THE LEAGUE COUNCIL

See Pages 110 & 111

ABYSSINIA—BY THE BISHOP OF DURHAM

See Pages 106 & 107

HEADWAY

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

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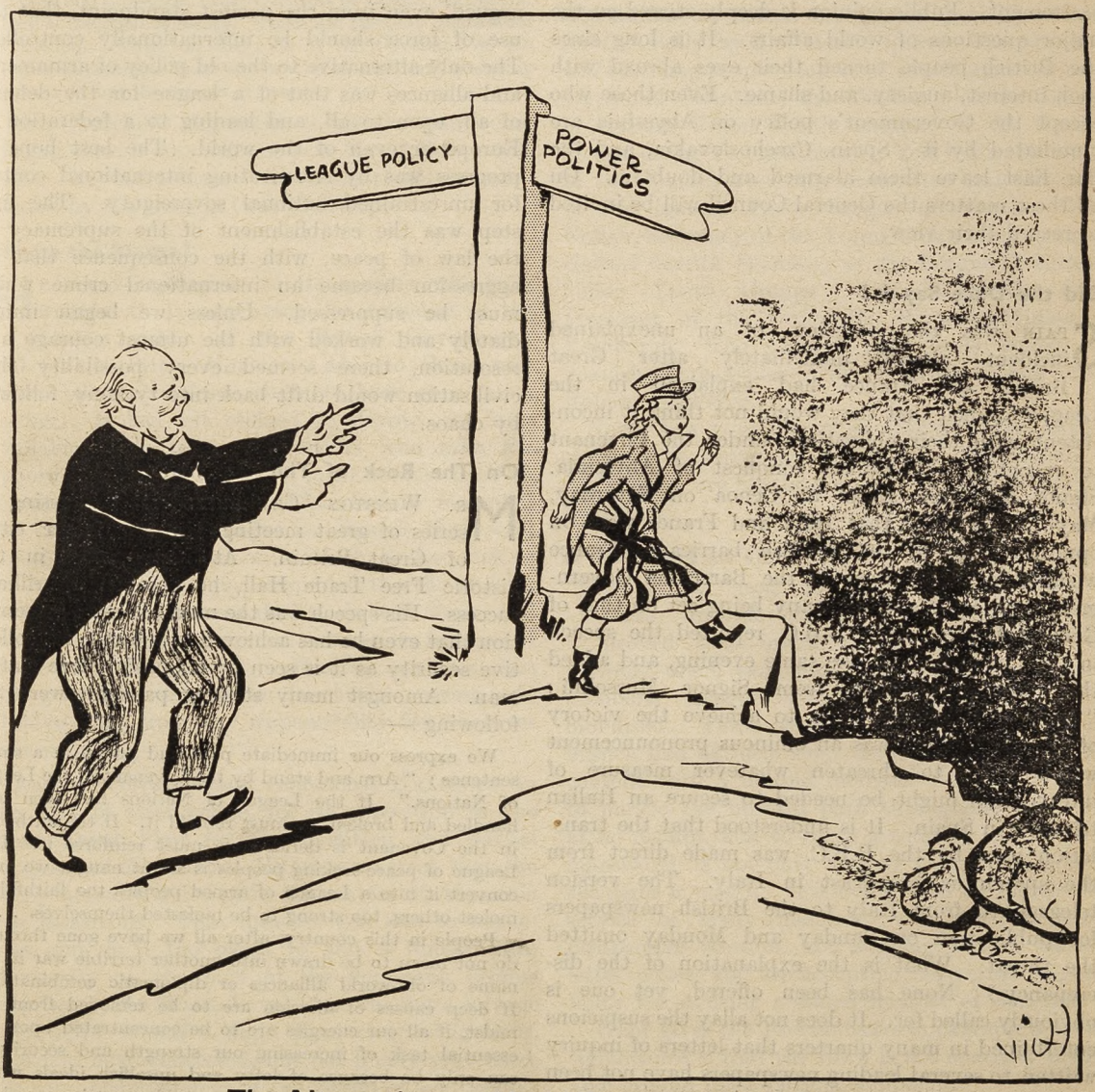

The Alternatives : World Peace or World Ruin

CONTENTS

NEWS AND COMMENTS

The General Council

ON June 15–18 the General Council of the L.N.U. will meet at the Conway Hall, London. The debates promise no little excitement. Public opinion is deeply stirred on the major questions of world affairs. It is long since the British people turned their eyes abroad with such interest, anxiety, and shame. Even those who accept the Government's policy on Abyssinia are humiliated by it. Spain, Czechoslovakia, and the Far East leave them alarmed and doubtful. On all these matters the General Council will be invited to record their view.

Did the Duce Say It?

SPAIN was the occasion of an unexplained incident almost immediately after Great Britain and France had explained in the League Council that they would not think it inconsistent with their obligations under the Covenant to recognise the Italian conquest of Abyssinia. Signor Mussolini spoke at Genoa on Saturday, May 14. He said that Italy and France were on opposite sides of the Spanish barricade, France wishing for the victory of the Barcelona Government, and Italy and Germany being set on that of General Franco. The B.B.C. reported the speech in their news bulletin the same evening, and added this further sentence from Signor Mussolini: "Italy will do everything to achieve the victory of Franco." Here was an ominous pronouncement which seems to threaten whatever measure of intervention might be needed to secure an Italian triumph in Spain. It is understood that the translation used by the B.B.C. was made direct from the speech as broadcast in Italy. The version telegraphed from Italy to the British newspapers for publication on Sunday and Monday omitted the threat. What is the explanation of the discrepancy? None has been offered, yet one is obviously called for. It does not allay the suspicions entertained in many quarters that letters of inquiry written to several leading newspapers have not been printed.

Lord Cecil's Romanes Lecture

AT Oxford, on May 17, Viscount Cecil delivered the Romanes Lecture for 1938. His topic was the League. Surely it was better, he argued, even from the pacifist standpoint, that the use of force should be internationally controlled. The only alternative to the old policy of armaments and alliances was that of a league for the defence of all, open to all, and leading to a federation of Europe or even of the world. The best hope of progress was by substituting international control for unrestrained national sovereignty. The first step was the establishment of the supremacy of the law of peace, with the consequence that all aggression became an international crime which must be suppressed. Unless we began immediately and worked with the utmost courage and resolution, there seemed every possibility that civilisation would drift back into tyranny, followed by chaos.

On The Rock of The Covenant

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL is addressing a series of great meetings in the larger cities of Great Britain. At Manchester, in the historic Free Trade Hall, he enjoyed a brilliant success. His speech was the most effective presentation that even he has achieved of the case for collective security as it is seen by a Conservative statesman. Amongst many striking passages were the following:—

> We express our immediate plan and policy in a single sentence: "Arm and stand by the Covenant of the League of Nations." If the League of Nations has been mishandled and broken we must rebuild it. If the authority in the Covenant is derided we must reinforce it. If a League of peace-seeking peoples is set at naught we must convert it into a League of armed peoples too faithful to molest others, too strong to be molested themselves. . . .
>
> People in this country, after all we have gone through, do not mean to be drawn into another terrible war in the name of old-world alliances or diplomatic combinations. If deep causes of division are to be removed from our midst, if all our energies are to be concentrated upon the essential task of increasing our strength and security, it can only be because of lofty and unselfish ideals which command the allegiance of all classes here at home, which rouse their echoes even of the dictator-ridden people themselves, and stir the pulses of the English-speaking race in every quarter of the globe. That is why I say "Stand by the Covenant and endeavour to revive and fortify the strength of the League."
>
> Here is the practical plan. Britain and France are now united. Together they are an enormous force, which few countries would dare to challenge. I should like to see these two countries go to all the smaller States that are menaced, who are going to be devoured one by one by the Nazi tyranny, and say to them bluntly, "We are not going to help you if you are not going to help yourselves. What are you going to do about it? What are you going to contribute? Are you prepared to take special service in defence of the Covenant? If you are willing to do so and prove it by actions as well as words, then we will join together in active military association with you, and if there are enough of you under the authority of the League, in order to protect each other and the world from another act of aggression."
>
> It is no small or local cause we plead. We must march in a good company of nations and march under the standards of law, of justice, and of freedom. We must gather together round the joint strength of Britain and of France and under the authority of the League all countries prepared to resist and if possible to prevent acts of violent aggression. There is the path to safety. There are the only guarantees of freedom. There on the rock of the Covenant of the League of Nations alone can we build high and enduring the temple and the towers of peace.

Mr. Churchill's argument is all the more convincing since it was delivered on May 9, two weeks before its correctness was dramatically demonstrated by the crisis in Central Europe.

Whose the Blame?

HEADWAY apologises to its readers who have written to it approving its criticism of the League policy of the British Government and of the Prime Minister. Also to those who insist that the criticism ought to have gone much farther. It has felt obliged to devote its little available space to correspondents who take the opposite view. In answer, it must confine itself to repeating that when Mr. Chamberlain lamented the failures of the League as though they were unhappy far-off events with which he had not to do, he provoked the just reminder that he and his Government had a great deal to do with them, and that those failures were in a measure failures of the British Government. Healthy criticism does not give Ministers credit for every success and absolve them from any responsibility for whatever goes wrong.

Another correspondent reproaches HEADWAY, in the light of after-events, for its opposition to the Hoare-Laval Plan for the partition and partial conquest of Abyssinia. HEADWAY agrees that the policy actually followed in the matter of Abyssinia was disastrous. That disaster was due to feebleness and, is it too harsh to add, a fundamental insincerity on the part of the dominant League members? The Hoare-Laval Plan was not a salvage operation; it was a flight from clear obligations. It would have concealed, but not finally prevented, the total abandonment of the victim of aggression.

Youth Answers the Call

THE League and the Union find most of their supporters amongst the middle-aged and the elderly. That, perhaps, is inevitable. They remember the war; their war-time resolve that it must never happen again is unshaken. But the inference, commonly drawn, that youth is indifferent is mistaken. To-day young people in many countries are thinking, debating, planning to devise the means and to secure their utilisation by the governments. League and Union are enlisting in large numbers the most welcome of all recruits.

Proof is afforded by the great National Rally which is to take place at the Empress Hall (Earl's Court) on Sunday, June 12, at 7 p.m. The occasion is one of historic importance, for it is the first time that young people from many different organisations have united to demand a policy of collective security and a firm front against the aggressors. A march is being organised from Shepherd's Bush to the Hall. The meeting will open with an impressive fanfare by fifteen trumpeters specially written for the Rally by Dr. Martin Shaw. The speakers will be young people, leaders of youth organisations: Raymond Gauntlett, the Chairman of the League of Nations Union Youth Groups; E. H. Garner-Evans, of the Young Liberals; Ted Willis, Secretary of the Spanish Foodship Committee and Chairman of the Labour Party League of Youth; John Gollan, Secretary of the Young Communist League; Gabriel Carritt, Secretary of the League of Nations Union Youth Groups; and Marguerite Gale, President of the University Women's Union at Edinburgh. The Chinese and, it is hoped, the Spanish Ambassador will be present, and Paul Robeson will sing.

Never has youth been so active in the League cause. The young do not despair. The threats to world peace are for them a call to action. They are answering.

68 Members to 672

THE L.N.U. need not lose members—even in these difficult days. Rickmansworth has proved that inventiveness, energy, and the personal touch can enlist new supporters in large numbers. League opinion is there waiting to be mobilised. Three years ago the Rickmansworth branch had 68 members. To-day it has 672. Not content with a tenfold increase, the branch hopes to pursue the upward path throughout 1938, and at no distant date to reach a total of 1,000. Rickmansworth is not only making gains; it is holding the gains it makes. It is doing both by the devoted service of many members who are canvassing prospective recruits, not slipping leaflets through letter boxes, and are accepting individual responsibility for securing a stated number of renewals.

What gives the Rickmansworth example a special significance is that the town is not specially favourable ground for a League campaign.

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COLLECTIVE SECURITY WORKS

COLLECTIVE security works. Czechoslovakia maintains her freedom and still lives at peace, although less than a month ago her case seemed desperate. A repetition was threatened of what had happened in Austria. It was averted because at the last moment the Great Powers, whose concern is peace, intimated that they would join in the defence of the victim against armed aggression. The dangerous hour passed. Now the danger is scoffed at; no one ever contemplated a resort to force. Denials and explanations, often inconsistent, jostle one another in newspaper articles and platform speeches. But the facts remain. The sentries on the frontier were alert, the Prague Government called reservists to the Colours, Great Britain and France gave warnings. To believe that all happened without a cause is to believe too much. A few weeks previously the same precautions had not been taken in Austria; within 48 hours Austrian independence was at an end, the country was in the hands of foreign troops, Europe was left to protest in vain or to accept unprotesting the accomplished fact. The prompt rally of Czechoslovakia and of the nations which refuse to stand aside idle and see her overwhelmed, made the method of the sudden, unexpected blow impossible to employ and any blow too reckless an adventure to attempt. Collective security has worked.

The example of Czechoslovakia is an encouragement at a time when every hopeful sign is most welcome. But it is also a warning. That a prospective aggressor should know the formidable strength of the opposition he must encounter, too powerful for him to frame any calculation that he will be able to overcome it, is the soundest guarantee of peace. It must, however, be knowledge and not a dubious guess. Until the guess at what Great Britain and France would do hardened into an assurance, Czechoslovakia was in danger. Had their intentions remained doubtful a day longer, the disclosure might have come too late to prevent disaster.

If a projected line of action must certainly lead to most ruinous consequences, even the most reckless gambler will renounce it. In the history of crime offences are few, not where the heaviest penalties are threatened without a likelihood of their being imposed, but where punishment is sure. Because escape is improbable the risk is not taken; the less the chance of escape the graver and the more intimidating the risk and the more reason there is for avoiding it. The rule which applies in the affairs of individual men applies also in the affairs of nations. Certainty is the decisive factor. It is their different promises that, in fact, when the need arises, they will be brought into play which distinguish collective security as a system and the principle of a world policy, deliberately adopted and openly proclaimed, from an intermittent and erratic collective security ventured upon only in particular and unpredictable crises at the supposed bidding of some national interest adjudged at the moment to deserve vigorous defence. In the one case there is knowledge of what will follow promptly on any resort to force and, therefore, an ever active restraint on violence, in the other no one can determine beforehand when seeking to assess a situation whether collective security is a political reality or an empty name.

The occasional, unforeseen operation of collective security has a further disadvantage. Especially when it is preceded, as it is apt to be, by repeated assertions that the Great Power, which in the end does prepare to act, has no commitments and will never intervene anywhere except to protect its own interests, and will judge each case, as it arises, on its merits in the light of those interests, and when it is followed—the two things usually go together—by further assertions that the Great Power has not and never has had any commitments and would not have contemplated intervention had not its own interests been affected. Widely British newspapers have been so explaining and so justifying British policy in Czechoslovakia. Many British politicians have shown no more good sense. "Don't be afraid. Nothing to do with the League. This isn't a rule; the Government just happened to think that it might have to act this once only." And so the one sure restraining influence, certainty, is reduced to the shadow of a shade and the gambler, not knowing that he will be resisted, is subjected to the strongest temptation to plunge. At the same time the restraint, unexpectedly exerted at the last moment, excites the utmost resentment. Had action been based on fundamental principle, had it been the putting into force of a law which guaranteed peace for all and justice for all, had the special case been dealt with under the general provisions of a world constitution, then the nation which had been held back on the edge of aggression could have believed sincerely that it was the object of a hostile discrimination. Most unhappily in the matter of British action in Czechoslovakia, Germany is entertaining that suspicion. And not without some show of reason. Germans say: "According to the British Press and British politicians, Great Britain has no commitments in Central Europe and only intervenes when a British interest is directly threatened. Does Great Britain, then, consider it so much a British interest to oppose and thwart Germany, that she is compelled to prevent a solution satisfactory to Germany of a problem in which millions of German lives are involved, in a country across the German frontier, having intimate relations with German economy, and a thousand miles away from any contact with Great Britain? Must Germany settle accounts with Great Britain before she can pursue her natural course of development?" In present circumstances the answer is elaborate, involved and, perhaps, not convincing to German minds. Far more effective would it be to say: "The supreme British interest is peace. The only sure way to peace is the setting up and the maintenance of a world order from which war is banished and within which law is enforced."

That a beginning in the operation of collective security should have been made in the special case of Czechoslovakia is a great gain. But it achieves much less and risks much more than the full League system. It must be a beginning only.

LIBERTY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By VANDELEUR ROBINSON

who lived for several years in Czechoslovakia and has made a close study of the country, its language and its problems.

THE Czechoslovak question has just passed through a crisis so acute that the outbreak of a European war seemed a matter of hours. Then, with refreshing resolution, a number of states gave Germany to understand that if she committed aggression she would be resisted. The German manœuvres near the Czechoslovak frontier remained—manœuvres. A little hesitation on the side of the non-aggressive Powers, and a disaster of the first magnitude would probably have occurred. The need for Collective Security, in fact if not in name, if the smaller states of Europe are not to be devoured piecemeal, was abundantly demonstrated; and the efficacy of united resistance to warlike threats was made equally clear.

The Sudeten German question has not yet been settled, and until it is satisfactorily disposed of there may be a series of crises, like those which threatened and eventually destroyed the independence of Austria, but more dangerous, since nobody was willing to defend Austria by war. It is thus urgently necessary for the Czechs to do their utmost to come to an agreement with their German fellow-citizens, and to make it clear from the generosity and sincerity of their proposals that any attack made in spite of their offers would be nothing but unabashed aggressiveness. The Czechs, so far as information is obtainable, are well aware of what they must do, and are making tremendous efforts to achieve a basis for settlement.

None can deny the right of the Czechs to freedom from domination, freedom to manage their own affairs in the country inhabited by their people, freedom to provide for their defence by such promises of assistance as they can obtain from other Powers. No body of people, whether it be a minority of citizens within the Republic, or a neighbouring Power outside, is justified in demanding that the Czechs deprive themselves of the possibility of foreign aid, which, if all parties behave peaceably, will never require to be called upon. Taught by centuries of foreign domination, the Czechs are preparing to sell their lives dearly, and it ill becomes those who live in comparative safety to criticise this determination.

On the other hand, the overwhelmingly German population of certain parts of Bohemia and Silesia and Northern Moravia has equally a right to freedom; and if self-determination for them is not practicable, at least they can claim the right to be treated as equal partners with the Czechs in a State of mixed ethnical composition, and that their language shall be as much one of the official languages of the Republic as are Italian and Romansch in Switzerland. If German members of the Czech Civil Service must be bi-lingual, so also should those Czech officials who have to deal with the German areas. Unfortunately, owing to understandable but none the less regrettable mistakes in the past, the Sudeten Germans have real grievances, and these must be redressed if peace is to follow.

The Czechs and the Germans of the Sudeten Deutsch Partei are not the only people who have a right to freedom. There are also the Socialists and other non-Nazis among the Sudeten Germans; they would like to be ruled by Germans, or by the co-operation of Germans and Czechs on equal terms, but have no desire to see the Nazification of their districts. That is where the Sudeten Deutsch Partei's case begins to become weak; Henlein not only asks for cultural autonomy in the German districts (besides special privileges for the Germans who live in a minority elsewhere in the Republic) but also for authority to manage the police, and to introduce the methods of the Nazis. German Socialists are being terrorised, threatened with the loss of their jobs, made to feel that "when Hitler comes" they will soon find themselves starving or in concentration camps. They will not be allowed to express their views, as Henlein's followers do now, in meetings and agitation.

There is an English legal maxim: "Who comes to Equity must come with clean hands." When the supporters of Henlein appeal to the sacred rights of minorities, to national freedom and self-determination, have they clean hands in respect of those who will become minorities in *their* territory, if local self-government is granted upon their terms?

It is the tragedy of the present situation that the Czechs have not until recently realised to the full the needs of their three and a-quarter million Germans. They have not brutally oppressed them, but there have been pin-pricks, discrimination, and failure in consideration. Now that an honest attempt is being made to do justice, and more than justice, to the claims of the Germans, they find themselves faced with demands quite impossible to concede, and with scarcely veiled threats of invasion and destruction if they will not comply. It would appear that Henlein, for all that he was sent to coo softly to British statesmen, is allowing his people to provoke incidents by insulting local Czech soldiers, or by attempting to jump the frontier and getting themselves shot, and then complaining that order is not maintained. One can easily imagine his atrocity stories if the Czechs were to take him at his word, and draft large bodies of troops into the German districts, to keep order in good old-fashioned military style! But until "order" is maintained, Henlein's Committee does not want him to negotiate. Until Henlein negotiates—he has already conversed with Dr. Hodza—there can be no settlement of the Sudeten question, save one-sided concessions by the Czechs, enacted in the face of hostility, under a running fire of manufactured "incidents," German newspaper agitation, and occasional "manœuvres" in Saxony and other neighbouring districts of the Reich. This course, however, will pay them better than accepting Henlein's unwillingness as absolution from further efforts; because the one essential factor for Czech freedom is the continued confidence of those Powers which, however half-heartedly, still maintain some vestige of League of Nations principles in their mental make-up.

SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS

WHAT IS THE EFFECT OF THE BETRAYAL OF ABYSSINIA?

By THE BISHOP OF DURHAM

It is not three years since our then Foreign Secretary went to Geneva and delivered himself of a great oration which thrilled the world, and which was universally understood to mean that the honour and purpose of Great Britain were bound up inextricably with those ideas and ideals for which the League of Nations was organised. And now we send his successor in that office, my noble friend Viscount Halifax, to unsay what Sir Samuel Hoare said and to justify it by telling us to face the facts.

What facts? There are many facts. Some of the facts which are not being faced, some of the facts which I venture to suggest a self-respecting nation ought to face, such facts, for instance, as moral principles affirmed and national honour pledged and public commitments entered into.

It is the great object of this Agreement with Italy to secure a general appeasement. That indeed is what is stated in the preamble of the Agreement. It is to be the prelude and first part of a general appeasement. It is to ensure a general peace by removing what it has been the fashion to call a war of idiosyncrasies.

Let us examine the phrase. The phrase is borrowed from the vocabulary of the Emperor Napoleon and he meant by it to pass a censure upon those windy theories of universal human rights which play a part, and are always likely to play a part, in revolutionary movements. Those he swept away with contempt and for his part declared himself content to fight for, or lay emphasis upon, not those idiosyncrasies, but the more tangible considerations of material interest.

You may have no desire to press your distinctive constitution or distinctive conceptions upon others and therein assuredly we are all at one. But we must not forget the broad conditions under which we can tolerate a variety of system, of ideas, of educational methods, of religion, the broad factors which provide the structure upon which civilisation itself is built. If you have an idiosyncrasy which breaks up those fundamental conditions, which dissolves faith in treaties, which denies written signatures, which destroys personal liberty, which does not allow equality of treatment to Jews and non-Aryans and so on—if you get a power of that kind which embodies in its policy ideas, convictions and objects which are radically contrary to the very substructure of civilisation, then, my Lords, you may wish to avoid a war of idiosyncrasies, but I take leave to tell you that you are committing yourselves to something which it is not ultimately in your power to secure.

Let me just read a sentence or two spoken by a very great man whom we all hold in reverence, Abraham Lincoln. In the years preceding the Civil War when the great tragedy was darkening the horizon, there were many excellent Americans who thought they could avoid a war of idiosyncrasies and effect some compromise whereby slavery could be limited to so many States, that its worst expression should be restrained, and so forth. Then, in 1858, Abraham Lincoln used words which I submit are words which may be applied without alteration, not to the Republic of America, but to civilised society itself within which these totalitarian States claim to be included. He said:

"A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure half-slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall, but I expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other."

I am convinced that unless this conflict of fundamental idiosyncrasies, this dissidence in the elementary rights of our civilised world can be exorcised—and I doubt whether it can—unless it can be done, our civilisation will have to become totalitarian or remain free.

An enterprising publisher sent me last week a book which is about to appear. It is called *The War Against the West*. It is written by a Viennese Jew who by religion is a Roman Catholic. He has been at the pains ever since Hitler's Government came into existence to make himself master of the great mass of literature which has been pouring out from the Press of Germany, teaching the doctrines and ideas upon which the totalitarian State is rested. It is an exact analogy to the position created by the Encyclopaedists before the French Revolution, and the object of publishing it is that thoughtful English people may understand that we are not up against a system of government, not merely quarrelling with totalitarian States as such, but that we are up against a system under which there can be no assurances for freedom or religion, nor any justice.

You may attempt to avoid a war of idiosyncrasies, but you cannot do it. What you can do, by conceding now this point and now that point, is to put off the immediate conflict, but you are only making sure that when the inevitable strife does at last occur you have conceded the strategic points to your adversaries and made it as certain as you can that you and your civilisation will be destroyed. I am a student as well as a Bishop and I say these things because, seeing them in the long light of history, I am convinced that we are merely playing with the question if we do not go to root principles and ask whereto these proposals are tending.

Do you realise that our credit in that great Continent of Africa to which we are bound so closely, not only by the memory of almost intolerable wrongs inflicted by our nation in the past but also by the fact that in the course of time so great a part of that Continent has come under the control of our country, is concerned? Do you realise what the effect of our betrayal of Abyssinia is going to be on that volume of educated African opinion which, largely as the result of our own generous policy, is growing up in all parts of the Continent? Only this morning I had a letter from a young clergyman engaged in educational work in Nigeria. I know this young man. I know him as a very intelligent fellow who for years has been carrying on educational work in Nigeria. This is what he says:

"The latest developments concerning Abyssinia provide food for anxious thought. I cannot think that our prestige amongst the African people will be enhanced by the latest surrender of principle to expediency. Whilst we withheld recognition of the fruits of Italy's aggression, it was at least possible to maintain that we had done all that was actually practicable to prevent the victor from enjoying the fruits of his crime, but with the impending recognition of the conquest it seems difficult to attach much real meaning to the qualification that recognition does not necessarily imply approval. At any rate, it will be extremely difficult to persuade the average intelligent educated African that there is any difference. I wonder whether ultimately the repercussions on our African Empire may not be greater than any advantages which may be derived from the renewal of friendship with an unscrupulous dictator."

When I look at this Agreement, the first thing that strikes me about it is this. Before the Agreement is to take effect, two great conditions have to be satisfied. First, the war is to be ended in Spain. Signor Mussolini has told us at Genoa that he will not tolerate any other solution than the victory of General Franco; that is to say, before anything else comes out of this Agreement, Spain is to be added to the Fascist Powers and the gateway of the Mediterranean is to be put in the hands of those who cannot by any stretch of imagination be called our friends. The next thing is this, which we have been talking about so much; we are to surrender our principles—we have to sacrifice our principles in order to secure the peace which the agreement sets out. But all the excellent provisions—at least many of them are excellent, not all—have one solitary security: the word of Signor Mussolini. He was at pains at Genoa the other day to assure the world that this time he did mean business, that he really sincerely meant this pact to be kept. I value neither the original promise nor the confirmation; they both come to the same effect.

As practical people looking coldly at the world and weighing facts calmly in the scales of reason, is it reasonable to trust the words of these dictators? There is an excellent book by Professor Seton Watson, and in it he reviews with great justice and with extraordinary insight and wisdom the whole of British policy since the War. He says very much what I have been trying to say in my own way, that underneath all the agreements and discussions there are these cynical facts: that neither Herr Hitler nor Signor Mussolini—*habemus confitentem reum*—neither the one nor the other accepts the broad conditions of self-respecting and reasonable negotiation. They regard treaties as something which they can break at will. Their signatures they can disown when it suits them. You may say that this is severe, but it is only what they themselves have said. I ask you to read this book and to follow the course of this carefully-traced narrative, and you will, I am sure, come to this conclusion: that the mere word of Signor Mussolini or Herr Hitler, after they have succeeded in establishing their will in Spain and in abolishing Abyssinia, is worthless. The Rhineland was occupied against Treaty, Austria has gone, Spain is going, we are asked to register the passing of Abyssinia, Czechoslovakia is now being talked about. Where are we going to stop? The whole programme of *Mein Kampf*, which Herr Hitler laid out with such cynical candour, is being followed with mathematical precision. It seems grotesque that our country, the guardian of these great human interests of liberty and justice, should really be led in this free and easy fashion.

How the War Goes In China

By EDWIN HAWARD,

lately Editor of *The North China Daily News*, Shanghai

NEARLY eleven months have elapsed since Japan's aggression in North China broke China's patience. In the war which followed the overwhelming superiority of Japan's fighting strength—in training, equipment, armament, munitions and organisation—has told its tale. The telling has been unexpectedly protracted. Even now the Japanese seem to be baulked in getting a rapid decision which they do not deny they desire. In accepting the policy of resistance the Chinese Government has rallied the nation in greater unity of purpose, more cohesion and, above all, a finer fighting spirit than was thought possible. The contemptuous attitude adopted by Japanese spokesmen in assessing China's military qualities has disappeared.

Singularly little note has been made of the absence of prisoners in any appreciable quantity on either side. No quarter is given. The struggle is fierce and, strangely enough, Chinese *morale* in spite of colossal losses—and it may be added pathetic inability to organise anything like an adequate medical service—has held firm. Man to man—disregarding disparity in equipment and armament—the Chinese soldier has proved himself to be a match for the Japanese. This is important for, whatever may be the outcome, China has destroyed the bogey of the invincibility of the Japanese army.

Japan's conduct of the campaign has been curiously uneven. Flashes of brilliance have marked her strategy—for example, the rapid movement southwards by General Terauchi's forces to the banks of the Yellow River, the conquest of Shantung and the expert use of mechanised forces in sweeping down the two railway lines from Peiping to Hankow and Tientsin to Pukow (Nanking). Again, after Chinese resistance at Shanghai was broken and treachery facilitated the unopposed landing at Chapoo, the advance on Nanking was brilliantly conceived and executed, although the ghastly atrocities committed by the out-of-hand troops on entry into Nanking have left an indelible blot on the fame of the Japanese Army.

The unevenness of the handling of the invasion has been due partly to disbelief in the stability of China's resistance, partly to internal jealousies and dissension within the army and between other services of Japan's striking forces, and partly to a reluctance to weaken the reserve strength retained for eventual hostilities against Soviet Russia. The fog of war has prevented any reliable estimate of forces engaged. Roughly, it is assumed that the Japanese have 300,000 troops on the Northern front, and, perhaps 100,000 more in the Shanghai-Nanking area. General Hata, who has succeeded General Matsui in Shanghai, has now effected a junction with General Terauchi's troops operating from the North. It is clear that they have met on the Lunghai Railway line to cut off the Chinese at Suchow. But it seems that the Chinese, at considerable cost maybe, have again effected a withdrawal.

After Shantung went, the Chinese forces managed by dint of extraordinary tenacity and unexpectedly well-conceived strategy and tactical skill, to inflict a serious defeat on the Japanese armies advancing to the Lunghai Railway line. They were able to take advantage of a palpable lack of co-ordination in the Japanese camp. Apparently the right wing of the invaders swung out away from the centre and the Chinese shrewdly struck a blow in the gap exposed. Whereas, up to January, the Japanese seemed to have it all their own way in a steady drive southward from Tientsin, the Chinese staged a notable check just before Suchow. Thus, for three months, the Japanese have been held up in Shantung and their march on Hankow has been accordingly delayed. This, despite the fact that round Shanghai alone the Chinese lost 100,000 killed, and in other areas have suffered terribly.

The chief criticism of Japan's handling of the operations will be directed toward her failure to use her sea power to the full.

This may have been due to fear lest action of that kind should produce further complications with Western powers. It may have been the fruit of jealousy between the Army and the Navy. It may also have arisen from a desire to effect Japan's purpose in China with the minimum of effort so as not unduly to perturb the public at home, taught to believe that the Chinese soldier was a negligible factor and that assertion of Japan's will in China did not require an " official " war.

However that may be, the Army, Navy, and Air Force do not appear to have achieved more than fitful co-operation. The indiscriminate bombing and machine-gunning of cities and the countryside throughout the length and breadth of China cannot have assisted the army in establishing quick contacts with the Chinese people in occupied areas. Resentment has been implanted in the bosoms of the Chinese peasants. That disunity at which Japan has frequently scoffed has been ended by the recklessly arrogant adventures of Japan's airmen and soldiers.

Militarily the war is going and can go only one way—Japan's victory in the field. That will not suffice. When it comes to achieving a military success Japan cannot make a mistake. She has no navy against her, her troops with their mechanised equipment cannot be denied. Her trouble comes, however, with the process of consolidation. She cannot maintain the lines of communication without forces beyond her power to despatch overseas. Her provisional or puppet governments have no stamina or prestige.

The question is whether she can, for many months to come, maintain huge expeditionary forces in preserving the ground won and in warding off the activities of guerilla troops who are organised on a grand scale and by no means lacking in central direction. Japan's strategy has been good, her tactics poor, and her treatment of the psychology of the campaign deplorable. She is conquering China, but will it be a conquest ? That is the nightmare for Tokyo.

A CHINA BULLETIN

Supplied by The China Campaign Committee

> " In the existing maelström of doubt, scepticism and confusion in international relations, it is perhaps no longer the fashion to talk much about the League of Nations. But for my part I still believe that no peace can be effectively organised except upon the foundation of a system of collective security."—H. E. DR. WELLINGTON KOO, at the Banquet of Peace, Paris, May 5.

The League of Nations.

IN his appeal to the League under Articles X, XI, and XVII of the Covenant, on May 10, Dr. Koo said : " What she (China) did expect was that the League would come forward with material aid and effective co-operation," and appealed to the Council to apply the measures of the Covenant and to implement the Council resolution of February 3, 1938, and the Assembly resolution of October 6, 1937.

The League Council, on May 14, urged that the members of the League should do their utmost to give effect to the previous resolutions and should take into serious and sympathetic consideration any request the Chinese Government might make in conformity with them.

China.

On April 29 Japanese aviators bombed the League of Nations isolation hospital in Hankow, killing two Chinese employees and doing considerable damage. The hospital was established by the League Health experts in China for the prevention of epidemics.

Chinese Partisans in Manchuria destroyed 53 Japanese bombing planes and the greater part of an aircraft factory in an attack near Mukden on April 27.

Much reconstruction work is being done by the Chinese Government. For example, in April it granted 3½ million dollars for the restoration of the system of artificial irrigation in the Province of Szechuan. Seven electric generating plants are being installed at Chengtu, Yunnanfu, Kweilin and Kwieyong to provide power for the new factories of the interior.

The Tihua (Sinkiang)-Lanchow (Kansu) section of the new road to the U.S.S.R. was completed in April.

The Chinese Air Defence Authorities estimate that 625 Japanese planes had been destroyed between the commencement of the hostilities and May 12 ; 273 shot down in combat, 115 brought down by Chinese anti-aircraft fire, and the rest destroyed by artillery bombardment or as a result of raids on Japanese air fields.

A group of Chinese Moslems has been on a mission to the Near East to gain the support of their co-religionists in Arab countries. They visited Egypt in May. In Egypt there is considerable support for China.

Japan.

By a Customs agreement all dues collected in Chinese ports under Japanese control will be remitted to Yokohama Specie Bank, and then repaid according to quotas to the Inspector-General of the Customs. The agreement is not without direct and immediate benefit to Japan. " Arrears on certain Chinese obligations held in Japan are to be met and balances now held by the Hong-Kong and Shanghai Banking Corp. are to be transferred to the Yokohama Specie Bank."—*Economist*, May 7, 1938.

France.

On May 23 " Les Amis du Peuple Chinois " and the " Maison de la Culture " opened a great Exhibition on China in Paris. " Les Amis du Peuple Chinois " are considering plans to send ambulance units to China.

Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union has recently made an arrangement with China for the purchase of tea from China, thereby reviving a trade that has declined in recent years.

United States.

Japanese exports to the United States were 28 per cent. less in December, 1937, than in December, 1936, according to a U.S. monthly summary of Foreign Commerce.

A China Aid information exchange has been set up to pool information from China and prevent clashing between organisations. Plans are being proposed by organisations working for China in the United States to send out motor ambulance chassis to China. The bodies can be built there.

Burma.

In Burma several active committees are at work of which the Chinese Calamity Relief Fund Committee is the chief one, while the boycott is organised, with the help of the Indian Congress in Burma, through the " Boycott of Japanese Goods Committee." " The boycott has been carried on rather successfully."

Dutch East Indies.

Preparations are well in hand for sending 2,000 kilos of medical supplies to China from Sumatra and money is being collected for four ambulances.

The boycott is meeting with great success.

Great Britain.

Mr. H. J. Timperley, of the *Manchester Guardian*, has brought to this country a film of the Japanese occupation of Nanking, taken by an eye-witness.

May 1 to May 8 was Manchester China Week.

The Manchester Relief and Campaign Committee made a great drive for assistance to China. Over 50 meetings were held, ending with a large one in the Houldsworth Hall, on May 8. The Chinese Shop was a great success.

Japanese imports into Great Britain—January to March, 1938—were £2,632,000, an increase of £2,000 on the first quarter of 1937. In April, imports of silk manufactures (mostly from Japan) were 31.5 per cent. less in value than in April, 1937.

At its Annual General meeting, in April, the National Union of Shop Assistants passed a resolution urging the National Council of Labour to impose an embargo on Japanese goods. The Executive Council of the " Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers " called on its members to boycott Japanese goods. The Alcester and the St. Albans Co-operative Societies now join the list of those boycotting Japanese goods.

The China Campaign Committee during May, voted £150 to the American-Canadian unit operating in Shansi. This is the first British-speaking unit sent to the front.

From Headway's Special Correspondent

A Candid Friend Reviews the League Council Meeting

HEADWAY'S *special correspondent at Geneva is a recognised authority on the League. For many years, during most of which he has been the representative of a famous British Conservative newspaper, he has watched the League's activities at the closest quarters with a critical eye and lively sympathy. He is one of the num rous expert observers who have been convinced by events that collective security and peaceful change are the world's alternative to disaster. His belief is not destroyed by the unsound policies which he has often seen adopted.*

The following account of the May meeting of the League Council is the severest article he has ever penned. He wrote it with a full sense of responsibility, feeling that he owed to HEADWAY'S *readers the duty of the brutal truth. Without accepting all his judgments,* HEADWAY *places his despatch as he wrote it, before the members of the L.N.U. They ought to be told what the League's best friends, anxious to give the best possible account of recent happenings, think of the course pursued by Great Powers who proclaim themselves loyal League members.*

GENEVA, *May* 18, 1938.

LAST week, in Geneva, some hundreds of persons—delegates, journalists, and the general public—assisted with heavy hearts at the gathering-in of the first fruits of the still unratified bilateral agreement between the British and Italian Governments.

It must be said at once that, consciously or unconsciously, the British Government have delivered a deadly blow to the conception of the League as an international political institution. The dictators have had their will of the League. Into this mournful week were crowded all the effects of causes both operating at long-range and of recent incidence. The Session opened in an atmosphere of uneasy rumour—an atmosphere which compelled the Secretary-General, whose "kicking upstairs," as a sop to the dictators had already been canvassed in the Press, to explain to his staff that "the captain was still on the bridge." The development of the Council did not belie its inauguration and as blow after blow was delivered at the ideals of the Covenant and collective security, the atmosphere of the Council Chamber almost palpably darkened. The miserable facts are known, the surrender over Ethiopia and Switzerland, the refusal even to inquire whether there was foreign aggression and the sop thrown to China in another of the pious resolutions which Downing Street presumably keeps set up in type for such purposes. It would be better rather to see what moral (if any) can be drawn from the shame of the Council.

First, and a long way foremost, it is abundantly clear that the reorientation of British foreign policy, faithfully followed by France, which was inherent in the switch-over from Eden to Halifax, has lost the League as a political institution the support of Latin-America. I pointed this out recently in these columns. But while I felt that Pan-Americanism would be encouraged and Latin-American support for the League discouraged, by the new British attitude to the Covenant, I did not imagine that the moral would so soon be drawn or that first Chili and then Venezuela would decide to withdraw from the political activities of the League. (Venezuela's resignation, not yet officially announced, has been adopted by the Venezuelan Chamber of Deputies and will be ratified by the Senate in the very near future. Other departures are likely to follow soon.) As I listened on Saturday to Señor Agustin Edwards, I found it difficult to refute the arguments which he was putting before the Council, or to pick holes in the attitude taken up by Chile. Chile will continue to collaborate with the International Labour Organisation, with the Permanent Court of International Justice, and with the Technical Organisations of the League of Nations. In other words, Chile still regards the League as a useful institution, except on the political side. It may be noted that for all practical purposes the "integral neutrality" accorded to Switzerland by the Council places Switzerland in virtually the same position *vis-a-vis* the League as Chile, except that Switzerland will have to pay the same contribution as heretofore, while Chile's contribution will be sensibly diminished. Switzerland has contracted out of her political obligations under the Covenant. It was somewhat of an irony that half-an-hour after Switzerland had been granted this special exemption by a resolution containing a clause specifically denying to other States the right similarly to contract out of their obligations, Chile should have calmly arrogated the same right by the simple and cheaper expedient of resigning.

Even the best friends of the League ideal must recognise that the British and French Governments are asking too much of the nations, great and small, but particularly of the smaller nations, when they require them to continue to subscribe to a political system—*i.e.*, the penal clauses of the Covenant—which the British and French Governments have themselves not the slightest intention of upholding in practice. The good internationalist at Geneva, while not abandoning his view that the Covenant as it stands is workable, if only there were a will to work it, is compelled to see the point of view of small nations which are asked to run incalculable risks in defence of a system which the British and French Governments have to all intents and purposes publicly repudiated. And there were some of us who did not see much moral difference between the not easily refutable cynicism of Señor Edwards and the unctuous sermonising of Lord Halifax. If there is to be a flight from the Covenant to suit the national Government's rather elementary conceptions of Machtpolitik, it does not soften the blow to have the policy explained in the accents of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge. If we have really to "slay the thing we love," there is still a lurking suspicion that a sword is a more effective and perhaps more honourable weapon than a kiss.

It is difficult to determine which was the more depressing debate—that on Ethiopia, or that on the Spanish question. One could make out a good case for either discussion, but the Ethiopian debate had in it more of the obvious elements of drama. It has been more than adequately treated in the British Press, and I need do no more here than record my conviction that the journalists were not manufacturing the pathos. As anticipated, "Cæsar" did not like being buried, though he was heartbreakingly polite about it. Nor is he yet completely buried. From a certain point of view, all that the Council has done is to leave members free at their discretion to drive a nail or so into the coffin, while maintaining in the realms of international jurisprudence the collective condemnation of the murderer. In this atmosphere of odious unreality, while speaker after speaker announced the unshakable devotion of his country to the Covenant, and his country's intention to disregard the Covenant in practice, the restrained and unanswerable phrases of Dr. Wellington Koo must have come as at least some small solace to the immobile little figure listening at the Council Table to the doom of his country. Dr. Koo pointed the stark moral of non-resistance to aggression and had the courage to say, what so many must have been thinking, that the projected decision of the Council to leave members free to recognise Italy's conquest was an appalling, perhaps a decisive, blow at the existence of the League. But all of course to no purpose. Mr. Litvinov sat heavily on the fence rather like an elephant riding a bicycle. No hope from that quarter. At the end of the miserable business the little Emperor rose and passed out into exile with not a backward look at the Council.

The Spanish debate was perhaps less dramatic, but perhaps even more shame-making for Englishmen in the audience. To Señor Del Vayo's urgent yet reasoned appeal against foreign aggression on Spanish soil, Lord Halifax replied with a cold re-statement of non-intervention for which the only conceivable defence is that its very harshness and lack of sympathy was less revolting than the "Epistle to the Ethiopians." It was noticeable, too, that M. Bonnet, who on the Ethiopian question had backed up the British Government completely in a strange speech full of anecdotal reminiscences of M. Léon Bourgeois, was plainly ill at ease when it came to the Spanish appeal. This *malaise* may be some reflection of France's difficulties and dangers in the Western Mediterranean. There was, of course, no break in the co-ordination between British and French statement of policy before the Council, but it did seem as if the new French Foreign Minister was not wholeheartedly in love with non-intervention as practised from London. As will be remembered, the result of the debate was a beautiful crop of abstentions which are said to have annoyed the British authorities. However, "rien comprendre c'est tout pardonner" and the abstaining states will probably be let off with a caution.

The China resolution is said on good authority to have been pleasing to Dr. Wellington Koo. In the Council he naturally enough took the line that half a rather small loaf was better than no bread; but in the corridors he was avowedly contented, especially at the references made both by Lord Halifax and by M. Bonnet to China's heroic resistance to the aggressor. It may be that Dr. Koo has sources of information denied to the outside world, which justify his optimism. But it was difficult for anyone reading the resolution to notice any appreciable difference between it and the Council's resolution at the 100th Session. The paragraph condemning poison gas warfare was couched in terms general enough to prevent Poland from extending her now traditional abstention to cover it. There may be some advantage in that.

Generally speaking, last week's Council was, by the consent of all with whom I spoke, the most depressing affair yet staged in Geneva. Its fruits may be summarised as the abandonment of Ethiopia and Spain, an anodyne resolution for China, the loss of Chile and Venezuela, and the virtual abandonment by Switzerland of her responsibilities as a member of the League. Nor can it add to the comfort of one who reads this tragic list that while all that was being done was being done with one eye upon Rome, that is to say, in the interests of a provisional bilateral agreement between Great Britain and Italy, and an as-yet-non-existent bilateral agreement between Italy and France, the Duce should have taken the opportunity, at Genoa, last Saturday, to deliver a scientific knock in the eye to the prospects of a Franco-Italian agreement. It cannot have been too reassuring for M. Bonnet to realise that he had played the British game on Spain only to meet with a none too politely worded rebuff. Saturday last was not a good day for the French Foreign Office.

It is difficult to predict developments between now and September, but the controversy on the League's political future would seem likely to be accentuated as between those who wish to prolong the agony and those who wish to end it. Presumably the British Government is to be reckoned among the former. Whether this is done with one eye on the electorate, or whether Downing Street has some good reason for wishing to keep a moribund Covenant on ice, cannot as yet be known. All that can be said is that if the British Government has some such reason they have concealed it very carefully from the world. Pending enlightenment, we wait for the Assembly in a spirit of numbed pessimism, the enervating effect of which has to be felt to be believed.

"I bring you nought for your comfort
Nay, nought for your desire,
Save that the night grows darker yet
And the sea rises higher."

PEACE ON EXHIBITION

By J. S. BUIST, of the *Glasgow Herald*

GLASGOW, *May* 21.

IT would be rather stupid, as well as quite untrue, to try to make anyone believe that the Peace Pavilion is one of the more spectacular buildings in the Empire Exhibition at Bellahouston Park, Glasgow, or even that it is among the more conspicuous. Though it stands on the avenue leading from one of the entrances, that entrance is one of the least important. The Peace Pavilion, therefore, is some distance removed from the centre of things. The crowds that come its way are rather inclined to be coming from or going elsewhere.

That the Peace Pavilion stands where it does is nobody's fault. Peace is not a commercial exhibit—those cynically inclined may doubt whether it is a Governmental one either—and it does not command the funds that make elaborate self-advertisement possible. But, as I feel confident most visitors to the Pavilion will agree, what may have been a disadvantage to begin with has been turned into a positive asset. The Peace Pavilion may not be on the grand scale. It may stand, as it were, aside from the general press of the Exhibition. But, properly considered, that is all to the good. The idea of peace cannot advantageously be sold in the market place. If it is to be accepted, not merely as a matter of sentiment, but as a case with an ethical and intellectual basis, it must be presented quietly and unhurriedly. That is what happens in the Peace Pavilion.

First, as much (and no more) of a description of the external appearance of the Peace Pavilion as will identify it. Those who are interested in architecture will find the architects have used the medium of wood pleasantly, with that note of lightness that is the keynote of the Exhibition generally; but perhaps, since at an exhibition one must exhibit oneself, rather modestly. The Pavilion's overall length is 100 ft., and it is crossed by a transept of almost the same length as the main block. Standing out in relief from the main wall is a huge map of the world showing which States are members of the League and which are not—an impressive reminder of the extent to which a less depressed world opinion than one finds to-day accepted the principles of the Covenant. Above the front portico, which one reaches by a flight of steps, rises a slender belfry, from which, at intervals during the day, a silvery carillon draws attention to the Pavilion in quiet accents that symbolise its message.

But the material conception of the Pavilion—which inside is a place of light and spaciousness—is not primarily what matters. The important thing is the message the Pavilion conveys to a world that sees two undeclared wars in progress, international morality in ruins, and only chaos ahead. The Pavilion's message has, literally as well as figuratively, been graphically symbolised in the huge composite photographs, the work of Mr. Edward Carrick, of London, which cover practically the whole wall space.

It is a real message of peace. Very wisely no attempt has been made to preach peace merely by emphasising the horrors of war. These find a place in the Peace Pavilion, but they do not dominate it. The grim facts of modern warfare in all its degradation of human beauty and human dignity are not much more than touched on. Round a pillar—it might well be a broken pillar to suggest broken lives—so placed that one naturally moves towards it as one enters the Pavilion, is a photograph from a war memorial. The pictured bas-relief of the hurrying crowd of men and women typifies Scottish patriotism; and it also typifies what is here more in point—that modern war is everyone's concern. From this one's eye travels to the first mural panel. A boy is touching off a cannon; wars begin as simply as that. The soldiers face death; perhaps the lucky ones are those who fall, or so one thinks, regarding the maimed survivors.

But peace is not merely the negation of war. Rightly conceived peace should be a time of international co-operation, which, by increasing the nations' understanding of one another, would help to decrease the causes of war. So in the Peace Pavilion the mood of despondency, perhaps of cynicism, that is evoked by the Book of the Covenant standing open at Article XVI does not persist for long. If the open book is a silent reminder of how far the nations have fallen from high ideals, there are other reminders here that are no less eloquent of the positive and necessary work the League has done in promoting international collaboration.

It is heartening, for instance, to be reminded that in its 20 years of existence the League has not been entirely impotent politically, and that by its mediation 17 international disputes have been settled. But, as is only natural at a time when the League's political influence is least strong, most of the emphasis in this display of its work is on its organisation of international co-operation in non-political fields. What the League has done to make the world healthier, to regulate international communications, to stamp out the traffic in noxious drugs, to try to ameliorate the fearful plight of the refugee, and through the International Labour Office—America's only official link with an organisation that was an American idea—to improve the condition of the workers all over the world.

The story is simply told in Mr. Carrick's composite pictures, which are accompanied by a minimum of verbal explanation. Even the most casual visitor, one may imagine, must leave with a deep impression that this is the right way of running the world. And, if one is so minded, and has the leisure, there is a place here to ponder, before one is caught up again in the diverse currents of the Exhibition, what one has seen. From the back door of the Peace Pavilion one passes into the "garden of the good neighbour," that reminder of the pledge of the United States and Canada that "as long as men shall live we will not take up arms against each other."

The world is bigger than North America. We in Europe live in a world racked by the fear of war. But here the great ideal is portrayed, simply, without exaggeration, even with a realisation that peace is not to be had merely for the asking. The Peace Pavilion must impress every thinking visitor to the Empire Exhibition.

BOOK REVIEW

INTERNATIONAL TRAMPS

By T. F. JOHNSON

(12s. 6d., Hutchinson.)

Major Johnson has had his revenge. It is easy to understand the bitterness of a highly-paid official who is requested to resign his post after 15 years in which his personality and his functions have been completely identified. For the author of this book was unique among League officials: he was the virtual dictator of an autonomous bureau—the Nansen International Office for Refugees—loosely controlled, on the basis of annual reports which he himself composed, by the Assembly of the League, and barely supervised by absentee presidents. It would have taken a man of exquisite tact to maintain such a position without incurring great unpopularity; and even the least informed reader of "International Tramps" would not suspect Major Johnson of possessing that quality.

The process of decrying his former collaborators is carried by the author to an extreme length in the case of Judge Hansson, the present President of the Nansen Office, and his friend, Maitre Rubinstein, the distinguished international jurist. The integrity and energy of the former—who unlike the author of the book draws no remuneration—has won him universal respect. And it is surely fantastic to accuse the latter of being the tool of anti-Soviet agitation, when it is notorious that he is constantly attacked by the press of the political White Russian organisations for his lack of sympathy with them.

Major Johnson confesses that his "book is written as much in anger as in sorrow." It is a thousand pities that the author should have allowed personal animosity so to permeate his account of the intricate and distressing history of the refugees that the main reasons for the failure of the League and the Governments to cope satisfactorily with the problem are left obscure. In the early days of the League, when Dr. Nansen or the Greek Settlement Commission were able between them to accommodate in different countries a vast population of emigrants, economic and political conditions were very different from what they are to-day. Instead of unemployment, there was in many countries a demand for foreign labour. But, what is more important, the solidarity of the Allies, enhanced by the prestige of victory, had brought into being a real—though limited—comity of nations to which the smaller Powers gravitated. Here was the nucleus of an international body with power and responsibility which gave to the League a certain effectiveness which it now lacks. In such conditions, a High Commissioner should set forth to help the refugees with great authority behind him; and loans of millions of pounds could be found for the settlements in Greece and Bulgaria. But like every other humane or constructive undertaking of the League, the protection of refugees is inevitably suffering from the disintegration of this sense of community among the Powers, and from the regime of political rivalries which has replaced it.

AU PAIR VISITS

By M. J. CHAPPEL,

Secretary for English Tuition Visits, the National Union of Students

With growing facilities and the cheaper rates of travel, more foreigners each year are anxious to come to England. As they are not allowed, in many cases, to bring money out of their country, they cannot live here unless they can find a post in a family. Often, too, it is essential for these young men and women to perfect themselves in the language, learn more about English life and meet English people, in order that they may be able to take up a post in their own country. This eagerness to visit these shores is complimentary to us, but in the hands of unscrupulous people, leads to a dangerous situation. They, and this applies to girls more than to boys, will take any so-called *au pair* post that they hear of. This is often unfortunate, as the English conception of the term is not as it is understood abroad.

The term *au pair* should mean that a foreigner stays with a family, shares their life and amusement, and has some opportunity of talking the language of the country. In return for this and hospitality, the visitor gives conversational tuition in his own language and companionship. In England this has not been the generally accepted meaning and, probably on account of our domestic servant problem, foreign girls of good family who have taken *au pair* posts have become the unpaid maid of all work. Most families have difficulty in obtaining domestic help, and the housewife has thought that the *au pair* visitor was the solution of her problem. The girl does a little in the house, but her duties are apt to increase, and she eventually does the scrubbing and cooking, work for which she is quite unfitted by upbringing and education. She may have a job looking after very young children, but if she spends her whole time with them she has little opportunity of improving her knowledge of English ; consequently she is very disappointed. She may be paid a shilling or two a week, a wage for which no English girl would come.

These girls are very unhappy, feel themselves exploited, and having spent their money on their fare, are reluctant to go home before acquiring some knowledge of the language. On their return to their own country, they give a most unfavourable picture of England and its people.

The Government, aware of the situation, now insists that before a foreigner visits this country as an *au pair* visitor, the family wishing to receive him or her must obtain an *au pair* permit before he or she enters the country. This is issued for people of 18 years and over when their only duty is conversational language tuition, and where there is adequate domestic help. This cannot check abuses entirely, and many people are much disturbed by the position of these girls. They feel that the receiving of a foreigner into the home as one of the family is one of the most effective ways of fostering that feeling of understanding and appreciation of the other persons point of view, that is so essential today, and that *au pair* visits should be put on a satisfactory basis.

During the last ten years the National Union of Students has arranged *au pair* visits abroad for young English men and women which have been much enjoyed by student and family alike. They have also arranged a certain number for foreigners in England which have met with considerable success, and it is for that reason that they are anxious to increase the number of real *au pair* homes, provided certain precautions are taken.

It is essential that the family should understand what is meant by the term *au pair*—that it means giving language tuition and companionship, but not domestic help. Any bureau arranging these visits should have the welfare of these foreigners at heart, and should not be harassed by any financial considerations. The unsatisfactory nature of a great many *au pair* posts are stressed to H.M. Consuls abroad, and they are asked to discourage foreign girls and boys from inserting or answering advertisements and advise them to apply only to reputable agencies. We feel that the eyes of the public should be opened through publicity in the Press to the abuses possible in an *au pair* post. Societies, scholastic and professional, should be approached and their help and interest sought in this matter. Wherever we have done this we have met with an encouraging response and offers of help and co-operation.

We feel that it is most important to find more real *au pair* homes so that these young foreigners will not take up these doubtful posts. It is for this reason that the National Union of Students is most anxious to hear of more offers of hospitality.

Exchange visits are also arranged by this Union, when no question of language tuition arises. In this case an English student stays in the home of a foreigner, speaks the language of the country, and lives as one of the family. The foreign student stays with the English family for a similar length of time under similar conditions. These visits, which can be simultaneous or consecutive, have proved very successful and have often lead to further exchanges between the families and their friends.

Any further information or details about students will gladly be supplied by the Secretary for Exchange and Tuition Visits, the National Union of Students, 3, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

National and International Collective Economy—No. 2

By F. E. LAWLEY, the author of "The Growth of Collective Economy," 2 vols., published by Messrs. P. S. King. 35s.

This study sets forth the main facts and tendencies in the world's economic development during the twentieth century, so that a true judgment on vital issues of economic policy may be formed. The writer also gives his own interpretation of this experience. The first volume ("The Growth of National Collective Economy") records the extent to which, in many countries, the State has been driven to intervene in economic life and control agricultural, industrial, financial and trading operations. Vested interests are being prevented from exploiting the economic system, and private property rights compelled to submit to State authority and take second place to the public interest. There has been a wide variety of methods of exercising this State discipline. Few people realise how far the economic institutions of many countries have been brought under actual public ownership.

My work describes many interesting forms of such collective enterprise. It discusses the principles upon which their administration should be based : the highest national interest, and not sectional interests—whether those of finance, capital, or Trade Unions—must prevail. Piecemeal State intervention, however, has been found insufficient. Many States have set up national economic councils, or similar bodies, to facilitate the development of central national control of the main currents of the whole economic system ; associating employers' and workers' organisations with the State in the elaboration and administration of national social and economic policy, just as the I.L.O. seeks to do in developing international social and economic policy. The general political and economic principles which should govern a peaceful transition to a collective economic system are enunciated. It is urged that the class struggle must be eliminated by the participation of all healthy and legitimate interests in the constructive work of organising an efficient national economic system on a just basis. In such a system, ideas of economic organisation and co-operation must replace those of *laissez-faire* and competition. The incentives of a healthy professionalism, public service and patriotism, must supplant those of untamed private profit-seeking. Private initiative must be related to the public interest. Ordered national economies, inspired by such motives, are indispensable preliminaries to sound international economic co-operation.

Unfortunately a similar measure of public intervention in economic life has not been achieved in international economic relations. Vested interests, private and national, dominate the world's economic life, which is in a state of anarchy. The second volume of my study ("The Growth of International Collective Economy") describes various attempts, since the latter part of the Nineteenth Century, both by private producers and by Governments, to overcome the evils of a free economic system and to promote international economic co-operation. In an examination of the problems of colonies and raw materials, the basic facts are given, the

imperfect forms of international organisation already developed described and suggestions made for a satisfactory solution of these problems. Special attention is devoted to the economic activities of the League and the I.L.O. The history of their work in this sphere is outlined; and their machinery for dealing with economic affairs is analysed. Emphasis is laid upon the significance of certain Governments' efforts to develop regional economic co-operation; through, for example, British Commonwealth, Pan-American, European, Little Entente, Balkan, Baltic and Scandinavian economic unity. The work culminates in a chapter analysing the failure of these isolated attempts at international economic co-operation, and indicating the ideas and the mechanism which would enable such co-operation to be organised and developed on sound lines. Apart from the war years when, until the dissolution of the Supreme Economic Council early in 1919, most of the world's economic life outside that of the Central Powers was organised under complete international public authority, all this experience has been spoiled by the ideas of *laissez-faire* economics. These have no relation to the facts and necessities of economic life. The International Economic Conference, 1927, the Monetary and Economic Conference, 1933, and the efforts to give effect to the Tripartite Monetary Declaration, of September, 1936, failed because these old ideas had not been discarded. It is my firm conviction that there can be no solid basis for permanent peace, and no certainty of preventing recurring economic crises and of raising standards of living, until the world's economic life has been organised, under public authority, and on an equitable basis, in accordance with the sound principles of collective economy; so that controlled production of commodities will be directed, through new methods of organised trade, to sure markets and adequate purchasing power. Just as national economic councils must discipline national economic life, so a world economic organisation must ensure that international economic relations serve the highest international public interest. In all this work a reformed League of Nations and, above all, a more authoritative I.L.O. could exercise a predominant influence. My final article will outline proposals to achieve this end.

HOW THE I.L.O. BEGAN: II

By KATHLEEN GIBBERD, Author of "The Unregarded Revolution"

THE Peace Conference at its opening meeting in Paris set up a Commission to work out a scheme for an international labour organisation. The workers of the world had been promised that some such organisation should be included in the Treaty of Peace.

The Commission met in one of the highly decorated rooms of an old French palace—fifteen men from nine different countries. Some were ministers, some ambassadors; there was also an employer and a university professor. They set to work with speed, driven by the two great emotional forces that were keeping up the temperature of that feverish post-war period—on the one hand, idealistic hopes of building a new international order; and, on the other, anxious fears lest the workers' revolution in Russia should break out elsewhere. So day after day throughout the early spring of 1919 the Commission met among the fantastic furnishings, unmindful of the coy cherubs in the ceiling, but very conscious of the strong tobacco smoke that Samuel Gompers, the American chairman, puffed from his favourite cigars. They accepted as the basis of their discussions a memorandum that had been prepared in the last months of the war by a group of British civil servants. The chief authors of it, Harold Butler and Edward Phelan, served the Commission in a secretarial capacity, and as the weeks went by they saw their plan accepted with little alteration.

Then came the special meeting of the Peace Conference for the approval of the Commission's proposals.

It has been suggested that some members of the Peace Conference had not fully studied the Commission's proposals. Possibly some did not think that the new organisation would really operate. A few were genuinely enthusiastic. In any case the quite revolutionary proposals were adopted with little discussion and President Wilson, according to plan, warmly invited the new Organisation to hold its first International Labour Conference in Washington in October, 1919, that was to say, in six months time.

The first Conference in six months. That did not leave long for preparations. Harold Butler was to be the Conference Secretary. With the help of Mr. Phelan and a few French civil servants he set to work in a borrowed London office to produce exhaustive information on the reforms to be discussed at Washington—a 48-hour week, universal labour exchanges, time off for women workers during childbirth, no night work for women or young persons, no employment for children under 14.

When at the appointed time the Conference met with preparations complete, it was in spite of a host of obstacles. Mr. Wilson's invitation had only been confirmed at the eleventh hour by a government that wished to have nothing whatever to do with the new Organisation. The President himself was seriously ill. Strikes on both sides of the Atlantic nearly prevented both the invaluable memoranda and some of the chief delegates from arriving in time. And the 40 delegations who struggled to Washington (some of them in ships that were crowded with demobilised troops) were bewildered by the accommodation provided for them. The immense navy building offered a number of offices for the convenience of the different delegations, but it was so immense that delegates continually lost their way in it, although perhaps the messenger boys who travelled through it on roller skates were of some assistance. The Conference itself met in the Pan-American Building where the symbols of the Americas included parrots and gold fish. Here it attracted the attention of the American Press and in some newspapers a campaign was started for the deportation of the "undesirable aliens."

In an atmosphere of uncertainty and optimism the Conference accomplished its work and the reforms mentioned above were set out in six conventions.

Moreover the Governing Body (which is the corresponding organ to the Council of the League, as the Conference is the parallel to the Assembly), met for the first time. The chief item on its agenda was the election of a Director who should be the chief servant of the Organisation and head of the office that had presently to be founded. It was generally expected that Mr. Butler would be chosen, but the French felt that as the Secretary-General of the League was a British subject this second honour in the new international civil service should go to a Frenchman. They successfully pressed for the appointment of a Socialist Minister who was not present at Washington—Albert Thomas.

Some weeks later in London the nucleus of the I.L.O. office staff met their chief, a short man with a brown beard and very lively eyes behind thick spectacles. Mr. Phelan, in his classic and altogether admirable story of Albert Thomas and the I.L.O.* explains some early misgivings. He tells how Albert Thomas, with his French methods, left nothing to the initiative of his subordinates. There was the occasion, for instance, when he kept reminding them that they must be sure to provide the members of the Governing Body with blotting paper. Mr. Phelan, one of the chief architects of the constitution of the I.L.O., and perhaps the most brilliant brain that has served the Organisation, confesses to annoyance about the blotting paper. But he admits that this was all part of the business of learning other nations' ways, of practical international co-operation.

With the appointment of Albert Thomas as Director the I.L.O. began its real record of achievement. No story of the Organisation would be complete without some account of his single-mindedness in the cause of social justice and something said about the benevolent personality whose sudden going was a personal bereavement for all his Office staff. But it would be absurd to try to do justice to Albert Thomas in a concluding paragraph. I prefer to recommend Mr. Phelan's book.

* *Yes and Albert Thomas.* (Cresset Press.)

READERS' VIEWS

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

THE ANGLO-ITALIAN AGREEMENT AND THE L.N.U.'s GENERAL POLICY

SIR,—In May's HEADWAY, I like the article "Is It Peace?" though I am in general agreement with Jessie Capper's letter which, I am convinced, is of utmost importance. I cannot say how much I deplore that opinions like those expressed under "Readers' Views" by A. E. Legg and R. A. Wheeler have obviously obtained a stranglehold upon the great body of L.N.U. workers.

"If we say we have no sin we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us. . . ." *Our* "aggressions" are implicit in the Peace Treaties and in our continued attitude towards them. From any "Real League of Nations" standpoint they should be as visible to all of us as they are to others.

Why did the L.N.U. abandon that great and fundamental policy outlined in its manifesto of December, 1936, and confirmed at the Council's General Meeting in June, 1937, and turn, instead, to piecemeal treatment of separate symptoms—inevitably multiplying—of that great sickness (self-interest) to which all nations, our own included, have so long been subject?

If the abandonment of that policy was due to the fact that the "Union" met—even in this country—with no adequate response to a steady and determined endeavour to popularise it, then we have no right to call ourselves a peaceloving nation. Yet no other explanation occurs to me, unless it be that the "Plagues of Egypt" are intensifying; and that seems a much less logical one.

We should have to *fight* for a League that keeps Article XIX of the Covenant tucked away into the background, but not for one putting it in the forefront. The values of those two Leagues are also incommensurable.

HULL. B. BURNE.

HONOUR?

SIR,—The Judas deed has been done. In the words of Haile Selassie the Covenant of the League of Nations has been torn up by the members themselves. The representative of the British Government has said, in words of Pilate-like smugness: "We wash our hands—see ye to it, to do as ye will." Christian Britain was rebuked for immorality by non-Christian Russia, while the rest covered their heads in shame, excepting, to their honour, New Zealand and China, while the little Emperor of Abyssinia towered in moral dignity above them all. Such was the scene at Geneva on May 12, 1938, as it will be recorded in history. Apparently the only sacrifice for "peace" which our Government is prepared to make is that of honour, but do the British people approve of this throwing of the people of Abyssinia to the dogs of war to save their own skins, and at the bidding of their murderer? What is their answer, and what is the answer of the people's League of Nations, the League of Nations Union and its federated societies? A. C. TENNANT.

A DEFENCE

SIR,—Allow me to record my entire approval of Mr. F. W. Senior's letter of protest at the unfair criticisms of the Prime Minister.

We may not approve of his policy, but that does not justify the accusation that he is responsible for the recent decline—we all hope temporary—of the League.

It must surely be obvious that a League without the support of the U.S.A., Germany, Italy and Japan, and the active hostility of the three latter Powers, is compelled to walk circumspectly. To press it to undertake tasks which are beyond its present powers is only to cause it to court further rebuffs which will bring it still further discredit.

These are the very sound reasons given for the Premier's present policy.

These unfair attacks upon the Prime Minister who is just as desirous as is the L.N.U. of organising peace upon a firm basis, appear to many of us to be animated by party political hostility and only result in causing the Union to lose the support of those many Conservatives who are loyal League supporters, and also of that large body of electors who are not associated with either of the political parties.

Dorking. ERNEST J. CORNER.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

SIR,—Amid the denunciations of the "weaknesss" of the National Government I look in vain for any recognition of the grave share of responsibility for their present difficulties of the journals (including HEADWAY) who attacked Sir Samuel Hoare's wise and timely effort to procure a peace of compromise for Abyssinia as a "betrayal of the League."

No man can deny that had the Hoare-Laval scheme not been smothered at birth the Negus would be still on the throne; there would be no Berlin-Rome axis, the League sanctions would have achieved at least a partial success—and Austria would still be free. Why not honestly admit this plain truth? OSWALD EARP.

2, Queen's Road, Egham.

THE OTHER SIDE

SIR,—I notice in Ann Sitwell's article on the "Nazi Triumph" that she refers to the forcing of Schuschnigg's supporters to clean the pavements, to wipe out old slogans painted on houses, etc. This is painful, but in fairness it should be made known that exactly this method of humiliating and *quasi*-torturing opponents was introduced into Austrian life by the old régime of Dolfuss, and Schuschnigg himself. That may not justify the action of the Nazis, but it places it in a more human light. I know that in the old days prominent supporters of the Nazis were often compelled to wipe out the Swastikas which young Nazis had painted.

It is also worthy of some note that Mr. Winston Churchill, in the *Daily Telegraph* recently, refers to the fact that the old Austria was no more than an Italian colony, and was not in any real sense independent. It is thus not extraordinary that Austrians should prefer to return to their ancient ties with the Reich rather than remain in such a painfully subordinate position.

Letchworth, Herts. MEYRICK BOOTH.

CODREANU AGAIN

SIR,—This controversy over the record of the person who calls himself Codreanu must be growing as wearisome to you as it is to me. As regards the League: "Codreanu" received foreign correspondents in Bucharest, on November 29, 1937. The *Journal des Nations*, for November 30, reports him as saying, *verbatim*:—

"Nous sommes avec Rome et Berlin contre les démocraties de l'occident, contre la petite Entente et l'Entente Balkanique et contre la Société des Nations. Si nous avons le pouvoir, 48 heures apres notre victoire la Roumanie aura une alliance avec Rome et Berlin."

He used practically identical words to the special correspondent of the *Daily Herald* who published the interview on January 7, 1938, and frequently in his own Roumanian Press.

I do not say that "Codreanu" personally instigated the Duca murder, but that he consistently preached violent methods, and that the murder was carried out by members

of his organisation. The latter point was abundantly proved at the trial, and so far as I know, Mr. Edwards is the first person ever to question it. For the former he can find evidence enough if he will trouble to read "Codreanu's" own speeches and articles.

In his own book "Dentru Legionari," Vol. 1 (p. 211), "Codreanu" describes in detail the assassination which he himself committed, and of which also Mr. Edwards had not heard. "I drew my revolver and fired. I aimed at those who were approaching me (viz., the gendarmes who were arresting him for breach of the peace). The first to fall was Maniu (the Prefect of Police, who was killed). The second to fall was Inspector Clos. The third, Comisar Husanu."

At his trial, "Codreanu" never denied his action, but pleaded justification, on which ground the jury acquitted him. In view of the verdict, I, being cognisant of my facts and careful of my words, used the word "killer" and not "murderer" in my article.

Finally, sir, while thanking you for allowing me space to defend my veracity against this renewed attack, I must give notice that my time has a certain value to myself. I can spend no more of it in supplying Mr. Edwards with references and with free individual tuition in foreign affairs.

All Souls College, Oxford. C. A. MACARTNEY.

PROPAGANDA AT EMPIRE EXHIBITION

SIR,—May I inform your readers that I had the pleasure recently of visiting the Peace Pavilion at the Empire Exhibition in Glasgow.

I was very greatly impressed by the very fine propaganda which is being conducted there through the medium of some excellent photomontage. Especially striking was the symbolic representation of Collective Security. It had occurred to me that our faith in the collective system would not be readily amenable to illustration by picture, but the artist has succeeded in making a most convincing demonstration which impressed me, perhaps more deeply than the most eloquent oratory.

The Organising Committee is to be congratulated on a very fine piece of work.

WILLIAM POOLE
Chairman, League of Nations Union, Scarborough.

BOYCOTT JAPANESE GOODS

SIR,—As Mr. E. Cave has criticised me and my views in somewhat strong language I must crave permission to reply, difficult as it notoriously is to carry on a controversy in a monthly publication. In his enthusiasm to castigate me, Mr. Cave firstly fails completely to draw any distinction between individual boycott on the one hand and a League or international boycott on the other; and secondly, completely ignores the most important part of my letter which made it very clear that I was strongly in favour of a real international boycott against an aggressor on the part of the Governments composing the League. As to the Italian squeal, it was precisely this threat and not that of an individual boycott which caused it. When Mr. Cave can quote me an example of a private boycott having stopped an aggressor or a prospective aggressor, no one will be more pleased than I.

In what way these views of mine represent "paralyzing, demoralising evil cant" I may be pardoned for failing to see, and I do not think abuse ever gets us far in any right direction. As to my constituents! Well, happily, I have none. CECIL H. S. WILLSON.

Weybridge.

[Note: Some of these letters are referred to in News and Comments, pages 102 and 103—Ed.]

Peace and the Mercantile Marine

By J. D. JOHNSTONE, Master Mariner

THE piling up of armaments, however necessary it may be, is draining the resources of commerce.

Every country in the world now considers armaments its only salvation; and yet all realise that war is madness. Commerce creates commerce; armaments cripple commerce and create strife amongst nations, which lead to war and misery.

Where are we bound?

As our armaments increase, so our mercantile marine decreases. The resources of the world, available for the benefit of mankind, are being used for destruction.

Addressing the annual meeting in London of the Chamber of Shipping, as the new President, Mr. W. A. Souter declared that, looking over a long period of successive ups and downs, one could not escape the impression that the true title for the history of shipping in the last 100 years should be—"The Growth and Decline of the British Mercantile Marine." During the last 20 years, British Shipping had not been able to repair the loss of seven million tons suffered in the last war.

The principal resolution adopted at the meeting dealt with world trade expansion. How can this be realised, if we are to accept the statement that we have not been able to repair the loss of seven million tons, suffered in the last war?

Viscount Runciman, speaking at Newcastle-on-Tyne, deplored the fact that since the world war the number of British merchant ships had decreased by no less than 2,000.

When he went to the Board of Trade in 1931, he was shocked at the amount of leeway there was to be made up. Great Britain could not continue to be a strong and virile nation, if not prepared to place carriage by sea in the forefront of national importance.

Here is the grim truth. Not only have we been unable to replace the total of seven million tons lost during the war, but also in addition the number of British Merchant Ships has decreased by 2,000 since the war.

Some may declare these figures are inaccurate. No one can deny that the British merchant service is in a most unhappy plight; and is likely to remain so for the next two years, during the height of rearmament.

What now? What is the wise policy after rearmament? Is there to be trade and peace, which the people of the British Commonwealth hope for as the result of that vast expenditure on munitions of war?

Roads and railways at home will be no solution, if we neglect the highways of the world. The distribution of men and women from overcrowded unemployed areas into the empty spaces of the Commonwealth can be carried out only by the mercantile marine. The work we have neglected to do in the last 20 years will absorb us for another 20 years if we are to recover lost ground. It demands energetic measures; and if no energetic measures are taken, we shall sweep towards disaster.

Some people declare that either war or economic disaster is inevitable. But reasonable men will decline to admit that the British Commonwealth of Nations is unable to solve the problem. Everyone realises that another world war would mean the destruction of all that is worth while in life. Then who is mad enough to start the destruction? The world is hoping for a saner issue, when the terrible armament race reaches its end.

Surely there is enough common sense in Great Britain to realise that we shall be in the same position as we were 20 years ago, with factories and shipyards idle, with hundreds of thousands of unemployed, and unless energetic steps are taken, with no means of transferring those unemployed to other areas. We must take up the problem of developing our mercantile marine, and so create trade to provide the means which shall transfer people to new occupations and new houses elsewhere in the Commonwealth. The name itself gives us a lead. The Commonwealth, the heritage of the people. Our neglect of our heritage has caused other nations to declare that we are not fit to hold such immense possessions. We must prove that they are wrong. The League of the British Commonwealth of Nations can offer a model for the League of all Nations.

There is no other way to remove the doubts of misery and despair and replace them with the courage of hope. The rich earth invites us to fulfil our destiny, and to help to make a better future. If we act now we shall soon be able to say not that the last 100 years has seen the growth and decline of the British mercantile marine, but rather that the last 20 years have been a temporary reverse.

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