

FULL TEXT OF SIR SAMUEL HOARE'S SPEECH

See pages 189 to 192

DR. SCHNEE ON GERMAN COLONIES

See page 196

HEADWAY

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A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

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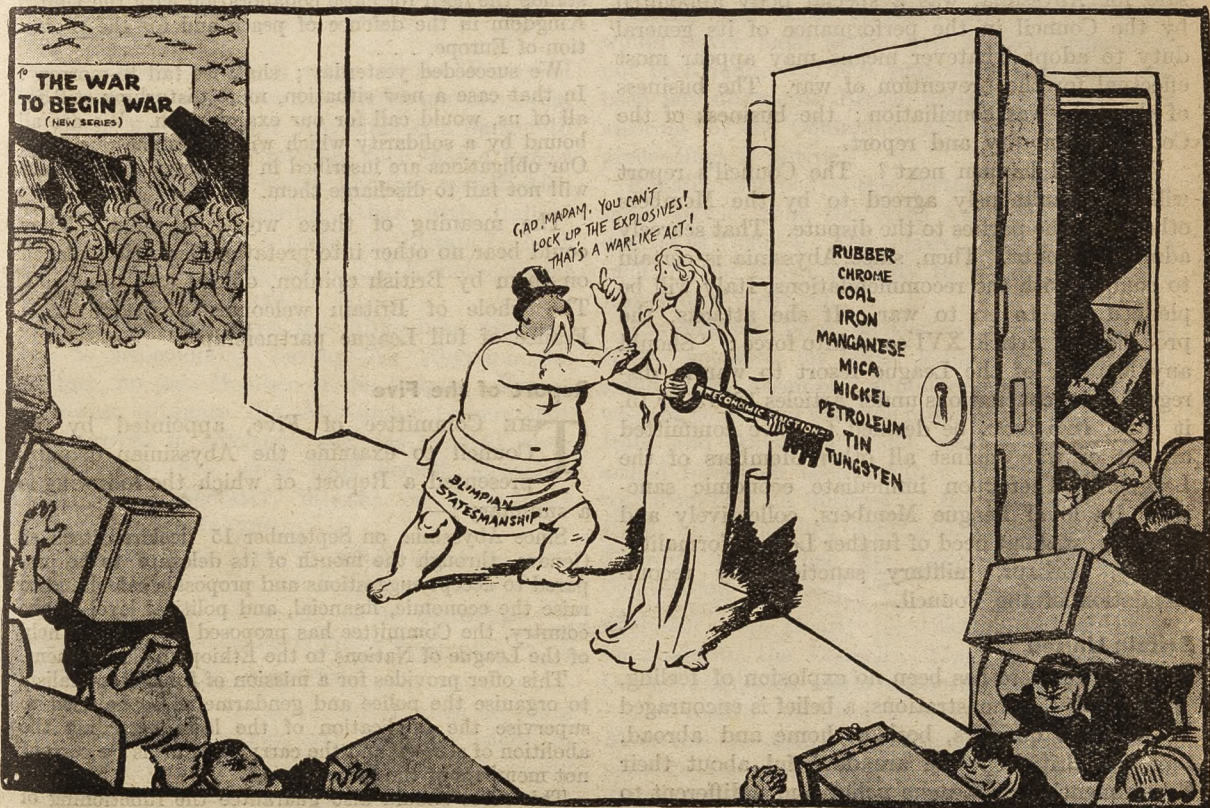
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THE LEAGUE CAN LOCK THE DOOR



With acknowledgments to the "Evening Standard."

THE KEY.

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NEWS AND COMMENT

An Historic Speech

Great Britain has taken her stand. "The support and extension of the authority of the League of Nations" was declared by the British Government in the King's Speech last November to be "a cardinal point in their policy." The Foreign Secretary, in the Assembly on September 11, gave the world the same assurance in even more explicit terms. Great Britain, facing a crisis which makes all the burdens of the Covenant formidably real, says her policy is the whole Covenant. In all circumstances she will honour her bond.

A carefully considered pronouncement by the King's Minister, Sir Samuel Hoare's speech opens a new and hopeful chapter in world history. It has made a profound impression throughout the world. Because of its supreme importance, the present number of HEADWAY omits several regular features to print it in full. Every student of international affairs will be well advised to put it aside for reference.

Article XV

By a unanimous vote of its other thirteen members, Italy refusing to attend, the Council has brought the Abyssinian dispute under the procedure prescribed in Article XV. The Committee of Five, which spent three weeks in an attempt to hammer out terms both satisfactory to Italy and safe for Abyssinia, was a special body appointed by the Council in the performance of its general duty to adopt whatever means may appear most effectual for the prevention of war. The business of the Five was conciliation; the business of the Council is inquiry and report.

What will happen next? The Council's report will be unanimously agreed to by the Members other than the parties to the dispute. That scarcely admits of doubt. Then, since Abyssinia is certain to comply with the recommendations, Italy will be pledged not to go to war. If she attacks, the provisions of Article XVI come into force: "Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenations under Articles 12, 13, or 15, it shall, *ipso facto*, be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League." Thereupon immediate economic sanctions by loyal League Members, collectively and severally, without need of further League formality. Finally, perhaps, military sanctions by recommendation of the Council.

Britain United

BECAUSE there has been no explosion of feeling, no noisy demonstrations, a belief is encouraged in some quarters, both at home and abroad, that the British people are doubtful about their Government's firm League policy and indifferent to what is happening at Geneva.

No mistake can be more complete. From all parts of the country and of the Empire, Sir Samuel Hoare and Mr. Eden are receiving messages of thanks and assurances of support. They might be film stars, say their secretaries, struggling with the overwhelming mail. Other evidence is supplied by the meetings of the L.N.U. in all parts of the country.

Everywhere the same eager interest and the same determination are reported. Britain has made up her mind. The League is her hope; she will not allow that hope to be wrecked.

France Promises

THE Premier and Foreign Minister of France, M. Laval, rallied to the British Foreign Secretary. On September 13 he said:—

The Covenant remains our international law. How could we possibly allow such a law to be weakened? That would be the denial of all our ideals. Even our interests would be opposed to any such course. The policy of France is based entirely upon the League of Nations. . . .

No country welcomed the words of the British Secretary of State with more satisfaction than did France. No country is better able to appreciate and to estimate the scope of such an undertaking. This partnership in responsibilities of all kinds, in all circumstances of time and place, a responsibility which is implied for the future by such a declaration, marks a date in the history of the League of Nations. I rejoice thereat with my country, for my country fully understands the need for close collaboration with the United Kingdom in the defence of peace and for the protection of Europe. . . .

We succeeded yesterday; shall we fail to-morrow? In that case a new situation, more disturbing still for all of us, would call for our examination. We are all bound by a solidarity which will determine our duty. Our obligations are inscribed in the Covenant. France will not fail to discharge them.

The meaning of these words is plain. They could bear no other interpretation than that placed on them by British opinion, official and unofficial. The whole of Britain welcomes a pledge from France of full League partnership.

Report of the Five

THE Committee of Five, appointed by the Council to examine the Abyssinian dispute, presented a Report, of which the following is a summary:—

Since Abyssinia on September 15 declared itself at Geneva through the mouth of its delegate to be prepared to accept suggestions and proposals calculated to raise the economic, financial, and political level of the country, the Committee has proposed to offer the help of the League of Nations to the Ethiopian Government.

This offer provides for a mission of foreign specialists to organise the police and gendarmerie, to be used to supervise the application of the laws regarding the abolition of slavery and the carrying of arms by persons not members of the armed forces.

This force should also guarantee the functioning of the police in those cities which have European residents

(Addis Ababa, Dire-dawa, and Harrar), guarantee the security of agricultural regions where there are Europeans and where the local authority is insufficient, and maintain order on the frontier to guarantee neighbouring territories against raids and acts of brigandage.

Foreign specialists would control the country's economic development, public works, posts, telegraphs, and telephones, balance Ethiopia's finances, the exploitation of land and minerals, the system of taxation and loans, the judiciary, education and hygiene.

The choice will be given between the nomination of a delegate from the League of Nations to the Imperial Court who would have under his control four principal advisers to control the public services or the institution of a College of Controllers, the President of which would be a representative of the League.

The League delegate or the College of Controllers would report at least once a year to the League, and the Ethiopian Government would have the right at the same time to submit to the League Council its observations on such reports.

This arrangement would run for five years, the League Council having the option to prolong and/or modify it.

The French and British representatives on the Committee of Five stated that they would be prepared to consider favourably territorial adjustments between Italy and Abyssinia, consenting on their part to territorial concessions to Ethiopia on the Somali coast.

The same representatives stated that they would be disposed to recognise without prejudice special Italian interests in the economic development of Abyssinia by means of the conclusion of economic agreements between Italy and Abyssinia on condition that the interests of France and Britain in all agreements at present existing should be recognised.

The Members of the Committee were Spain, France, Britain, Turkey, Poland. Señor de Madariaga was the Chairman.

Italy's Answer

ITALY'S observations in reply to the Report of the Committee of Five are utterly unconvincing.

Signor Mussolini says Abyssinia is a danger to Italy. He ignores the relevant fact that a longer part of the Abyssinian border marches with British and Anglo-Egyptian territory than with Italian. Why is not Abyssinia a threat to Britain? Is it because Britain is unaggressive and British colonial administration competent?

Signor Mussolini says the Abyssinian Government is irremediably barbarous. Abyssinia is, therefore, no true Member of the League. But at the lowest estimate the Abyssinian Government has improved in efficiency and has effected some reforms since 1923, when Italy herself, Mussolini already being Dictator, insisted on Abyssinia's admission to the League.

Signor Mussolini says Abyssinia must be conquered because she does not keep her treaties. But in what he proposes to do he is betraying the League Covenant, the Paris Peace Pact, and many other treaties which carry Italy's signature.

Signor Mussolini was more candid when he wrote that Abyssinian slavery was not the cause of Italy's policy, although Italian conquest would put an end to that slavery. Italy, he declared, needed room for expansion.

"Express" and "Mail"

THE League of Nations Union a month ago published a pamphlet on the Abyssinian Dispute, which has received a remarkable public welcome. It continues to sell in numbers a popular novelist might envy. In order to bring it more quickly to the notice of the general public, the Union sought to advertise it in the *Daily Express* and the *Daily Mail*.

The *Daily Express*, although no friend of the Union or the League, accepted the advertisement, and was good enough to comply with a request that it should be allowed a specially prominent place. The *Daily Mail*, giving no reason for its action, refused. Perhaps at Northcliffe House there was felt to be an uncomfortable significance in the first line: "If you want to know the FACTS read . . ."

The Union pamphlet contains thirteen chapters, illustrated with maps, and telling the story of the crisis on a basis of official documents. Only the last chapter is controversial matter, and that is so described in the prefatory note. In the *Daily Mail* and the *Evening News* these proportions are very different; and their readers, needing it much more, do not receive the same fair warning.

Ignorant Ill Will

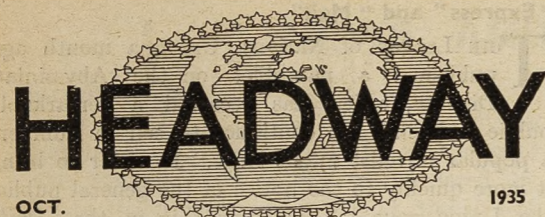
HERE are two examples of how the *Daily Mail* and the *Evening News* have attempted to mislead British opinion.

A *Daily Mail* leading article asserted that the Disarmament Conference was the cause of many quarrels, and that Britain's present difficulties would never have arisen had British armaments not been reduced. This suggestion that there has been any unilateral British disarmament since the meeting of the Conference and as a result of its proceedings is untrue.

Equally untrue is the further charge, in the same article, that the crisis over Abyssinia is a quarrel at Geneva. The quarrel, if it can be called such, is the threat of Italy to invade and annex Abyssinian territory.

The *Evening News*, on the day after Sir Samuel Hoare, speaking for Great Britain, had taken his stand in the Assembly, announced that the League was not concerned with the intentions of any Power. Italy and Abyssinia might concentrate all their armed forces on their frontier, and the threat of war would be no business of the League's. When Italy had launched her attack, explained the *Evening News*, then the League might send a Commission of Inquiry to the scene, and, if the aggressor were clearly identified, a report might be made to the Council. Finally, a unanimous Council resolution might authorise sanctions.

The foolish mistakes crowded by the *Evening News* into a small space are so many that they provoke the wonder, does not the ignorance at Northcliffe House exceed its ill-will? No travesty could be more complete.



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THE PURPOSE OF THE LEAGUE IS PEACE

GREAT BRITAIN has no quarrel with Italy. There is no danger of an Anglo-Italian war. Indeed, if all efforts fail to settle peacefully the dispute between Italy and Abyssinia, the only war will be an Italo-Abyssinian war. There is no such thing as a League war. Even when League members come to the support of the Covenant with their armies, and navies, and air forces, war is a misnomer. A police measure undertaken by the world community to defend the world's peace correctly describes it.

The League will act. Loyal League members will first break off diplomatic relations with the aggressor. Next, they will apply economic pressure. Later, they may find themselves obliged to repel force with force. But even the employment of their armies and navies and air forces will be something very different from war. War is the attempt of one nation, by the use of armed violence, to impose its will on another nation. Collective resistance to aggression, undertaken by loyal members of the League in accordance with their obligations in the Covenant, has another character, and is directed towards other ends.

The League method is to restrain the peace-breaker, not to defeat him. Defeat belongs to the older order of ideas: the international anarchy which led to 1914. The purpose is to induce the peace-breaker, at the earliest moment and with the least cost to all concerned, not to try to be plaintiff, judge and jury, claimant and sheriff's officer and police, all at once, in its own cause, but to seek justice through the machinery provided by the League.

Collective resistance to aggression succeeds as soon as the aggressor ceases his attack. Settlement based on force is no part of the League method. As soon as the forces operating in support of the League have checked the forces of anarchy they disappear from the scene. The League takes up again its task of peace making. It devises terms which, by doing justice to the parties, safeguard the interests of all.

Britain opposes Italy no further than her League duty requires. With every member of the League, she has set her hand to the Covenant; and she means to honour her obligations in full. She has adopted the League ideal. She is developing her world policy within the limits set by the League. She entertains herself no aggressive intentions. By the League she is guaranteed against the harm which aggression must do her. Whether she is the immediate victim of the

attack or not, she must suffer heavy damage. Only as a League member, knowing how necessary a strong League is to all the world's welfare, and how disastrous the League's collapse must prove to herself and to all League members, is Britain opposed to Italy. If a conflict comes it will be between Italy and the League, between an outlaw nation and the enlightened and active conscience of the world. League members may be trusted to restrict the use of violence to the bare, inevitable minimum.

To-day, in the pause before fateful decisions are taken, either for good or ill, it is wise to dwell upon the first words of the Covenant, "in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security." The League exists to preserve peace, to restore it when it has been broken, and to help the peoples of the world in turning it to always more splendid and more creative uses. The provocative attitude of Italy, Signor Mussolini's frequently repeated boasts that he will treat his country's signature as though it were a blot on a piece of paper, have produced their natural consequences. Some ardent supporters of the League are planning victorious campaigns in all three elements, on land and sea, and in the air. They almost persuade themselves that the crisis is welcome; they acclaim an opportunity for the League to demonstrate an overwhelming strength. They are allowing their enthusiasm to confuse their judgment.

In the workaday affairs of private life, the test commonly applied to the law is the fewness of the occasions on which it has to be invoked. The popular instinct is sound. Success is shown not by a frequency of conviction, but by a rarity of criminals. Judges and magistrates deliver congratulatory addresses from the Bench, not when they have to inflict many punishments, but when no prisoners appear in the dock. The police, of whom Britain is so justly proud, have won their fame, not by a ruthless promptitude in suppressing disorder, but by their unequalled good-fellowship, which persuades the unruly to go quietly away before serious damage has been done.

Peace is the League's purpose and the League effort. In doing its work the League ought always to follow the good example of municipal law and postpone any resort to force until every alternative has been exhausted. But there comes a moment when the police must take whatever action is needed, no matter how drastic it may be, for the restoration of public order. If the police cannot cope with the situation unaided, the armed forces of the Crown must be called in to help. In the presence of crime, even the ordinary private citizen has an active part to play. It is his right and his duty under the common law to assist in restraining and apprehending the offender.

In the comity of nations, the obligation of good citizenship lies upon every individual nation. When the elaborate, patient procedure of conciliation proscribed in the Covenant has been followed to the end, and the peace-breaker still remains obdurate, the League, charged with the defence of world peace, not only in one case but in all, not only now but in the future, must take the final step. Where economic sanctions have proved inadequate, military sanctions must follow. No other way, where an unprovoked aggressor has challenged the League wilfully and against every warning, can the collective system be saved: and on the collective system rests the only hope of lasting world peace.

Democratic Leadership and the Collective System

THOSE of us who are able to recall what British public opinion was in respect of Collective Defence as embodied in the Covenant only a few months ago, and compare the kind of attitude current then with the applause from practically every section which greeted Sir Samuel Hoare's speech the other day at the Assembly, realise that an amazing change in public feeling has somehow taken place. What accounts for it?

Beneath the surface of events some educative process had evidently been at work. Sir Samuel Hoare's speech was the spark which exploded it, as it were, causing men to say, "Why, of course, that is the line which we must take." It brought home to many what they really believed without quite realising that they believed it—which is what political leadership ought to do. In that underlying educative process (which alone can make the work of the leader possible), the League of Nations Union has of course in this field for years been playing the main role. The Peace Ballot, to some extent, "put the lid on it." Had that Ballot not been held, it is doubtful whether the Cabinet would have felt justified in allowing the Foreign Secretary to go as far as he did. Had it not been held it is doubtful whether the public would have seen as readily as it did that the Foreign Secretary's line was the right line, and so many papers have been ready to approve. This is not in the least to diminish what we owe to Sir Samuel Hoare. But for the leadership he and Mr. Eden have given, the public might not have realised until much later, and too late, that that view did represent the right policy and the mind of the nation.

The authors of "The Next Five Years" have attempted to do in a different way and in a wider field what the Union has done in other ways. The book is called "An Essay in Political Agreement," and the first paragraph tells us that its purpose is to—

"Outline a policy on national and international affairs which is far-reaching enough to provide a programme of action for a number of years to come; which is reasonable enough to justify the hope that it will enlist the support necessary to secure its adoption; and which is founded on principles applicable to permanent as well as to temporary needs."

The purposes aimed at are the elimination of poverty and war. In outlining the policy necessary for the second objective, they have broadly adopted just that

for which the League of Nations Union and HEADWAY have consistently stood from the beginning.

The treatment of the problem (it occupies nearly half the book) is in no sense superficial, evades no difficulties

By SIR NORMAN ANGELL

Winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1934!

or unpleasant facts. It will remain for much longer than five years a comprehensive and authoritative statement of the case for the most practical method of organising peace.

Its significance lies, not merely in the treatment, which is admirable, but in the names of those who have subscribed to the policy it elaborates. The outline of that policy was first contained in a manifesto which preceded the publication of the book, and to which were appended the names of some 200 persons, who included broadly "everyone that mattered" in Great Britain. The manifesto declared:—

The choice lies between the risks of the collective system and the risks of competitive arming. All the great States, including our own, have decided to base national defence upon armed power. They have rejected unilateral disarmament. Therefore there remains but one question. Shall armed defence be through the method of each for himself, with such allies as he can win to his side, which means an armaments race with the menace of a new war, or shall it be through the method of economic and military co-operation to restrain a state which violates either an agreed Disarmament Treaty or its specific undertakings not to resort to war? . . . The British Government must . . . go beyond the point of mere "consultation" in the event of such violations as we have indicated, and make the country's engagements unmistakable from the outset . . . press for collective action by every means available, including economic embargo, before a final resort to armed co-operation.

One has to read the long list of names, covering nearly six pages, to realise that this policy has now the support of the immense majority of all those who can be said in any sense to speak for Great Britain. Politics, Commerce, Law, Education, Journalism, Letters, the Church, are all abundantly represented. If there is such a thing as the voice of England, it has pronounced.

"THE NEXT FIVE YEARS." An Essay in Political Agreement. Macmillan, 5/-.

ITALY & ABYSSINIA END OF THE FIRST ACT AT GENEVA

By Our Geneva Correspondent
(DAVID WOODWARD)

As this article is being written, the curtain is about to rise on the second act of the Italo-Abyssinian drama, as Geneva and the world awaits Mussolini's answer to the compromise peace proposals made by the Council's Committee of Five.

The first act of the drama began on September 4, and it lasted until September 18, when the Committee of Five completed its report and recommendations. The first part of the period was one of doubt, uncertainty, and a good deal of discouragement in League circles, for the *suaviter in modo, fortiter in re* policy of

the British Government in regard to the dispute was not understood in Geneva. Geneva is used to loud utterances and vehement declarations of policy—and used, too, to seeing the vehemently declared policy imperfectly carried out.

A determination on the part of the British Government to see the Covenant maintained was not credited in Geneva until the great speech which Sir Samuel Hoare made at the opening of the Assembly's general discussion on September 11.

Much has been written of this speech, and much

more will be written as long as men chronicle history, for it was the outward manifestation of one of the most important, intelligent and encouraging developments in recent history—the resolution taken by the British Government, supported by nearly all shades of public opinion in the country, to keep its word and to protect not only Abyssinia from Italy, but to protect any victim of aggression from any aggressor.

Once Sir Samuel Hoare had spoken at Geneva, the issue could not be any longer in much doubt, and the uncertainty that remained as to French policy was speedily cleared when M. Laval spoke a couple of days later.

Sir Samuel Hoare and M. Laval were supported in their stand by representatives of nearly all the small States. Spokesmen for the British Dominions, the Little Entente, the Balkan Entente, the Baltic Entente, and the South American States made it clear that all the world was united in condemning Signor Mussolini's programme of aggression.

The practical value of this, should it come to sanctions, is enormous. Greater still is the moral value, for it is made clear to all the world, where a free Press exists, that the dispute—now one between the League and Italy—is not an imperialist "ramp," with Britain and France intent on having the small States' help to check the growth of a rival Imperialist Power.

The voice of Latvia or of Haiti in this debate is not really something to smile at, but a clear sign that everywhere in the world a belated realisation has come to men that the world has to change or perish.

Fortified by the approval of their fellow members of the Assembly, the Council's Committee of Five sat to work to draw up their recommendations. These recommendations are based, of course, on the proposals made in Paris and rejected flatly by Italy. The modifications do not concede anything fresh to Italy—save for the possibility of territorial cessions by Britain and France to Italy. But they have been effected for two reasons: first, to give Mussolini a chance to climb down by taking advantage of some small difference between the Paris and Geneva texts

of settlement; and secondly, to give detail to plans which formerly lacked it.

There is still a considerable, though dwindling, body of opinion at Geneva that believes that Signor Mussolini will not reject the new plans out of hand, but that a prolonged period of bargaining will begin, at the end of which Italy will have received some territory, her troops will be back in their homes without a shot having been fired, and Abyssinia will be under a League administration similar to that proposed two years ago for Liberia.

There is much to be said in support of this belief; by the time these lines are in print its correctness will be proved or disproved.

Another school of thought in Geneva holds that Mussolini, for the sake of his famous prestige, will open hostilities almost immediately, advance some distance into the Danakil country, seizing Adowa, which is being left nearly unprotected by the Abyssinians, and then sit down during the winter and wait to be bought out by the British and French with more important colonial concessions than they are at present willing to make.

This is, of course, a possibility. But it does not take into account two factors. The first is that as soon as the Italian troops cross into Abyssinia the Covenant will have been violated, and legally the machinery of Articles XV and XVI should be put into motion, complete with sanctions. If this is not done, the Covenant will have been violated not only by Italy, but by Britain and France, and all the rest of the members of the League.

A second consideration is the present temper of the British people, and of the people of other countries as well. As seen from Geneva, it does not appear likely that British public opinion would submit quietly to any such murderous blackmail.

Neither Britain nor any other League members will do anything to precipitate a crisis. Signor Mussolini will strike the first blow, if any blow be struck, but once he has done that he will have to face a world aroused.

THE GENERAL DEBATE

At first sight, the Assembly veterans said, "It is like old times." For several years there has been no real debate at all, only a small reluctant ooze of disconnected speeches. The Great Power delegates have been poked into utterance by the Presidents in order to "cheer up the Assembly." But their speeches,

By FREDA WHITE

Intelligence Department, L.N.U., author of "Geneva 1933" and "Geneva 1934."

made of vacuity sandwiched between slices of gloom, were not cheering in their effect. The smaller States described their own affairs. This September the difficulty was not to make delegates speak, but to stop them speaking. Almost all of them discussed one thing—the Abyssinian dispute.

Here the debate had a different spirit from that of the early years. Then the world was troubled enough, but the troubles were mainly the aftermath of the War, and were settling down. The Assembly expressed the conviction that men could remedy evils, and that they were the men to do it. This year State after State registered its fidelity to the Covenant. In so

doing each was stating its willingness to apply sanctions to Italy. There was little feeling of hope, only a deepening gravity, and anxiety so intense that every emotion fused into a stillness of waiting.

It was an oddity that the Assembly had, in a way, no business to be talking about the Ethiopian conflict. The dispute lay before the Council, and was actually passing into its most critical phase. There was some cause for the prim observation of Mr. Bruce, of Australia, that the Assembly had better not discuss a matter which was in the hands of the Committee of Five. But he was too late. Sir Samuel Hoare had already opened the debate in a speech which dealt with nothing else.

Sir Samuel made three main points. The first was the support of British public opinion for the League, in circumstances of increasing difficulty.

"The obligations of the Covenant remain, their burden upon us has been increased manyfold. But one thing is certain. If the burden is to be borne, it must be borne collectively. If risks for peace are to be run, they must be run by all. The security of the many cannot be ensured solely by the efforts of a few, however powerful they may be. On behalf of His Majesty's Government, I can say that, in spite of these difficulties, that Government will be second to none in its inten-

tion to fulfil, within the measure of its capacity, the obligations which the Covenant lays upon it. The ideas enshrined in the Covenant, and in particular the aspiration to establish the rule of law in international affairs, have appealed with growing force to the strain of idealism which has its place in our national character, and they have become a part of our national conscience."

Secondly, Britain would be willing to take part in an investigation of the distribution of colonial raw materials, which she believed to be an economic rather than a political problem. But such an investigation could not take place in an atmosphere of war.

Finally, "In conformity with its precise and explicit obligations, the League stands, and my country stands with it, for the collective maintenance of the Covenant in its entirety, and particularly for steady and collective resistance to all acts of unprovoked aggression. The recent response of the British nation has clearly demonstrated the fact that this is no variable and unreliable sentiment but a principle of international conduct to which they and their Government hold with firm, enduring and universal persistence."

The impression made by this speech was very great. Its very understatement gave an effect not of evasion, or of shallowness, but of meaning more than it said. Certainly it was so interpreted by the Assembly, which took it as the decisive offer of Great Britain to fulfil all the Covenant provisions, including in this case collective sanctions against Italy, and probably the final offer of collective security to France. This Assembly session was an event in history.

Great Britain was followed by a long series of States. They would not have spoken if she had not; but as she had taken position, they fell in behind her. By singletons and groups, they pledged themselves to

action. Sweden and the Netherlands, Ireland and Canada, Yugoslavia for the Little Entente, Greece for the Balkan Entente, South Africa (in the strongest speech of the debate), Portugal, then Latin Americans. The smaller States, led by Sweden, stood for justice; they feared that the Council might devise a scheme for buying off Italy by letting her annex Abyssinia under a League camouflage.

France was the crux. M. Laval, at the Council of a week before, was still balancing on the fence. When he spoke at the Assembly he came down—just—on the Covenant side. It was an unwilling policy, forced out of him by events, and it was unwillingly spoken, in a lacklustre tone. Only the last words mattered; France knew the obligations of the Covenant, "Elle n'y soustraira pas." She will not fail to discharge them.

From that moment Italy was warned that aggression would meet with sanctions.

The rest of the long debate was of less interest. Many States deplored the failure of disarmament and the weakness of the League system. Hungary spoke on minorities. Mr. Bruce, of Australia, opened the discussion of nutrition, which is the most constructive proposal before the League. M. Litvinoff, lauding his own brand of mutual assistance treaty, which contains a clause that aggression by one party lets off the other States from helping it, said he thought it better than treaties which have no such provision. Mr. Beck, of Poland, seized the cap, clapped it on his head, and made a very rude speech. M. Litvinoff answered blandly, his polite phrases punctuated by the footfalls of the Polish delegation quitting the hall. It was an undignified gesture; sinister as well as silly, for it shows how touchy is the temper of Eastern Europe.

Then the Assembly settled to committee work, while it waited for news from Rome.

The British Navy in the Mediterranean

MY recent warning with regard to certain grave naval weaknesses from which we are suffering has been interpreted by the League of Nations Union as an argument by myself against taking strong measures to restrain Italy from the indefensible aggression which she contemplates.

The League of Nations Union, however, is mistaken. I gave the warning because I believe, as do most responsible naval officers, that when strong measures are contemplated it is well to take into full account the difficulties that lie ahead.

It is true that during the past years I have strongly opposed the one-sided disarmament of this country, but I have never suggested that those who advocated it were moved by anything but the highest motives. My contention, which now seems to be justified, has been that we have allowed our hearts and our wishes to govern our heads.

But now that we are faced with one of the gravest decisions in our history, recrimination is to be deplored. The eyes of the world are fixed upon our country. Are we, or are we not, going to uphold, as of old, the cause of justice, freedom and mercy, or are we, in view of our weakness, to pay lip service to those great virtues while leaving them unchampioned? Are we, in short, going to be that most contemptible of things which, though willing to wound, is afraid to strike?

Timid souls are to-day advocating the abandonment of Abyssinia to her fate, and the violation of our word, while we set about the restoration of our sea power. But is it reasonable to suppose that if we lose the good opinion of the world, and thus our prestige, which at the

moment is our chief barrier against widespread aggression, we shall be left to restore our naval defences at our leisure? It seems almost inconceivable.

The application of maritime sanctions by Great Britain, in the absence of support by other great Powers,

By CAPT. BERNARD ACWORTH, R.N.

Naval Correspondent, "Morning Post."

seems, therefore, to be a counsel of wisdom from the material as well as from the moral point of view.

In times of crisis courageous action is the way of prudence.

It may be of interest to give as nearly as possible a comparison of the Naval forces available to Great Britain, France and Italy in European waters. These are shown in the following table which is derived from the Official Return of Fleets issued in February last:—

	GREAT BRITAIN.			FRANCE.	ITALY.
Battleships	12	9	7		
				(3 obsolete)	
Battle Cruisers	3	—	—		
Cruisers	28	20	24		
Destroyers and Torpedo Boats	124	73*	95		
Submarines	44	96	59		
Aircraft Carriers	5	1	1		

* Note.—Includes 32 ships of 2,500 tons, mounting five 5-inch guns, which by the terms of the London Treaty are cruisers.

The British list, it must be remembered, includes the vessels of both the Home and Mediterranean Fleets, and of the Reserve Fleet. It excludes our Eastern Cruiser Squadrons. Furthermore, a large proportion of the British vessels, in all classes, are "in reserve," or in varying states of readiness for sea.

Of the French Fleet, all battleships and 8 cruisers, including 4 of the latest, burn coal. Of the Italian Fleet, all battleships and 8 old cruisers burn coal. The British Fleet is exclusively oil-fired.

Should Great Britain find herself involved in maritime "sanctions" without the active support of France, the position, from a purely strategical point of view, would be an exceedingly interesting, and by no means impossible, one. In many respects the situation would resemble Napoleon's Egyptian operations which ended disastrously at the Battle of the Nile when the British Fleet cut his communications. Great bloodshed on

either side would not be involved, while enormous bloodshed in Abyssinia would be saved.

The Italian position in the Middle East is an extremely strong one, or a helplessly weak one, according as to whether Italy can maintain her communications with her western entrance to the Canal. This would have to be settled quickly, and it could only be settled in Italy's favour by successful action against the British Fleet. Outside the Mediterranean Italy could hardly threaten our sea communications.

South of the Canal British cruisers from the Eastern Fleet could, in the absence of a considerable Italian squadron, sever with Europe the communications of the great army in Eritrea. It will thus be evident that the strategical issue is unusually clear and simple, and demonstrates to the ordinary layman the overwhelming significance of British sea power which, at the moment, is less than it should be, but, under the circumstances assumed, adequate for so great a mission of liberation.

Geneva Junior Summer School

WHEN first it was suggested to me that I should go this year to the Junior Summer School at Geneva, it seemed rather an alarming idea. It sounded rather stiff and dull: I wondered even whether I should understand enough about the subjects under discussion to be able to get much out of it. And a

BY ONE WHO WAS THERE

"school" at the beginning of the summer holidays, with a number of people whom one had never seen before—was it really worth it?

Second thoughts ran rather like this. After all, I have the chance of going, and usually in life it's a mistake to let chances slip by. And Geneva—surely it must be a jolly place; anyway, it's a place the whole world talks of, it's the geographical centre of all the most important thinking that people are doing nowadays. And as for the people, well there's sure to be someone nice in a mixed bag, and anyway, anything can be borne for ten days and one may learn something. So I decided to go.

We stayed in a lovely hotel in the country part of Geneva and travelled by train or on foot to our various meetings. We were exceptionally privileged in being allowed to meet for the most part in the Secretariat itself. The boys lived at the Grande Boissière, the home of the international school at Geneva. They sounded as though they were thoroughly enjoying themselves. We sometimes went there for lectures, and occasionally we had meals there, and some of the boys came to our hotel. They seemed a jolly crowd. There were fewer boys than girls, and we wondered why. Perhaps the boys' schools haven't got to know about it as much as the girls' schools. Anyway, those who were there this time will be good advertisements for the future.

I think that it would not be a good plan to try to give any indication of the substance of what was said to us. Indeed, it would be impossible to cover the ground. But this much must be said. The lectures were all of the very highest order; we felt that we had the real authorities on each subject talking to us.

And we were invited to ask questions after each lecture and encouraged to do so. Nobody seemed to mind how complicated or how elementary the questions were, so we were brave in asking. Everyone seemed to have a different opinion as to which was the best of the lectures which we heard. Facts pleased some of us more; ideas appealed to others. It was to me a real opening of windows—a completely new view, in a hundred different directions, of the world order which we were shown could in all truth come through the application of the ideas for which the League of Nations stands. I think that we all felt that we had our part in the great work for the future of the world. Governments cannot act without the force of public opinion behind them, and we, each one of us at the Junior Summer School, could help to form public opinion. So, although we heard many sad and depressing things, the upshot of what we learned was not depressing because we realised that, as long as there are men and women of goodwill in the world, what appears impossibly difficult may at any moment become fact.

And what did we carry away? Quite certainly—speaking for myself and my friends—a determination to help forward, as far as in our small powers lay, the ideas of these world-minded people who had taught us so much in ten short days. Quite certainly also a desire to learn more, when and how we might, of these great questions which are going to decide the future of our world. And we carried away, too, the remembrance of much happiness which had come to us through living together, and of some new friendships formed; and we knew that, whereas when we had all been strangers the prospect of working together had alarmed us a little, when we had got to know each other we had known that we were friends.

When I said that to a friend he answered: "Well, isn't that rather like the nations? When people get to know and understand each other, they are friends."

The scene on the platform at Geneva when we said goodbye was really enough to surprise the natives. Everyone came to see us off. We sang songs with wild enthusiasm, and ended with "Auld Lang Syne," those in the carriages linking arms with those on the platform. The editor of the *Journal des Nations*, a Polish gentleman, was heard to remark: "And they say that the British are a phlegmatic nation."

And so goodbye—till next year!

BRITAIN TAKES HER STAND

Sir Samuel Hoare's Speech

in the

Assembly—September 11

FULL OFFICIAL TEXT

In conformity with its precise and explicit obligations the League stands, and my country stands with it, for the collective maintenance of the Covenant in its entirety, and particularly for steady and collective resistance to all acts of unprovoked aggression.

The attitude of the British nation in the last few weeks has clearly demonstrated the fact that this is no variable and unreliable sentiment, but a principle of international conduct to which they and their Government hold with firm, enduring and universal persistence.

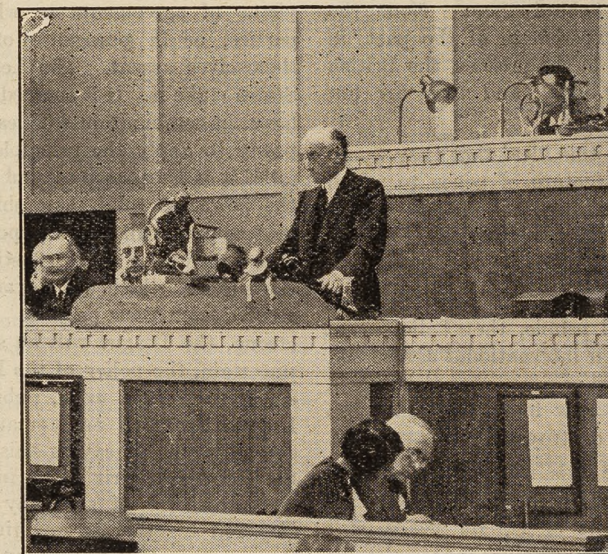
I do not suppose that in the history of the Assembly there was ever a more difficult moment for a speech and a discussion. When the world is stirred to excitement over the Abyssinian controversy, and feeling runs high upon one side or the other, it is easy to say something that will make the situation more critical and the task of the Council more difficult. None the less, I feel that we should be shirking our responsibilities if we did not hold the general discussion that is always associated with the meeting of the Assembly, and if those of us who hold strong views as to the League and its future did not frankly and boldly express them.

We are here as the representatives of individual Governments, each of them faced with the individual responsibility of considering its own interest and security. We are also here as members of a collective organisation, each of us pledged by certain obligations, and each of us anxious to safeguard the future of the world by collective action in the cause of peace and progress.

British Support Reaffirmed

I shall try if I can to keep both these responsibilities in mind when I am addressing the Assembly. I shall speak freely, avoiding rhetoric and general sentiments, and I shall welcome the comments of subsequent speakers.

I will begin by reaffirming the support of the League by the Government that I represent, and the interest of the British people in collective security. It may be that it is sometimes difficult for our foreign friends to follow the course of British policy. It is perhaps difficult for them to understand the workings of the British mind. Do we not seem, even to our kinder



The Foreign Secretary at the Tribune.

critics, curious people who often hold ourselves remote from questions that are of vital interest to other countries and who seem to concentrate our chief interest upon our habits, our preferences and our prejudices? To our less friendly critics our attitude has given a pretext for more bitter charges.

This is not the occasion for replying to these criticisms. I am the last person in this Assembly to make any claim to National infallibility or to refuse to admit the mistakes that no doubt His Majesty's Government in the United

Kingdom and the British people, like every other Government and every other people, have made in the past. But I do believe that in spite of any national faults and failings British public opinion has usually shown a sound instinct upon the big issues and has usually in moments of crisis expressed itself with firmness, justice and common sense.

British public opinion was solidly behind the League when it was founded. Some may have thought that our support was due to selfish motives. It may have been imagined that possessing interests and territories over the whole world we were naturally anxious to support an institution that might be used for keeping things as they were. Or that the great States, being exhausted by the war, wished to bring in the small countries to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them. If these suspicions are still in anyone's mind, let him once and for all dispel them.

No Selfish Motive

The British people supported the League for no selfish motive. They had seen the old system of alliances unable to prevent a world war. As practical men and women they wished to find a more effective instrument for peace. After four years of devastation

they were determined to do their utmost to prevent another such calamity falling not only on themselves but upon the whole world. They were determined to throw the whole weight of their strength into the scales of international peace and international order. They were deeply and genuinely moved by a great ideal. It is the fashion sometimes in the world of to-day—a foolish fashion like many others in the world of to-day—to scoff at such ideals. What is the use, say the modern critics, of collective action when individual strength is simpler and swifter to apply and more direct in its appeal to national sentiment? What is the good of working for peace when the whole history of the world shows that war is the only way of settling great issues? These questions ring every day in our ears. The day-to-day events of recent history have made it impossible for us to ignore the strength of the argument behind them. None the less, in spite of the grim experiences of the past, in spite of the worship of force in the present, the British people have clung to their ideal, and they are not prepared to abandon it.

It is because they cling to this ideal that they would be deeply shocked if the structure of peace to which they have given their constant support were irrevocably shattered.

Most Effective Safeguard

It is because, as practical people, they believe that collective security founded on international agreement, is the most effective safeguard of peace that they would be gravely disturbed if the new instrument that has been forged were blunted or destroyed.

I have ventured to make this reference to British opinion, not for the purpose of pre-judging the Council's action or of compromising its efforts for peace, still less for the purpose of embittering feeling that is already bitter enough. It is, however, necessary, when the League is in a time of real difficulty, for the representative of the United Kingdom to state his view and to make it as clear as he can, firstly, that His Majesty's Government and the British people maintain their support of the League and its ideals as the most effective way of ensuring peace and, secondly, that this belief in the necessity for preserving the League is our sole interest in the present controversy. No selfish or imperialist motives enter into our minds at all.

It is not, however, sufficient to state one's belief and to paint one's ideal. It is necessary not only to hold a belief but to consider how it can be applied. It is necessary not only to have an ideal but to consider what are the best measures for achieving it. It would be a grievous error for any member of the League, still more for the League as a whole, to be lost in generalities, and not to consider with care, candour and courage the best and most practical methods for exerting our collective influence and for achieving our peaceful objective. It is therefore very necessary when difficulties arise for all of us to examine the possibilities and to assure ourselves that any action that we recommend is both wise and effective.

At this time, when the Council is making a detailed examination of a difficult situation, I will venture to

outline to the Assembly the conditions in which we are all of us working.

What the League Is

And, firstly, let us clear our minds as to what the League is and what it is not. It is not a super-State, nor even a separate entity existing of itself independent of or transcending the States which make up its membership. The member-States have not abandoned the sovereignty that resides in each of them, nor does the Covenant require that they should, without their consent, in any matter touching their sovereignty, accept decisions of other members of the League. Members of the League, by the fact of their membership, are bound by the obligations that they themselves have assumed in the Covenant, and by nothing more. They do not act at the bidding of the League, but in virtue of agreements to which they themselves are parties, or in pursuance of policies to which they themselves assent. The League is what its member States make it. If it succeeds it is because its members have, in combination with each other, the will and the power to apply the principles of the Covenant. If it fails, it is because its members lack either the will or the power to fulfil their obligations. Its strength or its weakness will depend upon the number, importance and faithfulness of its constituent members, and upon the support which the Governments of member States receive from their peoples. If this national support is strong, the League will be strong. If it is weak and uncertain, the policy of the League cannot be firm and consistent. In a word, public opinion matters to the League as much as it matters to every democratic government. In saying this, I do not under-estimate the corporate spirit which inspires an assembly of the representatives of so many States such as are here gathered together at one time and in one place, nor the concentration of opinion and influence which such an assembly renders possible; but I do wish to insist that the League is nothing apart from its members, and that criticisms of the League too often overlook this fact.

Much More than Sanctions

Collective security, by which is meant the organisation of peace and the prevention of war by collective means, is, in its perfect form, not a simple but a complex conception. It means much more than what are commonly called sanctions. It means not merely Article XVI, but the whole Covenant. It assumes a scrupulous respect for all Treaty obligations. Its foundation is the series of fundamental obligations, freely accepted by members of the League to submit any dispute likely to lead to war to peaceful methods of settlement according to the procedure provided by the Covenant, and not to resort to war for the settlement of these disputes in violation of the Covenant. The two principal conditions in which the system of collective security is designed to operate are first, that the members of the League shall have reduced their armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations; and secondly, that the possibility is open, through the machinery of the League, for the modification by consent and by peaceful means of international

conditions whose continuance might be a danger to peace. Finally, to complete the system, there is the obligation to take collective action to bring war to an end in the event of any resort to war in disregard of the Covenant obligations. Underlying these obligations was the expectation that this system would be subscribed to by the universal world of Sovereign States, or by far the greatest part of it.

This whole system is an inspiring conception; indeed, it is one of the most inspiring in the history of mankind. Its realisation could not be easy even in the most favourable circumstances. I need not labour to show how unfavourable the circumstances have become or how much more grievous is the burden which lies upon faithful members of the League to preserve what has been won in the struggle for the organisation of peace.

Growing Fears

For what is the position?

In spite of the obligation of the Covenant by which members of the League undertook to govern their conduct in accordance with a new international ethic, the spirit of war—of war, to quote the Pact of Paris, as an "instrument of national policy," even perhaps of war for war's sake—has raised its head in more places than one. From fear of war, the over-optimistic examples in limitation and reduction of armaments by certain countries, and in particular by my own, have not been followed; and now from the growing fear of war, the armaments of most countries, and last of all my own country, are increasing. So far we have found it impossible to make progress with this part of the League's programme.

Side by side with this disappointment there is a natural reluctance voluntarily to contemplate the possibility of changes in the existing position; and yet elasticity, where elasticity is required, is also a part of security. A vicious circle of insecurity has been set up.

Lastly, the League has from the outset lacked the membership of certain powerful nations, and has since lost the membership of others. This lack of universality inevitably introduces an element of uncertainty as to how far we can count on world-wide support in the work of organising and maintaining peace. There are too many empty chairs at our table. We want no more.

Risks Must Be Run By All

These, then, are the conditions in which we find ourselves. The obligations of the Covenant remain; their burden upon us has been increased manifold. But one thing is certain. If the burden is to be borne, it must be borne collectively. If risks for peace are to be run, they must be run by all. The security of the many cannot be ensured solely by the efforts of a few, however powerful they may be. On behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, I can say that they will be second to none in their intention to fulfil, within the measure of their capacity, the obligations which the Covenant lays upon them. The ideas enshrined in the Covenant, and in particular the aspiration to establish the rule of law in international affairs, have appealed, as I have already said, with

growing force to the strain of idealism which has its place in our national character, and they have become a part of our national conscience.

It is in accordance with what we believe to be the underlying principles of the League that our people have steadily promoted, and still promote, the growth of self-government in their own territories. It was, for example, only a few weeks ago that I was responsible for helping to pass through the Imperial Parliament a great and complicated measure for extending self-government in India.

Following this same line of thought, we believe that small nations are entitled to a life of their own and to such protection as can collectively be afforded to them in the maintenance of their national life. We believe, on the undoubted evidence of past and present times, that all nations alike have a valuable contribution to make to the common stock of humanity. And we believe that backward nations are, without prejudice to their independence and integrity, entitled to expect that assistance will be afforded them by more advanced peoples in the development of their resources and the building up of their national life. I am not ashamed of our record in this respect, and I make no apology for stating it here.

Remove the Causes of War

But my picture is not yet complete, for I must underline one of its principal features. It is not enough to insist collectively that war shall not occur or that war, if it occurs, shall be brought to an end. Something must also be done to remove the causes from which war is apt to arise. Some other means than the recourse to arms must be found for adjusting the natural play of international forces. I do not underestimate the delicacy of the task. Not every demand for change deserves to be listened to. As a Conservative, I set myself against change that is premature or unnecessary. A demand for change must be justified by the facts of the case and the free discussion of those facts. The justice of a claim is not necessarily in proportion to the national passions which are aroused in support of it—they may be deliberately aroused by what I regard as one of the most dangerous features of modern life—government propaganda. Too often the desired change would create more injustices than it would remove, or rouse more passions than it would allay. Too often the artificial excitement of national feeling is made the excuse for the repudiation of an obligation or for a threat of force. Yet the world is not static, and changes will from time to time have to be made. The Covenant itself admits this possibility. But such changes will have to be made when they are really necessary, and when the time is ripe and not before; they will have to come about by consent and not by dictation, by agreement and not by unilateral action, by peaceful means and not by war or threat of war. The members of the League must address themselves to this as well as to other aspects of security if the rule of law in international affairs is to be established and confirmed.

I have now tried to describe the aims of the League and the conditions in which the League is actually working. I have tried to describe once again the British attitude towards the League.

I have spoken in particular of the sincerity of our ideals. The sincerity springs, I admit, from enlightened self-interest, but it springs also from an enlightened interest in what we believe to be best for all. Let me illustrate what I mean by enlightened self-interest, and I will choose as my illustration a question that is exercising the minds of many people and many Governments.

Economic Fair Play

I will take as an example the problem of the world's economic resources and the possibility of making better use of them in the future. Abundant supplies of raw materials appear to give peculiar advantage to the countries possessing them. It is easy to exaggerate the decisive character of such an advantage, for there are countries which, having little or no natural abundance, have yet made themselves prosperous and powerful by industry and trade. Yet the fact remains that some countries, either in their native soil or in their colonial territories, do possess what appear to be preponderant advantages; and that others, less favoured, view the situation with anxiety. Especially as regards colonial raw materials, it is not unnatural that such a state of affairs should give rise to fear lest exclusive monopolies be set up at the expense of those countries that do not possess colonial empires. It is clear that in the view of many this is a real problem. And we should be foolish to ignore it. It may be that it is exaggerated. It may be also that it is exploited for other purposes. None the less, as the question is causing discontent and anxiety, the wise course is to investigate it, to see what the proposals are for dealing with it, to see what is the real scope of the trouble and, if the trouble is substantial, to try to remove it.

The view of His Majesty's Government is that the problem is economic rather than political and territorial. It is the fear of monopoly—of the withholding of essential colonial raw materials—that is causing alarm. It is the desire for a guarantee that the distribution of raw materials will not be unfairly impeded that is stimulating the demand for further inquiry. So far as His Majesty's Government is concerned, I feel sure that we should be ready to take our share in an investigation of these matters.

Raw Materials Not Withheld

My impression is that there is no question in present circumstances of any colony withholding its raw materials from any prospective purchaser. On the contrary, the trouble is that they cannot be sold at remunerative prices. This side of the question was investigated with concrete results by a Commission of the Monetary and Economic Conference which met in London in 1933. Its work was directed primarily towards raising wholesale prices to a reasonable level through the co-ordination of production and marketing; but one of the stipulations of such action was that it should be fair to all parties, both producers and consumers, that it should not aim at discriminating against a particular country, and that it should, as far as possible, be worked with the willing co-operation of consuming interests in importing countries.

This precedent may indicate a suitable line of

approach to an inquiry which should be limited in this case to raw materials from colonial areas, including protectorates and mandated territories. I suggest that the emphasis in the terms of reference should fall upon free distribution of such raw materials among the industrial countries which require them, so that all fear of exclusion or monopoly may be removed once and for all.

The Government that I represent will, I know, be prepared to take their share in any collective attempt to deal in a fair and effective way with a problem that is certainly troubling many people at present, and may trouble them even more in the future. Obviously, however, such an inquiry needs calm and dispassionate consideration, and calm and dispassionate consideration is impossible in an atmosphere of war and threatenings of war.

Unwavering Fidelity

I have now almost finished what I wished to say. I have tried to cover a wide field. But there is still one side of it, and a very important side, that I have not yet approached. Let me deal with it as clearly and definitely as I can before I sit down.

It has been not only suggested that British national opinion, as well as the attitude of the United Kingdom Government, is animated by some lower motive than fidelity to the League, but also that even this fidelity to the League cannot be relied upon. It is unjust and dangerously misleading to hold or encourage such illusions. The attitude of His Majesty's Government has been one of unwavering fidelity to the League and all that it stands for, and the case now before us is no exception, but, on the contrary, the continuance of that rule. The recent response of public opinion shows how completely the nation supports the Government in the full acceptance of the obligations of League membership, which is the oft-proclaimed keynote of its foreign policy.

Resistance to Unprovoked Aggression

To suggest or insinuate that this policy is for some reason peculiar to the present question at issue would be a complete misunderstanding. It is to the principles of the League, and not to any particular manifestation, that the British nation has demonstrated its adherence. Any other view is at once an under-estimate of our good faith and an imputation upon our sincerity. In conformity with its precise and explicit obligations the League stands, and my country stands with it, for the collective maintenance of the Covenant in its entirety and particularly for steady and collective resistance to all acts of unprovoked aggression. The attitude of the British nation in the last few weeks has clearly demonstrated the fact that this is no variable and unreliable sentiment, but a principle of international conduct to which they and their Government hold with firm, enduring and universal persistence.

There, then, is the British attitude towards the Covenant. I cannot believe that it will be changed so long as the League remains an effective body and the main bridge between the United Kingdom and the Continent remains intact.

GENEVA PERSONALITIES



BLACK AND WHITE

DURING the Abyssinian and Manchurian crises there must have occurred to many of your readers, as there did to me, the thought: "Our recent experience of ordeal by war opened our eyes to its stupidity and wickedness; but it did so after we, among others, had already secured by that and other methods the right to populate huge oversea territories and to exploit others. We are bound to defend with

By **CAPTAIN C. E. W. BEAN**

Official Australian Historian of the World War

all our might the system which, after such sacrifices, we set up to displace war. But can we, maintaining control of all our territories, turn round and say to others, without embarrassment, "You must not acquire possessions as we did; you were free to do so before the Great War, but since then it is too late?"

One read with keen pride of Mr. Eden's offer of British territory to facilitate a peaceful solution in Abyssinia—the line of thought was so obviously right. "If only," one dreamed, "it could go far enough. If only Great Britain could suggest, not a gift so trifling, but the pooling of all those territories which she holds in trust for the native populations, provided the other controllers of such territories would do the same. If she could suggest that all backward races under the guardianship of civilised powers should have that guardianship transferred to the League of Nations, and become the trust of the civilised world." The mind flies on—to an international civil service in which all would participate, *but responsible only to the League of Nations*; with free trade, subject only to safeguards in the interests of the natives; with Germany and Japan back in the League, their colonial aspirations partly—and reasonably—met; the backward races protected at least as completely as in British Colonies; the industries of all the world free to draw the benefits—such as they are—that colonising Powers draw to-day; a most fruitful cause of war abolished, and a real and powerful common interest established.

Admittedly such a solution would not meet every need; there remains the difficulty of finding space for unmixed "white" or "yellow" colonisation. Probably the opportunity for that has passed for ever. In any case colonisation by Continental Europeans has not tended to follow that line, and all such colonies are almost certain ultimately to seek independence. Might not the *main* demand of nations without colonies be met if the others would agree to hold their territories of protectorate—and in some cases "crown colony"—status in common?

One is perfectly aware that such a notion is outside practical politics to-day; not even a minister of the extreme left would venture to suggest such a "sacrifice," though by helping to secure permanent peace it might return us twenty times its cost. But the shibboleths of nationalism are not invincible by education and experience; and if some such reform, or at least careful thought along these lines, is essential for permanent peace, it will be the practical politics of to-morrow. May it not therefore be worth while considering the more serious obstacles with a view to their elucidation and possibly to the ultimate conquest of them?

First, there is the differing status of the colonial possessions, and the varying relations between rulers and natives in each of them. France, which draws part of her army from her colonies, would not agree—as things now are—to forgo that dangerous advantage. The relations between white and black differ in almost every section of Africa.

Second, and possibly more fundamental, there is the difference of outlook between those civilised communities that live in daily contact with backward peoples and those that do not. The League holds the view that is more general among the latter—it presumes the backward races to have the same rights as civilised men, but would hold some of those rights in trust till the capacity to exercise them is acquired. In sharp contrast, some powerful civilised communities living among backward peoples deny the existence of both the rights and the capacity for equality or equal development. The existence of some of these communities hangs on the issue. Any such community will naturally fear that the local natives may be encouraged to claim any rights recognised in adjacent mandated territories, and may therefore furnish a powerful opposition to any extension of the principle of trusteeship.

It may be that no final settlement of such opposition would be possible until the black races have forced the others to recognise their capacity—as the Japanese, Chinese, and Indians forced the white man to acknowledge theirs in rather different circumstances. Or it may be that, in some of the backward races chiefly concerned, capacity for equal development does not exist, in which case civilisation has to solve the problem of its duty to permanently inferior races.

Possibly all these problems have been well sifted—I speak from almost complete ignorance, and only plead my suspicion that a proportion of those whose duty it is to promote human happiness in such matters are as darkly ignorant as I. Whatever the difficulties, one feels that the principle—that we can hardly expect peace in the world while we sit tight on all the advantages gained by us in past wars—is so obvious that some other solution should be aimed at; and may not a possible solution be—that the backward races should be the trust of our whole civilisation rather than of individual nations each seeking advantage from its trusteeship?

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What Germany Asks

THIS article reports a long conversation I had at Heidelberg with Dr. Otto Uebel, a senior official of the local Deutscher Kolonialgesellschaft, on the subject of the ex-German Colonies. The points of discussion were these:—

The whole of Germany is very keen on the subject of Colonies. But agitation does not take the former course of free discussion. All look up to the Führer to take the necessary steps. I understand that Herr Hitler's chief adviser is General Epp.

By the **REV. RICHARD DE BARY**

Vicar of Horton

The Führer by no means stands for any uncompromising scheme of restoration. He claims that Germany has some essential needs, and would be satisfied if these were made good in a way that proved most agreeable to all. There is a need for an *opening for settlers* and another for *planters*, and of openings for trade.

"Of course you need your Cape to Cairo railway," said Dr. Uebel, "and consequently you want the control of the land adjoining. Germany does not wish to interfere with your existing Colonial schemes."

I pointed out the difficulties in the ex-colony which is best for settlers—i.e. South-West Africa. I called attention to the reference to the Mandates Commission, reported in the *Weekly Manchester Guardian* (p. 126, col. 2, August 16, 1935), and I showed Dr. Uebel the cuttings. He was glad to hear of Sir Edward Grigg's letter to *The Times* dealing with the Mandates Commission itself, and hoped that, in some friendly fashion, Germany might become associated with the Mandates Commission.

In a casual letter of mine which appeared in *HEADWAY* of July, I tried to make a distinction between *social settlement without political power*, and full occupation (e.g. in Palestine the Jews settle and organise but *without political power*).

In the *Manchester Guardian* reference I was glad to note that the distinction between what it called *politics and culture* was clearly emphasised. "It (the Mandates Commission) was prepared, however, to allow the German Youth (in South-West Africa) to be organised on cultural lines but not on political lines." Dr. Uebel, at least, agreed that politics could be kept apart, and the political points settled in a scheme which could be carried out in various stages.

I pointed to the Hertzog-Thomas agreement about the gradual association of officials of the South African Union with officials of the British South African Native Protectorates. Dr. Uebel thought that the German authorities would be willing to discuss all such points in a friendly spirit. He agreed with a suggestion that some well-informed member of the League of Nations Union should be sent out to Germany to explore the existing situation. If this were done, both Germany and those influential on the League of Nations might come to agree upon a reasonable policy, in which native rights and those of the Mandatory Power and others should be duly considered.

As the interests of so many parties are concerned, the League of Nations Union is especially in a position here to take the initiative and consider the whole subject of colonisation.

Post Time

is

Adventure Time!

By *Amita Richmond*

"You're very excited, Norah. What's the matter?"
"It's time the postman came."
"But—"
"Ah, there he is!" Norah jumped to her feet and ran to the front door. When she returned, she bore a letter which she flourished triumphantly in her friend's face.
"It's quite an adventure nowadays!" she exclaimed.
"I don't understand," said Marjorie. "Besides, that letter isn't for you. It's addressed to Miss Blanche—"
"My pen name. This letter's from an editor and—"
"She tore open the envelope. 'Yes, there's a cheque! Ten beautiful guineas!'"
"For heaven's sake explain, Norah! Don't be so tantalising!"
Norah sank into a chair, her eyes bright with excitement. "I'm a real live authoress, Marjorie. Really I am. I've been writing now for over a year, and I've made—simply pounds. You wouldn't believe it." She pointed across the room. "See that bookcase? That cost me three hours' work—if it can be called work. Really, it's the most fascinating hobby imaginable."
"But you, Norah!" exclaimed the other in amazement. "Why, you never—"
"I know. That's the wonderful thing about it. I never dreamt I could do it, although I always longed to be able to. One day I saw an advertisement of a correspondence course in article and story writing, and sent for a copy of the prospectus."

"And you joined?"
"Eventually I did. I doubted my ability to write; but the Course people were so friendly and helpful in their letters that I plucked up courage and enrolled."

"I don't believe in those correspondence courses," said Marjorie, shaking her head.
"I didn't till I learnt more about this one. My dear, you wouldn't believe the trouble they take. I hadn't the foggiest notion how I should even start an article before I joined, yet two months afterwards the Director of Studies wrote and said that my last exercise would be up to standard if I revised it in a certain way, and he gave me a list of papers to send it to."

"Well?"
"The first paper bought it. I got two guineas. Since then I've sold nearly everything I've written."

"It's perfectly wonderful, Norah. I wish I could do it, but then, writers are born, not—"

"Rubbish! It's a matter of training. If you can write a good letter you can learn to write 'copy' for the papers—I'll tell you what I'll do, Marjorie. I'll write and get the Institute's new prospectus for you."

"The Institute?"
"The Regent Institute, Palace Gate."

"But I couldn't afford the fee, Norah."
"It's really quite reasonable, and you can pay it in instalments. You might get it back in no time. I did within five months. Do let me get that prospectus for you."

"I'll think about it."
"Take my advice, Marjorie, and act now. I wish I hadn't waited so long. I'd have earned pounds more."

"All right, Norah." Marjorie rose to her feet. She was quite enthusiastic by this time. "Let's send for it now, dear."

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Striking parallels to the case of Norah are to be found in the records of the Regent Institute. Some students have earned the fee *many times over* while taking the postal tuition in Journalism and Short Story Writing. One woman pupil reported that she had earned £100 while learning.

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The German Colonial Problem

THE former German colonies were taken from Germany, and were placed under the Mandate system, as a result of the Versailles Treaty and of the Covenant of the League of Nations. They were distributed, partly, in accordance with secret treaties concluded during the war, to those Powers whose troops had occupied them during the war years.

In the opinion of the German people, this procedure was in flat contradiction to the terms of the preliminary

By **DR. HEINRICH SCHNEE**

Former Governor of German East Africa.

Peace Treaty which were contained in the Note despatched by the American Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, on November 5, 1918. President Wilson's "fourteen points" were accepted as the basis of the Peace, and the fifth of these points ran: "A free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims," with due regard to the interests of the natives. In fact, there was no impartial examination, and no account was taken of the interests of the natives.

This procedure was justified by the argument that Germany had proved herself incapable and unworthy of administering colonies. This argument has long since been refuted—as, for example, in my own book, "German Colonisation, Past and Future: The Truth about the German Colonies." (London, Allen & Unwin.) Lack of space prevents my going into this question fully, and I would only emphasise three points.

First, the greatness of the German achievements in the combatting of epidemics and diseases, both among men and animals. This has been demonstrated again only recently in the use of modern German remedies during the malaria epidemic in Ceylon, and in fighting sleeping sickness and other tropical diseases.

Secondly, the great devotion with which the natives supported us during the war, particularly in German East Africa. But for their loyalty it would have been impossible for us to hold out.

Thirdly, the failure of the attempt to procure a vote for England, and against Germany, at a time when the colonies were occupied by British troops—a failure to which British Parliamentary documents testify. Moreover, it is clear that at the present time the natives are not everywhere content with the Mandate system. This is shown by the oft-repeated proposal by the Samoans—the only natives who are sufficiently organised to give expression to their desires—that the mandate administered by New Zealand should be brought to an end.

The confiscation of the German colonies and their transference to the mandatory government of some of her former enemies was an act of discrimination against Germany. The Mandate system was unilaterally applied to the German colonies. Germany, despite her seven years of membership of the League of Nations, was never entrusted with a colonial mandate, and was there excluded from the ranks of the "progressive nations" who were granted mandates under the Covenant. Thus Germany has, in the matter of colonies, been treated, not only as a nation with unequal rights, but as an inferior nation.

The Leader and Reichschancellor, Adolf Hitler, explained at the time when Germany left the League, and has often repeated since, that Germany is ready for international co-operation, but on a basis of equal rights. Only under these conditions could there be any question of a return of Germany to the League of Nations.

The present discrimination against Germany could be brought to an end only by the return of her former colonies, for the Mandate system, so long as it is unilaterally applied, represents a form of discrimination against her. Until it is applied equally to the possessions of other Colonial Powers it must retain this character.

It is, however, a question not only of rights and of equality, but of the very existence of the German people. With a population of sixty-six millions, Germany cannot possibly support herself on her present territory.

The difficulties which Germany is having over the importation of raw materials and over the shortage of foreign currency show clearly that the production of such raw materials in her own colonies, within the area served by German currency, is, for her, a matter of absolute necessity. The German colonies, which are under mandatory administration, have proved, both before the war and since, that they are in a position to produce a considerable quantity of raw materials. There is no doubt that the greater part of the raw materials required in Germany could be produced in these colonies. This is particularly the case with regard to vegetable oils and fats, fibre, rubber, tea, coffee and cocoa. The difficulty of importing raw materials, due to the shortage of currency, would be removed in so far as they were produced within the German currency area. This would ease the German trade-balance to a corresponding extent, and would make it possible for Germany to provide a market for other commodities from foreign countries.

Germany must also have colonies as an outlet for her population. In the great African colonies there are areas in which, as the result of a gradual development, considerable numbers of white settlers could find homes. But, quite apart from permanent settlement, it is of great importance for Germany, and in particular for the rising generation, that opportunities should be available for Germans who, for business or other reasons, wish to find a field of activity abroad. It is particularly difficult for England, whose overseas possessions offer such a wealth of opportunity, to form an impression of an over-populated country without a single outlet for its young people. It is a desperate situation, the alteration of which is of immense psychological importance.

The German colonial problem stands, therefore, in the front rank of those colonial problems of which Sir Samuel Hoare spoke in the House of Commons on August 1 of this year. Germans agree entirely with him when he says that these problems must be solved, not by force, but through conciliation and agreement. They trust that the statesmanship of Britain, and of the other nations concerned, will produce a solution of the problem which will do justice to the German people and to its fundamental needs, and at the same time to the interests of the world in general.

FROM THE UNION BOOK SHOP

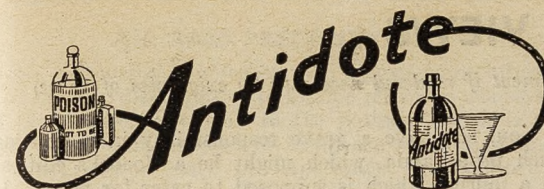
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POISON :

"Is there no means by which sane Englishmen can combine to say forcibly to the Government: 'We will fight to the last drop of our blood for King and Country, but we will not lift a finger on behalf of the League of Nations, whose existence we have never willingly supported and whose activities we cordially detest'?"—*Letter from B. C. Atkin (of Oxford), in the "Daily Express."*

ANTIDOTE :

When our King and Country needed volunteers in 1914, there was no lack of response from "sane Englishmen," even without Mr. B. C. Atkin's advice. As, however, his feelings, with regard to the League of Nations are not shared by "sane Englishmen," it is improbable that they will combine to convey to the Government the opinions of Mr. B. C. Atkin.

* * *

POISON :

"This is the essence of the matter—if Italy or any other major power either leaves the League or is regarded as its enemy, the Members of the League become to all intents and purposes merely a small band of allies facing another band of allies as strong as they or possibly stronger."—*Collin Brooks, in the "Sunday Dispatch," September 16.*

ANTIDOTE :

This oracle evidently cherishes nightmare visions of Japan, Germany and the United States entering into an "alliance" with Italy to subjugate Abyssinia on Mussolini's behalf.

* * *

POISON :

"The League of Nations as we had conceived it in 1919 and 1920 is dead. It is impossible now for the ministers charged with the care of our national safety to act as reason may dictate."—*The same volatile gentleman, on the same occasion.*

ANTIDOTE :

Mr. Brooks surely realises now that the dictates of reason are not necessarily synonymous with the opinions expressed in the *Sunday Dispatch* on September 16, especially in view of the fact that a leading article in the same paper on September 23 said: "Britain's only interest in the Abyssinian dispute is that she is trying with courage to fulfil her bond under the Covenant of the League. Wherever Britain may be led, her Government will have behind them a solid and united people. At such a time the nation is one!" In other words, Lord Rothermere now deems it advisable that the British people should be encouraged by his papers to be "solid" in support of that which Mr. Brooks described as "dead" only a week previously!

* * *

POISON :

"If Britain and France hope to persuade Signor Mussolini to their views, they must go to him as Britain and France, not as the leaders of a group of small nations."—*Leading article in the "Evening News."*

ANTIDOTE :

If Mussolini cannot be persuaded by the leaders of a group of nations, it is somewhat illogical to suggest that those leaders should go to him without any other support at all. Evidently Lord Rothermere feels that no argument is good unless it be put forward by a minority, which possibly accounts for his own attitude towards the League of Nations. C. C. T.

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READERS' VIEWS

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

GERMAN EX-COLONIES

SIR,—I must beg a liberal amount of your space in an attempt to give the quietus to a nauseating and sinister propaganda.

Your writers perhaps do not remember there was a great war with terrible loss of life and property to the Allies. Possibly they may have thought it a picnic; if so let them read how the Kaiser, determined to advance, tore up a solemn pledge, overran Belgium, used poison gas, and torpedoed merchant and hospital ships. America joined the Allies, not out of love for us, but because German ruthlessness had reached such a pitch that no decent-minded nation could but have a hand against her.

Now, they argue, the Treaty of Versailles was not fair as Germany was compelled to accept it. Is any marauder, when caught, willing to pay the penalty? Of course not! He is sentenced to a term of imprisonment and is branded as a convict. I have never yet heard of a convict sentenced for brutality being restored to social esteem except, perhaps, in his own immediate circle. It generally takes two generations to remove the family taint. In this country we counter violence with the "cat," and murder with the "rope." What moral difference, in the name of Justice, is there between meting out retribution to an individual and a community of individuals? Germany asked for all these reprisals and got let off very leniently. They, of course, do not believe it, so let them look up the list of Allied killed, wounded, and even now visit those maimed for life. They will retort that Germany suffered casualties as well. That is not our affair. She was the cause and must pay the penalty. As to the German colonies, remember our war debts are so heavy that we are unable at present to honour our bond even to the extent of meeting our interest charges.

Germany has always been of a marauding instinct, and no better than a Chinese bandit, but is even worse as she dons the garb of Western civilisation. It should be demanded that she be clothed in sackcloth and ashes so that the present and rising generation may fully realise the folly of their ancestors' dogma, "Might is right." Till such time she should be treated as a pariah. They will say that the present generation in Germany are entirely different from the Kaiser's Germany. The innate brutal instinct of present Germany is evinced now more than ever by young and old by wholesale charges against their own nationals and confiscation of funds. The latter is the end, and even nuns are used as the means.

All know Germany is scheming behind armed cordons, with a fervour and intensity only found in backward races which always have some sort of fanaticism. Heaven forbid that we should admit them out of their present European territorial limits, to plot and scheme for the day when they can stab all and sundry in their beds in the morning.

If we had not listened to President Wilson's 14 points, but had marched into Berlin and demanded the surrender of the Kaiser from Holland, we should not have to-day the spectacle of a brazen Germany talking colonies and bribing people handsomely to act as their touts.

If these people pleading Germany's cause are disinterested, perhaps they will try and visualise what would have happened to the colonies of all the Allies and what sort of reading the "Treaty of London" would have made for a breakfast-table if Germany was the victor.

You, sir, have a grave responsibility in permitting such propaganda, which might be a Goebel's edition, in a journal which is supposed to cater for peace. If you allow this sort of thing to be repeated oft enough, everyone will begin to believe that it was the Allies, after all, who were the villains in the piece, or of the peace, and Germany the poor ill-used lamb.

By the way, I am not a Jew, and have not a single Jewish acquaintance.

HENRY T. ROBERTS.

Banstead, Surrey.

WHOSE IS AUSTRALIA?

SIR,—In a letter in the August issue of HEADWAY, Mr. Hooper suggests Japan has as much right to unoccupied Australian territory as Britain had a hundred years ago. In my opinion he is entirely wrong, because (1) Britishers have made Australia and built up a great civilisation; (2) the whole Continent has voted for a white Australia, and it is for Australians to say who and what they want.

We cannot stabilise the customs of yesterday with those of to-day, but if we could Mr. Hooper might argue equally that Spain and Portugal had no right in South America 400 years ago, nor the Romans in Britain 2,000 years ago!

G. W. TAILBY.

Skeffington, Leicestershire.

WHAT OF THE PAST?

SIR,—I got a copy to-day of your pamphlet on "The Abyssinian Dispute," and have been reading it. What the League ever seems to ignore is the conquests of the past. It does not call on Britain to give back India to the Hindoos, and Canada to the people who lived there, and so with Australia. We British just seized these vast lands.

Clive defeated an Indian army in 1757, and Wolf conquered Canada in 1759. You allow all that, and also our just taking all Australia for ourselves; and now you would stop Mussolini getting some bits of land in N.E. Africa. Very good, but the League ought to be thorough, and call on all conquests to be given up! Then a portion of Canada or Australia might go to "little" Italy, which needs lands.

GILBERT T. SADLER, M.A. (Oxon.), LL.B. (Lond.)

London, N.W.

FAIR SHARES

SIR,—May I refer once more to the controversy about German Colonies?

Can we not take a really broad view of the whole question?

What I would ask is this. Is it not possible in some way to satisfy the reasonable desire for territorial expansion of such countries as Germany and Italy?

Have we our fair share of "colonies" or have we more or less than our fair share?

Let us be honest. We like our overseas territories and do not want to part with them. But we pride ourselves on our ideas of fairplay. Let us, then, exercise a little fairplay, and get together with the other countries interested and discuss the whole question, and be willing to make some sacrifice without looking for an equivalent.

H. W. KELSALL, Lieut.-Colonel.

Wareham, Dorset.

AIR RAID PRECAUTIONS

SIR,—Probably in common with a great many others, I was deeply disappointed to find no reference whatever in the August HEADWAY to the problem which is at the moment, in the eyes of the peace workers of this country, second only in importance to the Italy-Abyssinia dispute. I refer to the Government's Air Raid Precautions Scheme.

Is the omission due to the fact that the Council have no unanimity in the matter, and, feeling unable to give a definite lead, think it wisest to ignore the whole business? Or is it that it is felt to be outside the purview of HEADWAY, whose concern is solely League affairs?

If the latter, might I suggest that the scheme is of great import to the League, and even more vital to the Union, for the following reasons.

Firstly, the Disarmament Conference is still in being, and one of its aims is to secure an adequate Air Disarmament Convention. This object is being prejudiced by our Government promoting these measures, so obviously based on the assumption that the Conference must fail. Secondly, the scheme fosters the idea of imminent attack at a time when support for the total abolition of fighting aircraft is widespread, and thus undermines that public opinion which is the chief hope of such abolition being accomplished. Thirdly, these arrangements contribute to a war mentality, and engender that fear and suspicion which destroys trust and friendliness between nations. Surely this is a heavy blow at the conditions essential for the League to accomplish anything. Fourthly, these measures reveal that the Government has no faith whatever in the efficacy of the Geneva protocol on gas warfare. Does not this openly encourage nations to regard no treaty or convention as binding, and invite the breaking of international obligations? Lastly, this scheme will lull the general public into a false sense of security, and thereby tend to a lessening of effort towards the accomplishment of the League's primary object—the reduction of armaments and establishment of world peace.

D. RILEY.

Horsforth.

MOST BALLOT ANSWERS

SIR,—If G. L. M. means by collation, actual counting, I can easily beat his record. In this Parliamentary Division, about 15,000 papers were returned. With the exception of, say 1,000, counted by my wife, I dealt with the whole myself, without any outside assistance.

As an old hand at election counts, where speed and accuracy are essential, I did not follow the hints for counting issued by the National Committee. Time is precious.

HUBERT COLLAR.

Saffron Walden.

UNION POSTERS

SIR,—In your June issue, W. T. Pritchard remarks that L.N.U. posters are frequently torn.

Being personally responsible to the Sale Branch for the display of posters, I should like to explain that this is not always due to neglect, but is often the work of mischievous children.

The Sale Branch has four poster boards, the sites of which are free, and two poster cases, in which cartoons and interesting articles from HEADWAY are frequently shown.

As posters are an important means of educating public opinion on League affairs, it is regrettable that one sees so few. They establish touch with those who never read for themselves about the work of the League.

May I make a special appeal to every Branch to have at least one poster displayed.

L. BOLT.

Sale, Cheshire.

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No. 6

October, 1935

For Ambitious Men and Women

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Striking Letters from Students

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How to Punctuate Correctly.

What You Should Know About Your English

You are Judged by the Way You Speak and Write

By JOHN TEMPLE

YOUR English can be the greatest weapon you have, but if defective, it can, like a faulty rifle, do you serious injury. You may not know that promotion in business is being held up by your slips in English or that you are handicapped socially. You can discover such a trouble only by looking at results.

What effect has your phraseology on other people? If you fail to convince; if you use such phrases as, "You know what I mean," "I mean to say"; if you cannot make your meaning clear; if you stumble over words; if your arguments seem weak and pointless—if you in any way fail to do your thoughts justice, then your English is faulty.

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Those Little Slips . . . Does Your English "Let You Down"?

By EVELYN WHYTE

The author of this article writes from considerable experience of business and professional life, and has held an important position on the staff of a famous undertaking.

THERE are few occupations in which a sound knowledge of English does not help towards success. For the business man and woman it is absolutely essential.

Faulty speech and writing often stand in the way of employment; they nearly always make promotion impossible. Occasionally an illiterate man becomes prominent in the business world, but he does so because he has exceptional gifts.

It is the little slips in English that are so damaging. An apparently insignificant mistake may have serious consequences.

To forge ahead in your work you must safeguard yourself against "slipping up" in English. Without a mastery of your language you cannot expect to progress. Just one fault may cost you your job, no matter how thorough your work may be in other ways.

If you want to succeed you must know the rules of your language and understand exactly the difference between the right and wrong use of words, the effective construction of sentences, correct punctuation and other points which constitute clear, attractive expression.

Be a Master of English

Why Language Power is Vital

WHAT A BUSINESS LEADER SAYS

SUCCESS in almost every walk of life is dependent upon the ability to use the right word at the right time.

"In all the transactions of business the advantage lies with the man who knows the proper use of words," writes one of the well-known business men who have contributed striking messages to the Regent Institute's prospectus, "Word Mastery."

Have you ever realised that friend and employer alike are influenced by your manner of speaking and writing? If you fumble for words or make grammatical slips you are constantly giving an unfavourable impression of yourself.

The Regent Institute has evolved a system of instruction by means of which anyone of ordinary intelligence can be taught to express himself with clarity and force. If you want to avoid embarrassing errors, to express yourself forcefully, to write interesting letters and to develop conversational fluency, you will find in this easy-to-understand Postal Course just the things you must know.

Write for FREE BOOKLET "Word Mastery"

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