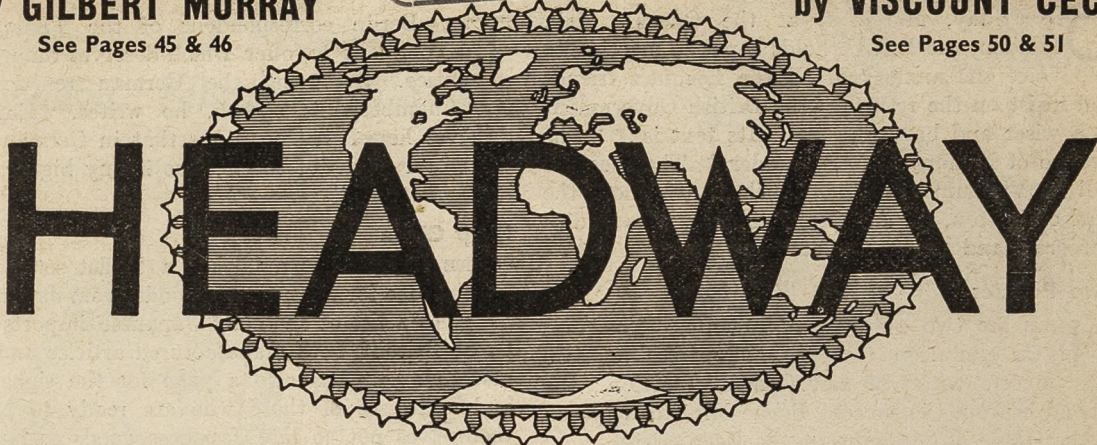


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OF POLITICAL AND
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MR. EDEN
by **GILBERT MURRAY**
See Pages 45 & 46

OLD POLICY AND NEW
by **VISCOUNT CECIL**
See Pages 50 & 51



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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MARCH, 1938

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NEWS AND COMMENT

The Crisis

MR. Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Viscount Cranborne, Under Secretary, resigned on Sunday, February 20. The two Ministers' reasons for their action are stated in their own words on Page 46 of this number of HEADWAY.

Friends of the League of Nations, who believe that the replacement of war by law and the building up of a world order of peace and justice are possible only through a loyal League policy, are deeply disturbed. Many members of the L.N.U. have written and telegraphed to Mr. Eden assuring him of their support and have protested to their Members of Parliament against what they look upon as a disastrous betrayal. L.N.U. branches are holding public meetings at which large audiences are demanding that the League shall go on, that the Union shall go on, and that the British Government shall turn back.

There is no question here of party prejudice. Nor any hostility to Italy. No one is more anxious than the friends of the League to be friends with Italy. But they know what are the inevitable, disastrous results of power politics.

L.N.U. Resolution

ON Tuesday morning, February 22, an emergency meeting was held at Grosvenor Crescent, at which the following resolution was passed :—

The Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union desires to express

Its dismay at the loss by H.M. Government of that Minister who more than any other commands the admiration and confidence of supporters of the League of Nations and, indeed, of the great mass of the British people ; and its regret that H.M. Government should have rejected Mr. Eden's policy in circumstances which have created a widespread impression that Mr. Eden and Lord Cranborne were sacrificed to the hostility of certain foreign Governments, a hostility largely due to the support by these Ministers of the League of Nations and of all it stands for.

The Executive would point out that this step has been received with consternation in the countries with which Great Britain is on terms of the closest friendship and with triumph in those whose policies are most opposed to ours ;

and desires to insist that peace can only be secured by a policy of firm fidelity to international engagements and not by submission to threats or the sacrifice of principles for the sake of quick and delusive returns.

Queen's Hall Meeting

ON Friday, March 4, at the Queen's Hall, London, the L.N.U. holds a public meeting to voice the anxiety of all the League's friends and insist on the return of the British Government to a wiser and braver course. Its text is: "The League of Nations: No Surrender." The speakers will be Viscount Cecil, the Duchess of Atholl, the Earl of Lytton, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Miss Judith Corcoran, and Mr. A. M. Wall.

Two Policies

HERE are two essential documents. The first is a quotation from the Manifesto of the Government at the last General Election; the second is from the present Prime Minister's speech in the House of Commons on the Eden crisis.

We shall therefore continue to do all in our power to uphold the Covenant and to maintain and increase the efficiency of the League. In the present unhappy dispute between Italy and Abyssinia there will be no wavering in the policy we have hitherto pursued. We shall take no action in isolation, but we shall be prepared faithfully to take our part in any collective action decided upon by the League and shared in by its members.

So wrote Mr. Stanley Baldwin in 1935.

I mean by collective security a system under which the collective action of a number of States is assured to prevent aggression, or if aggression is undertaken, to put a stop to it and punish the aggressors.

Does anybody here believe that the League, as it is constituted to-day, can afford collective security?

What did we mean at the last Election? I say that the situation has completely changed since the last Election. At the last Election it was still possible to hope that the League might afford collective security. I believed it myself. I do not believe it now. I would say more. If I am right, as I am confident I am, in saying that the League as constituted to-day is unable to provide collective security for anybody, then I say we must not try to delude small, weak nations into thinking that they will be protected by the League against aggression and acting accordingly, when we know that nothing of the kind can be expected.

So said Mr. Neville Chamberlain in 1938.

Has a House of Commons elected on the first policy the right to carry out the second?

Vendetta

THE Prime Minister was unfortunate in his choice of words in the Eden debates. He spoke of a vendetta against Italy. His supporters, more cautiously, pleaded for a fair hearing for the grievances on both sides.

What is this vendetta? What are the grievances? The vendetta remains a mystery. Or, perhaps, it is an Italian delusion now confirmed by an undeserved certificate of reality from Mr. Chamberlain. A bad beginning for negotiations in which the British people still hope someone will champion the British point of view. The grievances, when explained, are no more than the fact that when Italy betrayed her most solemn pledges, Great Britain felt herself obliged to make an attempt to carry out some of her own, to which also Italy was a party.

Warning From Germany

THE Berlin correspondent of the *Times* had a comment to offer which deserves thoughtful notice. Reporting the German reaction to Mr. Chamberlain's speech, he writes, "England deceives herself if she thinks that in German eyes the moral status of the League is any higher than its legal status."

Help China

THE L.N.U. has published a leaflet setting out the case for a boycott of goods from Japan. It gives a list of the chief Japanese imports into Great Britain, both manufactured articles and raw materials; it has also a page for the signatures and addresses of those who are ready to pledge themselves not to buy Japanese goods so long as Japan continues her attack upon China. The Union has published, in addition, a set of posters supporting the boycott and a handbill for shop windows: "No Japanese Goods Sold Here."

The immediate demand has shown how deeply the British people are stirred. Fifty thousand leaflets have been distributed and signed pledges are now flooding back to Grosvenor Crescent. The cost of the forms is one shilling per 100. To make sure that the formal expression of public opinion is adequately representative of the facts, it is proposed to set up a national committee on the model of the National Declaration Committee of the Peace Ballot. The task of the committee will be to see that every man and woman in Great Britain who wishes to give a promise not to buy Japanese goods shall have the opportunity to do so.

Abyssinian Obstacles

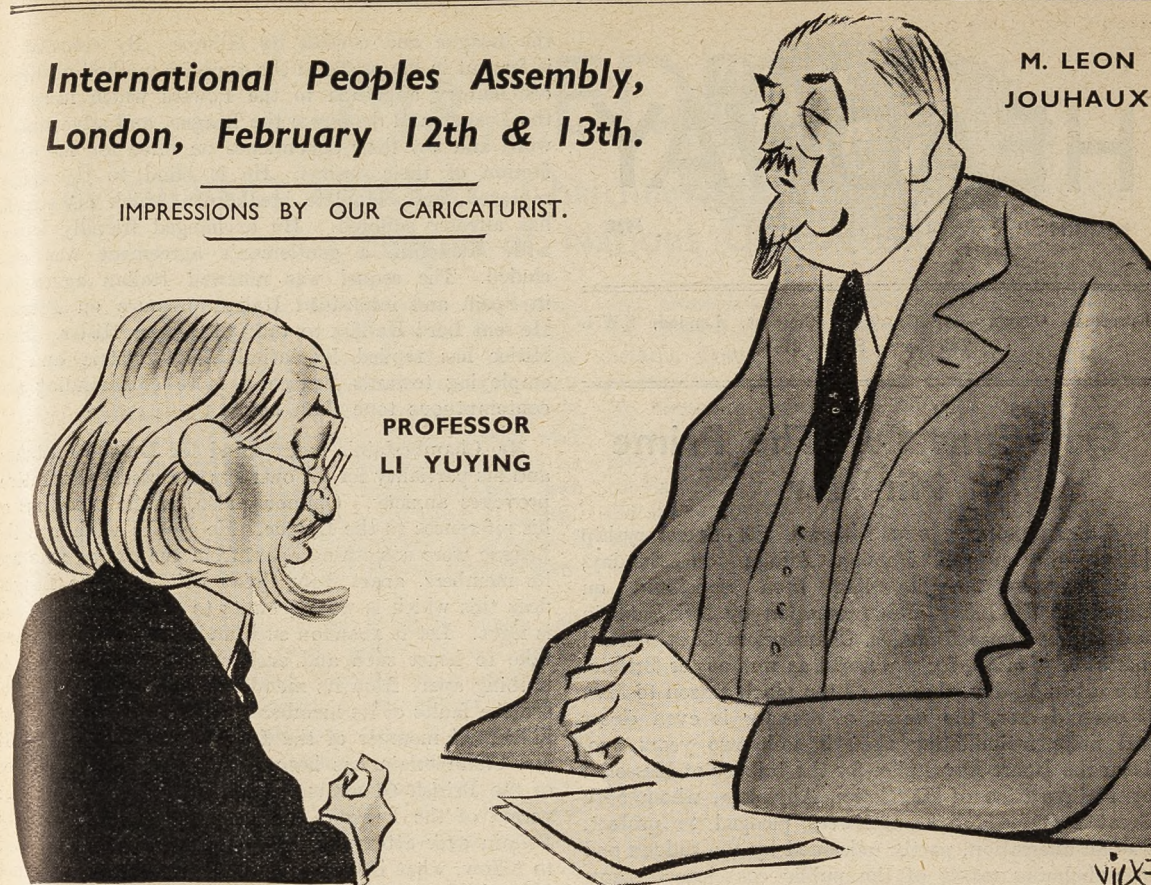
ITALY is finding Abyssinia much more trouble and much less profit than she expected. Her strict censorship of all news prevents the full truth becoming known. But there is a significant multiplication of reports from many quarters which agree impressively in their broad import. The account given by the official army organ of Rome of air operations carried on by 113 bombers, of a fortnight's series of air raids in the Addis Ababa region when 6,334 bombs were dropped to disperse native bands, of the rescue by air of "600 men in several Italian garrisons surrounded by armed bands," betrays a highly uncomfortable, even a dangerous situation. Between January 22 and 26 more than 4,000 Italian troops left Naples for Abyssinia.

Italy's troubles are very far from over. She is paying and must long continue to pay.

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The L.N.U. YEAR BOOK, 1938 6d.
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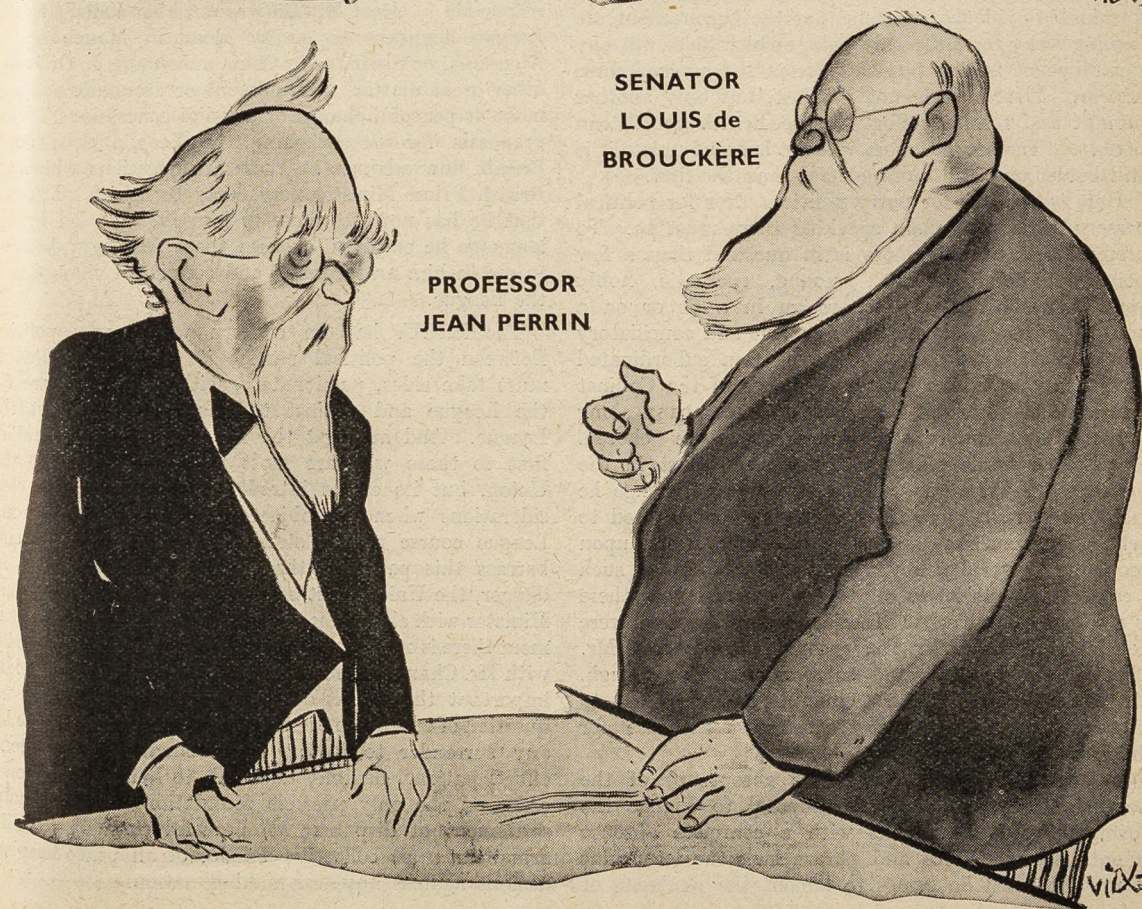
International Peoples Assembly, London, February 12th & 13th.

IMPRESSIONS BY OUR CARICATURIST.



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Questions For The Prime Minister

MR. ANTHONY EDEN resigned the Secretaryship of State for Foreign Affairs on Sunday, February 20. He had been appointed on December 19, 1935. His promotion by Mr. Baldwin and his severance from Mr. Chamberlain both marked moments of crisis, for the world as well as for Britain. The threat to-day, there is all too much reason to fear, is even darker, the image of disaster is even closer and more intimidating than it was two years ago. Then the Hoare-Laval plan for the bribery of Mussolini by the partition of his victim, Abyssinia, whom both Great Britain and France were pledged to protect, was an aberration, partly redeemed by the sudden and overwhelming revolt of the public conscience. Now formidable evidence suggests that the Government are turning away from the only policy which holds out any sure hope of freeing humanity from the ancient curse of war. The cause is not yet lost, but only another prompt and resolute effort by the British people can save it. The second effort will not succeed unless it is still bolder and still more general than the first.

Here is no time for party politics. Nor for political personalities. But plain speaking there must be. To pretend that nothing more is in question than a few points of detail is idle. Young, energetic, nobly ambitious Ministers do not resign in a fit or on a punctilio. Especially not such patient and conciliatory Ministers as Mr. Eden, who have often subordinated their opinions to the collective wishes of the Cabinet and have loyally kept their colleagues company along paths they would not themselves have chosen. Mr. Eden's whole official life has been spent in the service of the League ideal. At 40 years of age he looks back upon more than a dozen years devoted to active, responsible, almost continuous work upon problems of world policy. Such a character and such a career are sufficient to refute every denial that there is a crisis. And, if what Mr. Eden is and has been were not enough to justify the gravest alarm, what Mr. Chamberlain has said would still seem more than enough. Mr. Chamberlain's defence, indeed, has appeared to many not unfriendly critics to establish the case for the prosecution.

Mr. Chamberlain proclaims his acceptance of the League. He repudiates any proposal to change the Covenant. But he speaks with a complete absence of enthusiasm. Voice and phrase lack the least hint of warmth until he comes to lament the weakness of

the League and confess its failures. By contrast he is fervent in his praise of the opposite method of direct, conciliatory approach to the Powers which have left the League and denounce the League, and advertise by word and act their dependence on force for the satisfaction of their desires. He is blind to the quick, repeated, and complete breakdown which his scheme has already suffered. He exchanged friendly letters with Mussolini, a gentleman's agreement was concluded. The sequel was renewed Italian aggression in Spain and intensified Italian pressure on Britain. He sent Lord Halifax to talk with Herr Hitler. Herr Hitler has replied by intimidating Austria and by employing towards Britain a more commanding and contemptuous tone than before.

Mr. Chamberlain's ready mind for League mistakes, and his partiality for his own less successful alternative, provokes anxiety. Ominous, also, is the aloofness of his references to the League. He speaks as though the League were something apart from the States who are its members, apart from Great Britain. The League does this which is wrong, omits to do the other which is right. Let it abandon such and such a pretence and take to heart such and such advice. The League is nothing apart from its members. The League's faults are the faults of its members. Great Britain is a most influential member of the League. Ever since 1931 Mr. Chamberlain has been a most influential member of the British Government. That has been the exact period of the League's decline. What leadership has Britain ever attempted which the League has refused to follow, what initiative to which the League has not responded? Great Britain was not abandoned by other League members to go on alone in Manchuria, or Abyssinia, or Spain, or in China once more? Or in any other great matter, disarmament or economic appeasement or peaceful change or colonial concessions. What proposals for strengthening the League does Great Britain now advance? These are questions which the British Prime Minister may fairly be asked. The fact that he has not put them to himself, revealed by the language he employs, excuses those who now hesitate to see in him an informed and convinced champion of the League.

The L.N.U. has no concern with party politics. Between the political parties it is neutral. But it must take sides, passionately, with those who are for the League and against those who are against the League. And amongst the League's friends it rallies first to those who are most truly friends. Not the Union, but its critics introduce irrelevant party considerations when the objection is raised to a strong League course that a strong League course will embarrass this party or that. When the League is in danger, the Union must be free to oppose even the Prime Minister with all its resources. In the present high argument there is one point on which it agrees whole-heartedly with Mr. Chamberlain. What has happened is much less important than what ought to be done. There is no question of enmity to dictators. Neither should there be any surrender to force. There should be consistent effort, patient, flexible, unafraid, to build a new world order on the only possible foundations: (1) friendly settlement of disputes; (2) peaceful change; (3) disarmament; (4) collective defence of all peace-keeping nations against any war-making nation.

MR. EDEN

By GILBERT MURRAY, Chairman, Executive Committee,
League of Nations Union

THERE are moments in history when the name of one man stands out in the eyes of the whole world as the symbol of a great idea. It needs a special moment of course; a moment when the idea in question seems a matter of life and death to great multitudes; and it needs a special man, a man who stands firm and can make the world listen to what he says. This is clearly one of those moments and Mr. EDEN one of those men. He is not alone, of course. He has his *fidus Achates*, Lord Cranborne, as clear-eyed and devoted as he, and he has his millions of supporters behind him.

What exactly is the cause for which he stands and which is now in such grave peril? It was given, quite plainly and without rhetoric, in a speech to his constituents at Leamington, on October 5, 1935.

Many of us who fought in the Great War must have felt that, if ever we survived, we must devote our energies to establishing in international affairs some Rule of Law and Justice, without which Peace can never be assured. The present dispute (Abyssinia) is a test case.

We all want peace. That is agreed. Even Hitler approves of pacifism "when once the superior races have conquered the world." (*Mein Kampf*, p. 315). Even Mussolini would tolerate it for a time, in spite of its enervating effects, when once the great bronze map of the future Roman Empire in the forum has become a reality. But Mr. Eden's opponents think it can be got by other means than the rule of law and justice.

There are many other plans. By submitting to blackmail you feel immense relief—until the blackmailer's next visit. By letting the friends whom you have promised to defend perish undefended one by one, you sit in clover—till the time comes when you yourself are the victim and are left looking in vain for allies. By always siding with the stronger against the weaker, with the aggressor against the victim, a nation that was poor and weak with no great possessions to tempt the gangster, could preserve its little life for quite a long time. The men who have just had to resign from our Foreign Office held none of those methods to be suitable for Great Britain.

Any British Foreign Minister in these post-war days has a difficult and incalculable task before him. Those who recognise that, as a whole, they have not done well should pity them rather than condemn them. Mr. Eden has had the hardest task of all. He was Lord Privy Seal under Sir Samuel Hoare after Sir John Simon's resignation, when Mussolini's attack against Abyssinia and the League had been hatching for some two years with the express support of M. Laval and the tacit sanction of the British Foreign Office. The case for law and honour was almost lost when Sir Samuel Hoare read—in somewhat unconvincing tones—his magnificent declaration of faith in the League at Geneva

and proceeded to consent—no doubt unwillingly—to the Hoare-Laval pact. He had to resign. Mr. Eden became Foreign Secretary with British policy and prestige in ruins. He tried hard to reconstruct it. He obtained support for his policy from thirty-one nations, but sanctions failed because the Laval Government, backed by trade interests in England, prevented the Sanctions from being adequately applied. Mr. Eden did succeed in restoring faith in the honour of England: that was something. After the fall of the Laval Government he established closer and firmer relations with the Popular Front Ministry in France; and thereby with the whole French people, than had ever existed before. He was not anti-German or anti-Italian. His first great success was a tour round Europe winning the goodwill of one government after another. He showed every desire not to split the continent into hostile "ideological groups." He was as desirous as anyone of a general settlement with Germany, but only a general settlement on the basis of free agreement. He was against surrenders in detail under threats. The situation was made worse by the foreign-aided insurrection in Spain and the violent divergencies of opinion which complicated it; by the incessant bad faith of the Italian Government, carried at times to the point at which dishonesty passes from crime into farce, and by the divisions in the British Government. Well might the Dictators, as they looked on, comment on the inherent weakness of parliamentary nations. Hardly a step could be taken by the Conservative Foreign Secretary which was not attacked by Conservative newspapers, or thwarted by fashionable Conservative coteries.

At last the end came. On February 11 the official Italian Press announced that negotiations would be impossible "until British policy ceases to be directed by Mr. Eden," and in the same week Herr Hitler devoted some forty minutes of a dull three hours speech to a vigorous attack upon him. At the end of the week Mr. Chamberlain takes the negotiations with Italy out of the Foreign Secretary's hands, and he resigns. The resignation is welcomed by the Italian Press as a triumph for Italian diplomacy, while in Germany, according to the *Times*, "the man in the street is convinced that Mr. Eden resigned because of the attacks made upon him by H. Hitler yesterday."

A tragic situation. Let us consider what can, in spite of all, be made out of it.

For one thing Mr. Eden now commands, as never before, the unhesitating confidence of the whole League movement, and probably that of the democracies of the world. The particular issue on which he resigned is not worth arguing about. Many of his colleagues, under stress of a Party crisis, have persuaded themselves that it is the only point of difference, and that on all major matters of policy the whole Cabinet thinks with

Mr. Eden. One devoutly hopes that it may prove so. But appearances and analogies certainly suggest that the clash over the Italian negotiations formed only the culminating point of a long divergence. Lord Cecil, in 1927, resigned from the Baldwin Government on a technical question about the size of cruisers. But it is not by his views on the size of cruisers that he has become a power in the world.

The triumph of the Dictators may still be corrected if our Government wishes. The danger is that partly in a wish for immediate peace, and profitable trade, partly from a strange fancy that Fascism is "conservative," partly from the ordinary philistine hatred

of anything so "new-fangled" as international honesty, a sort of Beaverbrook-Rothermere-Garvin spirit may grow in influence and swamp the country with a flood of that unintelligent, unimaginative brutality which absurdly calls itself "realism."

Those who wish well to the Conservative Party must pray that it will not ally itself to the cause of isolation and anarchy. The League stands for the Rule of Law between nations; and the rule of law is the greatest of conservative causes. The friends of the League have one consolation, the hope that Lord Halifax, who has earned and still keeps their confidence, will be appointed Foreign Secretary.

THINGS SAID

Mr. Eden: There must be no sacrifice of principles and no shirking of responsibilities merely to obtain quick results that may not be permanent. It is not by seeking to buy temporary goodwill that peace is made, but on a basis of frank reciprocity with mutual respect.

We are attached to liberty and tolerance and we know, in the words of the last speech made by the late Lord Grey, that "order must be preserved in order that liberty may be enjoyed."—Birmingham, February 13.

Propaganda against this country by the Italian Government is rife throughout the world. . . . Little progress in fact, though much in promise, has yet been made with the solution of the Spanish problem. . . . Recent months, recent weeks, recent days have seen the successive violation of international agreements and attempts to secure political decisions by forcible means. . . . The Italian Government should agree and carry out with others a fair scheme for the proportionate withdrawal of all foreigners from Spain.

Within the last few weeks, upon one most fundamental issue, which did not concern Italy at all, the difference between the Prime Minister and myself was fundamental. It has recently become clear to me, and I think to him, that there is a real difference of outlook and method.—House of Commons, February 21.

Viscount Cranborne: It is a question of the conditions under which any negotiations between any countries can be carried on at all with any useful results. . . . With Italy we have had numerous agreements, which

perhaps, to put it mildly, have not proved to be so binding upon the Italian Government as upon us. . . . The same conditions would apply in the case of any nation where we had recent experience that obligations solemnly undertaken were not, in fact, being implemented. . . . Before entering on official conversations we should have some concrete evidence that the attitude of the Italian Government has changed and that they are really animated by friendly feelings towards this country. . . . In default of such evidence I am afraid that for his Majesty's Government to enter on official conversations would be regarded not as a contribution to peace but as a surrender to blackmail.—House of Commons, February 21.

Mr. Winston Churchill: What has happened in the United States of America? There havoc has resulted from this event. I do not say that it cannot be repaired, but millions of people there who are our enemies have been armed with a means to mock the sincerity of British idealism, and they think that we are all Continental people tarred with the same brush. That is the propaganda that has been given an enormous impetus and assistance, while our friends, those who are steadily working for the closer co-operation of the two countries, of course, on parallel lines, are downcast, baffled and bewildered.—House of Commons, February 22.

Viscount Cecil: We will not get peace either by running away from dictators or by running after them.—House of Lords, February 24.

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THE HUNDREDTH SESSION OF THE LEAGUE COUNCIL

From Our SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

GENEVA, February 20.

"LE bilan de la centième session du Conseil est vite fait. Il y en aura une cent-unième."

Few apter descriptions could be devised for the centenary session of the League Council. Slightly more optimistic (though on the same lines) was the caption in a big London daily—"One Hundred Not Out." The two slogans differ in emphasis, but agree on the fundamental issue (1) that circumstances have made of the League the "sick man of Europe and the world"; and (2) that although doctors have, as so often, disagreed, the patient has not yet succumbed—indeed, is even looking up and taking nourishment.

The main concern of Doctors Eden and Delbos was to avoid any possibility of overstrain on a severely tried organism. Some slight exercise, however, was imperative, if only to counteract tendentious rumours of the patient's decease. The chief consultants found that the patient was just capable of following a treatment which had proved beneficial in earlier stages of the disease—that of taking a mild interest in the question of the regulation of the elections in the Sanjak of Alexandretta. Since the problem was one of administrative detail, and the quarrel, if any, was between two loyal members of the League, the League proved equal to the task, and a settlement satisfactory to the Turks and accepted by the French was arrived at, an agreement to be implemented under the auspices of the Swedish Rapporteur, with Great Britain and Belgium as "judicious bottle-holders."

It was not to be expected that the League could at this juncture do anything effective in the question of China. It was clear from the start that the French delegation, quite apart from heavy braking applied from Paris, was preoccupied with preventing any international commitment which could possibly have the effect of taking the bulk of the British Fleet east of Suez; while the British, for their part, for slightly different reasons, had their eyes fixed on the western end of the Mediterranean, on Rumania—anywhere, for the moment, except the Far East. Add to this the absence of Washington from Geneva, and it is clear that nothing could be expected but a terribly pious resolution.

This being the case, it is difficult to understand why four days and more were wasted in secret negotiations, most unpopular with the other members of the Council, between the representatives of Great Britain, France, Russia and China. The procedure was entirely unjustifiable on any League precedent, and had most unfortunate results. English-speaking journalists spent some happy half-hours in trying to explain to their Continental colleagues the exact difference between "feasibility" and "possibility." To no purpose, be it added. The official French translators gave up the unequal struggle, and thus, while the French Republic is considering "la possibilité" of taking such action as may end war in the Far East, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom is wrestling with the "feasibility" of doing the same thing.

It was also, apparently, thought desirable not to place upon the League the strain of at once calling the attention of the Rumanian Government to its announced violation of the Minorities Treaties, and of its Declaration of December, 1919, as the result of the Goga Cabinet's Nazi-inspired anti-Semite campaign. The "procedure of urgency" was not adopted. The Jewish petitions were communicated to the Rumanian Government, which has now two months in which to formulate observations upon them; and Mr. Micescu's spokesman told the world that Mr. Micescu was "très content de son séjour à Genève." If Mr. Micescu ever laughs, he is probably by now using another side of his face for the purpose.

I wish I had space to develop at length the most interesting debate on the future of the Covenant which, although not, strictly speaking, part of the Council's work, was perhaps the most important and significant feature of this crucial period in the League's history. The debate, in which 24 of the 28 States on the Committee took part, was on an extremely high level. It should be reprinted in a separate brochure, for it would be a remarkable historical document. Of the 24 States, 18 expressed the view either that the Covenant should not be touched, or that the moment was not yet ripe for any fundamental or interpretative amendment of its Articles. Five States—of which Sweden, the Netherlands and Chile supplied the most interesting arguments—urged the necessity of some agreed interpretation of the coercive Articles of the Covenant. One State alone, Switzerland, appeared to claim absolute neutrality in all circumstances, without, it would seem, waiting for any agreed interpretation of member States' obligations under the "penal" Articles. Of a very fine discussion, there linger in my memory the phrase of Mr. Litvinov, to the effect that the League's enemies were seeking "to reduce it to the status of a sort of permanent Non-Intervention Committee," and the remarkable defence of Article XI by Dr. Yepes, of Colombia, who maintained that the effect of Article XI was to make any pre-war conception of neutrality "Public International Enemy No. 1." If they find satisfaction in nothing else, upholders of the League ideal can take heart in reading this discussion. The practical result of it is that hasty Covenant reform with the object of pleasing non-members is scotched, if not killed.

The insidious attempt to turn the League into an international economic and financial debating society made little or no progress during the Hundredth Session. This is a negative result, but not without an aspect of hopefulness for the friends of the League. The attack had been heralded both on the political and the international labour front. It failed to materialise on either. Beside this failure, set the British declaration in the Committee of Twenty-Eight: "His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom . . . continue to regard the League of Nations as the best instrument yet devised for securing international peace." Let's hope they mean it.

THE VAN ZEELAND REPORT

The Essentials To World Recovery and Peace

By SIR GEORGE PAISH

The van Zeeland Report has been published. Sir George Paish explains it for readers of HEADWAY. Sir George is one of the foremost authorities on world trade. For many years he was joint editor of the Statist. During the war he was Advisor to the Chancellor of the Exchequer on Financial and Economic questions. He visited the United States on an official mission to the American Government.

M. van Zeeland proposes:—

- (1) A truce from tariff increases.
- (2) A revision of excessive Customs duties.
- (3) The abolition of import quotas.
- (4) Credits through the Bank for International Settlements for adequate supplies of foreign exchange.
- (5) Political guarantees of peace and security.
- (6) A general participation in the economic advantages of colonies.

IN April, 1937, M. van Zeeland, then Premier of Belgium and a recognised international authority on financial and economic problems, was asked by the Governments of Great Britain and France to make "an inquiry into the possibility of obtaining a general reduction of quotas and of other obstacles to international trade." His report has been awaited for some time past in the expectation that it would not only prove sound and practical but would lead to effective action.

M. van Zeeland explains that the delay in making his report was due to his desire to postpone its submission "in the hope of collecting fresh indications or of witnessing the appearance of more favourable circumstances." Indeed, at one time the chances of success seemed to him so small that he felt like giving up the attempt. But, as he points out, such an attitude would have been dangerous, and says that "One has never the right to renounce action or, at any rate, to renounce attempted action. No effort is completely lost, even if it does not succeed all at once."

He has now been induced to publish his report without further delay as the persistence of the present situation "would incur the risk of very serious consequences both in the political and in the economic order. More and more numerous are they who take account of this fact." He rightly maintains that "in such conditions the moment is perhaps favourable, in spite of appearances, for a new attempt based on reason and common interest."

"Let us try, therefore, to find the way for a practical solution without going beyond the limits of this mission, which is of an economic character, but without pretending that it can be artificially isolated from the political factors which surround it and which impose upon it their conditions."

The crux of van Zeeland's recommendations is contained in his statement of "The Exact Position of the Problem," of which the following is the more important part.

"The first reflection which occurs in this connection is that the difficulties which we have just been examining all interlock; in the same way the solutions which we have suggested are closely interdependent. Tariff policy, exchange control, capital movements, stabilisation of currencies, quotas, clearings, etc., are closely connected problems. One cannot hope to solve them except by means of a comprehensive solution. On the other hand, the attitude of a number of countries is dominated by the policy of certain Great Powers whose economic influence is a determining factor either for the world as a whole or for certain parts of it. It is necessary, then, in order that any solution should achieve its maximum efficacy, not only that it should cover the whole network of interlocking difficulties, but also that it should unite a very large majority, if not practically all the nations concerned."

"But international trade is not an end in itself; it is only a means directed towards an end. This end cannot be other than the improvement of the standard of life of the masses, the increase of the well-being of the population. Under our present organisation this end is pursued by national entities."

"Here we reach the heart of the problem. In order to diminish the obstacles to international trade and to restore to it a degree of flexibility which will allow of its development, it is necessary in particular to induce many countries to mitigate or to abandon the measures of protective self-sufficiency which they have adopted in different degrees and at different times, and to return to a more complete system based on the international division of labour."

A little later in his report M. van Zeeland refers to the fresh set-back to trade in recent months, and asks: "Is it simply a flattening of the curve, is it a minor crisis, or must we fear worse? The economic policy which we now adopt may, if it is good, mark the beginning of a new era of prosperity in the world; it may also, if it is bad, transform the present hesitations of trade into a new and more serious crisis. It, there-

fore, becomes more urgent than ever to restore international economic relations to a sound basis.

"The events of the last few months have served to emphasise another aspect of the problem. International trade may not only be impaired by causes of an economic and financial nature, it may suffer equally severely from political and even moral influences. For economic activity to develop it is not sufficient that a demand should exist, that the products should be available and that capital should be abundant; there must also be the will to show enterprise, to act, to run the risks inherent in the production and exchange of goods."

"These conditions require an atmosphere in which a certain degree of confidence, goodwill, sincerity, order and clarity prevails in international relations."

In brief, the solution of the world's present economic difficulties requires not only sane action in the economic and financial spheres but a new policy of understanding and co-operation in the political world. Without goodwill and the spirit of co-operation, together with the confidence which these moral forces create, any hope of adjusting the world's economic difficulties must be abandoned and "the present hesitations of trade" will inevitably develop "into a new and more serious crisis."

M. van Zeeland suggests, first, that a meeting should be convened as soon as possible of the representatives of the principal economic Powers; second, that an invitation be subsequently addressed to all States asking them to declare "the measures of assistance which they feel entitled to expect from other States

and those which they are prepared to render"; and third, a world conference. Finally, he maintains that the conclusion of a pact between the nations "would be a gesture of capital importance, for it is this pact which would give the initial impulse and would impart to the world the impulse which it is awaiting in order to recover its confidence in the pacific destiny of nations. And this portico might perhaps lead to a new edifice where, side by side with the halls devoted to economic collaboration, would arise others in which might be worked out the political conditions of a lasting peace."

This report of M. van Zeeland upon the policy which the nations need to pursue in order to overcome their financial and economic difficulties, is in line with the conclusions of other financial authorities and confirms the conclusions of the World Economic Conference of 1927, the report of the financial experts who drafted the agenda for the World Conference of 1933, the resolutions adopted at Congress after Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce, and, I would add, the resolutions adopted on so many occasions since 1930 by the Economic Committee of the League of Nations Union and the International Federation of League of Nations Societies in annual congress.

Will the nations be permitted to drift into still greater financial, economic and political danger before the statesmen can be induced to take effective action to overcome the difficulties, or will the statesmen study and act upon the report and advice of M. van Zeeland with the promptness which the situation demands, and thus prevent the trade recession from developing into a depression infinitely more serious?

SAVE CHINA — SAVE PEACE

The International Peoples Assembly was held at British Industries House, London, on Saturday and Sunday, February 12 and 13. Altogether twenty-one countries and twenty international organisations were represented. Altogether 150 foreign and 750 British delegates attended. The French delegation was one of the most authoritative that has ever been present at such a conference. The chief topic of discussion was the attack on China by Japan and the measures that could be taken by the peoples of the world to the aggressor. Enthusiastic support was given to the proposal for a world-wide boycott of Japanese goods and the following declaration was adopted:—

WE, the members of this Congress, drawn from 21 countries and 25 international organisations;

PROFOUNDLY MOVED by Japan's atrocious attack upon China, which has been condemned as a violation of treaties by the Members of the League of Nations, by the United States, and by great international organisations throughout the world,

DECLARE THAT this aggression, besides destroying the peace of China, who was devotedly rebuilding her ancient civilisation, imperils also the security and welfare of all peoples.

RECOGNISE THAT the attack begun by Japan's military leaders can only be continued with the aid of war materials and purchasing power which our

countries are still supplying: so that our countries, willingly or not, now have a direct share in the responsibility: WE REFUSE TO BE ACCOMPLICES OF THIS CRIME.

WE THEREFORE call upon our organisations to do everything in their power to aid China, and to withhold aid from Japan, until the Japanese invasion is ended and the Japanese forces withdrawn.

IN PARTICULAR, we demand that our governments stop co-operation with Japan by withholding war supplies, financial facilities and purchasing power.

We call upon all peace-loving people and organisations to join in this great non-partisan effort to save China and defend the world's peace.

WE appeal to the Japanese people to show that they do not support the action to which they have been committed by their military leaders—an action which must prove injurious to the honour and real interests of Japan.

On Sunday evening the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, and the Adelphi Theatre were thronged to the doors by audiences eager to hear Lord Cecil, Dr. Wellington Koo, the Chinese Ambassador in Paris, Senator Louis de Brouckère, of Belgium, and Mr. Herbert Morrison.

A SPEECH BY VISCOUNT CECIL AT HERTFORD, FEB. 21

We Have to Choose Between Old and New Theories of International Life

There will be scarcely anyone in Great Britain who will not profoundly regret that the Foreign Secretary has resigned. I can only describe it myself as a very great loss to this country and perhaps to a good deal more than this country. Mr. Eden is the best type of British statesman—an honourable and straightforward man who endeavoured always to say to us just what he thought. I had the honour of meeting him on several occasions and sometimes of discussing foreign affairs with him and one thing struck me very much about him. It was that he had an instinctive grasp of the essentials of the situation.

That was his position and quality—or some of his qualities and certainly he had a position, a very remarkable position in the country and still has. He is a man whom everybody trusted, even if they disagreed.

His resignation is a very serious matter. I am bound to admit it came as a complete surprise to me, but I am not sure that it should have been so complete a surprise. I think anyone who carefully watched what has been happening should have realised there were considerable differences between the Foreign Secretary and his colleagues. These things don't happen in a moment.

Speeches and Policy

I used to read his speeches on foreign affairs with great admiration and almost with great agreement; they seemed to be laying down the kind of foreign policy we ought to have. But, to be perfectly frank and candid, I didn't feel that the foreign policy which resulted was always as good as the speech which described it. I cannot help wondering whether the Foreign Secretary was allowed to do what he wished to do. It is the last straw that breaks the camel's back. I think you will find that there was a good deal more which had preceded the actual event.

If you read Mr. Eden's letter you will find he had become conscious of a difference of outlook in respect of international problems of the day between himself and the Prime Minister. This may be of enormous importance because two quite different theories about international relations are current—one leading to destruction and the other, at any rate, to a chance of safety.

What are these two theories? There is the old theory—the theory which was inevitable in old days; the old theory which is connected with what they call national sovereignty—the complete sovereignty of each State over its policy, the right to do exactly as it chooses without regard to any control or consideration or influence of other countries. That is the old theory—each country for itself and the devil take the hindmost. It is a theory which prevailed centuries ago amongst individual men in this island—each man for himself and the devil take the hindmost. It is barbarism, anarchy, cannibalism. There is no advancement if that theory prevails between man and man; and it is equally impossible to have international progress if that theory is to prevail between country and country. Unfortunately, it has been adopted and proclaimed by

some of the most powerful countries in the world—by Germany, by Italy, by Japan.

People say you must not distinguish between dictatorships and democracies and you must not try to divide the world into dictatorships and democracies. I don't disagree with that. Each country should decide what kind of government it would prefer to have. I am not making any criticism of the form of government of those three countries. But I am making a criticism, and I think everyone who agrees with international peace is bound to make it, of the additional theory that those countries hold. They won't have any interference from any other country and they will do everything they think right. That theory doesn't prevent their interfering with other countries, but it does prevent their accepting remonstrance or influence from other countries, or organisation with other countries.

Dictators' Fatal Doctrine

That is a fatal doctrine. It can only lead to vast expenditures on armaments, because these countries say "We will not be controlled by anyone else." It has already done so. It is evident their armaments become a danger to other countries.

What is the other conception? It is just the opposite. It is that there is an underlying unity between the nations, just as there is between individual men and women. Just as you have men in any country or area no longer living each of them for himself without regard to any other man, so it becomes necessary for civilisation that countries should accept control in order to make it possible for them to live peaceably with other countries, and to make their own use of their own faculties, and to enjoy all that we understand by liberty, by enterprise, by progress. The basis ultimately is the supremacy of the law in this country and other countries. The law may be of one kind or another; it may depend on democracy or absolute monarchy. But unless you have some kind of regulation, it is impossible to have a progressive society.

People say countries have not the same object and the same desires. I don't agree. When you get down to the basic purposes of any country, they are very much the same as those of any other country. They all want to live in peace; that is the first thing. They all want to allow others to live in peace; that is the second thing. Those two primary purposes are accepted, in my judgment, by the overwhelming majority of human beings throughout the world.

If you are to have any advance in international civilisation you must have, just as with individuals so with other countries, co-operation, international co-operation. That is the foundation of any advance. That is the basic conception of the League of Nations.

In this country the new theory is accepted more or less genuinely, more or less vigorously by the great majority. I believe that majority recognise their responsibility and understand it. I am often struck with the way in which plain men and women understand what the Covenant means. A few years ago I visited

a public elementary school and was surprised at the knowledge the children showed in such matters. I wish that I could feel certain that all the richer people had an equal knowledge.

More or less, the League theory is accepted, but there is a considerable difference in the extent to which it is accepted. When we come to analyse the differences between Mr. Eden and his colleagues, or some of them, we may learn that he thought it necessary to accept, more fully than they did, vastly important principles of international life.

Abyssinia, China, Austria

There are several countries, I mentioned three of the most important, which do not accept the League's theory at all. If you look at just two or three instances you will see what I mean. The invasion of Abyssinia. There Italy had quarrelled with Abyssinia; I won't go into details. Abyssinia was perfectly willing to submit the matter to any impartial tribunal, but the Italian government brushed the proposal aside and said: "It is for us to judge what we ought to do; we will not allow this quarrel to be submitted to anybody; we will go on with it as we think right." The League was first asked to take strong and vigorous action. Afterwards, most unhappily, that advice was reversed and the Italians were able to achieve their objects. Horrible as it sounds to us to hear of naked tribesmen bombed from the air, I don't suppose it is worse than what will happen in future war. It is what war means. At any rate the Italians went on with it, driving the Emperor from his throne, destroying his government. But, as far as reports go, they are very far from having established themselves in the place of tribal government.

China next. Japan has acted in precisely a similar fashion. China wished to submit its disputes to an impartial tribunal. An impartial tribunal was sent out and reported against Japan. But Japan did not pay any attention and went on with her invasion. Thousands, tens of thousands, or hundreds of thousands, are still being slaughtered—men, women and children, and a great many Japanese, I am sorry to say. Property in China is being destroyed. It is one of the sinister features that deliberate attacks are being made to destroy educational establishments, colleges and schools; they seem to be a special mark.

It is very difficult to know what can be done. China is very far from Europe, and the greatest country most interested—the United States—for various reasons, which are, no doubt, excellent, is unwilling to take strong action against Japan. Japan holds herself entitled to commit the greatest international crime.

Another kind of attack on a friendly country is the attack that has lately been made on Austria by Germany. A case in some ways not quite so bad, but in others more alarming. The German Chancellor sends for the Austrian Chancellor and says to him, so we understand: "Either you will do certain things as I direct, namely, legalise the doctrine of Nazism in your country, free from prison political prisoners, allow to come back to your country all those who have fled because they

have been guilty of treasonable practices, and generally facilitate the spread of Nazism in your country. Or, if you refuse, I shall order my troops to enter Austria." According to another report the alternative is: "I shall organise invasion by the terrorist system until the country is thrown into confusion and then again advance and restore order."

That is the story published in the newspapers and, so far, uncontradicted. I don't think it will be contradicted because the broad fact remains that until the visit of Herr von Schuschnigg to Herr Hitler, Herr von Schuschnigg was hoping to maintain the independence of Austria, and after that interview he reversed his policy and has submitted to the conditions made for him by the neighbouring despot.

It is a very serious thing. Nazi Germany has the theory of lost Germans. Lost Germans are not as you possibly think—lost to all conception of liberty living in Germany—but Germans living outside Germany and in conditions of tolerable freedom. All Austrians are lost Germans. Many Czechoslovakians are lost Germans. Herr Hitler is now almost saying that those Germans must be protected by Germany. We know what protection by Germany means.

This doctrine frightens me. The Germans have a very large definition of what is German. Parts of Denmark would be German. I am not sure that the whole of Holland would not be German. Possibly a considerable portion of Belgium would be German: not to speak of Poland. I cannot help thinking, in the back of my mind, that when the lost German theory has done its work some other theory, such as strategical necessity, may be extended to another country. So long as Germany dominates the world or tries to dominate the world by threats of violence there will be these dangers.

Only Hope For a Peaceful World

Do not consider this question of Austria as a matter that doesn't concern you. Depend upon it that the theory behind it does affect you. You have to choose between the old and the new theory of international life. The new theory is accepted by 50 or 60 nations. Unless we can establish the new conception, there is no hope, as far as I can see, for anything like a peaceful and quiet world. One matter we hear a good deal about is sanctions. The method must be sparingly adopted and only when it is likely to produce good results. But when we see subversive doctrines put forward by some countries and the other countries willing and anxious to live in peace, we ought to give the peaceful countries a different treatment, as President Roosevelt says, from the treatment we give the subversive countries. I do not say there should be attacks or hostile acts, but I do say we should not go out of our way to be civil to those countries who are trying to destroy the kind of world we would like. I think it is a great pity to be always running after dictators. At the moment they make a kind of gesture must we accept anything they like to offer? We should not sacrifice a British Minister to the wishes of a despot like Mussolini.

A Boycott of Goods From Japan

How It Would Affect The Wool Trade

(By a Special Correspondent)

BRADFORD. MEN and women engaged in the wool textile industry of Yorkshire—and there are about 200,000 of them, excluding those in managerial and clerical positions—are watching with more than passing interest the moves now being made by the League of Nations Union to support a boycott of Japanese goods in this country.

Many of them have already been invited to sign a declaration that they, individually, will refuse to buy Japanese products. And a considerable number have given their word to do so.

Such a boycott, if established with anything like completeness, would have a dual effect on the industry. While benefiting some sections it would injure others; and the proposal is, therefore, meeting with a mixed reception in this part of the country.

The allegation has been made that there is an oil imported from Japan which the wool industry must use. Responsible men in the industry, and the staff of the Wool Industries Research Association, questioned on the point during the past few days, state positively that there is no kind of oil from Japan so employed. Olive oil is used in large quantities for facilitating the passage of wool through the combing machinery, but it does not come from Japan. It is produced in Spain. Supplies have been seriously affected since the Spanish war, but various substitutes have been invented in Bradford.

Discussing first the benefits which a boycott would bring, supporters of the plan point out that large quantities of piece goods made from wool, silk, rayon (formerly known as artificial silk), rayon and cotton, and cotton, are imported into this country every year. Yorkshire is not affected adversely to any great extent by the imports of cotton goods, but those of wool, of silk, of rayon, and of rayon with cotton, enter into competition with similar goods made in various parts of the county.

Other Japanese commodities which help to deprive Yorkshire textile firms of business are the very cheap socks, stockings, jumpers and similar articles of apparel. Most of these contain a percentage of wool, and to that extent they represent severe competition to the spinners of yarns and makers of fabrics for such types of hosiery.

A boycott of Japanese goods of the kinds mentioned above would enable Yorkshire textile firms to secure a greater share of the home trade in them, and those engaged in sections of the industry concerned would naturally welcome such a development.

Bound up with the subject of a boycott of Japanese goods is the question of Japanese competition with British products in overseas countries. Exporters in the textile industry of Yorkshire have, in recent times, frequently expressed the view that a boycott in such countries would be of incalculable benefit to them.

Formerly, large quantities of dress goods, suitings and linings made from wool, from rayon, and from rayon with wool, used to be sent from the Bradford

district to British Dominions, the Crown Colonies, China, Dutch East Indies, and the Straits Settlements. Since the extension of Japan's exporting activities, shipments of such fabrics have decreased enormously—especially those to countries which are relatively short distances from Japan. In those parts Japanese goods can be sold at incredibly low prices which make British competition a hopeless task.

Some degree of prohibition of Japanese goods has been in force in the Dominions and the Colonies for some time in the form of import quotas. But Yorkshire textile exporters consider that the quotas are still too large. During recent months, a partial boycott of Japanese products has been in operation in most of these countries, and it is reported that the movement is growing as the war goes on.

In this way, Yorkshire hopes to recapture some of the markets which she lost to Japan when the latter's unbeatable competition forced them out.

There is one way, however, in which a boycott of all Japanese exports to this country would have a damaging effect on a certain section of the textile industry of Yorkshire.

An enormous quantity of raw silk is imported into this country from Japan. During 1937 this amounted to 4,056,691 lb., which was valued at £1,675,044. Total imports from all sources amounted to 4,894,166 lb., so it will be seen how great was Japan's share of the whole.

Although the greater part of the raw silk which comes into this country from Japan is used in the Macclesfield area, a substantial volume of it provides work for textile operatives in Yorkshire—mainly in the Bradford district. Any restriction of raw material supplies would be reflected in the amount of employment available for such workers.

There is another aspect of the subject which should not be overlooked. That is the matter of Japan's wool buying in the British Dominions. It is generally admitted that Japanese competition in those markets has helped in the past to maintain wool prices at an economic level, and Bradford wool importers ask pertinently whether a boycott of Japanese goods in this and other countries would result in Japan's buying less wool in Dominion markets, with the consequence that prices of that commodity would fall with disturbing effects upon other wool-using nations.

Manufacturers point out, however, that if Japan bought less wool Yorkshire would be compelled to buy more because of her increased needs which would arise from any diminution of Japanese competition in wool goods here and overseas.

"Japanese competition" has been the laconic explanation given by many Yorkshire textile firms for dwindling business during the past decade or so. Little wonder, then, that they are closely following the campaign which has for its object the reduction, and possibly the abolition, of that menace.

Maxwell Garnett Reviews

"THE GOOD SOCIETY" By WALTER LIPPMANN

NO American writer is better known in Britain than Walter Lippmann. His last book is of outstanding merit, and makes an important contribution to the study of international affairs. It is called "The Good Society." Since its main concern is with the principles of good government, it might be described as a modern Utopia—or rather Pantopia, because it rediscovers the truth that the best government is only possible for a society that is worldwide.

When Chief Justice Coke, in 1612, told King James I that the King was "under God and the law," he touched the central essence of good government. A person is not a thing; a citizen is not a slave; no man may violate the essential manhood of other men; the dominion of men over men must give place to the supremacy of a common law. In Mr. Lippmann's words, "where men are degraded to the status of chattels, pawns in a game, common fodder, robots, they are used as means to the ends of others, and the injunction has been suspended: 'Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.'"

Mr. Lippmann concludes that the totalitarian and other collectivist heresies of the present epoch "will not prevail. For the will to be free is perpetually renewed in every individual who uses his faculties and affirms his manhood."

If Mr. Lippmann is right, if good government is impossible without some limit to the dominion of men over men, how is that limit to be set? The Good Society, like King James, must be "under God and the law." The law alone is not enough. Any attempt to direct as well as to regulate all human behaviour by a code of law would tie down the spirit of man, hinder the search for truth, retard discovery, restrict production, and impoverish the people. Law, even when readily alterable by a majority vote, is no pole-star to guide the forward march of mankind. It has a humbler role: to whip in the laggards so that the behaviour of free citizens will not fall behind its gradually advancing requirements.

That is why the Good Society must be "under God" as well as "under the law." Only in so far as all men share the same high purpose—for example, to "seek first the Kingdom of God"—can they all feel free to put their best into life and to get the best out of it. If what I most want to do is what my neighbours want done in the interests of us all, then and only then am I at liberty to do as I please. Liberty is founded on the rock of *ἁμόνοια*, harmony of purpose: a purpose which is superior to dictators, kings, parliaments, magnates, majorities, and mobs. Where that principle is rejected there is neither liberty nor peace, and men have no choice but to fight for or against some one of the partisans contending for supremacy.

This principle is understood but misapplied by the totalitarian regimes. "The authoritarian collectivists," writes Mr. Lippmann, "when they speak of liberty, as they occasionally do . . . mean that they hope eventu-

ally to train their peoples to desire only what the State desires, to have no purposes but the official purposes, to feel free because they have become habituated to conform." But for Mussolini and his like the supreme purpose is "*sacro egoismo*," to further the selfish interests of a particular State. Whatever semblance of harmony may be produced within the State by the concentration camp, the secret police and the censorship, the disharmony with the rest of the world makes for war abroad, and so for regimentation, military discipline, and anything but freedom at home.

Mr. Lippmann reminds us how the National Socialists in Germany, while they lay great emphasis upon obedience, also extol the principle of leadership. "The German economy, the German Army, and the German State cannot be administered by routiners." But he wonders how leaders are going to be produced so long as the "population is dogmatically drilled, its curiosity is frustrated, it is forbidden to examine the premises or the conclusions of the official dogma, it is unable to exchange ideas at home or abroad." We, too, may wonder at this "most puzzling paradox."

It is, however, true that both leadership and obedience have their place in the Good Society. Leadership in the van, to hold aloft the guiding principle of the common purpose; and, in the rear, obedience to the law, whipping in the stragglers. Mr. Lippmann will not allow his readers to forget that government and the rule of law are essential in the Good Society. Their interference with individual freedom should, indeed, be a minimum. But they must not intervene *only* on behalf of the rich and rugged individualist who preaches *laissez-faire*. In Mr. Lippmann's view, the dogma of *laissez-faire* sterilised the scientific advance of liberal thought, but did not go off the main line of progress as Fascism and Communism have done.

That the Good Society must be lightly governed is increasingly true as the Society grows in size. The totalitarian collectivists, who insist upon intricate, centralised and bureaucratic government, are in rebellion against the interdependence of mankind. The evolution of political unity involves, as American experience shows, the diminution of State authority. But the Federal authority at Washington shares, rather than usurps, the task of governing the United States. The Federal Government is no State Government writ large. Nor should a world government resemble overmuch the Federal, State, or local governments which it may supplement but must not supplant.

The Good Society, as described by Mr. Lippmann, has no use for demagogues. "Demagoguery," he writes, "is the falsification of representative government, the cultivation of the transient and apparent rather than the considered and real will of the people." Demagogues are apt to be in a hurry. But the wise leader of the Good Society is prepared to make haste slowly; and, in order to fit men for their new way of life, "would spend large sums of public money on education."

GERMANS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

(Part II)

By JOHN A. KEYSER

Last month "Headway" published the first part of an article by Mr. Keyser on the Germans in Czechoslovakia, in which he described the policy of the German parties which are co-operating with the Czech State. The second part of this article is printed below.

IN October, 1933, immediately after the dissolution of the Nazi Party in Czechoslovakia, the SdP was formed by Konrad Henlein, a former teacher of gymnastics. The impression was gained that this new Party was intended to replace the dissolved Nazi Party. Nothing has so far occurred to alter that impression. On the contrary, all the activities of the new Party tend to confirm its close relationship with the Nazis in Germany. When asked in course of conversation, its members deny that they are aiming at union with Germany. They assert that all that they want is self-government and full equality of treatment. Undoubtedly, their real aim is to secure full autonomy as a preliminary to inclusion in the German Reich. As previously mentioned, at the 1935 Elections they secured the support of two-thirds of the German minority. Until recently their Party has had the appearance of unity. But, since the summer of 1937, an internal conflict between opposing factions has been steadily developing. First, Herr Rutha, one of the founders of the movement, was arrested, and committed suicide. Then, Herr Kasper and Herr Jonak, leaders of the National Socialist wing of the Party, were expelled by Henlein. As these two men have a strong following of workers, their expulsion will certainly be detrimental to the development of the Party. Moreover, the moment was probably most unwelcome to Henlein for a quarrel among his followers, owing to the recent increase in support from Germany. In fact, at present it is uncertain how deep or how lasting the effect of this split is likely to be upon the affairs of the SdP. Whatever the ultimate effect may be, it will in no way alter the fundamental nationalist policy common to both groups. United or split, the supporters of an autonomist movement will always represent a grave danger to the integrity of Czechoslovakia.

In the first place, the continued support of the three Activist Parties must be ensured. The only way to do this is for the Czech Government to proceed as rapidly as possible, and on as wide a basis as possible, to put into practice the terms of the February Agreement. These included (1) The regulation of all capital expenditure according to the regional distribution of the population; (2) the appointment of public officials in relation to the percentages of minority populations; (3) an increase in State subsidies to German theatres up to 20 per cent. of the total provision in the Budget under this head; (4) an increase of State support of national welfare in German districts; and (5) the use of both the Czech and the German languages in political and financial communications in communities of fewer than 3,000 inhabitants. If this is not done, there is likely to be a swing over to the SdP on the part of numbers of Activists, which would severely handicap the Czech Government.

The possibility of co-operation between Activists

and SdP may be ruled out. They speak two different political languages. Moreover, Henlein does not recognise the political existence of the Activists, and maintains that he alone voices the desires of the German minority.

Lastly, there is the question of meeting the SdP's demand for autonomy. This, again, is impossible. Both sides are adamant. On the Government side it is maintained that autonomy for the German districts would directly lead to the dissolution of Czechoslovakia. In present circumstances this is undoubtedly a correct assumption. So long as a Nazi Government exists in Germany intent on the union of all German-speaking people, both inside and outside the German Reich, and so long as that Nazi Government is able to expend millions of pounds each year in violent propaganda to this end, no Czech Government can possibly envisage a separatist movement on the part of its German minority. On the other hand, Henlein will consider nothing but full autonomy, which, though inconsistent with the merits of the case, is none the less a true reflection of his subordination to Nazi influence. There is therefore a complete deadlock. In fact, it may accurately be said that no solution to the problem exists at the present time. The most that can be hoped for is that Czechoslovakia will be able to preserve her independence until such time as a new and equitable settlement in Europe is achieved—one based on the principles of the collective system. The responsibility for bringing such a settlement about is in the hands of the few remaining democratic States—Great Britain, France, the U.S.A., and Czechoslovakia herself.

Supposing the Czech Government were to grant autonomy to the German-speaking districts, what would be the ultimate results? In the first place, approximately 700,000 Czechs would be marooned in a German sea. Secondly, it would have the immediate result of severing the head from the Czech "tadpole"—that head containing the mainspring of Czech industry and the all-important natural and artificial fortifications of the State. Thirdly, as has been said, it would inevitably lead to the absorption of these districts by Germany. This would have the direct consequence of a considerable material and numerical reinforcement of Nazi strength. Depending upon the methods adopted, it might even lead to one or more extremely serious results—either the total disappearance of Czechoslovakia from the map or the further absorption of Austria, or both—and in either case it would probably be used as a jumping-off ground for further Nazi territorial expansion in South-Eastern Europe. Apart from all this, there would exist the likelihood of a general European war. These repercussions may seem too far-fetched. Nevertheless, they must be faced. Already the position is fraught with danger.

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BOOKSELLER

L.N.U. BRANCH

A MESSAGE TO GENEVA

By P. E. LAWLEY

"The Growth of Collective Economy," 2 vols., published by Messrs. P. S. King, 35s., is a necessary book. It brings together a vast mass of facts. They must be known by anyone who wishes to understand the world's economic problems of to-day. Individualist economic systems are disappearing. Collective organisation of economic life is being developed within States and in their external economic relations.

THE aim of my book can be stated quite simply: to indicate what I believe to be the main political and economic principles which must be applied to cut out the roots of poverty and war.

We have seen how the unequal division of property at Versailles—against which Italy protested then, both as regards the allocation of colonial areas and access to raw materials—has been a potent factor in determining recent Italian policy. Also our reparations policy, and the economic misery inflicted upon Germany, have brought ruin upon our own economic system. The development of my studies during 15 years have made it clear to me that nations are, increasingly, economically inter-dependent, and that, consequently, efforts to let world economic life evolve on the basis of conflicting, competitive, and undisciplined private and national economic interests must lead to general ruin and, probably, war. Thus I became convinced of the necessity for public control of private economic forces if lasting peace were to be ensured.

There was another reason for seeking to develop such control. I saw that the free operation of private economic forces, in production and exchange, produced, periodically, booms, followed by slumps; and that under modern conditions such economic crises must get graver. In fact, we know how appalling was the world's worst economic crisis that began in 1929; and that, apart from a measure of prosperity based on rearmament, the world's economic life has been upset and perilously unstable ever since that time.

From every point of view, therefore, I felt bound to reject the old economic theories which taught that economic well-being and peace followed automatically from the free operation of private interests and economic forces within the State and in international economic relations. It was imperative to seek a new line of approach to the urgent task of combating poverty and war. So I resolved to devote as much energy as possible to a study of economic facts, for the purpose of proving that these did not fit the obsolete economic theories, and of indicating the main principles of an economic theory suited to modern conditions. Soon after leaving Cambridge, I became associated with Lord Allen of Hurtwood and a small group of people in the old Independent Labour Party, engaged in a somewhat similar study. When the I.L.P. collapsed I determined to complete the inquiry myself, and for about 14 years, by

the side of earning my living, I have concentrated on this study.

At the outset, I felt sure that in the International Labour Office, at Geneva, I should find a mine of information to feed my investigations; so I spent a month or two there, in its old Headquarters, in 1925, and found my expectations fully confirmed. It was clear that I should have to return; and I did so in 1928, remaining there till 1934, first as a journalist and then as an I.L.O. official. My absorbing work in the Economic Section of the Research Division of the I.L.O. was of infinite value to my studies. During this busy period I utilised all my spare time in collecting and collating the material for my book. In 1934, it was evident that to complete my task I should require considerably more time and freedom than my official duties allowed, so I came back to London; re-visiting the I.L.O., once or twice each year, to undertake special work as Press Officer and to keep my information up to date.

At Geneva, at very close quarters, I watched the League attempt the impossible task imposed upon it, of achieving disarmament and collective security without concentrating on the abolition of poverty and the provision of collective economic security. These latter were not attempted because the economic policy of most of the leading Governments was not based on a firm intention to control, properly, private interests and economic forces in national economic life and in international economic relations—i.e., to apply the new economic principles of collective economy instead of competitive, *laissez-faire* economy.

My study of collective economy falls, naturally, into two divisions, national and international: I propose to indicate its main outlines in my next article.

On MARCH 24th, at 8.15 p.m.
in the
Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, W.C.2
an address will be given by
THE RT. HON.
LORD NOEL-BUXTON, P.C.
on
"The German Claim to Colonies"
Chairman - - - MR. H. WILSON HARRIS
(Editor of THE SPECTATOR)

THE CALL OF WALES

CHILDREN'S 17th ANNUAL RADIO MESSAGE

SIR,—For many years now you have kindly allowed me, in the March issue of HEADWAY, to call attention to the annual world broadcast on "Goodwill Day," May 18, of the Welsh Children's Radio Message.

Your readers will be glad to know that it grows and grows. Last year's record from all the five Continents was a record. It must be seen to be believed!

A glance at the 1938 booklet will prove that in this depressing period for world peace, there is no depression over the Welsh Children's Message, now in its seventeenth year.

Weeks of careful preparation precede the actual sending out of the Message. And we, in Wales, are under the greatest obligation for the kindly assistance of Ambassadors and Ministers of countries abroad attached to the Court of St. James, of the High Commissioners for the Dominions, of Directors of Education in all lands, and the Directors of Broadcast stations throughout the world.

The readiness of all in co-operating, each in the language of his own country, has been at once an encouragement and an inspiration to the schools of Wales to keep sending out, year after year, their greeting of Goodwill.

Here is the English text of the 17th Annual Message to be broadcast on May 18, 1938:—

"This is Wales calling! The boys and girls of Wales are calling the boys and girls of all the world!

"We rejoice to think that, above the tumult, on this one day of the year, we can greet each other as members of one great family, the family of the nations of the future.

"The world is full of suffering, cruelty and strife. And we are told that civilisation may perish. Let us tell the world that civilisation shall not perish.

"More than ever the world needs what we alone can give—the confidence and the comradeship of youth.

"May we then, on this Goodwill Day, dedicate ourselves afresh to the service of our fellows in ever-widening circles, to the service of our home, of our neighbourhood, of our country so that our country may better serve the world to which we all belong?

"So shall we, millions of us, grow up to be the friends of all and the enemies of none."

A copy of the 20-page illustrated 1938 booklet, with the text of the Message in seven languages, may be obtained for 3d. on application.

GWILYM DAVIES,

Vice-President.

Welsh National Council of the League of Nations Union,
10, Museum Place, Cardiff.

COUNCIL'S VOTE

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

Alton, Bournville Works, Bishopston, Brixham, Badby, Blagdon, Blewbury, Bloxham, Brightlingsea, Budleigh Salterton, Burford, Byfleet, Bishop Auckland, Blaby, Boars Hill, Beaconsfield, Bedminster Church, Cambridge, Camberley, Chard, Chinnor, Clacton, Cowes, Chester, Crowborough, Cheltenham, Dulverton, Epsom, Fernhurst, Frensham, Folkestone, Great Yarmouth, Godstone, Heathfield, Hertford, Hillhouse Congregational Church (Huddersfield), Haywards Heath, Harwich, Hastings, High Wycombe, Kings Heath, Kettering, Letchworth, Littleton, Lymington, Middlewich, Malvern, Montagu Burton, Melksham, Montpelier, Newendon, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Newcastle (West End), Newport (Isle of Wight), Newport Pagnell, Oxted, Oxhey, Poulton-le-Fylde, Penn, Padstow, Painswick, Pateley Bridge, Penrith, Princes Risborough, Queen Street (Sheffield), Queen Street (Wolverhampton), Quorn, Rowlands Castle, Royston, Rugby, Salem Church (Bristol), Stafford, Shiplake, Stocksfield, St. Minver, St. Ives, Hunts, Staveley (Derby), Staveley (Westmorland), Saltburn, Stourbridge, Stebbing, Stansted, Small Heath, Shanklin, Seaford, Tarporley, Thrybergh, Torquay, Thundersley, Woodbridge, Wimborne, Whitehaven, Worcester, Winchester, Weston-super-Mare, Witney, Witham, Wells, Wadhurst.

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READERS' VIEWS

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

HOW TO RUN A PUBLIC MEETING

SIR.—May I suggest that Mr. F. L. Whelen himself has overlooked that everyone does not know what "L.N.U." means. I do and you do, but does the average person?

Where Mr. Whelen suggests a portable lighting apparatus, let the full words, "League of Nations Union," be displayed. This is a simple suggestion to be added to a very admirable article, for which I thank you.

W. M. KEMPSTER, J.P., C.C.

Bedford.

BOYCOTT OF JAPANESE GOODS

SIR.—I notice that the General Council and the Executive Committee of the Union are taking active measures to secure a trade boycott against Japan, and should like to make the following comments thereon.

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

(b) The real boycott which is urgently needed, and which is not, apparently, mentioned in the Council resolution, is, of course, that of war credits, arms and war materials, which it is the duty of the Government to prohibit from all combatants.

(c) A trade boycott by this country of Japanese goods would only serve to make Germany her best customer and consequently to develop German trade and her capacity to increase her armaments at the expense of this country.

(d) The experience of sanctions against Italy went to show that economic pinpricks merely exacerbate the aggressor nation and achieve no effective result.

CECIL H. S. WILLSON.

Weybridge, Surrey.

COUNCIL CHANGE DEMANDED

SIR.—The undersigned members of the L.N.U. regret to record that they have lost faith in the direction of the Union.

During the last few years, resolutions moved at General Council meetings in favour of a powerful international police have been persistently shelved, time after time, by the Executive in various devious ways. At any time in the last three years a straight vote in the Council, free from interference by the platform, would probably have gone in favour of a fully competent Air Police. But opportunity has been denied.

The case for such an Air Police is simple and convincing. In spite of some enlightened opinion in favour of international policing, the Covenant included no mention of such a policy. The Disarmament Conference attempted to make elaborate plans for progressive disarmament, but substituted for national defence forces no police plan for guardianship of national frontiers. The results are that the League fails in the face of major wars, and the Disarmament Conference breaks down. Cause and effect stand out in all their nakedness.

There are two alternatives: (1) Powerful international Air Police to guard frontiers (2) Powerful national forces for the same purpose.

The years go by, and all Europe has adopted the second alternative.

We do not wish to over-estimate the influence of the L.N.U., but in so far as its deliberations have any perceptible effect on world affairs, it is deplorable that successive actions of the Executive have reduced the hope of international policing, and so encouraged the policy of powerful national defence forces.

Just as our loss of faith in a Party Cabinet would not lead us to renounce all part in the national system of self-government, so our loss of faith in those who direct its affairs does not impel us to leave the Union. Cabinets and executives pass in good time. It is still open to a resolute majority of the Council to defeat any method used by the platform. But too frequently it is the custom of the chair to appeal to sentiment rather than to reason, and to counsel postponement rather than decision. So we do not get our resolute majority. Meanwhile, we have other Peace Societies, and our excellent organisation of L.N.U. Branches, giving opportunities for peace workers throughout the country.

But it is only right that we should point out that the Executive attempts to dominate, rather than to serve, a Council which only meets for some six days each year; in effect, the servant of the General Council has become its master. Drastic changes in procedure are needed if resolutions of the Council are really to interpret the wishes of the Union as a whole. In particular, we suggest that the General Council, at each half-yearly meeting, should elect its own Chairman and Vice-Chairman for the next half-yearly meeting, and that these posts should not be open to any member of the Executive.

ROBERT N. LAWSON (Rear-Admiral),
Rockleaze, Evercreech, Somerset.

HUGH LEADER,
Headley Down, Hants.

G. M. WHITE,
Gravels, Radlett, Herts.

ENID ATKINSON,
38, St. George's Terrace,
Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

MILDRED ATKINSON,
86, St. George's Terrace,
Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

SAMUEL PHILLIPS,
86, Pilgrim Street,
Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

UNION MEMBERSHIP

Rates of Annual Subscription

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

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

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

Charter Members: 1s. a year, minimum.

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

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

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

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

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

ARBITRATION IN ALL DISPUTES

SIR.—May I warmly support Edith Holroyd's view that a modification of the principle of national sovereignty is essential? Is not the fundamental requirement a system of arbitration to cover all disputes, grievances, and claims? Hitherto this country has refused to bind itself to accept arbitration in all cases, and as far as I am aware the Union has never condemned that refusal, in spite of the fact that the acceptance "of the League of Nations as the final arbiter in international differences" is included among our objects.

If negotiations and conciliation break down, and arbitration is refused, what other method of settlement remains but war? The German claim to colonies is a case in point. The argument that other nations would never agree to arbitration does not justify our own refusal, and is directly contrary to the Christian doctrine of the mote and the beam. Admittedly, in a case like that of the colonies, the difficulties are enormous and perfectly impartial arbitration may not be possible. But perfection is never attainable on this earth, and surely it is better to face the difficulties and to accept imperfect arbitration than to attempt a solution by war.

A readiness to accept arbitration is shared by bodies as divergent as the New Commonwealth Society and the Peace Pledge Union. If, by a joint effort with them and others, we could obtain the public's acceptance of this fundamental principle, we should have struck a resounding blow for peace.

"THIRD PARTY."

OTHER NATIONS' AFFAIRS

SIR.—I can never understand why HEADWAY so frequently offends friends of the League of Nations by publishing comments on the internal affairs of other nations, and I should like to call particular attention to the article appearing in HEADWAY for this month, "Behind the Roumanian Crisis," by C. A. Macartney.

This article ends at the surprise there had been at M. Goga's attitude in foreign policy, and concludes:—

"... He even telegraphed friendly words to M. Litvinoff. He had been expected to swing right over to the German-Italian 'axis' and to the anti-Communist front. This gratifying surprise also is probably due to the King's influence."

Why should HEADWAY show its "gratifying surprise" that M. Goga should be friendly to Communists? And what has this got to do with the League of Nations?

The most serious point, however, is that in part of the article it refers to M. Codreanu, who is the leader of one of the great Roumanian parties. In this article it states: "M. Codreanu is a complete fanatic, a killer in theory and practice."

It happens that a college friend of mine had married a very charming Roumanian lady. I showed him this paragraph; he spoke to his sister about it, and I am told that this is absolutely without any foundation whatever. Surely HEADWAY should not term leaders of strong popular parties "killers in theory and practice" unless there is some very good authority for it?

In any case, my great point is that we should confine ourselves to League of Nations affairs and not insert article after article labelling those who are not Communists.

P. HARRINGTON EDWARDS.

33, Southampton Street,
Strand, London.

[NOTE.—Mr. Macartney is the most distinguished amongst the younger British authorities on Central and Southern Europe. He will answer for himself. HEADWAY will continue to publish such articles as his because it is a League of Nations journal. No one can understand the League who does not understand world problems, and no one can understand world problems who does not understand the nations which make up the world.—Ed.]



* Please can I come into your Crippleage?

"My hand was clasped by the fingers of a deaf and dumb girl with crippled feet and hands. Her eyes looked up to mine and were bright with happiness. In front of us was another girl chattering and laughing. She was without hands and had only one foot. By her side was another with a twisted back, and in front one whose hip was sadly out of place. We all descended the steps, laughing, talking, and very happy."

—The Superintendent, in Abridged Report.

This extract shows the difference made in the lives of crippled girls. But we also at John Groom's Crippleage are crippled—by lack of funds for the training and maintenance of girls who are totally unable to help themselves. That is the tragedy of it. If only people knew just what our help means to such girls we could soon provide not only the extra accommodation but the necessary training which enables them to become partially self-supporting and useful members of society.

★ Must we continue to turn a deaf ear to the numerous appeals we receive?

Subscriptions now are only sufficient to enable us to maintain our present strength. Every year generous subscribers pass beyond the realm of money, and unless we can enlist the sympathy and help of others we cannot keep going. WILL YOU JOIN THE RANKS OF THOSE WHO, BY THEIR GIFTS, EITHER SMALL OR LARGE, MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR THIS WORK TO CONTINUE?

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For further information and applications forms, apply to the Secretary, Mill Hill School, N.W.7.

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"Sort of 'TOM LONGing'" Mother said.

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- (3) Its "enviable record of unbroken success" (to quote one of the many tributes paid to the Institute's work by the Press).

The fee for a course is very moderate, and many students sell work *during tuition* for much larger sums than the outlay involved. The

aim of the Institute is to get the student "into print" as soon as possible.

* * *

Many people have literary aptitude without knowing it—and most of them could learn how to write articles and short stories which editors would be glad to buy and for which they would pay well.

Are you a good letter writer—that is to say, do your letters interest your friends? Are you fond of reading and do you sometimes feel critical of a writer's views? Can you occasionally foresee developments in or the end of a story? Can you tell stories to children or anecdotes to friends? Are you a good conversationalist?

If you can answer any of these questions in the affirmative you probably have latent literary ability which careful tuition could stir into profitable and enjoyable activity.

New writers who learn the necessary technique can enter this field with every prospect of success. The supply of suitable MSS. does not keep pace with the demand.

Whether you have tried to achieve print, or whether you are so far a complete novice and have not even thought of the possibility of writing for profit, you should not fail to send for a free copy of "How to Succeed as a Writer." It may mean the beginning of a new and more prosperous—and more interesting—life to you.

If you would like at the same time to submit a specimen MS. (an article or a short story) for free criticism, you are cordially invited to do so.

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