted secret negotiations carried on elsewhere than at Geneva by two or three Powers in conditions where their League obligations might only too easily be forgotten. He pointed out that here was no case in which



Professor DARNLEY NAYLOR—Keswick



Mrs. WHITE—Co-Opted Member



ADMIRAL RUSSELL—Felixstowe



Miss ELEANOR RATHBONE—Co-Opted Member

the League could not make its authority prevail. In an oil embargo and in the cutting of communications between Italy and the Italian colonies, the League possessed two means of defeating Mussolini.

The debate which followed was notable for its quiet common sense. Not a voice was raised in extravagant denunciation, nor a violent word was said against Italy. Frequent expressions of goodwill were applauded. The desire was general that at the earliest moment she might revert to her old loyalty to the League. But nowhere was there any hint of fear.

Signor Mussolini's boasts may have terrified Lords Rothermere and Beaverbrook and a scratch lot of hysterical politicians. The British people have laughed, made derisory comments, and gone on their way quite unperturbed. In this matter, as in many others, the General Council was typically British. Britain had a duty to perform. The fulfilment of that duty was necessary for the welfare of Britain and of all the world. Therefore it must be done.

Throughout the Abyssinian dispute all the wild words have been on one side. The supporters of the League have spoken, as has the League itself, with scrupulous restraint. They have faced the facts. They have made definite, practical proposals. The contrast with the enemies of the League has been complete. The opponents of sanctions, the idolators of the Duce, have shrieked and gibbered themselves into fits. Reason on the one side has confronted panic on the other. Which is best fitted to guide the destinies of Britain and the world cannot be doubted. With calm and courage members of the General Council, hating war more than most, faced the possibility that the aggressor might compel Britain and the League to defend in arms the world's right to peace. Such a temper is a sure pledge of a happier world future. The bully will not inherit the earth.

The same temper, sober and resolute, informed the

THE DEMAND for COLONIES

A Report for the Economic Committee of the L.N.U.

on
TERRITORIAL EXPANSION
OVER-POPULATION
RAW MATERIALS

by
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OPINION IS SOUND!!

speeches on the Far East. The General Council was fortunate in having Lord Lytton present to point out, with his unequalled knowledge and authority, the vital importance to the European countries, and especially Great Britain, of present events in Northern China. Japanese action in China is different in many ways from Italian aggression in Abyssinia. Italy's resort to war in breach of the Covenant was so flagrant an offence that the League was obliged to condemn it and to implement that condemnation. But, though the issue in farthest Asia is intricate and extremely difficult that is no reason for feebly refusing to make any attempt to untangle it.

Indeed, the League cannot permanently disinterest itself from Chinese needs without grave, and perhaps fatal, damage to its own usefulness. China is a League Member and the League must not stand helpless while China is disrupted and the fragments one by one absorbed in an alien Empire. If a successful defence of the Covenant in Africa and Europe enhances the League's authority, that authority must be utilised in due course to secure peace with justice in other parts of the world. What Lord Lytton proposed was that the hard case of China should be kept before the League's notice. A demand from the floor that the League should forthwith begin to restrain Japan he met with a prudent reminder that one thing at a time is a sound working rule. The General Council showed once again its appreciation of realities.

On the burning topic of Anti-Gas Drill Lady Hall scored a notable triumph which was another proof of the General Council's practical temper. She spoke from personal experience, with the life and cogency which comes from knowing one's subject. The audience responded. Why instruct the nation, she asked, in preparations which would assuredly be inadequate and ineffective? Why indeed! assented the Council. Next morning a phrase was restored about teaching local authorities. But plainly the majority still agreed with Lady Hall.



G. B. CROASDELL—Cambridge



S. B. R. COOKE

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THE WORLD PROTEST: Aggressor Must Not Profit By His Crime

When the Hoare-Laval "Peace Plan" was published on December 9, a chorus of shocked protest around the world. In all countries the bold League leadership of Great Britain in the Italo-Abyssinian dispute had lighted a new hope. The active opposition of over 50 nations to the aggressor was bringing to believe that the collective system would work. The joint defence of the peace-keeping nations against the peace-breaker might give them security. British prestige rose to a height unknown since the world war. British sincerity was admitted, even in quarters where it is the tradition always to suspect Britain's motive.

The Paris proposals aroused indignation almost everywhere. The offer of immense advantages to the aggressor at the expense of his victim was denounced as a betrayal of Abyssinia, of the League, of British honour. The following quotations from the newspapers of many countries are typical. They are reproduced, not because the charges they make are just, but because they show what immense damage can be done to Britain's good name and the cause of peace by weakness in the conduct of British policy.

The tiny majority who approved or excused the Peace Plan were nearly all German papers rejoiced to see the League discredited.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

"The Cape Times"

"The essence of the position is not that the League should endeavour to satisfy Signor Mussolini's appetite, but that its action should be such as to prove to the Duce and to everybody else that no nation will in future be permitted to make a profitable bargain out of an aggressive war."

"The Cape Times"

"World opinion will reject any settlement which, in the name of the Covenant, awards to Italy a large proportion of the advantages sought by war."

"Cape Argus"

"Laval is ready to buy off Mussolini at any price."

"Toronto Star"

"The authors of the Plan are shortsighted, impractical, and lacking in imagination; and the world, which believed the vindication of the Covenant to be within sight through the unprecedented co-operation of fifty nations, is not prepared for a surrender of League principles that would put the Manchurian fiasco in the shade."

"Winnipeg Free Press"

"If the doubts now thrown on the sincerity of Mr. Baldwin should be confirmed by events, Mr. Baldwin will exchange his present reputation for that of an extremely crafty, daring, effective and unscrupulous political tactician. In this case, Baldwin, it will be revealed, made use of an opportunity of an appeal to the electors to these ends. With the help of League supporters, he defeated a political party sincerely devoted to the League, put in power for five years a Government whose regard for the League was temporary and political. At the same time he asked, and got, popular approval for a policy of rearmament, limited only by his own judgment, on the plea that this was necessary to give the backing to British support for the League Covenant."

"The British Australian and New Zealander"

"It is a sad thing that the pride so widely felt throughout England and the British Empire in the strong stand made by the Government of Mr. Baldwin for League principles and the defence of small nations against declared aggression should receive such a rude shock. If the Press forecast of the Laval-Hoare terms is accurate, or even nearly accurate, and if the British Government gives its assent to anything resembling them, then Britain is disgraced, and Abyssinia, if not the League, as American opinion declares it to be, is betrayed."

"Calcutta Statesman"

"The proposals are already dead. The Negus and the world will not have them. Sir Samuel Hoare has done irreparable damage to the Baldwin Government and the Imperial leadership of Britain."

"Allahabad Leader"

"The Italian Government, of course, hopes to win, and does not in the least care if this victory kills the League. If Italy is defeated (in carrying out her objective in Abyssinia) with the help, direct or indirect, of the League Powers, then the white man's prestige will be immediately raised in the eyes of the Africans. But if the League is discredited and smashed, Europe cannot escape the dire consequences of the destruction of the collective system of security and peace."

THE UNITED STATES

"New York Times"

"Faced with the alternative of repudiating either its Foreign Secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare, or its pre-Election pledges concerning the League of Nations and the Ethiopian war, the British Government has evidently chosen the latter course as the simpler way out of the worst international snare that any Cabinet has been entangled with for a long time."

"New York Times"

"Millions in the United States and Europe are now saying 'This will not do.' Somehow it is impossible to reconcile a stroke so brilliantly unscrupulous and diabolically effective with plain-speech, honest-face, Stanley Baldwin."

"New York Herald Tribune"

"There is something just a trifle ironic in this picture of great nations, solemnly sworn 'to preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence' of Ethiopia, thus offering to reward the aggressor by ratifying his claim to large gobs of Ethiopian territory and the further drastic impairment of Ethiopian independence."

"The cynic may be struck by the curious exactitude with which the non-Italian portion of Ethiopia would be reduced to the Lake Tana basin and the watersheds of the Nile tributaries. He might conclude that the real meaning of the collective system was one in which the aggressor collects everything in sight except the territories vital to British interests in the Sudan and Egypt."

"Washington Post"

"If Britain and France were offering Italy some of their own colonial possessions in this area, instead of merely suggesting transference of Ethiopian territory, a solution of the underlying problem of the more equitable division of imperialistic control over backward areas would thus be furthered."

"New York Post"

"The proposals are even more shocking than the first reports."

"Boston Christian Science Monitor"

"If this is really a scheme whereby France and Britain would have rewarded an aggressor, it merely reveals that the pursuit of peace by public law at Geneva, and by secret treating in Paris, did not mix. Americans, even those most friendly to Britain, have been depressed, if not disgusted."

Mr. Raymond Buell, President of the American Foreign Policy Association, in a Broadcast Address

"It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that France and Britain are attempting to betray the League of Nations. If the French and British Government favour the scrapping of the League Covenant and the anti-war Pact in favour of more immediate considerations, they should have said so long ago. Neither France nor Britain is willing to sacrifice anything of value which they own but are apparently willing to sacrifice Ethiopia, which they do not own at all. This proposal is bound to increase the belief that the Baldwin Government supported the League until after winning the November Election, but now feels safe to return to the old game of power politics. This proposal is bound to increase the sentiment in America which favours complete isolation from European affairs."

Aggressor Must Not Profit By His Crime

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EUROPE

Stockholm: "Nya Dagligt Allehanda"

"We are tempted to use the words 'finis Britannia.' Confidence in Great Britain's power and stability is shattered."

Stockholm: "Ny Tid"

"If Abyssinia is split up, treachery will have been committed against those principles solemnly declared by the League of Nations and the League itself will have lost every vestige of moral authority. We shall refuse to the last minute to believe that the British Government, in this shameful manner, will sell all honour and decency for the purpose of maintaining a strong Italy. In this way the enormous prestige which Great Britain has gained by her behaviour in the Italo-Abyssinian struggle will be lost."

Stockholm: "Svenska Dagbladet"

"When, in the twentieth century, the first guardian of international order and right calls on Signor Mussolini with peace preliminaries which put a premium on violation of treaties and pacts and on aggression, this means bending the knee to robber morality. Lord Beaconsfield once gave England peace with honour. Is not Mr. Baldwin's offer peace with dishonour?"

Stockholm: "Dagens Nyheter"

"The Tigre trophy which Signor Mussolini will take home is evidence that in a struggle between the League demands for right and justice and the Italian policy of violence, the latter has won the victory."

Gothenburg: "Han dels-Och"

"The most fatal thing in this affair is that the effect on confidence and trustworthiness in international life which were already not very strong, will be further diminished. What was previously believed to be a firm rock in stormy waters, has been found to be built of driftwood."

Oslo: "Aftenposten"

"If the League adopts the Plan it will have lost the reason for its existence. The Plan is an invitation to aggression."

Copenhagen: "Politiken"

"Was ever a democratic government so overwhelmingly repudiated by public opinion as Mr. Baldwin's Cabinet?"

"Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant"

"In the case of an attack upon their colonial territory, would the Netherlands be invited merely to negotiate at a green table, in order to make things easy for Great Powers inconvenienced by the aggression, upon the sacrifices they would be required to make to put an end to the conflict in place of receiving assistance. In embarking upon this course, the League of Nations would be not only the impotent institution that it showed itself in the Manchurian crisis, it would become a danger, and we would find ourselves obliged to change our attitude towards it."

"Berliner Tageblatt"

"Of the manifold and contradictory emotions that pass through the breasts of Englishmen, one feeling is common to all, surprise. To be honest, England trembles to-day for the League and not for Abyssinia or for the prestige of the British Empire. It is surprising that no word was said to-day of the adverse effect on the prestige of Britain in the Far East resulting from her retreat before Mussolini."

"Great Britain summoned Europe to a crusade. She caused her followers grave sacrifices. She weakened an old friendship, risked her relations with France, and apparently made concessions to that country which she would rather not have made. Now she disowns what she has been worshipping, causes humanity disintegrating disappointment, and endangers her relations with her coloured subjects."

"The strong British attitude at first caused an almost supernatural light to arise in Europe. Friends of the League of Nations throughout the world rallied to the British standard in a crusade, now apparently abandoned, to prevent the aggressor from achieving his purpose. But the British Government was bluffing after all."

Berlin: "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung"

"Of course, the British affair would look more unselfish if Great Britain had granted to Italy other colonisation possibilities, for example, in British Kenya, rather than those which she is asking from the Negus for Italy."

"Frankfurter Zeitung"

"In the recent election, Mr. Baldwin laid stress on the moral significance of the test case raised by Italian aggression. How astonishing that he should now have abandoned this attitude without visibly imperative grounds."

Madrid "A.B.C."

"Let us call things by their proper names. The Laval-Hoare plan means a repudiation pure and simple of the British point of view, as well as the implicit condemnation of the attitude up to now taken by the League against Italy. . . . One of two things: if Italy deserves the concessions now offered to her, the attitude of the League of Nations was at the beginning and continues to be now an iniquity, and therefore the whole responsibility for the blood shed in East Africa and the initiative of that war must be ascribed to the Geneva organisation. If, on the contrary, the international manifestation against Italy, the theoretical condemnation of the latter and the sanctions imposed upon her were justified, then the invitation now addressed to her constitutes something arbitrary. That is, an attempt against moral canons and the positive international law, an attempt which appears to be so much more hateful since it is applied against Abyssinia, that is to say, the victim and the weaker of the two parties in the conflict."

Oporto: "Primerio de Janeiro"

"Must we believe that the whole system of sanctions built upon Article 16 of the Covenant is collapsing because of the default of one or more of the States which are pledged to apply it? No danger could be more dark and threatening. The League of Nations would suffer a sensational bankruptcy. The last hope of peace and the rule of right vanishes."

THE FAR EAST

Tokio: "Asahi"

"It is a terrible event for which there is no precedent in the annals of the League."

Tokio: "Kokumin Shimbun"

"The Plan violates the sovereignty of Abyssinia."

THE NATIONAL CANVASS

THE great drive for members has begun. The League of Nations Union has taken up the challenge of the Peace Ballot. It is determined to bring its membership into closer relation to the eleven and a-half million votes given in the Ballot. This work is a logical consequence of the Ballot. Half a million volunteers worked magnificently for the Ballot. Are they prepared to help with the Canvass? In that way alone can they continue the educational work of which the Ballot was but the first step.

A large increase in Union membership during the next few years will have valuable results, both at home and abroad. Not only will it extend the influence and power of the Union and help the British Government to follow a strong League policy. It will indicate to other countries that the British people are wholeheartedly behind the Covenant, an assurance which is more than ever necessary during the critical time ahead. The task is heavy. But it is a task worthy of the Union.

Many Union branches have begun to make ready systematically for the work. They have learned the lesson of the Peace Ballot, that time and care must be given to detailed organisation if good results are to be obtained.

For example, the Bournemouth District Council has held a successful preliminary meeting to appoint a Campaign Committee for the district. All the organisations which co-operated in the Ballot were invited and a fully representative meeting was the result. The local press reported the proceedings in detail. Such publicity is most valuable. It gives the only assurance that all sympathisers shall know what is going forward.

Rural branches also are laying plans for the Canvass. Some have already secured the assistance of those who helped in the Ballot. Over 100 Branches have pledged themselves to canvass their districts thoroughly.

Once begun the work will continue over many months. Time is needed for a visitation, house by house. If a Branch divides its district into small areas and works slowly through each area, it will be able to cover the

whole ground without any individual being unduly harassed or overworked.

The Canvass is not a spectacular campaign; it will be a sustained and progressive piece of hard work with far-reaching results. Encouraging reports from branches up and down the country are being received at headquarters. For example, the secretary of the Droitwich Branch writes: "We had a wonderful spirit shown here during the Peace Ballot and were able to achieve more than we had hoped for. I see no reason why our people should not be equally stirred by the Canvass. . . . We must try to secure co-operation of a practical nature for the work of Peace." The secretary of the North of Scotland District Council writes: "As far as this district is concerned, the time seems just right for a move of this kind. . . ." We feel sure that these extracts are applicable to most Branches.

In his speech to the Assembly in Geneva, on September 11, 1935, Sir Samuel Hoare said: "The recent response of public opinion shows how completely the nation supports the Government in full acceptance of the obligations of League membership, which is the oft-proclaimed keynote of its foreign policy." In the King's speech, at the opening of Parliament on December 5, 1935, was this passage: "My Government's foreign policy will as heretofore be based on a firm support of the League of Nations. They will remain prepared to fulfil, in co-operation with other members of the League, the obligations of the Covenant. In particular, they are determined to use at all times the full weight of their influence for the preservation of peace."

The work of the Union is to make it possible for the Government to carry out a full League policy. We must exploit and consolidate the interest aroused by the Ballot, so that the effects are lasting.

Throughout the country a campaign has begun which will swell in volume and which may well alter the course of world affairs during the next few years. The drive for members is launched.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA TO-DAY

By C. A. MACARTNEY

President Masaryk, who was the leader of his people in their struggle for independence and has been the President of the Czechoslovak Republic ever since it was founded, has resigned. His successor is Dr. E. Benes, for many years Czechoslovak Minister for Foreign Affairs, and one of the chief builders of the League of Nations.

IN May last, one of the most astonishing electoral results of recent times occurred in Czechoslovakia. An entirely new party of Nazi tendencies swept the board among the German electors, securing 75 per cent. of the total German votes and the highest vote of any single party in the country. The party is nominally "loyal," but the voting was secretly, but generally, understood to be a plebiscite of the Germans of Czechoslovakia for or against the State, and it was decisively negative. The same holds true of the Magyar parties, while neither the Communists nor the Slovak People's Party, both of which have strong followings, can be reckoned as buttresses of the existing system.

This result came as a severe shock, both to opinion inside the country and outside it. Since the War, the Czechoslovak statesmen have achieved for their country

a remarkable place in international affairs. Was that place after all secure?

Smaller and less populous than either Yugoslavia or Roumania, Czechoslovakia yet bulks far larger, in the eyes of the world, than either of her allies. As diplomatic leader of the Little Entente, she plays a very considerable role in European affairs. She has other titles to consideration also. She is almost the only European country east of Switzerland in which the Parliamentary system is still a reality; elections still a genuine expression of popular will; the Press and opinion still relatively—if by no means absolutely—free; and where it is possible with something approaching impunity to be a Communist, a Liberal, or a member of a national minority.

And yet, of all the readjustments of the map made in 1918 and 1919, those which related to Czechoslovakia

were the least inevitable. Her creation, not to mention the exact delimitation of her frontiers, owed more to art and less to nature than that of any other State. Even to-day, as the elections showed, probably only Austria contains a higher proportion of citizens whose attitude towards her existence is fundamentally negative.

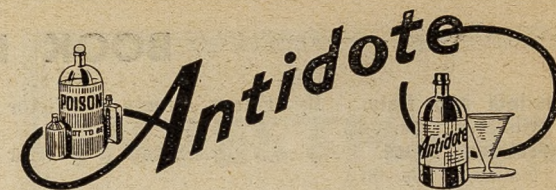
The Czechs inherited from the Austrian Empire certain political and economic assets of inestimable value. Firstly, a long political training and a genuine and deeply-rooted democratic spirit, which have given them, not only certain leaders of genius, but a high level of general ability. Thanks to these, they have been able to preserve the forms of democratic government, buttressed by an efficient bureaucracy—the most powerful force in the country. Further, their territory contained most of the more important industries of the old Monarchy, unencumbered by the overgrown capital which proved such a burden to the Austrian Republic, and balanced by a highly-developed and modern agriculture. Thanks to her sound economy, the first bludgeon-blows of the great depression, which knocked out many States completely, merely glanced off Czechoslovakia.

On the other hand, her shape is singularly long and unwieldy; communications inside it are difficult and expensive, and for true prosperity she needs the freest possible trading relations with her neighbours. The system prevalent to-day of national autarchies is the worst possible for the Czechoslovak economy; yet she cannot escape her neighbours' actions, and has even done much herself to accelerate the autarchic movement, from political motives.

Her fundamental political weakness lies in her racial composition, which is so mixed as to cause her enemies to describe her as merely the old Austria writ small. Of her total population of fourteen and a half millions, only a fraction over half are Czechs, the Slovaks making up another two millions. Nearly three and a half millions are Germans, some three-quarters of a million Magyars, over half a million Ruthenes (most, but not all, in the autonomous territory of Czechoslovakia), and there are smaller numbers of Poles, Jews, and other races.

In a famous memorandum to the Peace Conference, Dr. Benes announced that Czechoslovakia would be a "second Switzerland." To fulfil this promise literally, all the nationalities should have been granted absolutely equal status. It may be doubted whether even this would permanently have reconciled either the Germans or the Magyars, in this age of racial determinism; but the promise had already been falsified before it was made, when the Constituent Assembly, in which the minorities were not represented, proclaimed itself the organ of a national Czechoslovak State. The Germans, Magyars, and minor nationalities forming between them nearly one-third of the entire population, are thus not partners in the State but minorities. Their treatment, as minorities has been just if not always generous; but how little justice can avail was seen in the elections.

The Slovak vote is not equally dangerous. It is true that fifteen years have not convinced more than a small minority of Slovaks that they are "Czechoslovaks," identical nationally with the Czechs. On the contrary, most of the young generation is fanatically Slovak, and resentful of the Czech domination. It is, however, even more anti-Magyar, and genuine separatism is rare. In a crisis, Czechs and Slovaks will hold together. But it is an anxious time for the little country, surrounded as she is on almost every side by resentful and revengeful neighbours.



POISON:

"A letter from forty to fifty well-known British public men was presented to the French Prime Minister in Geneva. It assures M. Laval of the support of British opinion in the enforcement of the Covenant. Among the signatories are Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, Lord Allen of Hurtwood, Sir Norman Angell, Sir Arthur Salter, and Sir Herbert Samuel. It is sheer impertinence these public men taking it on themselves to write to the French Premier."—*The "Patriot."*

ANTIDOTE:

If the above was "sheer impertinence," what words would the backers of the *Patriot* use to describe Lady Lucy Houston's action when she recently "took it upon herself" to send a telegram to Mussolini "on behalf of British patriots"?

POISON:

"The British Government is in agreement with a peace plan under which a portion of Abyssinian territory will pass to the control of Italy. That plan is being violently attacked by some who claim that it amounts in effect to rewarding the aggressor. The claim is correct. But it should be remembered that the plan takes account of realities. Its proposals are based on Italy's might, not on Italy's right."—*Leading article in the "Evening Standard."*

ANTIDOTE:

Would Lord Beaverbrook, who is of slight stature, hold that the "might" of a huge footpad would justify rewarding the latter in the event of his attacking the High Priest of Splendid Isolation on a dark and foggy night?

POISON:

"The Government, in my judgment, is throwing away the Empire in India, pottering with disarmament and letting down the country's defences till the situation has become perilous, throwing away the friendship of Italy and incurring gratuitously the peril of a general war and persistently pandering to Socialism. My only excuse for my vote for that government is that the alternative is the admission to power of a party whose plans threaten ruin to the modest savings accumulated for my womenkind in a laborious life."—*A letter from a correspondent in the "National Review."*

ANTIDOTE:

Apparently that particular Die-Hard would support any suspected risk for his country rather than feel that his precious savings were in jeopardy—a terrible indictment of the Party spirit!

POISON:

"League of Nations Unionists and others who accept the advice of the war sanctions newspapers to 'write to your M.P. about it' will still require to pay three-halfpence a time."—*The "Daily Express."*

ANTIDOTE:

We only lost the penny post because the Great War was allowed to happen, and in any event, three-halfpence is still a very reasonable price to pay for conveying to our Members of Parliament the fact that the *Daily Express* does not express the voice of the people. It is also a better bargain than the "D.E." at a penny!

C. C. T.

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Abyssinia and Italy. By EMILE BURNS. (Victor Gollancz. 3s. 6d.)

Inquest on Peace. By "VIGILANTES." (Victor Gollancz. 3s. 6d.)

These two books, both brightly written and boldly outspoken, deal with the League's test case in Abyssinia. They are alike, also, in being based on a great deal of expert knowledge; and, despite the utterance of not a little pungent criticism by the way, both authors reach their conclusions in a hopeful mood. Almost unwillingly they agree that the League is vigorously and usefully alive. After many disappointments it is serving its purpose of defending world peace.

Mr. Emile Burns, whose reserves are more serious than those of "Vigilantes," says in his last paragraph: "The success of sanctions, the holding together of the States applying sanctions until Italy, the aggressor, is forced to stop the war and give up any territory won by force of arms, would be an enormous achievement, a strong factor for the prevention of future war."

Doubtless Mr. Burns would have written very differently had he delayed his task a few weeks and had he known about the Hoare-Laval Peace Plan when he undertook it. And so would "Vigilantes." But the fact that they must now be reading their own books with a wonder at their confidence and optimism, does not destroy the value of their work.

Mr. Burns' strength is in economics. His partisanship should not be allowed to hide his competence. And he attempts no deception; he puts his readers on their guard. He holds the opinions of the extreme Left. Quietly stated as they are, his charges against capitalistic Imperialism will seem wildly extravagant to a large majority of his readers. Nevertheless his long and careful study of his subject is not to be denied, and now and again he throws a novel and revealing light into obscure corners. He demonstrates, for example, better than any other writer, how many and various are the vested interests in Italy which expect to profit by a conquest of Abyssinia. Such a conquest would be a costly delusion for the Italian people. But there are powerful groups and individuals, able to influence the Fascist régime, who would be immensely enriched by the adventure. The existing Italian colonies will remain poor affairs so long as they are mere coastal strips flanking an alien hinterland. Should they become the only means of access from the sea to a vast Italian Empire in East Africa, their situation would be transformed. It is in drawing attention to such often ignored factors in the problem that Mr. Burns contributes most actively to its understanding. He is less sure in his handling of the details of the League's action.

"Vigilantes" is specially strong on the League. He tells his story from the standpoint of Geneva with a most welcome liveliness, and with an impressive intimacy of detail. A month ago a reviewer would have protested that he painted too unfriendly a picture of British policy. He would have seemed unreasonably eager to believe

that British Ministers were not wholly sincere in their defence of the Covenant. To-day his book must be recommended without any warning against his scepticism.

Chinese Art. Edited by Leigh Ashton, with chapters by Leigh Ashton, Lawrence Binyon, R. L. Hobson, A. J. Koop, Una Pope Hennessy. (George Routledge & Sons. 2s. 6d. paper covers; 3s. 6d. cloth.)

The Chinese Eye. By Chiang Yee. (Methuen. 7s. 6d.)

The Chinese Exhibition at Burlington House is both a surprise and a success. Even people who know much of the world and the arts have found the reality various and beautiful far beyond their expectations. Chinese art had been to them delicate, remote, fantastic, even grotesque. Decorative, ornamental, yes; alive, no. The last quality for which they were prepared was the intense, pervading vitality whose presence now transforms the galleries of the Royal Academy. In daily thousands, they, and others whose experience has been less wide, throng admiringly around the sculpture, the pottery, the tapestries, the paintings. They are acquiring a livelier sense of a splendid civilisation, a fuller understanding of and a quicker sympathy with the Chinese people. The old view exaggerated the physical distance of China; the new view dwells upon its human nearness.

"Chinese Art" and "The Chinese Eye" could not be bettered as guides to the exhibition. Especially when they are read together, and read also both before and after a visit to Burlington House. They supplement one another. "Chinese Art" is a handbook covering the whole field, as expertly as briefly. It is written by recognised English authorities, who, aware of what the interested English man and woman most need to know, tell them exactly that. Here is a real service. Eastern skill is brought into relation with Western sensibility. In terms of European culture the treasures of China are shown to be not mere curios but true works of art. If the values to which appeal is made are characteristically Western and therefore lead to judgments different from the Chinese, that only helps the more to bridge the initial gulf. The early funereal statues—the Tang horses, for example—are more highly esteemed in Europe than they are in China. It was the European fashion which taught Chinese collectors to prize them. The same thing happened two generations ago with Japanese colour prints. Probably to-day, as in the 1870's and 80's, the foreigner is making a mistake. But after the mistake he takes the right road.

Mr. Chiang Yee, the author of "The Chinese Eye," is himself a painter. He restricts his discourse to paintings—or should it be drawings? The instrument of the Chinese artist is the brush, the medium is ink. Mr. Chiang has much to say that is enlightening. His is an exposition from within. He shows how persistently and subtly Chinese art has been inspired and shaped by Chinese

From the Union's Bookshop

SANCTIONS

By

W. ARNOLD FORSTER

PRICE 3^D.

philosophy. Chinese thought is profoundly naturalist, not humanist. The Chinese artist sees man as a natural object, and not a specially attractive one. He concentrates on the penetration everywhere of Nature's influence, on simplified form, on significant line, on thoughtful composition, and thus achieves vital rhythm.

Disarmament in British Foreign Policy. By ROLLAND A. CHAPUT. (Allen & Unwin. 16s.)

If anyone read them, the heavy academic theses which fall in a continuous stream from the Press would be one of the curses of our time.

Dr. Chaput's work might well belong to the unreadable class. It has the sombre look and a somnolent hint in its title. But appearances do it grave injustice. Actually, it is an able, well-informed study of the disarmament problem, placed in the setting which explains why a solution is so long a finding. It is well written and cogently argued. It is consistently impartial, without ever being dull. Too many speakers and publicists who take disarmament for their subject confine their discourse either to an exposition of theory or to details of the Conference which was launched at Geneva in February, 1932, and has now, for many months, floated waterlogged and becalmed.

Dr. Chaput shows that disarmament for Great Britain, as, indeed, for all other countries, is a question of high policy. When Senor de Madariaga said technical difficulties did not intimidate him because technical difficulties are only political difficulties in uniform, he illuminated the heart of the matter. Technical difficulties must be surmounted. But once the policies of the Great Powers have been brought into line, technical difficulties will be found no more intractable than the obstacles any General Staff normally encounters in its day-to-day business of planning the national defence.

Dr. Chaput traces the development and demonstrates the central consistency of British foreign policy, not only from the Paris Peace Conference of 1914, but from the beginnings of the modern world. British geography and British economics make peace a necessity. British policy has leant towards peace. Sea supremacy, defence of the Low Countries, balance of power in Europe—all these have been means of averting the violent disturbance of world order.

Dr. Chaput is not specially concerned with the League of Nations. But no attentive reader can miss the lesson that the League, adapted to twentieth century conditions, potentially of world-wide scope and irresistible power, offers an instrument for the realisation of the traditional British purpose. It is because the British people have long possessed and retain to-day an innate political sagacity that the League idea commands their steady approval. Their readiness to translate their approval into such practical steps as may be required shows they understand that the League is useful.

Official League Publications

International Trade Statistics, 1934. (Ser. L.o.N.P., 1935. II.A.21.) 364 pages. Price 10s.

Analyses the foreign trade during the years 1932, 1933 and 1934 of sixty-five countries accounting for 95 per cent. of the total world trade. The data given illustrate strikingly the great changes undergone in recent years in the composition and direction of foreign trade and their effect on the position of the individual countries.

Balances of Payments, 1934. (Ser. L.o.N.P., 1935. II.A.20.) 198 pages. Price 6s.

Brings together practically all authoritative information which has become available during 1935 with reference to the balance of payments and outstanding foreign debts and assets. Separate sections are given for thirty-five countries, among which are the world's most important trading countries, and in a synoptical chapter the various tendencies which have recently affected international accounts are described.

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READERS' VIEWS

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

WILL NOT FIGHT

SIR,—I was much struck by the article of your Geneva correspondent in the November number of HEADWAY.

Mr. Woodward's remarks remind me of the old saying, "one cannot see the wood for trees."

It appears to me that in the fifth paragraph of Mr. Woodward's letter he shows that he fails to appreciate the real object of the League because he is too much occupied in studying the working of its machinery.

I challenge Mr. Woodward's statement that a war between England and Italy would be less bloody than the struggle between Italy and Abyssinia, under any circumstances.

I condemn such a statement as the childish remark of one who merely speculates about what he thinks ought to be done.

The day on which fighting breaks out between England and Italy will see the commencement of a war in which every nation in Europe will eventually feel itself compelled to take part on one side or another.

Military sanctions can succeed only if and when the League members combine to mobilise a League force of all arms which would outnumber the armies of the defaulting member by at least ten to one.

Under these circumstances only would the offending nation realise that resistance would be useless and that the condemnation of her fellow members was sincere.

There is not the slightest doubt that the British nation is, as a whole, opposed to any action which might lead to an outbreak of fighting between England and Italy, no matter how much they may regret the fact that Italy is doing to Abyssinia which England has in years past done to India, Canada, Australia and South Africa.

The nation as a whole has learnt the lesson taught by the men who refused to fight in 1915-1918, even though their country was then, as it is now, pledged to interfere.

These conscientious objectors established two facts which subsequent events and their own careers have brought to the notice of the public—firstly, that an Englishman has a right to refuse to fight in a war of which he disapproves, no matter how strongly the Government in power may urge him to do so; and secondly, that his career will not be injured by so refusing.

The British nation has also learnt that modern warfare between European States injures both sides equally. They have therefore all become, in a sense, conscientious objectors, though not all to the same extent.

Many would fight for a strong, united "League of All the Nations," each member of which would enthusiastically contribute its quota of money, ships, troops and supplies, thus creating a force capable of overwhelming the offending State with little or no bloodshed.

They will not, however, support measures which would entail fighting by one or two reluctant members of a "League of Some of the Nations," of which the majority are determined not to sacrifice one penny piece for the sake of the Covenant, let alone provide a cruiser or a battalion.

However splendid the idea of a League of Nations may be, the truth is that it will never command the confidence of those whom it should control until it has been able to construct some form of international police force which will be able to act without exciting the suspicion that some nation is trying to take a mean advantage over another.

Ascot. JOHN F. HUBBARD (Lt.-Col.).

SEA POWER

SIR,—In this district there has been much criticism of the Union's policy in regard to military sanctions, which the writer, being a firm supporter of the various resolutions on the subject recently put forward by headquarters, is trying hard to justify.

Only this week there have been murmurs that headquarters seem to be accepting the Government's rearmament policy, and I have been feverishly turning out desk, cupboards and bookcase for evidence to show that headquarters have been pulling their weight in trying to prevent the Government rushing headlong in an armaments race.

To-night I open my HEADWAY to find an article, "Sea Power v. Dictators," which goes half-way to backing the Government's policy. I have no heart to enter into a detailed criticism of the article, for I feel just too sick about it to make the effort.

NESTA SMITH.

Upton Manor, E.13.

INTERNATIONAL MONEY

SIR,—There is a great deal in the letter from Colonel H. W. Kelsole on the possibility of an "International Currency," and I would very much like to see a reply to his suggestion from an expert on finance.

Again, it strikes me that if all European Exchanges (or world-wide exchanges) were kept at a standard level (e.g., twenty shillings' worth of goods for our pound sterling in every country) it would lead to more (a) peace, (b) prosperity, (c) convenience, and (d) good feeling than any other suggestion, save disarmament. For instance, hundreds of people are debarred from visiting Switzerland and such beauty spots, because they are unwilling to have the English pound note (which is certain to be honoured by the source of issue) sacrificed for, say, 13s. 10d. or some such figure. This state of affairs requires a remedy, and is detrimental to trade. What is the real remedy? And could not the League of Nations take the matter up? If not, why not?

J. W. HAYES

(late Vicar of West Thurrock and Purfleet).

Loughton, Essex.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

SIR,—M. E. McKenzie should read my letter again. I did not suggest that the Australians should offer Western Australia to Japan. What I wrote was that Japan has as much right to enter upon the vast unoccupied territory there as Great Britain had to enter upon the fringes of it a hundred years ago. Australia is about as large as Europe, and its present population is less than that of London. That fact is as well known to Japan now as the similar fact was known to Britain a hundred years ago. Whether Japan has any right to enter upon Western Australia now is much the same question as whether Great Britain had any right to occupy the south-eastern fringe of Australia a century ago. But that is a question which I did not, and do not, discuss. What is unquestionable is that a race which occupies so huge a portion of the territory of this planet as we now do will always be liable to the depredation of some Mussolini, whether Japanese or other, who holds treaties to be no more than scraps of paper. Let me, however, anticipate Mr. McKenzie's further reply by adding that I know quite well that Britain violated no treaty by invading Australia.

Dover.

HENRY T. HOOPER.

"CONCESSION COLONIES"

SIR,—Under the existing Mandates system it would be possible for the League of Nations to concede to Germany the right to form one or more "Concession Colonies," as I might describe them. In this way a chartered company under the Mandates Commission might be allowed to buy out vested interests; to come to terms with the natives; and to establish a German settlement for the cultivation of one or more of those raw products which Germany needs, such as hemp, rubber, or the like.

Those who fancy that Germany only needs the right of access to buy raw materials mostly overlook the point made by Dr. Schnee in your columns. Germany wishes to be able to procure these *within the framework of its own currency system*. This could be done by means of what I call a "concession colony," but not, I think, otherwise, unless, which is unlikely, the League agreed to return Mandated territories outright.

An advantage of this project of "concession colonies" is that it does not force us at once to confront the vexed problem of political sovereignty incidental to any scheme for "total transfer." The German colonial company, or companies, which I contemplate would have all the rights and powers needed for successfully carrying through their settlement project. Financially, socially, and economically they would be under the German system. But, as to political sovereignty, they would be subject, as all Mandated territories are subject, to the authority of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. A Germany, however, which undertook, for instance, to buy out rights and to hold a commission to settle the neighbourhood of Mount Kilimanjaro in Tanganyika would, I fancy, be willing to return to League membership, and so itself be qualified to be a partner in the Mandates Commission of the League.

RICHARD DE BARY.

MAKE HASTE

SIR,—Last night I had a dream so vivid and impressive that I must record it.

On the top of a mountain, bathed in sunshine, I saw a child gathering flowers. The sides of the mountain were clothed in mist, but I gradually made out on one side the shapes of three dreadful dragons creeping straight towards the child. One very old, covered with shiny scales, whose name I saw was Ignorance; another with terrible claws and teeth, whose name was Strife; and a third, still more loathsome than the others, whose name was Falsehood.

Then on the other side of the hill I discovered the forms of three angels with flaming swords, also advancing towards the child. One I saw was named Knowledge—the two younger on either hand were called Peace and Truth. The child's name was Humanity. They seemed to be climbing slowly and with difficulty, and the danger seemed so imminent and horrible that I could not help shouting to them, "Oh, do make haste!" and so awoke. The child seemed unconscious both of its danger and its defenders.

Hendford, Yeovil.

"PACIFICUS."

OIL PROFITS

SIR,—I have a small investment in the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. If the interest on my shares is greater than usual next year, owing to the Italo-Abyssinian dispute, I have made up my mind to give the surplus to the League of Nations Union.

Perhaps all those who read this letter, and are expecting the same good fortune, will follow my example.—Yours, etc.

N.W.3.

"A MOTHER OF A FAMILY."

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A COSMOPOLITAN FOR GOD

Passing through one of the suburbs of Alexandria a colporteur met a group of men to whom he tried to sell his books.

"I am a Frenchman," one of them said, and he was handed a book of the Bible in French.

"I am an Englishman," another exclaimed, and he was given a book in English.

"I am a Greek," remarked a third, and for him was produced a Gospel in Greek.

"I am an Italian," explained a fourth, and he found himself in possession of a book in Italian.

"I am a Jew," observed yet another, and a book in Hebrew was placed in his hands.

"You are like a conjurer!" exclaimed one of them. "You produce every kind that is asked for."

But the colporteur's task was not yet completed. One of the men remarked that he had never been inside a church in his life, and another admitted that he could barely say the Lord's Prayer. "So I spent a long time with them, speaking of spiritual things."

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GENERAL COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS

At the meeting of the General Council of the League of Nations Union, held at the Conway Hall, London, on December 4 and 5, 1935, the following resolutions were adopted:

Italy and Abyssinia

The General Council of the League of Nations Union,

Convinced of the paramount importance of vindicating the authority of the League in the present crisis by effective restraint of the aggressor;

Requests H.M. Government to do its best to ensure that the League shall take all necessary measures for this purpose, and, should economic pressure not succeed in a short time in attaining its end, to make it clear in such a way and at such a time as the Government may think desirable, that it would be ready, under the collective authority of the League, to join in cutting Italy's communications with Africa.

The General Council expresses the hope that any future negotiations with Italy will be carried on through the organs of the League, and that in no circumstances will His Majesty's Government countenance any proposals more favourable to Italy than were obtainable by peaceful negotiation before the invasion of Abyssinia.

Embargo on Oil

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Is of opinion that the supply of petroleum and its derivatives to Italy should be stopped immediately.

Colonial Territories

(a) The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Welcomes the announcement by Sir Samuel Hoare in his speech in the Assembly at Geneva on September 11 that H.M. Government are ready to co-operate in investigating the question of free access to raw materials in colonial, protected and mandated territories for industrial countries which require them, so that all fear of exclusion or monopoly may be removed;

Urges further that the problem of raw materials is but one of the economic problems created by post-war policies of economic nationalism; and therefore

Hopes that, as soon as circumstances permit, H.M. Government, taking note of the resolution of the 16th Assembly, "emphasising the inimical effect on international trade of arbitrary restrictions imposed by Governments," will renew their efforts to promote agreement on measures to reduce the instability of currencies and the barriers to trade, which are the real causes of the difficulties both of the raw material using countries in obtaining supplies from outside their own political boundaries, and of the raw material producing territories in disposing of these materials.

But submits that in any modification of the existing administration of colonial territories nothing shall be done which may adversely affect the rights and interests of the native populations or offend the principles laid down in Article 22, paragraph 5, of the Covenant.

(b) The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Draws the attention of the Branches to a study undertaken by the Economic Committee of the Union on access to raw materials, population problems and territorial expansion (including tariff and quota arrangements in the Colonial Empire).

Nutrition and Health

The General Council of the League of Nations Union,

Noting the discussion in the 16th Assembly of the League, linking the problem of nutrition standards with that of agricultural recovery;

Believing that a solution of these problems must be sought chiefly in measures which would raise the standard of living throughout the world;

Believing that in this way a contribution of incalculable value may be made to the health and happiness of the less fortunate citizens of this and other countries;

Trusts that the suggested inquiry will be pushed forward unremittently, and will lead to practical results.

The Assyrians

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

(a) Records its appreciation of the action of H.M. Government in promising £250,000 towards the cost of settling the Assyrians

as a colony in Syria in accordance with the offer of the French Government.

(b) Records its appreciation of the action of the Iraq Government in offering a similar amount.

(c) Promises its support for any effort made by responsible bodies, whether religious or secular, to raise the £180,000 that is still required for the completion of this undertaking.

(d) Urges H.M. Government to continue its efforts on behalf of the Assyrians until the re-settlement of the Assyrian community has been successfully completed.

Air Raid Drill

The General Council of the League of Nations Union,

While recognising the necessity of issuing air raid instructions to Local Authorities (as to duties of Police, Red Cross bodies, and the like);

Reaffirms its conviction that the only effective means of eliminating the danger of aerial attack lies in the abolition of national military air forces, which it has always advocated, together with the international control of civil aviation; and

Urges H.M. Government to press for a resumption at the earliest practicable date of negotiations for air disarmament and to indicate its own detailed proposals for the international control or internationalisation of civil aviation.

The I.L.O.

Since the essential basis of the I.L.O. is the participation not only of Governments but of organised workers and employers in its work;

And in view of the fact that the prosperity of trade and industry in every country cannot be obtained by a policy of selfish nationalism but is constituted by agreements arrived at after international discussion;

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Regrets the continued apathy and lack of knowledge of both the objects and work of the I.L.O. amongst all sections of the population; and

Urges that every effort be made by Branches and Union members to awaken the interest of both employers and workers.

The Far East

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Expresses the hope that H.M. Government will bring to the notice of the Council of the League of Nations under sub-section 2 of Article 11 of the Covenant, the recently reported movements of Japanese troops in Northern China, and the demands reported to have been made by the Japanese Government upon the Government of China, as circumstances "affecting international relations which threaten to disturb international peace and the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends."

Private Profit from Arms

The General Council of the League of Nations Union,

Seeing that in the Peace Ballot ten and a half million of persons voted to take the profit out of arms, and that in the Covenant members of the League have agreed "that manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections," and that the present crisis makes this question of profit in arms a matter of urgency,

Repeats the resolution of its Executive Committee in 1933 "that it is contrary to the public interest that the manufacture and sale of armaments should be carried on for private profit," and

Desires that the Union shall impress this view upon the Government and public opinion.

Armaments

The General Council of the League of Nations Union,

Considering that the strength of the armed forces of Great Britain must be dependent upon the efficiency of the collective system of the League,

Strongly urges H.M. Government not to proceed with measures of rearmament except as part of a policy which aims both at increasing collective security and at reducing and limiting national armaments by international agreement.

Extra-League Activities

The following motion of the Cambridge University Branch was

withdrawn on the understanding that the executive would consider it with a view to formulating general principles with regard to extra-League activities for consideration by the Council at its next meeting:

"That the General Council of the League of Nations Union expresses its strong disapproval of the extra-League activities which characterised the Anglo-German Naval Agreement and the peace negotiations between Paris and Rome."

LORD CECIL IN PARIS

On December 14 and 15 Lord Cecil, accompanied by Mr. Vyvyan Adams, Mr. George Lathan and Captain Alan Thomas, attended some meetings in Paris organised by the French Federation of League of Nations Societies. The object of the meetings was primarily to impress upon French public opinion a truer appreciation than has appeared, for example, in a large section of the French press, of the issues that are at stake in the present crisis and to demonstrate that France's real interests lie in a thoroughgoing League policy.

The meetings on Saturday, the 14th, which were held in the Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle, were of a private character and were presided over by M. Paul Boncour. Among those present were M. Henri Rolin, of Belgium (President-elect of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies), and on the French side the leaders of the French League of Nations movement and a number of Deputies.

There was a frank exchange of views on the present situation as well as on the subject of collective security generally. There was unanimous agreement in the view that the principles of the Covenant and of collective security must be upheld, and that any settlement of the dispute which created a favourable precedent for the aggressor would ruin the authority of the League and endanger the peace of the world.

On Sunday afternoon, December 15, a meeting attended by about 500 people was held in the Amphitheatre of the Institut Océanographique under the chairmanship of M. René Cassin, President of the Union Fédérale des Mutiles et Anciens Combattants. The speakers on this occasion included Lord Cecil, Mr. Lathan and M. Henri Rolin, and three Deputies of the French Chamber, MM. Pezet, Longuet and Campinchi. There was no doubting the sincerity of the audience and their response to the appeal which every speaker made for support of the League in the present crisis, and Lord Cecil's dictum that "a policy which consisted in buying the favour of stronger powers at the expense of the weak could never succeed and that peace must be built upon honour" was cheered to the echo.

FRENCH PUBLIC OPINION

The following resolution was passed by the General Assembly of the French League of Nations Association, which met in Paris on December 15:—

"The General Assembly affirms its passionate desire to see the end of the war between Italy and Ethiopia and expresses its deep attachment to the cause of peace which is inseparable from the cause of justice.

The Assembly declares that the only solution for a real and lasting peace must be founded upon respect for the well-defined principles of the Covenant and particularly upon the principle of collective security.

The Assembly urges that no agreement should be made which would result in any advantage being given to the party which violates international law to the detriment of the party abiding by it; that no precedent should be created which would be favourable to the aggressor, and that if any such precedent were created it would ruin the authority of the League of Nations in the estimation of public opinion and would imperil the security of our own country by depriving it of all that for the last fifteen years we have considered as our essential guarantee of security.

WORLD

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