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**AFRICA SPEAKS IN
THE ASSEMBLY**
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**WHAT THE UNION
MUST DO**
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HEADWAY

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

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ST. GEORGE'S DUSK.

THE CHAMPION "THIS IS VERY HUMILIATING, BUT I SUPPOSE I OUGHT TO HAVE HAD A STRONGER SPEAR."

With acknowledgements to the proprietors of Punch.

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NEWS AND COMMENT

The King's Message

HIS MAJESTY THE KING has in an eminent degree the gift of saying exactly the right thing on every occasion, and an instinct peculiarly his own which makes him choose a message not less original than appropriate. On Thursday, July 16, when presenting new colours to the Guards in Hyde Park, he said:—

"Only a few of us on parade this morning have known the awful weight of war, with all its horrors, and yet its comradeships, during the world struggle of 20 years ago. With all my heart I hope, and indeed I pray, that never again will our age and generation be called upon to face such stern and terrible days. Humanity cries out for peace and the assurance of peace, and you will find in peace opportunities of duty and service as noble as any that bygone battlefields can show."

Here is a timely reminder that the building and preservation of the new world order is a high adventure calling for the devoted exercise of every power possessed by the individual or the community. No fallacy is more complete than the often repeated assertion that a peaceful world must be a world of paltry self-seeking and playing for safety.

Abyssinia

THE Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union adopted a resolution on Abyssinia at its meeting on July 16. In this the Committee:

(1) Urges His Majesty's Government, in view of the rumours now current, to make it clear that they will lend no support to any proposal to refuse admission to the delegation appointed to the Assembly of the League by the Emperor of Ethiopia, and that they will on no account recognise Italian Sovereignty over Ethiopia;

(2) Urges that members of the Abyssinian Government should be given facilities to return to Abyssinia through British territory as and when they may desire, and to import supplies into Abyssinia; and

(3) Is of opinion that it is very desirable that more poison gas should not be sent for use in Abyssinia, and urges His Majesty's Government to take any diplomatic or other measures open to them to secure that result.

The defeat of the Abyssinian armies, the flight of the Emperor, the withdrawal of Sanctions, have

transformed the situation. Policy must take account of facts. But it would shame the League and its loyal Members for ever if the aggressor's path were made smooth and he was helped to an uncontested possession of his booty.

Churches Keep Faith

THE Churches have not lost faith. At the Canterbury Diocesan Conference on July 14, the Archbishop of Canterbury said:—

Whatever happens, the ideal for which the League of Nations stands must not be abandoned. Any changes that are made must only be directed to its ultimate strengthening, not its weakening.

The only alternative is the continuance of that unsettlement and the consequent race of armaments which sooner or later must involve civilisation in the catastrophe of war. I bid you all, so far from lessening rather to deepen and strengthen your allegiance to the League of Nations.

And at the Methodist Conference in Newcastle-upon-Tyne the same day, the President had the same message:—

The failure of the League of Nations to prevent and to stop the war in Abyssinia and world-wide rearmament are profoundly disturbing. The Conference has on more than one occasion declared its support of the League of Nations and of the policy of collective security. We urge, in view of recent happenings, that the League be strengthened. We cannot be "Isolationists."

No Courage

SANCTIONS were withdrawn because their continuance was certain to be ineffectual. The ultimate failure of economic pressure was asserted; it has never been proved. A specially well-informed correspondent of the *Times*, not unsympathetic to Italy, writing on July 17, provided some evidence to the contrary. He said:—

Sanctions had already caused a very striking fall in Italian foreign trade, and would have begun to make their cumulative effect seriously felt by the end of the year. They were lifted in good time for Mussolini, who was uneasy about their possible continuation both for economic and political reasons.

League policy, not less than national policy, demands courage for its success. In their dealings with Italy and Abyssinia the politicians, almost consistently from first to last, were lamentably devoid of courage.

League Reform

ONE good thing came out of the Assembly which voted the withdrawal of Sanctions. Many League Members registered a resolve that the reform of the Covenant which the Abyssinian failure has made an immediate, challenging issue, shall strengthen and not weaken the collective system.

France, whose Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, MM. Blum and Delbos, both said bluntly that the League's defeats were due not to defects in the Covenant but to the disloyalty of the Governments, gave a bold lead. She received vigorous support.

She proposes a change in the unanimity rule to prevent a prospective aggressor's blocking early action under Article XI. When a threat of war is brought to the notice of the League, the votes of the parties, she says, ought not to be counted. There speaks common sense. In no other way can the League have an assurance of being able to intervene effectually in a quarrel before a resort has been made to arms.

Sanctions

FRANCE asks, further, that all League Members shall pledge themselves afresh to apply clearly defined economic sanctions automatically in every case as soon as an aggressor is named. The Covenant provides for the prompt exertion of the most severe economic pressure. What has happened to Abyssinia, however, shows the pressing need for new and explicit promises entered into with a full understanding of present conditions and recent experience.

Finally, the French policy includes regional agreements in which groups of nations shall bind themselves to defend one another against armed attack. In Annex F of the Locarno Treaties, Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy, Czechoslovakia and Poland declared that by Article XVI, "each State Member of the League is bound to co-operate loyally and effectively in support of the Covenant and in resistance to any act of aggression to an extent which is compatible with its military situation and takes its geographical position into account." In the concluding phrase appears the principle of a special obligation resting on neighbours. Although peace is indivisible, the effort any nation will make for its defence in a particular place depends on the fear with which that nation regards its breakdown in that place. Belgium means more to Britain than does Mongolia.

French Arms Trade

IN France something is being done about the arms traffic. The new Government has decided that nationalisation is the right policy and has obtained from the Chamber of Deputies a vote approving a Bill in which it is given power to acquire companies whose business is the manu-

facture or the sale of munitions. The price will be fixed by a tribunal appointed for the purpose. The first purchase will be of companies wholly or mainly concerned in the arms traffic. Where the arms traffic is only a part of a company's activities the interest acquired by the State will be enforced to that part. The majority in the Chamber was 484 to 85, embracing all the Deputies of the Left and many of the Right. The Senate is not expected to offer any serious opposition to the Government's plans. The capital of the companies likely to be first affected is estimated at over £10,000,000.

I.P.C.

THE force behind peace is public opinion. For reasons which are not always discreditable, Governments falter. It is their duty to weigh risks, to consider a multitude of interests. To drive them forward they need the impulse of a popular demand. In most countries the people have cried eagerly for peace. But their cries have not been raised at the same time. Clamour in one place has been accompanied with silence in another. In consequence, public opinion has failed to attain its object. The forces working for peace have suffered defeat in detail. The world will not have peace until the world makes peace its business and until the peoples concert their efforts and attack on a common front.

In Great Britain one of the most frequent criticisms which advocates of a bold League policy have to answer is: "Yes. Britain is for the League. The British people ask nothing better than peace through the League. They are ready to pay their share of the price. What about the other nations?" In the Peace Ballot of 1935 nearly 12,000,000 British citizens voted for the League and a full League policy. In no other country has anything of the kind ever happened. Such facts have made the challenge difficult to meet. But to-day it is being met. The International Peace Campaign is mobilising public opinion in all countries in support of peace, disarmament, and international justice through a strong League of Nations.

National Committees are at work in 33 countries; five countries have decided to hold a National Peace Day on August 2 to forward the movement. Preparations are far advanced for a World Peace Congress, whose joint Presidents are Viscount Cecil and M. Pierre Cot (France), and whose supporters include MM. S. de Madariaga (Spain), E. Herriot (France), H. Branting (Sweden), M. Azana (Spain), E. Benes (Czechoslovakia). The delegates to the Congress, drawn from all parts of the world, will number many thousands. It will meet in Brussels from September 3rd to 6th; later a delegation of world leaders will present in person its resolutions to the League Assembly. In Great Britain more than a hundred societies and organisations, including the League of Nations Union, are giving their help.



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Tasks for the Union

WHAT must the League of Nations Union do now? Tasks await it which it could not complete in the next ten years, even though it had ten times its present membership and ten times its present income. When a League system not only exists on paper, but operates promptly and efficiently in the workaday world, giving the peoples peace and justice and guaranteeing them unfettered opportunities to develop their gifts and exploit their resources so that their lives may be active and healthy, their homes happy, their towns and villages beautiful, the Union, in its present form at least, will have become superfluous. In times of defeat and disappointment the Union is necessary to arouse and focus and direct the efforts in whose success is the only escape from disaster. Because of the Abyssinian collapse, the most resounding failure in the history of the League, the tasks before the Union are more numerous, and more difficult, and more urgent than ever. The answer to the question: "What must the Union do now?" is, therefore, the exact opposite of a despairing "Nothing." It is a resolute: "So much to do that a beginning cannot be made too soon."

First, the Union must rouse the British people to insist that the League shall be made a reality. Peace means government. Government is an essential condition of peace in the international realm not less than in the national. Unless there is international government, which is a strong and active League, peace cannot be kept between nations. Some nation will see its own supposed advantage in war, and will make war to secure that advantage. The world community will be at the mercy of a single recalcitrant member. Often the argument is advanced that conciliation is enough. If nations meet in candour and goodwill and discuss together their needs and their desires, then an armed conflict will be avoided. Reason will find the way. On the other hand, any threat of "sanctions," the mere presence of force in the background, will prevent a settlement, for in such an atmosphere neither party will venture to concede any material point. Those who argue thus have not learnt the lesson of experience. In the Abyssinian tragedy the Paris Peace Pact counted for nothing. Italy and Abyssinia were both signatories of the pact, by which they "condemned recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounced it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another." The circumstance that no provision for enforcement is so much as hinted at secured for the pact not a scrap of respect from Italy; indeed, Italy, com-

pletely contemptuous, spared herself the trouble of pretending that she was honouring her signature, a tribute she did not refuse to the Covenant. The United States, the inspirer of the pact, was equally indifferent, not discriminating in any way between Italy, who had broken the pact, and Abyssinia, who had kept the pact and was the victim of its breach. In the Manchurian affair the League itself was careful not to go beyond repeated attempts to persuade Japan to obey the public law of the world. The League's mediatory influence helped China a little more than the Paris Peace Pact helped Abyssinia, but considerably less than League sanctions helped Abyssinia. In the day of trial treaties which no one will try to enforce are empty forms; rights which no one will defend are worthless. The world's right to peace is precious. The Covenant, in which that right is given legal expression, must not be lost. If need be, it must be fought for. Without the League there is no world government. Without government there is no peace. The effort required to make the League a reality is the price which must be paid for peace. We are confronted with an inescapable choice between two alternatives: either a world order in which war has become improbable since a real League stands on guard against that outrage, or a world anarchy in which war, postponed, perhaps, for a while, will assuredly destroy us in the end.

Some glimpses of the threatened anarchy were given to the least observant citizen in the House of Commons debate on Britain's arms programme. Speaking for the Cabinet, Mr. Neville Chamberlain no longer challenged the estimate of Mr. Winston Churchill that the German arms budget during the past two years was £800,000,000. To equip herself on the same scale, Britain must incur expenditure far beyond anything she has hitherto contemplated in Parliament. No one argued seriously that five years hence the nation half ruined and armed to the teeth would be any better assured of peace than it is to-day. Rather was there a tacit agreement that the world was stumbling towards a gloomy future of great armaments and great dangers. Britain was to be armed like her neighbours, and no more safe than they.

Armaments set the Union its second task. In a period when the prospective aggressor is strong, those who are resolved to restrain aggression must be strong also. When the prospective aggressors are several, the friends of peace must take special care that they are strong enough to defend peace. What the Union has to do is to demonstrate more clearly than ever before, and drive home with a vigour it has never yet developed, the simple, central truth. In the world of to-day and to-morrow the one legitimate use of national arms is to protect the world's public law. The arms required to serve that purpose are a much more modest equipment than the arms with which nations are providing themselves at the present moment in frantic rivalry, and an immeasurably sounder guarantee of peace.

From armaments the debate leads back to League reform. Articles X and XVI, which promise League Members the defence of their independence and their territory and pledge all League Members to impose sanctions on an aggressor, must remain in the Covenant. League action against a peace breaker must be defined and hastened. The Union stands for a saved and strengthened Covenant.

STOP! READ! THINK!

The British People Must Have Their Say On League Reform

By FREDA WHITE

UNDER the title of "League Reform" this September's Assembly will discuss the future of world relations. No less. For the principle of collective security will be opposed to that of military alliances; and a conduct of disputes aimed at justice will confront the pre-League arbitrament of force. Few of the reform plans sent in by Governments—and least of all the British plan—are likely to admit the real issues. Yet in what will appear mere details of Covenant drafting—and most of all in the British proposals—the nations will read their fate.

Little heed is being paid in this country to the problem. Mr. Baldwin has stated that the Government has League reform "under consideration." And just what does that mean? Certainly not that the Cabinet, as such, is planning amendments to the Covenant. Ministers have their jobs, and there is a scant handful of them who know much about the League. What is probably happening is a committee of Government officials, mainly from the Foreign Office, who may desire to strengthen the collective system, or who may not.

With every respect for the great experience and integrity of the official world, apprehension is inevitable. It is engendered in part by a long history; in part by a series of letters written to the press by ex-ambassadors some weeks ago. A small minority had grasped the League and supported it. The majority did not understand it, and frankly disliked it. It would be unfair to estimate the younger men by their predecessors. And allowance must be made for human forgetfulness and professional pride. The diplomats see the inadequacy of the League method, and forget that the pre-war system, based upon military alliances and expressed in arms competition, produced 1914. The concentration of dealings at Geneva lessens the power of the embassies in the several capitals. And public opinion as an influence on policy is shocking to the old tradition.

Yet even on the assumption that the more modern officials may be in the ascendant, it should be realised that they are unlikely to produce constructive proposals. There is something about responsibility for administration which destroys inventive thought. To the hierarchy, the religious leader is always a heretic; to the doctors of Paris and London, Pasteur and Lister were crazy cranks. The League itself witnesses to this throughout its history. The representatives of States affected by a dispute have rarely offered practical suggestions for its settlement. Sometimes a delegate from a distant and impartial country makes a fertile proposal. But far more often, if the League Council keeps an affair in its own hands, it drags on indefinitely. It is when a controversy is sent to independent men, unhampered by political responsibility, that statesmanship and justice begin to show. If Lord Lytton had been the Foreign Minister, or even an ambassador, the wise proposals of the Lytton Report for peaceful change might never have been made.

The future of the League, however, is the future of the world. It is of an importance far transcending any question which confronts this country. For instance, it is

much more vital to the British Empire than the Constitution of India. For all who know anything of the feelings which animate our fellow-citizens overseas know that the only policy on which the Empire can be united to-day is one of common support of League principles. If the League goes, or becomes a purely European contract, the Dominions will not only leave it: some of them will leave us, too, at their earliest convenience. Yet when India's future was at stake, did the British Government confine its planning to a secret committee? Far from it; the problem was dealt with, as it deserved, as one beyond official and party limitations. Enquiry, conference, a committee of every expert, an exhaustive parliamentary discussion, all went to the making of the India Bill. But the British reform of the Covenant, privately prepared, considered, perhaps, by the remnant of the Cabinet which is willing to leave its holiday and come to London in August, will never be submitted to Parliament at all. It will reach the British people through such passages as the Press is willing to reproduce of a document published in Geneva in September. It will then be *chose jugée*, a British policy on which public opinion can have no voice.

It may be objected that there was no time between June and September for such processes. That is true, but there was plenty of time for some of them. For instance, it is the case that the greatest League experts are not in the Governmental world. To set up a committee on the collective system which omitted Lord Cecil and Sir Arthur Salter is simply frivolous; and those names could be supplemented by another dozen. There should have been an expert round-table body, capable of considering the ideas which grow in an ampler ether than the hot-houses of Whitehall.

Yet this Assembly will not see the end of the matter. There will be opposing groups of reformers. The Franco-Russian party, in especial, will stand for removing the unanimity from Article XI, so that the Council may take preventive action on a threat of war. The "Seven"—the War neutrals—have said they will only carry out Article XVI if Article VIII, the disarmament article, is fulfilled. There are other groups, and all are liable to be quite as stiff-necked as Britain. Such a controversy will not be settled in three weeks.

The British people will wake up then to the fact that the constitution of the world is in the making, and will demand their share in it. It is their right, for in constitutional structure they are past masters. In cricket club, in parish council, in trades union and in Parliament they manipulate systems of human co-operation designed to produce certain results; and they know them so well that they do it unconsciously. The League is the same, on a world scale; a combination of human effort to produce peace and justice. It is the business of every man and woman. We are a non-totalitarian society, and our Olympians are strictly constitutional deities. The construction of the League and its handling are life or death for us. If we want peace and justice enough we shall see to it that the League is not destroyed, but reformed.

THE LEAGUE MUST RECOVER ITS COURAGE IN SEPTEMBER

By OUR GENEVA CORRESPONDENT

Geneva, July 6th

ON July 6, the Sanctions Committee of the League unanimously decided that Sanctions against Italy should come to an end on July 15.

The proceedings of this meeting were dull and formal, for the big decisions had all been taken during the previous week, and the only noteworthy feature of the official resolve by the 50 states to lay down their economic arms and to end the struggle with Italy was the number of ludicrous speeches of congratulation which most of the members of the Committee had the shamelessness to make.

The mockery of these withered bouquets—one of which came from Señor de Madariaga, who was making another farewell appearance as delegate of Spain—had something about it that was macabre. It was a very sorry end for a venture that might have changed history, but a fitting conclusion to the disgraceful events of the week that had gone before, when the Assembly formally decided to leave Abyssinia to her fate—and only delegates of China, South Africa and Mexico had had the courage to say that it was wrong.

This decision was coupled by the Assembly with another violation of the Covenant, when the Abyssinian resolution calling on the members of the League to give financial aid to the victim of aggression was voted down by 23 votes to 1—the Abyssinian—with 25 states abstaining. Incidentally, the way in which attempts were made to prevent this resolution ever coming before the Assembly at all and the entire absence of even routine courtesy with which it was treated when the Abyssinians stuck to their point and forced a vote, was in keeping with the shabby treatment to which the Abyssinians have been subjected by the League in tiny, pin-pricking little matters ever since the dispute first came before the Council in December, 1934.

So far did the Assembly go in its effort to propitiate Mussolini, that in the final resolution, recommending the Co-ordination Committee to end Sanctions, there was not even a specific engagement laid upon states that they should not recognise the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, and it is confidently expected in Geneva that when the next session of the Assembly meets in September some pretext will be found to prevent the Abyssinian delegate from taking his seat. Out-and-out recognition of Victor Emanuel as Emperor of Ethiopia will not be long delayed.

The final capitulation of the League took place after a long debate in which there participated an unusually large number of speakers, and, by and large, the speeches made were on the same general level of ethics and thinking as the surrender itself. To this, however, there were two noteworthy exceptions—the dignified and noble plea made to the world by the Ethiopian Emperor on behalf of his people (an appeal to which the representatives of the world turned a deaf ear) and the speech made by Mr. C. T. de Water, the only other African speaker in the Assembly.

Mr. de Water's attack on the cowardice of the great states spoke the thoughts of all well-wishers of the

League ideal, and it found an echo in hearts of millions of people. But it found no echo in the hearts of the delegates. Their viewpoint was expressed in the closing speech of Mr. Van Zeeland, the Belgian President of the Assembly, who said that it was a pity that the fifty states members of the League had been unable to succour Abyssinia, but possibly, the next time, if the odds were less heavy against the League, sanctions might have better fortune.

It is a bitter and useless satisfaction to reflect that this speech at least cost Mr. Van Zeeland the Secretary-Generalship of the League of Nations—a post, in connection with which, his name has been much mentioned.

To the optimistic, to the believers in a liberal and progressive France, there was no greater disappointment than the speech of M. Leon Blum, the Socialist Premier, who was but a pale copy of the worst faults of MM. Laval and Flandin.

The only thing that the French did at the Assembly was to secure the adoption of a proposal for the general study by the September meeting of the Assembly of League reform—a subject dealt with by many speakers in the general debate, and by all of them on the lines forecast in this correspondence last month.

The Assembly had a sensational epilogue. It is not merely a misplaced sense of humour which makes the spectacle of Herr Greiser putting his fingers to his nose at the representatives of the world's public opinion and thumping offensively on the Council table an extremely appropriate conclusion to the League's work in the Italo-Abyssinian dispute; for Herr Greiser's gesture and speeches, made after an afternoon and evening spent at the bar in the lobby of the League building, were something more than bad manners and stupidity. It was an indication of what has happened to the League's prestige, and it was an indication, too, of what is going to happen to the League and to the League ideals in the future, if drastic action is not taken forthwith.

RESOLUTION OF THE LEAGUE

(Adopted by 44 votes)

I.—The Assembly

- (1) having met again on the initiative of the Government of the Argentine Republic, and in pursuance of the decision to adjourn its Session taken on October 11, 1935, in order to examine the situation arising out of the Italo-Ethiopian dispute;
- (2) taking note of the communications and declarations which have been made to it on this subject;
- (3) noting that various circumstances have prevented the full application of the Covenant of the League of Nations;
- (4) remaining firmly attached to the principles of the Covenant, which are also expressed in other diplomatic instruments such as the declaration of the American States dated August 3, 1932, excluding the settlement of territorial questions by force;
- (5) being desirous of strengthening the authority of the League of Nations by adapting the application of these principles to the lessons of experience;
- (6) being convinced that it is necessary to strengthen the real

Geneva, July 20th

TO ask "How Much of the League is There Left?" is to ask "How much of the peace machinery of the Covenant is there left that will still work, in whole or in part?" for without the proper functioning of Articles X, XI, XV, XVI and XIX of the Covenant the League must always be crippled. If all these articles stop working, the League's spine is broken and it becomes simply an international debating society.

Happily, disastrous though the past weeks have been to the ideals of the League, they have not brought the final catastrophe; there are still parts of the machine which will work, and there are other parts which can be put in order once again.

The immediate net result will not be very great—for there are not going to be any great results until the entire Covenant is made to work—but something will be achieved; the League will be kept in being as a political force, and there will be at least a temporary structure which can be used as the scaffolding for the reconstruction of the whole when that becomes possible.

The general outline of what can be achieved was given in the debates on League reform in the recent meetings of the Council and Assembly charged with the task of burying Abyssinia alive.

First, beginning with Article X, there is the question of non-recognition of territorial changes effected by force. On the necessity for reinforcing and strictly applying this doctrine a number of States were in agreement—notably States from Latin-America.

Therefore, it might be possible to achieve a universal non-recognition treaty, stronger than the Covenant and without the Covenant's loopholes. Since only Mexico and Venezuela have shown any enthusiasm for really effective sanctions, this is probably just about as far as the majority of the American States would be prepared to go in their application of sanctions under the Covenant.

Chile, on the other hand, has definitely said, and

ASSEMBLY, JULY 4th, 1936

to one, with four abstentions)

effectiveness of the guarantees of security which the League affords to its members;

Recommends that the Council

- (a) should invite the Governments of the Members of the League to send to the Secretary-General before September 1, 1936, any proposals they may wish to make in order to improve in the spirit or within the limits laid down above the application of the principles of the Covenant;
- (b) should instruct the Secretary-General to make a first examination and classification of these proposals;
- (c) should report to the Assembly at its next meeting on the state of the question.

II.—The Assembly, taking note of the communications and declarations which have been made to it on the subject of the situation arising out of the Italo-Ethiopian dispute; recalling the previous findings and decisions in connection with this dispute; recommends that the Co-ordination Committee should make all necessary proposals to the Governments in order to bring to an end the measures taken by them in execution of Article XVI of the Covenant.

Canada has very nearly as definitely hinted, that they will take no part in the work of a League in which all members are automatically bound to apply sanctions.

The next of the articles whose revision was debated, and will be further debated, is Article XI, which provides the procedure to be followed in trying to settle a dispute which has not yet resulted in an aggression. Here, it is the general consensus of opinion, a change can be made, and the ridiculous rule that the Council cannot take a decision against the wish of a State which may well be an international wrongdoer can be dropped.

Then comes Article XVI—the Sanctions Article—which has been completely and thoroughly violated by all the States Members of the League. From their speeches in the Assembly, moreover, it is quite clear that nearly all States Members of the League have every intention of continuing to violate it. This, of course, is a preposterous situation; either the Members of the League abide by the Covenant, or they alter it. In one way or another, alteration will have to be made.

As has already been said, there are numerous States which will not take part in any sanctions; these States wish to leave a League in which there is any question of sanctions at all, and some may do so. Others will agree to remain in the League provided that they may "contract" out of sanctions in advance. But it will be necessary to do more than this to adjust Article XVI, for there are almost no States willing to undertake the general sanctions obligations which were undertaken by all in the Covenant. None of the big States will undertake to apply the ultimate sanction of force save in certain specific cases, and the general terms of Article XVI will have to be replaced by provision for these regional agreements, which it will be the duty of the Council or the Assembly to be sure are kept within the framework of the Covenant.

Thus, it will be seen there is a prospect of doing something, if not very much, with the revision of Articles X, XI and XVI. As regards Article XIX—the revision article—however the situation for the time being is very nearly hopeless, since all the principal revision States have removed themselves from Geneva, and since the principal States opposed to revision have objected even to a theoretical discussion of the question of how Article XIX is to be made to work. The consequences of the failure to breathe life into Article XIX may be catastrophic, but the fact that it is pretty well impossible to do anything about it at present should not be allowed to stand in the way of making adjustments to the other articles.

The programme outlined here does not strike at the roots of the present troubles of the League. But it represents just about the maximum that can be obtained for the time being, and it does represent a step forward. Deadwood will be cut away, positions made clearer. At the present moment the Covenant is rotting. If action is not taken, it will rot until the day of doom comes for the League and for the world. If action is taken, the League and the world at least have a fighting chance—to this there is no alternative but despair and ruin.

Speeches in the Assembly: I

"THE COVENANT IS OUR INTERNATIONAL LAW"

SINCE the foundation of the League of Nations, the Union of South Africa conscientiously, and believing herself bound in honour by her obligations as a Member State of this Association, has shared, never lightly or irresponsibly, in its deliberations and in its decisions.

Separated by the width of a Continent and of an ocean from these scenes, directly disinterested in the complexities of European affairs, the participation of my country in the councils of the League has been primarily based upon a real acceptance, upon a genuine acknowledgment of the profound significance to the world, of the conception of universal peace, of which this institution has been the living embodiment.

Indeed, not inappropriately at this fateful moment in the life of the League, I may be permitted to recall to you the distinguished services rendered by an eminent South African statesman in the shaping of the Covenant of the League, and in whose thoughts the Association of the Nations of the World was to constitute "a great organ of the ordinary peaceful life of civilisation, to be part and parcel of the common international life of States, an ever visible, living, working organ of the polity of civilisation."

There must inevitably come a time in the affairs of nations when resignation in the face of calamity is not enough. Events so inexorably shape themselves that to control them decision must be supported by courage, and action by determination and sacrifice.

It was in this spirit that 50 nations met in these halls to avert the threat of war to one of the weakest of its members. It was this spirit which led the distinguished representative of Great Britain to declare in a speech made memorable for its lofty and courageous sentiment, "that the aspiration to establish the rule of law appealed with growing force to the strain of idealism which had its place in the national character of his countrymen and had become a part of their national conscience." I must be forgiven if I recall again at this melancholy moment those noble protestations by the British Foreign Secretary, which seemed to us all at that time, and, indeed, so seemed to the whole world, the very essence of the spirit of a new age. He said on that occasion: "My country stands, in conformity with its precise and explicit obligations, 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 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."

Let us bear witness to a great lead given at this place at a most critical moment in the affairs of the nations.

My own country's immediate response—for how could it have been otherwise?—was to hear with the most lively satisfaction the declaration of the distinguished representative of that great country with which the Union of South Africa stands in such close



association. I recollect, too, during that Assembly with what keen anticipation the delegations looked forward to and heard the powerful voice of France, which at that time we had justly come to regard as the very corner stone of the collective system, raised in support of the British attitude towards the Covenant.

Is it wrong to recall these lofty protestations at this moment? Is it to be presumed that the phrases of statesmen are meaningless when tested by time and by trial? Surely, on the contrary, the distinguished Prime Minister of France, who so ably led his delegation last September, must remember the deep feelings which must have inspired him to declare "that the spirit of solidarity in the matter of responsibilities of all kinds, in all circumstances, and at all times and places, which was implied for the future from the statement they had listened to that day, marked an epoch in the history of the League."

Surely his distinguished successor, to whom I listened with the closest attention and interest to-day, must approve the proud words of his countryman used on that day: "The Covenant is our international law. How could we allow such a law to be weakened?"

Yet to-day we know that the Covenant is falling to pieces in our hands. Fifty nations, led by three of the most powerful nations in the world, are about to declare their powerlessness to protect the weakest in their midst from destruction.

The authority of the League of Nations is about to come to nought.

My Government, whom I have the honour to represent, desires me to say here that this renunciation by the most powerful Members of the League of the collective decision most solemnly taken by us all, under the obligation by which we declared ourselves bound, can alone be interpreted as surrender by them of the authority of the League—a surrender of the high trust, and ideals of world peace entrusted to each member nation of this institution. I am to declare that this surrender, if it is agreed upon by the nations, cannot be interpreted as impotence to safeguard that trust,

Mr. C. T. de Water of South Africa, July 1st

but as a simple denial of their ability to bear the sacrifices necessary for the fulfilment of their obligations.

The Union of South Africa cannot, without protest, subscribe to a declaration to the world, which, in their profound belief, will shatter for generations all international confidence and all hope of realising world peace. For it is idle to suppose that by a process of reconstruction thereafter the League can survive as an instrument of world influence and peace.

This action of the Great Powers—what will it achieve? Where will it lead us now? Before, there was order here. The prestige of the League reborn, the hope of the world running high, this was the picture then. We had succeeded in reducing the disunity of the nations to a single variable—the Sanction Front of 50 nations—a compression of the disorder of the world into a single manageable group—a vast mass movement—an instinctive drawing together of the nations of the League. Those who stood outside watched silently and were moving nearer in sympathy.

But now? The hand is being thrown in. Order is losing to chaos: the spectacle of power has hypnotised the world.

The nations are arming feverishly—all of us. What will be the end? Where are the Great Powers leading us, who have not the faith to persevere?

Are the people of our countries helpless, inarticulate, like sheep facing the terror, to be fed to these engines of destruction which the nations are so proudly building?

If not, for what purpose, then, are we pouring out treasure and exhausting the resources of science in the vastest mass production of armaments ever known to history?

To defend ourselves?

But will the building of armaments prevent the holocaust while the ambition and greed of nations govern their policies?

It is not for this that the nations covenanted, by collective pledge of mutual assistance, to maintain their security against ambition and aggression.

And if there is to be no loyalty to that pledge, if fear, like a wedge, is to be driven into the ranks of the Covenanters, or if the nations are to be cut into separate groups, cowering into their separate pens, what must be their inevitable fate, what black despair must settle upon the face of Europe!

It is being widely questioned: What can Sanctions achieve now? Have they not failed in their object which, it is claimed, was the preservation of Abyssinian Sovereignty? To continue Sanctions in the face of the destruction of that Sovereignty, by Italy, would not that in effect be an illegal attempt by the League of Nations to punish the successful aggressor?

Of those who question thus, my Government would ask in turn: Can it be said, can it be justly claimed, that the triumph of the organised might of Italy over the undisciplined and ill-equipped black armies of Abyssinia was not foreseeable? Did the 50 nations,

when they solemnly bound themselves to collective action under the Covenant of the League, make the successful resistance of Abyssinia a condition precedent to the fulfilment of their collective obligation?

These questions my Government have not evaded or found difficult to reply.

Nor does the Union of South Africa look upon the restraining action of Sanctions upon Italy as the only justification of their retention. Of far greater importance than their restraining effect upon Italy is the proof of loyalty to the League and the determination to respect its obligations, which is borne witness to by their retention, in order to vindicate the wrongs inflicted upon a fellow Member. Was not this reciprocal vindication of violated rights by the combined efforts of the League of Nations against an aggressor the very reason why we all became Members of the League?

Surely these considerations which I have just examined, and their implications, must have been, and indeed were, weighed by us all when we acknowledged our obligations under the Covenant and gave judgment against Italy.

My Government has again examined its own conduct in this matter scrupulously and conscientiously. It can find no new factor in the present situation which did not, in fact, or potentially, exist when it announced its decision from this place to honour its obligations and to participate in collective action against the aggressor nation. On the contrary, the destruction of Abyssinian Sovereignty by Italy and the annexation of the territory of a country which at no time menaced the safety of Italy, creates now the exact state of affairs which this League was designed to avoid, and which we are all still pledged to prevent by every agreed means in our power, and to refuse to acknowledge.

If the League were to refuse that vindication to any one of its Members, it would disclose itself a mere pretender: should Italy be held to have succeeded in retaining her spoils, not in spite of the authority of the League, but because of the abdication of that authority, what else, then, can this League mean?

If the Great Powers, in whose hands in the last resort lies the safety of nations, accepting success as the yardstick by which the acts of the Covenant-breakers are to be measured, can rebuild on the broken pledge, if these are policies of realism, let them be demonstrated, so that we may know whether we may continue to collaborate with them in the maintenance and organisation of peace.

And so I beg to announce the decision of my Government that it is still prepared to maintain the collective action legitimately agreed upon by the Resolution of this Assembly of the League of Nations on October 10, 1935.

We offer this course, which, in our deep conviction, will alone maintain the League of Nations as an instrument of security for its Members. We commend it to this Assembly even at this eleventh hour as the only way which will ensure salvation to the nations.

Speeches in the Assembly: II

"A CASE OF REFUSAL TO STOP AN AGGRESSOR"

There is no precedent for a head of a State himself speaking in this Assembly. But there is also no precedent for a people being victim of such injustice and being threatened with abandonment to its aggressor. Also, there has never before been an example of any Government proceeding to the systematic extermination of a nation by barbarous means, in violation of the most solemn promises made to all the nations of the earth that there should be no resort to a war of conquest, and that there should not be used against innocent human beings the terrible poison of harmful gases.

It is to defend a people struggling for its age-old independence that the head of the Ethiopian Empire has come to Geneva to fulfil this supreme duty, after having himself fought at the head of his armies.

It is not only upon warriors that the Italian Government has made war. It has, above all, attacked populations far removed from hostilities, in order to terrorise and exterminate them.

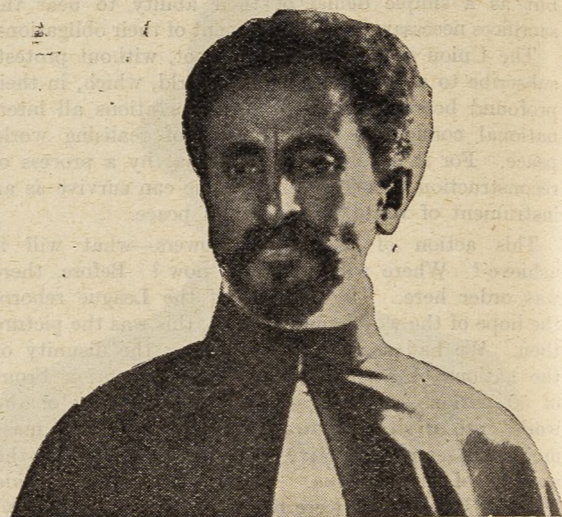
At the beginning, towards the end of 1935, Italian aircraft hurled upon my armies bombs of tear-gas. Their effects were but slight. The soldiers learned to scatter, waiting until the wind had rapidly dispersed the poisonous gases.

The Italian aircraft then resorted to mustard gas. Barrels of liquid were hurled upon armed groups. But this means also was not effective; the liquid affected only a few soldiers, and barrels upon the ground were themselves a warning to troops and to the population of the danger.

It was at the time when the operations for the encircling of Makale were taking place that the Italian Command, fearing a rout, followed the procedure which it is now my duty to denounce to the world. Special sprayers were installed on board aircraft so that they could vaporise, over vast areas of territory, a fine, death-dealing rain. Groups of nine, fifteen, eighteen aircraft followed one another so that the fog issuing from them formed a continuous sheet. It was thus that, as from the end of January, 1936, soldiers, women, children, cattle, rivers, lakes and pastures were drenched continually with this deadly rain. In order to kill off systematically all living creatures, in order the more surely to poison waters and pastures, the Italian Command made its aircraft pass over and over again. That was its chief method of warfare.

The very refinement of barbarism consisted in carrying ravage and terror into the most densely populated parts of the territory—the points farthest removed from the scene of hostilities. The object was to scatter fear and death over a great part of the Ethiopian territory.

These fearful tactics succeeded. Men and animals succumbed. The deadly rain that fell from the aircraft made all those whom it touched fly shrieking with pain. All those who drank the poisoned water or ate the infected food also succumbed in dreadful suffering. In tens of thousands the victims of the Italian mustard gas fell. It is in order to denounce to the civilised



world the tortures inflicted upon the Ethiopian people that I resolved to come to Geneva.

Is it necessary to remind the Assembly of the various stages of the Ethiopian drama? For 20 years past, either as Heir Apparent, Regent of the Empire, or as Emperor, I have been directing the destinies of my people. I have never ceased to use all my efforts to bring my country the benefits of civilisation, and in particular to establish relations of good neighbourliness with adjacent Powers. In particular, I succeeded in concluding with Italy the Treaty of Friendship of 1928, which absolutely prohibited the resort, under any pretext whatsoever, to force of arms, substituting for force and pressure the conciliation and arbitration on which civilised nations have based international order.

In its report of October 5, 1935, the Committee of Thirteen recognised my effort and the results that I had achieved. The Governments thought that the entry of Ethiopia into the League, whilst giving that country a new guarantee for the maintenance of her territorial integrity and independence, would help her to reach a higher level of civilisation. It does not seem that in Ethiopia to-day there is more disorder and insecurity than in 1923. On the contrary, the country is more united and the central power is better obeyed.

I should have procured still greater results for my people if obstacles of every kind had not been put in the way by the Italian Government, the Government which stirred up revolt and armed the rebels. Indeed, the Rome Government, as it has to-day openly proclaimed, has never ceased to prepare for the conquest of Ethiopia. The Treaties of Friendship it signed with me were not sincere; their only object was to hide its real intention from me. The Italian Government asserts that for 14 years it has been preparing for its present conquest. It therefore recognises to-day that when it supported the admission of Ethiopia to

The Emperor of Abyssinia, June 30th

the League of Nations in 1923, when it concluded the Treaty of Friendship in 1928, when it signed the Pact of Paris outlawing war, it was deceiving the whole world.

In October, 1935, the 52 nations who are listening to me to-day gave me an assurance that the aggressor would not triumph, that the resources of the Covenant would be employed in order to ensure the reign of right and the failure of violence.

I ask the 52 nations not to forget to-day the policy upon which they embarked eight months ago, and on faith of which I directed the resistance of my people against the aggressor whom they had denounced to the world. Despite the inferiority of my weapons, the complete lack of aircraft, artillery, munitions, hospital services, my confidence in the League was absolute. I thought it to be impossible that 52 nations, including the most powerful in the world, should be successfully opposed by a single aggressor. Counting on the faith due to treaties, I had made no preparation for war, and that is the case with certain small countries in Europe. When the danger became more urgent, being aware of my responsibilities towards my people, during the first six months of 1935 I tried to acquire armaments. Many Governments proclaimed an embargo to prevent my doing so, whereas the Italian Government, through the Suez Canal, was given all facilities for transporting, without cessation and without protest, troops, arms and munitions. On October 3, 1935, the Italian troops invaded my territory. A few hours later I decreed general mobilisation. In my desire to maintain peace I had, following the example of a great country in Europe on the eve of the Great War, caused my troops to withdraw 30 kilometres so as to remove any pretext of provocation.

War then took place in the atrocious conditions which I have laid before the Assembly. In that unequal struggle between a Government commanding more than 42,000,000 inhabitants, having at its disposal financial, industrial and technical means which enabled it to create unlimited quantities of the most death-dealing weapons, and, on the other hand, a small people of 12,000,000 inhabitants, without arms, without resources, having on its side only the justice of its own cause and the promise of the League of Nations, what real assistance was given to Ethiopia by the 52 nations who had declared the Rome Government guilty of a breach of the Covenant and had undertaken to prevent the triumph of the aggressor? Has each of the States Members, as it was its duty to do in virtue of its signature appended to Article XVI of the Covenant, considered the aggressor as having committed an act of war personally directed against itself?

I had placed all my hopes in the execution of these undertakings. My confidence had been confirmed by the repeated declarations made in the Council to the effect that aggression must not be rewarded, and that force would end by being compelled to bow before right.

Has the Covenant been respected? Is it to-day being respected? The problem submitted to the Assembly to-day is not merely a question of the settlement of Italian aggression. It is collective security: it is the very existence of the League of Nations. It is the confidence that each State is to place in international treaties.

No subtlety can change the problem or shift the grounds of the discussion. It is in all sincerity that I submit these considerations to the Assembly. At a time when my people is threatened with extermination, when the support of the League may ward off the final blow, may I be allowed to speak with complete frankness, without reticence, in all directness, such as is demanded by the rule of equality as between all States Members of the League? Apart from the Kingdom of the Lord, there is not on this earth any nation that is superior to any other. Should it happen that a strong government finds that it may, with impunity, destroy a weak people, then the hour strikes for that weak people to appeal to the League of Nations to give its judgment in all freedom. God and history will remember your judgment.

I have heard it asserted that the inadequate Sanctions already applied have not achieved their object. At no time, in no circumstances, could Sanctions that were intentionally inadequate, intentionally badly applied, stop an aggressor. This is not a case of the impossibility of stopping an aggressor, but of the refusal to stop an aggressor.

Your Assembly will doubtless have laid before it proposals for the reform of the Covenant and for rendering more effective the guarantee of collective security. Is it the Covenant that needs reform? What undertakings can have any value if the will to keep them is lacking?

On behalf of the Ethiopian people, a Member of the League of Nations, I request the Assembly to take all measures proper to ensure respect for the Covenant. I renew my protest against the violations of treaties of which the Ethiopian people has been the victim. I declare in the face of the whole world that the Emperor, the Government, and the people of Ethiopia will not bow before force, that they maintain their claims, that they will use all means in their power to ensure the triumph of right and the respect of the Covenant.

I ask the 52 nations, who have given the Ethiopian people a promise to help them in their resistance to the aggressor, what are they willing to do for Ethiopia? And the Great Powers who have promised the guarantee of collective security to small States on whom weighs the threat that they may one day suffer the fate of Ethiopia, I ask what measures do you intend to take?

Representatives of the world, I have come to Geneva to discharge in your midst the most painful of the duties of the head of a State. What reply shall I have to take back to my people?

Republican Spain is for the League

By W. HORSFALL CARTER

The following article is by an expert on Spain, written after a recent visit to the country and before the Fascist rebellion. It is all the more instructive because of its date. The rebellion has changed many things, but the Fascists still look to Mussolini, the Republicans to the League.

ONE after another the spokesmen of the States, whose military stature (oh, irony!) disqualifies them for the title of "Great Power," have been defining their attitude to the policy of Sanctions and the projects of League reform. Spain, however, has remained mute. Does that mean, as some scavengers of mischief have whispered, that the new Government is hamstrung by a secret pledge of its predecessors whose militant Catholic and philofascist backing pre-disposed them to a sort of benevolent neutrality *vis à vis* Italy: that it will seek to temper the zeal of Señor de Madariaga—who, by the way, still receives no salary as Permanent Delegate to the League, because there is no provision for such an office in the departmental estimates?

It would be doing a grave injustice to the leaders of the Spanish Popular Front, particularly President Azaña himself and Don Augusto Barcia, the Minister of State (Foreign Minister), to suggest that they are lukewarm about international peace and security. "An international policy based on the League," after all, was the tenth point of their Election programme, which, in his impressive speech of April 3 last, Señor Azaña declared was going to be fulfilled "to the last comma." What they can plead is that their time is fully taken up in dogged efforts to establish and maintain national peace and security—as delegates to the Ninth International Study Conference held in Madrid (under the auspices of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation) at the end of May, will testify.

The bomb which exploded outside Professor Shotwell's window at the Hotel Ritz—without causing any personal injury, one is glad to say—was a demonstration of a novel use for armaments as an instrument of policy: in this case the means whereby the minority of syndicalists (in Madrid) sought to demonstrate their nuisance value, to stake out their claim for leadership of the masses over against the Socialist trade union organisation! Incidentally, you may be sure that in Spain a newspaper paragraph headed "Disarmament" (cf *El Debate*, May 16) will be concerned exclusively with the carrying of firearms or storage of machine guns, etc., and will have no bearing on the international situation.

Spain is, of course, directly concerned with any shift of the balance of power in the Mediterranean. In Catalonia, particularly, the prospects and consequences of further Anglo-Italian friction were being eagerly discussed when I was there recently. And no doubt the handful of officials whose business is foreign policy are watching very carefully the intrigues of Signor Mussolini. (I have discovered no evidence whatsoever, by the way, for the allegation that the Balearic Isles are being secretly fortified for the benefit of the British Fleet.) But, to be perfectly frank, Spain can have no foreign policy other than that of collective security.

By her geographical position she is precluded from pursuing the will-o-the-wisp of "neutrality," which seems to be beckoning the fearful in Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries. Señor Barcia, in an interview published in *Politica* on March 24 during the London discussions, made no bones about affirming the new position created by the Covenant:—

... the fallacious idea has been getting about that countries which are Members of the League can, in the event of an outbreak of hostilities, adopt of their own accord an attitude of neutrality, whereas as things are to-day in the international juridical order established by the Covenant there is no possibility of any of us being regarded as neutrals."

Happy the country that has no foreign policy! As an Empire-builder retired from business, in Señor Madariaga's choice phrase, Spain really does fulfil the prescription of "no entanglements," and her twentieth-century destiny is gently but firmly to hold up the mirror of Geneva, elder-statesman like, to a Europe whose power-units seem bent on emulating the Gadarene swine.

There is no doubt, then, that Spain will be found on the right side when the League Assembly comes to discuss present and future restraints on lawlessness in the international sphere. Actually, her representatives have already done two useful things, unobtrusive but significant, in these months of crisis.

In March, when the League Council met to deal with Germany's repudiation of the Locarno Treaties, the quiet influence of Señor Barcia and his collaborators (including the new Spanish Ambassador in London) was the decisive factor in rallying the so-called small States to a common policy. It is an open secret that the representative of Denmark, as on the previous occasion (April, 1935), when it fell to the Council to censure Germany, was disposed to abstain from voting, thus impairing the moral effect of the condemnation of the breach of the law. Señor Barcia exerted all his powers of persuasion to show that, whatever might be their personal sympathies, or however exposed Denmark might be to the menace from Germany, the supreme interest of the small States must be, so long as a League existed, to uphold the law. On the other hand, he observed, when once the Council had pronounced on the simple fact—whether or not there had been a breach of Treaty engagements—the question ceased to be one involving the community and had to be dealt with by the Locarno Powers. This separation of the issues was, indeed, when we look back on it, the one redeeming feature of the March deliberations.

When I was in Madrid recently I had the privilege of a talk with Señor Barcia on his return from London, and after a few words on the Locarno crisis I asked him how he envisaged the particular role of Spain in the

development of the League. What I really wanted, of course, was some concrete indication of the line Spain might be expected to take in future negotiations with regard to the Sanctions against Italy. He refused to be drawn. What he did affirm, however, like all Spaniards who look beyond the horizon of the peninsula, was Spain's potential leadership of the Spanish-speaking Republics of Central and South America. I say advisedly "potential," because the Spanish Commonwealth of Nations is a vision—or an after-dinner theme—rather than a reality, even in embryo: and Spanish-Americanism has not yet moved outside the orbit of culture. Yet it is an aspect of international relations which must not be overlooked.

The second contribution which Spain has been able to make in these last few weeks is closely related to this ideal. The Government has responded to the pressure exerted from many sides to send a Spanish delegation, even if only in the capacity of "observer," to the forthcoming inter-American Conference at Buenos Aires. (As Spain never fails to invite the U.S.A. to Spanish-American gatherings, it is difficult to see how Washington can refuse her request.)

It is manifestly in the interests of the League and, incidentally, Great Britain, that any special arrangements for the American Continent shall not be independent of or conflict with States' obligations and commitments under the Covenant. Although regional operation of the Geneva system is the way forward, a *saute qui peut* of the American nations at this juncture would be a disaster. Let Spain, then, stand sentinel on the bridge that links Europe and America, and she will be performing a most valuable service to humanity.

MR. EVERETT REID

Many members of the Union will learn with great regret of the death of Mr. Everett Reid. He was a speaker of the old school, who took infinite pains over the preparation of his addresses. Sixteen years ago, when he entered the Union's service after thirty adventurous years in the United States, he was speaking at meetings held in all parts of the country for the founding of local branches. During more than a decade of constant activity, he delivered more than 1,000 addresses from the platforms of the Union. Mr. Reid had a single-hearted devotion to the cause of the League of Nations which endured to the end. R.I.P.

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BOOK NOTICES

Yes and Albert Thomas. By E. J. Phelan. (The Cresset Press. 10s. 6d.)

Mr. Phelan's account of his old chief at the International Labour Office is a triumph. It is the work of a most able man who knows his dual subject thoroughly, both the office and its chief. Mr. Phelan was in Paris at the Peace Conference, where he helped to draw the design for a new venture in world organisation; he was at Washington, where the design was approved and the wheels were set in motion; he was in London, where he was the first appointment made to the staff by the provisional Director, M. Albert Thomas. In due time he moved to Genoa and Geneva; he was Albert Thomas's companion in a daring and brilliantly successful personal appearance before the Permanent Court of International Court to argue a case for the I.L.O., and on historic visits to America and the Far East; he continued until the end the trusted helper in whom for thirteen laborious, creative years Albert Thomas reposed a complete confidence. This brief summary of Mr. Phelan's qualifications for his task is enough to show with what hopes the reader is entitled to open his book. Those hopes are much more than fulfilled.

Mr. Phelan achieves a result as rare as it is delightful. In his pages Albert Thomas lives and strives, exasperates and persuades. At the same time the I.L.O. emerges from the realm of generous fancy and assumes, slowly and with many struggles, the shape and substance of a vast and powerful machine working for world betterment. Albert Thomas had his foibles. But he had vision also, and a tremendous energy. He saw clearly what the I.L.O. might be when no one else did, and he refused ever to admit failure in the fight to enrich the world with a centre of enlightenment, co-ordination, progress in all matters directly touching the welfare of the workers in industry, agriculture, commerce. Because Albert Thomas guided its first years the I.L.O. is an organic unity, growing and developing on its own lines, with possibilities which are still only dimly suspected of good for humanity.

The League of Nations. The Complete Story Told for Young People. By K. E. Innes. (Hogarth Press. 3s. 6d.)

Most readers of HEADWAY will be familiar with the books for young people written by Mrs. Innes, and will, therefore, welcome her latest publication. In this she expands and brings up to date the subjects dealt with separately in four previous volumes—"The Story of the League of Nations," "How the League of Nations Works," "The League of Nations and the World's Workers," and "The Reign of Law." The field covered is a wide one, but the matter is dealt with in a clear and concise manner. First are described the circumstances leading up to the formation of the present League of Nations, its aims and its achievements. A frank account is given of League successes and failures, and there are chapters on the Manchurian

and Abyssinian crises. Other Leagues have been formed from time to time; their failure has always been due to the weakness of those who tried to put the idea into practice. The idea itself has never failed.

In the non-political sphere of activity—Health and Refugee work—the League has proved itself invaluable as an impartial international instrument to help in any great disaster overtaking people in any part of the world.

In questions affecting Labour, the work of the I.L.O. has served to illustrate the advantages of international co-operation and of "pooled" experience. The experience of the older and more developed nations is brought to bear on the problems of the younger nations so that better conditions for the workers of the world may be secured. The I.L.O. is helping to create the international spirit which is necessary for the success of the League of Nations.

In the last section, Mrs. Innes deals with the International Court of Justice, and shows how attempts in the past have been made to form an international court, as it was realised that such a tribunal was one of the necessities of civilised society. Its methods of working are briefly described and a summary is given of the cases already submitted to the Court.

Mrs. Innes' book, with its lucid exposition of facts and its simple language, should prove a valuable addition to any collection of League literature for the use of young people.

From the Fall of Rome to the Renaissance (Vol. 1). From the Renaissance to the League of Nations (Vol. 2). By Elizabeth Underwood, Senior History Mistress at Guildford County School for Girls. (Maclehose. 3s. 6d. each.)

A survey which covers a vast subject in a small space and is at the same time lively and essentially readable is a most difficult task—but here we have it performed. Miss Underwood seizes upon the vital factors which go to the making of world history. She makes her subject interesting, and presents facts in such a manner that they are readily assimilated. Hers is not a dull summary of disconnected events, but a survey of world happenings showing their effect on affairs of to-day.

In the first volume, Miss Underwood traces the development of history from the decline of the Roman Empire, through the Middle Ages to the break-up of the feudal system and the coming of the Renaissance. Place is given to the great men of thought and action whose lives have shaped the future. The story is told in simple language, personal touches are introduced, and events of the past are linked up with everyday life and familiar things so that they become real.

In the second volume, Miss Underwood continues her story from the Renaissance. Some idea is given of the development and effect of the movements which have been at work in the world. Outstanding personalities are introduced. There is a valuable chapter on the events leading up to the World War and a further

THE REFORM AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

A report published by the Union as a contribution to the study and discussion of the problem.

Approved by the General Council at Scarborough, June, 1936.

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From the UNION'S BOOKSHOP

chapter explaining the coming of the League of Nations and briefly describing its work.

These books will be welcomed by teachers who are anxious to find a condensed history, modern in treatment and lively in style. The two volumes are attractively illustrated with pictures, diagrams and maps. Each chapter is usefully divided under headings and at the end of each chapter there is a set of questions.

Miss Underwood has written her history for boys and girls; it is capable of holding the attention of grown-ups also.

Federal States and Labour Treaties. By W. L. TAYLER, M.A. New York, 1935.

Although short, this book offers much more than its title promises. It contains an excellent account, based on the original sources of the drafting of Article 405 of the Peace Treaty, which includes, not only the clause with which this work is concerned (that the Federal State may treat the draft International Labour Convention as a recommendation), but also the whole provisions governing the action to be taken by any State as a Draft Convention or recommendation; a brief but clear account of the successive procedures adopted by the I.L.O. in drafting its Conventions; and finally, a debated discussion of the position of Federal States, particularly the U.S.A. In the author's opinion, the difficulties which had been anticipated are being successfully solved by the States themselves, and in the U.S.A., in particular, "the treaty-making power of the Federal Government seems to be broad enough to enable the Federal Government to ratify, *i.e.*, Conventions if it wishes."

Official League Publications

Money and Banking, 1935-36 (formerly "Commercial Banks"). Vol. I.—**Monetary Review.** (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1936. II.A.7/1). 59 pages; 2s. 6d. Vol. II.—**Commercial Banks.** (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1936. II.A.7/II). 213 pages; 7s. 6d.

Reviews and analyses monetary and banking developments in some 48 countries during 1934-35 and the first quarter of 1936.

Volume I. (Monetary Review) gives a broad sketch of the different monetary policies pursued in France and the gold bloc, the United Kingdom and sterling bloc, the United States, Japan, Germany, etc. It traces the effects of monetary expansion and contraction on general business activity and shows the relationship between changes in central and commercial bank credit and interest rates, price movements, exchange rates, public finances, etc.

Volume II. (Commercial Banks) reviews developments in each country individually and gives details regarding the reorganisation of certain banking systems in the recent past. The detailed chapters include a discussion of all the more important aspects of monetary and economic developments which have a bearing on central and commercial banking. New chapters contained in this volume refer to China, Egypt, Luxemburg and Paraguay.

Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations, 1935-36. 10th Edition. (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1936. II.A.8.) About 300 pages. In wrappers, 10s.; bound in cloth, 12s. 6d.

A comprehensive collection of economic and financial data—mainly derived from official sources—accompanied by social and demographic statistics. It contains statistics of all countries of the world on the following subjects:—

Territory and population; Labour conditions; Production; International trade and balance of payments; Transport; Public finance; Banks and currency; Prices.

In addition to the detailed tables showing the composition of population by age-groups, and the death-rates by sex and by age-groups, the Year-Book will contain for the first time detailed data, in part hitherto unpublished, relating to births by age-groups of mothers, fertility rates and rates of reproduction in various countries.

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READERS' VIEWS

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

COLLECTIVE ACTION

SIR,—I am glad to see the way in which you handled matters in the current issue of HEADWAY. It is essential, I feel sure, to have an *all-party Union* and there might, I think, be even more of what I might describe as a "round table" note in its discussions. To hold conflicting views, however, is one thing. Officially to support collective action without a quarter of the quota of strength required would be another!

In my view, the great fault of the League of Nations all the way through is that it has given support to "copy-book positions" on "political entities," quite apart from the actualities of the case. Was indeed China an orderly nation state? The League might have helped China to become one. But to have taken action over "Manchuria" when really there was no organised China to take action over would have involved the League, I fear, in catastrophe.

So with Abyssinia. If you want the League seriously to take up an "inchoate state" such as Abyssinia was, then the League must first reorganise such a State-in-the-becoming and it must systematically work out its order and defence; and then have "quotas" ready, in order, if attacked, to help it to make good.

For these reasons I think that no case has been made out against the League and the Covenant. Only every point of it ought to be translated into terms of a precise and juristic definiteness. As Lord Lothian suggested, we ought to consider what commitments we wish to make and to stand by.

We have to confront Germany now, not Italy! I have met several Englishmen of late who have been in the mandated territories. I heard that in the Cameroons the Germans at present are able to get over a good deal of the exchange difficulties in importing bananas by help of German-controlled companies. This is exactly on the lines I suggested for appeasement—i.e., "Allow Chartered Companies. Disallow Nazi politics!"

Horton Vicarage,
Wimborne, Dorset.

RICHARD DE BARY.

UNION COUNCIL MEETINGS

SIR,—Now that the 17th Annual Meeting of the General Council is over it will not be inopportune to make a few observations which may help to bring a greater measure of success to future annual meetings.

It is admitted that in regard to business matters and all subjects discussed at the meetings no lack of interest was shown by leaders and delegates. Interest was, in fact, intense. What was wrong then? The *paucity* of delegates. The League of Nations Union can boast of 2,500 branches, and yet the number of delegates at this most important meeting of the year was below 400. Can any earnest member of the Union regard this as an adequate representation for half a million adherents to the greatest of all causes? I think not. Before the next annual meeting of the General Council is held something should be done to remedy this state of things.

I would suggest that headquarters make an appeal to all branches to see to it that they are represented directly or indirectly, and that branches be urged to set aside a part of their income to pay the out-of-pocket expenses of their delegates. It is obvious that the Union stands to gain tremendously by increased representation at its great conferences.

At present very few secretaries have ever had a chance to know the League of Nations Union as it is can be known only by attendance at the meeting of the General Council, where delegates are brought into direct contact with the leaders of the movement.

We want an increase in membership. Nothing will contribute more to the realisation of this object than personal reports to branches by their delegates of what they have seen, heard, and shared, at a National Annual Conference.

I venture also to suggest it would be helpful if reference were made in HEADWAY some months ahead to the coming meeting of the General Council. In this way a greater interest would be aroused in the minds of our members and the public in the great annual event. If we compare our annual meeting with those of other great organisations, such as Rotary and the National Union of Teachers, we must admit we are not numerically impressive. We ought to be (and could be) if we all really tried.

Scarborough.

W. FRANCIS ALLEN.

MANUFACTURE OF ARMS

SIR,—A common League of Nations Union poster reads as follows:

"In a world in which war is renounced, the private manufacture of arms should be abolished."

Why "private"?

JOHN ROSS.

London, N.3.

WHY THE LEAGUE HAS FAILED

SIR,—I have been a member of the League of Nations Union since its foundation, and have greatly appreciated the firm stand which the Union has made for "Collective Security," and, latterly, for continued and severer Sanctions against Italy until she agreed to League terms.

In response to Lord Cecil's appeal, I shall be pleased to double my subscription; but, at the same time, let me say quite frankly that, if the policy of our Government is to shake hands with Mussolini, then I fear that the League of Nations will have received not merely a "setback," but a shattering death blow from which it will not recover, because the League will have failed owing to the moral corruption of its members.

The League professes to stand for law, order, justice and righteousness, but its members, apparently, do not stand for any of these things—except so far as their own personal interests are concerned. When it suits their purpose, they have no hesitation in repudiating their obligations, tearing up the Covenant, and defying the League.

As examples, we have Japan, Italy and Germany. And how about the other nations? From the commencement of the Abyssinian war, France made it clear that she would not fulfil her obligations under the League Covenant, and she persistently refused to apply any effective Sanctions against Italy; whilst the smaller nations were, apparently, only too ready to follow her lead.

Although the British Government professed its readiness to adopt drastic and effective Sanctions against Italy, the "Hoare-Laval" scandal aroused serious doubts as to its sincerity; whilst there has been, as we know, a small minority led by Lords Beaverbrook and Rothermere who have all along vigorously opposed Sanctions against Italy. They have insisted that she should be allowed to crush Abyssinia, not only without any interference, but that we and other nations should help her in her infamous war by supplying her with all the materials she required. This minority of the British public obviously has not the slightest regard for justice in the world at large, whilst "the brotherhood of man" would mean nothing to them. Their one thought is "SELF" first, second, third, and all the time; so long as they and their country are safe, the rest of the world can go to the devil. This (I

hope) small section of the British public is as blind as any people you could find on the Continent.

If a house collapses because the material is rotten, it is useless to try and rebuild it with the same material. So the League of Nations has collapsed because it is composed (largely) of rotten material—the people are morally corrupt—and to attempt to rebuild it with the same material will be futile.

In order that a League of Nations may be a success its individual members must not only PROFESS to stand for law, order, justice and righteousness, but they must REALLY stand for these things, and they must be prepared to make whatever sacrifices this may involve. But before we can have such a League the people will need a moral reformation, and this, in the ordinary course, would take a very long time; but the process may be hastened (and I anticipate that it will be hastened) by another world catastrophe.

I figure it out like this: Collective Security having collapsed, the nations will seek security in rival alliances, and will proceed to pile up armaments to the extreme limit of their capacity. Then (probably in a few years) there will be friction, and a spark will set the world ablaze. Thousands of bombing machines will quickly reduce towns and villages to heaps of ruins, whilst poison gas will rapidly wipe out the populations. When munitions, poison gas and man power are exhausted, famine will take a heavy toll of those still living. As to those who survive, in their utter desolation and misery they will have ample time for reflection, and we may hope that they will have learnt their lesson. If they have not, then their children and children's children will have to go through the same experience until the lesson is learned.

EDMUND DURHAM.

St. Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex.

BROKEN PLEDGES.

SIR,—From the point of view of breaking pledges, I do not think there is much to choose between Italy and the League.

Italy had the courage to do wrong, but the League had not the even the courage to do right. Inadequate Sanctions merely caused Italy to hurry matters up with poison gas.

There is one thing the League should do if it wishes to recover its self-respect. It should expel Italy. Better an open enemy than a false friend. I, at all events, cannot support a League which retains Italy on its Council. I am not sufficiently cynical.

RICHARD KAY, M.B.

Bexhill-on-Sea.

A FAREWELL.

SIR,—May I ask for space in your columns to say goodbye to the many friends I have made in the course of seven years speaking for the Union and thank them for the hospitality I have received on very many occasions. My wife and I are sailing for South Africa in September and are not likely to return. I fear the Union is in for a difficult time, and wish it the best of luck.

N. LEWIS (Comd., R.N., Retired).

Waltham St. Lawrence, Berks.

HEADWAY must again express its regrets to its readers. The great pressure on its space has compelled it once more to postpone publication of two pages of letters on Christian Pacifism. If those letters had been published the speech in the Assembly of the Emperor or that of Mr. C. T. te Water would have had to be omitted. Neither has been reported adequately in the daily press.

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THE WORD GOES FORTH

The Bible Society's circulation for last year was 11,686,131 volumes of Scripture (Bibles, New Testaments, and Portions), but this number is too colossal to be appreciated.

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HERE AND THERE

NATIONAL CANVASS.

The achievements of the Troon Branch have already been mentioned in HEADWAY. The canvass has now increased the membership to 440; last year the Branch had only 60 or 70 members. Later on it is hoped that Troon will be able to continue the canvass until the membership of 1,000, at which the branch is aiming, is reached.

The Wychwood Branch has recently been revived; already, thanks to house-to-house canvassing, it has a membership of 144. The Croston and Street Branches have both succeeded in more than doubling their membership and have enrolled 10 per cent. or more of the population. The Cottenham (Cams.) Branch has obtained 20 new members from the 67 houses in the village of Rampton.

Among individual canvassers may be mentioned two workers for the Wilmslow Branch. One enrolled 26 members from 23 houses visited; the other called at 20 houses. He enrolled 15 new members, secured renewal subscriptions from five members who had lapsed, and was met with a blank refusal at only 3 houses.

The Accrington Branch is to be congratulated on having organised a large and very representative Peace Demonstration and procession on the afternoon of Sunday, June 7. Such an event involved an immense amount of work. The secret of success was thorough preparation. Before the demonstration the branch put in three weeks of intensive effort. It was helped by the Youth Group and various organisations in the town co-operated.

The Branch has every hope of success in the canvass, for the membership is increasing steadily and it is found that many more people are taking an active interest in the Branch's work. The secretary says: "This should be some encouragement and prove to other Branches that by creating public interest and putting the Union on the map, membership will benefit greatly."

Also from Lancashire comes the news that 59 new members were enrolled at an open-air meeting of protest against the dropping of Sanctions, which was organised at very short notice. This is the largest number of recruits which the branch has ever obtained at one meeting and is an augury of the success which may be expected to attend the branch's other recruiting efforts.

The fifth annual conference of the North-West Region Youth Groups was held in the Hundred of Wirral. There were over 50 full-time delegates, representing 18 Youth Groups from all districts of the Region, Manchester, Merseyside, North-East and Westmorland.

At the first session the constitution of the N.W. Regional Y.G. Council was unanimously adopted. Supper was held at the Queen's Hotel, when the guests of honour were the Mayor and Mayoress of Birkenhead. At the session which followed, there were interesting discussions on: "The World Congress of Youth," "Youth's Peace Day," and "L.N.U. Policy."

On Sunday morning, the delegates, who had all received private hospitality, met at "The Cottage Loaf" at Thurston, one of Wirral's best-known roadhouses, where Dr. Olaf Stapledon gave a stimulating address on "Groups and Individuals in National and International Life!"

The Evesham and District Branch held a very successful annual meeting on Thursday, June 11. An Essay Competition on "The League, Italy and Abyssinia" had been organised in the schools and at the meeting the prizes were presented by the Mayoress. A special feature of the evening was the performance of a short four-act play entitled "On Two Fronts."

Visit to the League Assembly

SEPTEMBER, 1936.

The Union is again organising a group of speakers, branch officers, and other members to visit Geneva during the Assembly, which opens on September 21st. The conducted party will leave London on the morning of Saturday, September 19th, and a notice giving full particulars of the arrangements may be obtained from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

WELSH NOTES

The first great rally of the 1936-1937 session in the Welsh Council area was held at Castell Pigyn (Carmarthen) on Thursday, July 16, when Mr. O. Picton Davies, J.P., entertained representatives of all the branches and campaign centres in the Carmarthen Division. Hundreds of Branch workers assembled and addresses were given upon the present international situation and plans for another vigorous campaign throughout the whole area were made. The arrangements by the Carmarthen Branch were a triumph of organisation and the greatest credit is due to the kind host and to the organisers—their enterprise cannot fail to produce far-reaching results.

This is the first of a series of rallies to be held in all parts of the Principality. The President of the Welsh Council, Mr. Dudley Howe, J.P., C.C., will attend many of the rallies. Following the rallies, a series of special public meetings, covering every corner of Wales and Monmouthshire, is being planned and the continuance of the membership canvass has already been arranged.

The great need of funds has called forth a host of willing workers and it is earnestly hoped that every town, village and hamlet will have held a Daffodil Day before the end of September.

The Welsh Council's Pavilion will occupy a prominent position in the grounds of the Royal Welsh Agricultural Society's Show at Abergele and of the Royal National Eisteddfod of Wales at Fishguard.

The Council's four 1936 Geneva Scholars will join the Union's party for the Geneva Junior Summer School and three Branch workers will visit Geneva this summer under the Welsh Council's Geneva Exhibition Scheme.

OVERSEAS NOTES

M. van Zeeland, President of the XVIth Assembly of the League of Nations, received, on July 1, in his office at the Bâtiment Electoral, Geneva, a delegation from the International Federation of League of Nations Societies submitting the resolutions recently adopted by its XXth Plenary Congress in Glasgow concerning the Italo-Ethiopian dispute and the reform of the League. M. Henri Rolin, member of the Belgian Senate, President of the Federation and of the Belgian League of Nations Union, who had come specially from Brussels for the occasion, introduced the deputation. He was accompanied by the members of the Federation Secretariat and 15 members of societies representing 10 countries.

M. Rolin pointed out the constructive character of the resolution dealing with the reform of the League, a proposal which contained useful suggestions to the Assembly at a time when some governments were contemplating certain modifications of the Covenant tending to make its application easier and more effective in case of an international dispute. But this reform could only be brought about successfully if the League of Nations avoided any lessening of its authority by giving up without discussion, without verification, without investigation, the action taken by the League to stop that aggression of which Ethiopia had been the victim. The resolution of the Italo-Ethiopian dispute urged "Members of the League of Nations to continue their collective effort with a view to reaching a solution which will be acceptable to the Council of the League, in the sense that it will ensure, to the utmost possible degree, the restoration of Ethiopia's rights," and urged the maintenance and intensification of Sanctions. M. Rolin expressed the hope that, as his predecessors had always done, the President of the XVIth Assembly would have these resolutions published in the official "Journal" of the League of Nations.

In thanking the delegation, M. van Zeeland said that he understood the reality and seriousness of the problem which M. Rolin had put to him. It would be out of place to forecast whether the resolutions adopted in the Assembly would meet the wishes of the Federation. But whatever these resolutions might be, M. van Zeeland, as head of the Belgian Government, was convinced that his country would keep its faith in that necessary organisation represented by the League of Nations and he hoped that the societies whose message he had just received would not allow themselves to be discouraged by the present difficulties, but would continue unflinchingly their fruitful efforts for the maintenance of peace and for the development of the League of Nations. He would certainly have the resolutions published in the "Journal" of the Assembly.

Retired Ambassador Dr. Konstantin Dumba requests us to publish the following: I have, on the occasion of my 80th birthday, received so many proofs of sympathy and friendship that it is unfortunately impossible for me to answer them separately. I ask, therefore, all

those who sent congratulations to allow me to express by this means my warmest and deeply-felt thanks.—Extract from "Pester Lloyd."

Council's Vote

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

Arundel, Grimsby.

For 1936:—

Bradfield, Burnham (Bucks.), Cottenham, Coggeshall, Dursley, Eakring, Fordingbridge, Fraddon, Greens Norton, Holt, Hotwells, Hayling Island, Kirkby Lonsdale, Kinver, Mirfield, Moretonhampstead, Methwold, Nettlebed, Oxted, Petersfield, Pocklington, Rochford, Syresham, Stewkley, Staindrop, Stockton Brook, Welwyn Garden City, Wills No. 4, Watford North.

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* In Wales and Monmouthshire the minimum subscription for Registered Members is 5s. Particulars of the work can be had from The Secretary, Welsh National Council, League of Nations Union, 10, Museum Place, Cardiff.

WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS GENEVA

AUGUST 31—SEPTEMBER 7

Fifty British delegates and fifty observers will represent over thirty-five Youth Organisations at Geneva. The delegation will include Young Conservatives and Young Communists, Young Catholics and Young Protestants.

When they return from the Congress the delegates will report to the membership of their organisations the discussions and decisions agreed upon by the youth of over twenty nations.

Those who are able to give any kind of help in making the Congress known now or in the future are asked to write to the Secretary of the Youth Committee, L.N.U., 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

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It Is Not In Us To Accept Defeat

By THE SECRETARY OF THE UNION

THE Earl of Lytton has written to the Secretaries of all the Union's Branches in England drawing their attention to the urgent need for raising the new Maintenance Fund. That need was explained on the last page of the July HEADWAY.

Towards the £10,000 required before October 1. some £3,500 has already been subscribed, one half by Branches and the other by individual members of the Union. But comparatively few Branches have as yet undertaken to join in raising the new Maintenance Fund of £11,000 a year. We look forward with confidence to these guarantees pouring in so soon as the Branch Committees have been able to meet and to consider Lord Lytton's letter to their secretaries.

One of the resolutions adopted by the General Council of the Union at Scarborough in June has led to a certain number of resignations. That resolution was intended, if possible, to prevent the sanctions in force against Italy being lifted by the League's Assembly at the beginning of July. It failed to do so. This issue is now closed.

No one now proposes to try and revive sanctions against Italy. On the whole the resignations have been few and far between. One Branch Secretary tells me that while two or three of her members have resigned, a large number of other members have doubled their subscriptions. That is the traditional English way of meeting adversity. We may not always be able to command success, but it is not in us to accept defeat.

Our Union is more concerned with far-reaching principles than with immediate policies. It is our first business under our Charter to win for the principles of the Covenant whole-hearted acceptance by the British people. We have still a long way to go. For these principles imply not only that:—

National armaments should be reduced and limited by agreement; and that

Unjust treaties should be revised and legitimate grievances removed by a process of peaceful change (the Montreux Conference has shown how this may be done); and perhaps that

League membership should be rendered materially advantageous by stabilising exchanges within the League and by securing fair conditions of international trade between League Members; but also that

Members of the League, including Britain, must be collectively stronger—spiritually as well as materially—than any likely aggressor or group of aggressors and be as ready to use their strength in collective action "to protect the covenants of the League" as in defence of their own territories.

The implications of these principles have been carefully examined by the Executive Committee whose report is now in draft and will be placed in the hands of His Majesty's Government so soon as it has been formally adopted. The report will be sent to the Union's members as soon as possible.

The draft report proposes that, for the purposes of collective defence among Members of the League, there shall be created a Permanent Commission to co-ordinate the methods of mutual assistance. This Permanent Commission would be especially concerned with Article XI for safeguarding the peace of nations so soon as an intention to commit aggression becomes plain (as Italy's was plain long before she resorted to war). This Commission would indicate the nature of the contribution which Members would be expected to make and might ascertain how far they could be depended upon to make it. In this way obligations would be deprived of vagueness and would become more dependable. Those obligations would, as now, under Annex F of the Locarno Treaties, have due regard to the "military situation and geographical position" of each member.

J.C.M.G.

A Manchester Declaration on the Re-Armament Proposals

1.—On behalf of the societies which we represent, we express our apprehension at the decision of His Majesty's Government to undertake a large, indefinite and costly expansion of the fighting forces.

2.—The Government seeks to justify these proposals on the ground that increased armaments are necessary:—

(a) To enable Great Britain to exercise adequate influence in international affairs; and

(b) For the application of collective security;

We hold that the first argument implies a breach of the Kellogg Pact, and, as regards the second, that the Government has still to show that the armaments already in existence are collectively insufficient to meet aggression.

3.—We are alarmed at the similarity between the situation now and the situation before 1914, being convinced that another armaments race will inevitably lead to war. The proposals are thus likely to defeat their own purpose by precipitating the crisis which they are intended to avert.

4.—We reject as unsound the contention implied in the White Paper, that an increase in our own forces must follow increases in the forces of the U.S.A., or of loyal members of the League.

5.—If the international danger arises from the discontents of other countries, the first step should be an attempt to mitigate these discontents and not to prepare by force to perpetuate them.

6.—If the country can afford the immense sums which the Government's proposals necessitate, these sums should be used rather for the purpose of social and economic reconstruction, which would give some permanent return for the expenditure.

7.—The present dangerous situation has arisen directly from the failure to achieve any progress towards the reduction and limitation of armaments, and the most urgent need is for the Government to take steps through the Disarmament Conference to reach agreement before the situation becomes completely out of control.

8.—We therefore call upon all lovers of peace to use their utmost influence to urge His Majesty's Government to hold its hand pending the making of further serious and energetic attempts to achieve progressive disarmament.

FRIENDS' PEACE COMMITTEE.—Joseph L. Pennington, *Secretary*.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION.—Arthur A. Haworth, *Chairman*.

ANTI-WAR COUNCIL.—John Jagger, M.P., *Chairman*.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE.—Dorothy Vipont Brown,

Chairman.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION.—Rev. John Potts, *Secretary*.

WORLD ALLIANCE.—Norman H. Colborn, *Secretary*.

TEACHERS' PEACE SOCIETY.—Arthur Middleton, *Chairman*.

YOUTH PEACE COUNCIL.—Rev. W. Hodgkins, *Chairman*.

Manchester. May 27, 1936.