

**SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN
WARNS FRANCE**

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**VERDICT AND
SANCTIONS**

See page 206

HEADWAY

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A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

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" GO! IT MOVED! "

Low

NEWS AND COMMENT

British Policy

THE Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons on October 22, restated Britain's world policy in typical British terms. Neither Parliament nor the nation has learnt much from his cool and candid speech. But in other countries during recent months obstinate misconceptions have flourished of Britain and British motives.

Sir Samuel Hoare's frank explanation should go far towards dispelling them. The British people are behind the attempt to make the League system work. They are persuaded also that most League members must help to work it if it is to produce its promised results and not to prove a pitfall for those who put their trust in it. Isolated British action for the enforcement of peace, even though it were undertaken with a formal League approval, would in truth be isolation of the most dangerous and the most profitless kind. Britain would become the busybody policeman of the world, burdened with labours far beyond her strength, and serving purposes only doubtfully her own. "With the League, through the League," is the guiding principle which British opinion approves.

British public opinion insists that collective action must be genuinely collective. If there is not an honest will to co-operate, the sooner the sham is exposed the better. But if League Members are ready, even at a heavy immediate cost, to make good the fine words of their statesmen, Britain will do her part to the utmost, convinced that she is serving in the most effectual way the permanent interests of herself and of all the world. So sure is Britain that the League way is the best way that she is proud to give her fellow League Members a vigorous leadership within the limits of a true collective policy.

Mistaken Alarm

SOME critics, ardent supporters of the League, in their first response to a speech which disappointed them by its caution, have accused Sir Samuel Hoare of weakening in his support for the League. Several things they wish he had not said, several others they wish he had.

Sir Samuel's emphasis on Britain's resolve not to impose military sanctions on Italy except as a League member, and in fulfilment of a League decision, has caused them distress. They fear it may encourage Signor Mussolini in his designs, and provide also a further and quite superfluous excuse for those countries who would be happy to prevent League action becoming anything better than a self-confessed fraud. Enthusiasm for a good cause is admirable, but, surely, such critics are too soon cast down.

Consistently, at every stage in the crisis, the British Government, through all its spokesmen, has openly proclaimed its purpose. It has never meant to go beyond its strict League duty. Against

foreign charges of selfish Imperialistic motives it has protested repeatedly and vigorously. Sir Samuel Hoare's words in the House of Commons announced no change of attitude. They were rather a plain restatement of former declarations, made in a place and circumstances which gave it the highest authority and secured for it the widest attention. In several countries suspicions of Great Britain, assiduously encouraged by adroit propagandists, had not been silenced. If Sir Samuel has succeeded in his confessed object, a serious obstacle has disappeared from the League's path.

Not Weakening

LIKE all speeches in which the two sides of a vital question are stated with scrupulous care, Sir Samuel Hoare's pronouncement has meant different things to different people, some dwelling on one set of passages, others on another. Each can produce evidence for their interpretation. Which is correct will be decided by the actions of British Ministers during the present halt at Geneva and when that halt comes to an end. Significant quotations from Sir Samuel Hoare, and from Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Eden, who followed him in the debate, will be found in a later page of the present issue of HEADWAY; they indicate that Britain has not weakened in her promises of fidelity to the League.

Passing references to a possible failure of the League must not be taken too tragically, even when they are couched in terms which suggest a gloomy pleasure in the disastrous project. A practised debater knows how best to evade irrelevant criticism. What matters is his honest determination to make the League succeed.

With the League

BRITAIN, it is to be observed, has not declared herself opposed in all circumstances to the use of military sanctions, or of economic sanctions in such active and strenuous forms that they may lead to an armed struggle. On the contrary, she has said she will play her part in any measures which the League approves, no matter what their character.

The course of events may force a change of mind upon the League members most desirous of being tender to Italy. They may find themselves compelled to join in an intensification of economic pressure. Despite their tremulous urgency to avoid a conflict at any cost, they may be compelled to choose whether they will keep the Covenant or lose it.

If the last chance of a prompt and peaceful settlement is thrown away, Great Britain will not hold back the League from a blockade and the severance of Italy's lines of communication with her overseas territories and her forces in Abyssinia. Where the League will follow, she will lead: how fast and how far depend on the needs of the situation.

Mr. Winston Churchill, speaks to-day as a private member, to-morrow, he may speak for the Government. In either capacity, an overwhelming majority not only of the House of Commons applauds him when he says: "The case for perseverance holds the field," and answers the question how far Great Britain should go with an emphatic "The whole way with the whole lot."

Act of War

IN the Parliamentary debate an uncompromising League speech was greeted by a number of Members with horrified shouts of "That means war." Even if it entailed a use of force, League action would still be something quite different from war in its purpose, its character, its scope, and its results. And apart from that essential difference, the group of nervous M.P.s should remember that Italy, because of her attack on Abyssinia, "shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League." Those are the words of Article 16.

French Attacks

BRITISH opinion has been painfully surprised by the comments of the French Press and many French politicians upon the lead given by Britain to the League. It sees Britain attacked as though it were plotting a war. It hears Mr. Eden, whose good sense and courage at Geneva have aroused its warm admiration, vilified as a fire-brand. Ministers, Senators, Deputies, talk about an Anglo-Italian dispute and France's duty to hold the scales equally between the two parties. They place on a level the country which is ready to fulfil its League obligations and the country which has resorted to war in disregard of the Covenant and has been branded as an aggressor by both the Council and the Assembly.

Sir Austen Chamberlain, in his interview with M. Bertrand de Jouvenel, of *Paris-Soir*, reproduced elsewhere in the present issue of HEADWAY, has put into weighty and timely words what Britain most wishes France to know. A tried friend of France, he warns the French people against a fatal mistake. If now they make light of their pledges in the Covenant and fail to do their part in the collective system, what help will they be able to demand in their own hour of need?

Sir Austen has been heard with respect. Signs multiply that the better mind of France values British friendship. It understands how disastrous must be a betrayal of the League.

And the Real France

THE Count de Gramont writes to the *Times* to assure his English friends that the French elections will certainly prove that the majority of the French people, the working and the middle class, the peasants and the aristocracy, are much too sensible not to see that the union of their Government with the British is more than ever necessary to attain the ideal of peace equally desired by both

the French and British peoples. He warns his readers against the mistake of taking too seriously pro-Italian newspapers and agitators.

All the noisy chiefs of the French Fascist Leagues, he remarks scornfully, think themselves little Mussolini's in the bud. They and their journals suppose that they represent public opinion, whereas, in fact, they speak for no more than a minority of the lower middle class, whom the masses are little likely to follow and whose present attitude towards the League will probably bring about a shrinkage into a yet smaller remnant.

Such a message from so independent a source, qualified to speak for the real France, is a welcome encouragement to the friends of France in Great Britain.

Absurd Misunderstandings

THE French Committee of Action for the League, at a meeting at Geneva on September 27, passed a resolution, declaring:

In the absence of collective security it has been necessary to be content with partial security as expressed in unilateral agreements, concluded, of course, within the framework of the League of Nations.

But a unanimous France would have preferred, and will always prefer, a universal system, rational and effective, which would discourage all aggression.

The Comité d'Action, therefore, appeals to all men of goodwill to see that the recent declarations of the two Governments succeed in dispersing the absurd misunderstandings which risk delaying collaboration between two great nations who, if they acted in unison, could and must save the peace of the world.

While recalling the disappointments suffered by France in the past, the resolution records that "the attitude of the British Government, far from being accidental, finds its source in a profound development in British public opinion, following the tests to which the League of Nations has been put during the past three years." It concludes that "the time has come for French opinion to renew its efforts towards assuring the success of the only real system for the organisation of peace."

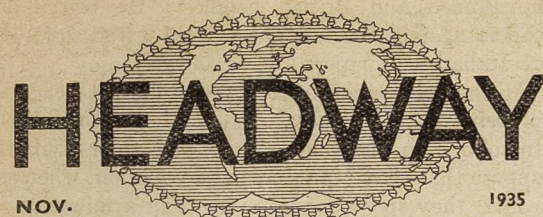
Mr. Henderson

THE death of Mr. Arthur Henderson removes from the world stage a faithful worker for peace.

His courageous persistence won him respect in all countries; his sincerity was everywhere acknowledged. The cause for which he sacrificed his life will still triumph. In a later page, Mr. Philip Noel Baker pays a brief tribute to a noble career; to a subsequent issue of HEADWAY he will contribute a fuller, considered appreciation of a statesman whom he knew most intimately.

At Albert Hall

THE crowded public meeting in the Albert Hall on October 31, arranged by the L.N.U. to proclaim the National support of the Covenant, and addressed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Mr. Herbert Morrison, Lady Violet Bonham Carter and Viscount Cecil, demonstrated beyond denial what the British people demand.



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THE LEAGUE MOVES

THE League moves slowly. But it does move. Day by day, through the most critical month of its history, its friends, always anxious, sometimes disappointed, may have doubted the fact. Looking back, they are reassured. The League has done more than it ever did in the past; it has done much more than its enemies, even its impartial critics, would admit was within its present power.

What has the League achieved? The plain story of the events of October answers that question. Italy invaded Abyssinia, her object being nothing less than the almost complete conquest of her fellow League member. Cajoleries and threats, intrigues and bribes did not succeed: the Council, by a unanimous vote of all members except the aggressor, declared that Italy had resorted to war in disregard of the Covenant and that sanctions should be imposed. The Assembly confirmed the Council's resolution, 50 States acknowledging that the occasion had arisen when they must make good their League pledges, and only three—Austria, Hungary and Albania—who are in different degrees Italy's vassals, abstaining on various shamefaced excuses. Thereafter several practical measures were approved. First, an embargo on the supply of arms, ammunition, and weapons of war to Italy, and the lifting of the embargo on the sale, export, and transit of such articles to Abyssinia. Secondly, a financial boycott of Italy. Thirdly, a withholding of key exports to Italy, and a refusal of imports from Italy. Fourthly, a promise of mutual support to prevent the cost of sanctions falling with excessive weight on particular League members. October ended with four-fifths of the world committed to a temporary severance of many normal, helpful contacts between itself and the aggressor; in part that severance was already effected.

More might have been done. More ought to have been done. Article 16 of the Covenant, under which the League is acting, pledges members to cut off at once all political, social, and economic relations. For deadly perils, the Covenant prescribes drastic remedies. Had there been a general expectation that all League members would perform their whole duty, Italy would not have ventured to attack. Therefore it is fair to lay some blame on League members, in their capacity as members, not merely because they failed to foresee what was about to happen, but also because, in circumstances long ago known to be possible, they were found unprepared to fulfil their obligations in the prearranged manner. Contrasted with the ideal League policy, the course actually adopted appears pitifully undecided. When so much has been confessed, however, the substantial fact is still the League's success. What was

not expected is less significant than what was. At midsummer, as a hasty glance through any newspaper file will prove, most people predicted a series of protests by the League, either petulant or plaintive, addressed to a contemptuous Italy, who at her chosen moment would pounce upon and absorb her prey. "A vast deal of talk, no action"; so ran the common prophecy. To-day the League continues to talk. But it has acted, and is acting; and controversy rages over the speed and reach of further steps everywhere accepted as inevitable. The change is so marked that an effort of memory is required to recall the ironic anticipations of inertia confidently expressed six months since.

Italy's own complaints, repeated mechanically by a diminishing chorus of voices outside her borders, raised, it would seem, rather to demonstrate the subservience of their possessors than in any hope of influencing rational hearers, offer an unintended testimony to the League's effectiveness. Why, they demand indignantly, this persecution of Italy? Japan seized Manchuria, and no one intervened. No one interfered actively when Paraguay and Bolivia waged war over the Chaco. Yet Italy's attempt to satisfy her land hunger by force of arms at Abyssinia's expense is violently opposed. The difference, they cry, is an outrage, an affront to a Great Power. Obviously, though it has fallen short of the Covenant, the League has bettered the common belief to an extent which has unpleasantly surprised the Covenant-breaker.

A crucial test has strengthened the League. For the first time a Great Power has been called to account and condemned, and is being subjected to collective measures of restraint for the defence of world peace. World opinion is impressed by the object lesson; it reposes an increased trust in the League. Then, nothing remains to do except to deliver congratulatory orations. On the contrary, almost everything is still undone! What has been achieved is a demonstration that the greater part of the world is ready to substitute law for war, to promise collective resistance to an aggressor, and in case of need to join in putting pressure upon a peace-breaker, no matter how powerful he may be. The purposes for which the League was established are attainable, and the League provides the means by whose use they can be attained. But their attainment lies in the future. In Abyssinia the war goes on. Men are being killed every day, homes are being destroyed. Poverty, disease, sorrow are being stamped upon the country. At Geneva some League members hesitate to acknowledge that great gains cannot be secured without great efforts. They are more concerned to prevent the machinery moving too fast than to keep it moving. Foresight and courage are doubly required. Two tasks challenge them, both imperative, one urgent. Italy must not be bought off at the cost of her victim. Her aggression must fail, and the means employed to procure her failure, while no more severe than necessity dictates, must be sufficiently severe to procure it at not too tragically distant a date. And when Italy has abandoned her attack, the League must set to work to remedy its hesitations. It must become less tentative, more automatic. It must be more prompt to judge, more powerful to prevent. Public support must be organised, procedure must be simplified.

In the history of the League, October, 1935, is a beginning.

Medical Help for the Wounded in Ethiopia

By LORD LUGARD

THE call for funds to afford medical aid to the sick and wounded in the fighting which is now going on in Ethiopia is an appeal to the instincts of common humanity, and is unconcerned with the political issues in the present conflict between that country and Italy.

The adoption of this impartial attitude is a fundamental rule of Red Cross Societies and emphasis has therefore been laid on the intention to afford aid equally to any Italian wounded or prisoners who may need it. It is understood, however, that the Italian Government has stated that it does not require outside help, having fully organised its own medical services. The Ethiopians, on the other hand, have no medical help whatever, and need all the assistance we can give them.

We hear that an American doctor attached to a Mission Hospital in Addis Ababa has improvised an ambulance unit to give aid to the forces in the Southern sphere of operations, but that the Armies in the North around Adowa and Aksum are entirely without medical or surgical help for the wounded. The fate of these poor wretches—shattered by bombs and modern projectiles—can be imagined. Some will be carried away by their gallant women. Others must be left where they fell, a prey to the wild beasts and vultures which abound in the country.

It is painful to realise that the help we are endeavouring to send, will already be too late to save many thousands, and that every day that passes adds to their numbers.

Recognising the urgency of the need and realising the inevitable delay which must occur in organising and equipping an ambulance unit, the "British Ambulance Service in Ethiopia" began at the end of July—on the initiative of Dr. Melly, who had left Ethiopia for the purpose, and who will be in charge of the ambulance—to endeavour to raise the necessary funds. His Majesty's Government, however, intimated that they were opposed to any public appeal in the Press for it might seem to admit the certainty of war which they still hoped might be averted by their efforts. We could only, therefore, make a private appeal.

The International and National Red Cross Societies awaited a formal appeal from the Negus of Ethiopia, and this—probably for the same reason as that which led our Foreign Office to oppose a Press appeal—was not made until fighting

had begun. The "British Ambulance Service in Ethiopia"—formally "recognised" by both the British and

Ethiopian Governments under Articles 10 and 11 of the Geneva Red Cross Convention—was then permitted to make the public appeal which appeared in the Press on October 10. It was signed, *inter alia*, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who also made a powerful appeal in a public speech.

On receiving the appeal from the Ethiopian Government the International Red Cross notified the various associated societies in Europe, and the British Society wrote a letter to the *Times* on October 12, in which they intimated their intention of co-operating with us, and requested that all offers of personal service should be sent to our office at 33 Alfred Place, S.W.7. Up to the 17th instant the amount received in response both to the public and private appeal was £6,500, in sums ranging from £1,000 to 6d. I am not aware how much has been received by the National Red Cross. The Danish Society proposes to unite with our ambulance.

In view of the delay and the great difficulty of sending help to the Northern front *via* Port Sudan and Gellabat on the Sudan-Ethiopian frontier and in view of the possibility of the railway from Jibuti to Addis Ababa not being available when the unit leaves England, the present intention is that it should go to Berbera and thence to Harrar. If this route is no longer available it will start from a point on the Kenya-Ethiopia frontier. An experienced officer has been despatched to each of these places and the Colonial Office has requested the Governments to give all assistance.

The names of the necessary number of trained native dressers, etc., have been registered for enrolment as soon as funds allow. Provision has also been made for the purchase or hire of lorries or transport animals with native personnel. We are represented at the Capital by a missionary of 20 years' experience in the country who is well known to the Negus, and our Minister—Sir Sidney Barton—has given his cordial assistance.

The London Committee, with the help of medical and technical sub-committees, has prepared lists and estimates of stores and equipment for a unit consisting of a mobile hospital with 4 doctors, 4 subordinate European medical staff and about 40 natives and a European transport officer. Also for 1 casualty clearing station, with 3 doctors



A typical Abyssinian "stronghold."

and the same subordinate staff. A panel of doctors has been formed, but further volunteers are urgently required, to ensure selection of the best men.

This Unit is, of course, capable of expansion—and even of contraction—if necessity dictates. To equip, despatch and maintain it in the field for three months the estimated cost is £35,000. An ambulance unit consists of (a) 1 or more "casualty clearing stations," where first aid is given and surgical operations which admit of no delay are performed, and also (b) of a movable field hospital some distance to the rear to which the cases are sent from the clearing station, and later evacuated to a base hospital. For the latter, reliance must be placed on such mission hospitals as exist at Addis Ababa and Harrar.

A field hospital should be able to serve 4 or 5 clearing stations, and each additional one would mean the collection of the wounded over an additional sector of the fighting line. Once the initial cost of the unit has been met its practical efficiency is doubled by the addition of a second clearing station at comparatively small cost.

In appealing for help for the wounded I do not wish to

minimise the devastation wrought by slave-raiding and the cruelties which have accompanied it in Ethiopia. It cries aloud for reform, and the Negus has shown himself anxious to abolish these barbarities. He is willing to accept the scheme proposed by the League for carrying these reforms into effect under European supervision. Meanwhile we cannot but feel pity for these fearless though barbaric warriors—so vividly described in the *Times*—who court death in defence of the independence of their country, but are powerless against modern engines of war.

The League of Nations Union is undertaking a worthy task in summoning a great meeting in the Albert Hall at which the Archbishop will preside and propose a resolution on behalf of this Red Cross work. Its branches throughout the kingdom are invited to help. The assistance need not necessarily take the form of donations of money. Perhaps a large city might agree to give the X-ray apparatus. Another might give part of the field equipment. Another a lorry—and so on down to the gift of a stretcher.

I regret that I am myself compelled to remain some time in Geneva.

VERDICT AND SANCTIONS By DAVID WOODWARD (Our Geneva Correspondent)

I. VERDICT, October 14.

ALL through October, a half a hundred weary men have been making history at Geneva; never has the League machinery—that cumbersome, much-jeered-at apparatus—worked so fast or worked so well.

Italy found guilty of a violation of the Covenant at a short, tense sitting of the Council; the verdict upheld by the assembly of 54 States; the decision to apply sanctions to force Italy to retire from the conquered areas of Abyssinia; the imposition of an arms embargo on Italy and the removal of the arms embargo on Abyssinia; the decision to close Italian credits; the proposal to cut off Italian supplies of raw materials; the proposal to refuse Italian goods at the ports of States Members of the League. All this happened in one week, from the Council meeting of October 7 to the meeting of the Committee of Eighteen on Saturday night, October 12.

Then followed the technical debates on how these things are to be done. Difficult and tedious though they are, it is safe to assert that by the time these lines are in print, practical effect will have been given to most of them. Italy will begin to feel the iron grip of blockade—none the less efficacious because it differs from that which brought down Hohenzollern and Bonaparte.

As the grip tightens, the crisis will come. Either Mussolini will submit, or he will try to break the ring by force. Submission will certainly mean the end of his régime—he knows that as well as any man.

Therefore Geneva anxiously watches for his reaction when first he sees that he is doomed. Will his nerve fail or will he turn against Britain and France?



Our Fleet in the Mediterranean.

However fast League machinery may work, however quickly a blockade is put into force, only after weeks, at the earliest, will decisive effects be felt. In the meanwhile, the war goes on. And it goes on when Britain, if she chose to take the step, could bring it to an end to-morrow by closing the Suez Canal. True, the closing of the Canal would almost inevitably induce a clash between Britain and Italy. Such a war, however, would be shorter and less bloody than the struggle in East Africa must prove if Italy's lines of communication are not cut.

To turn from these enormous issues to smaller points is a temporary relief. The most striking feature of the critical week of October 7—12 was the little talking that was done.

The great meeting of October 7, which followed on a disappointing and lifeless gathering on the 5th, was very short. A wrangle about procedure—upon which the Italians were stickers up to their final condemnation by the Assembly—a couple of speeches, and then the vote.

In that complete silence which, in a crowded Council room, is Geneva's highest tribute to a great occasion, the roll-call was taken. Until the last minute there was a risk that Poland, at least, would vote for Italy. Obviously the point was of the highest importance. But in the excitement that each vote, known beforehand though it was, seemed as decisive as the voice that might fatally hamper the whole procedure of the League.

Eventually, the Council unanimously, save for Baron Aloisi's dissenting vote, adopted the General Report of the dispute and the Report of the Committee which had been set up to define whether or

not aggression had been committed. Italy stood condemned by her fellow-members of the Council. Then it was decided, at the instance of Mr. Eden, to call together the Assembly to put the matter before the rest of the States Members.

The Assembly, too, was almost without speeches, save for a long protest by Baron Aloisi, and brief statements by M. Laval and Mr. Eden; until, judgment having been pronounced in silence, Hungary, Austria and Albania said that they could not take part in sanctions.

The three dissenting States have long been known as tributaries of Italy. But the cold-blooded way in which the vestiges of the Dual Monarchy threw over the League to which they owed financial salvation in the dark days of the post-war inflation was bitterly resented. They were felt to have earned the contempt which labelled them *ascaris*, after Italy's black colonial soldiers.

All the other delegates remained silent when the President of the Assembly, M. Benes, asked them to speak if they did not concur in the branding of Italian aggression by the Members of the Council.

Then the Assembly once more adjourned. Groping dexterously through a maze of procedure it had perpetuated itself in a Committee of nearly all the States Members of League designed to study the measures to be taken against Italy.

Germany, Paraguay, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic and Salvador not having been represented at the Assembly, were omitted; all the other League Members, except Italy and Abyssinia, were included. This Committee was obviously too big to reach the immediate and clear-cut decisions demanded by the situation. Very soon a Committee of first sixteen, then seventeen, and later eighteen members was formed.

In the best League tradition, the Committee of Eighteen proceeded to spawn sub-committees for the study of financial questions and the arms embargo, and about half-a-dozen sub-committees of sub-committees appeared. Nevertheless, despite the elaborate formalism work went ahead at a great rate—night meetings and Sunday meetings becoming matters of course. Cumber- some though the League machinery is in the hands of those desiring delay, it can work fast and well when all or nearly all agree that speed is necessary.

II. SANCTIONS, October 19.

SANCTIONS approved by 49 States should be in force against Italy by October 31; these measures, voted by the League's "Co-ordination" Committee on October 14 and 19, provide for:

- (1) Ban on loans to Italy or to Italian subjects.
- (2) No exports to Italy of raw materials necessary for the making of munitions and implements of war.
- (3) Boycott on goods of all kinds coming from Italy.
- (4) Institution of a system of mutual support so that the incidence of these steps shall not fall too harshly on individual States applying them.

Previously, a bar had been applied on the export of arms to Italy.

When the Co-ordinating Committee adjourned on the evening of October 19, it fixed October 31 as the latest day for the putting into force by all States of these measures. All decisions taken by the Committee were unanimous, save for the refusal to take part in sanctions by three of Italy's vassal States—Austria, Hungary and Albania.

The really vital thing that has occupied men's thoughts at Geneva has been the attitude of France to the application of the League Covenant. M. Laval's efforts to bring about a settlement of the Italo-Abyssinian clash by negotiations outside the framework of the League have been watched with alarm in

League quarters, for, in the first place, they are really a breach of the Covenant; and secondly, because French anxiety not to annoy Mussolini has led to the French representative on the Sanctions Committee—M. Coulondre—acting as a drag on the work of drawing up a scheme of quick-acting, effective sanctions.

And it is essential that there should be a change in the French attitude, because it is by no means certain that the measures voted on October 19 will be effective otherwise.

The embargo on the shipment of arms and raw materials for their manufacture to Italy would no doubt suffice if Italy were engaged in a first-class war. But in the present conflict, at least, she has sufficient reserves to enable Signor Mussolini to laugh at the League's embargo.

The proposal of Mr. Eden for a boycott of goods of all kinds coming from Italy, which the British representative forced through the committee in the teeth of a good deal of opposition, is the only one of the four proposals adopted likely to be of great value, and even this measure may be made inoperative by trade with States non-member of the League or of States not taking part in the boycott.

It must be remembered that not only have the delegates at Geneva had to vote for these measures, but the Governments have to put them into operation—by October 31.

It may well be, therefore, that next month the States at Geneva will have to make up their minds to face the fact that economic and financial sanctions are not enough to bring the war between Italy and Abyssinia to a close.

Meanwhile, in order to close as many loopholes as possible, an appeal has been made by the League to States non-members asking them to state what measures they propose to take. The stand of the United States is already known, and President Roosevelt's neutrality declaration will do a great deal towards preventing American merchants supplying Italy with goods. Credits Italy will not get in New York, for no financial house in Europe or America would dream of advancing money to Mussolini at the present time.

As it will be easy for Italy to obtain raw materials from or through Germany and Austria, the crux of the situation is the denial to Italy of foreign currency through a refusal to buy her goods; 70 per cent. of Italy's exports go to States members of the League, and how she is to replace her income from these sales by increased sales to the United States and Germany it is difficult to see.

Mutual support gave rise to much debate. In paragraph 3 of Article sixteen, it is laid down that members of the League will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this Article in order to minimise the loss and inconvenience resulting from such measures.

This, the representatives of the Balkan and Little Ententes interpreted as meaning the right to cash payments from other members of the League under certain circumstances, and also as the right to take discriminatory measures against States not taking part in the boycotts; this meant, as far as they were concerned, Austria and Hungary, of course.

The Co-ordinating Committee gave its approval to these views.

Now Geneva waits to see whether the machine of sanctions will work, hastily devised and put into action as it has been. But Geneva cannot afford to wait too long. Although the Italian offensive is temporarily at a standstill, preparations are being made to attack once more, and meanwhile, men, women and children are dying every day under the glistening wings of Mussolini's battleplanes.

The Extension of the Mandate System

ONE of the most striking innovations of the Covenant of the League was the system of international mandates for the government of the backward peoples of the former German colonies in Africa and Polynesia. Article 22 of the Covenant provides that the well-being and development of these peoples should form a sacred trust of civilisation; and the best method of giving practical effect to this principle is to entrust the tutelage of the peoples to advanced nations who will exercise it as mandataries on behalf of the League. The Mandatory is responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee

By Professor **NORMAN BENTWICH**
Of London University, formerly Law Officer in the
Palestine Administration.

freedom of conscience and religion, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade and the arms traffic, and the prevention of military training of the natives for other than police purposes, and will also secure equal opportunities for the commerce of other members of the League.

The territories were entrusted by the League to Great Britain and France, the British Dominions, Belgium and Japan, which administer them according to the specific terms of the International Trust, laid down in each case in a charter known as the Mandate. They render to the Council an annual account of their stewardship, which is examined in a *vis à vis* examination by a standing committee known as the Permanent Mandates Commission.

It had been claimed before the War by British statesmen that the British Empire was held as a trust for the well-being of the natives, and that the rest of the world had equal opportunities of trade in our Colonies without impediment of tariff or preference. The innovation of the Covenant was to make the trust definite, and to place it under international supervision.

The main functions of the Mandatory were, on the one hand, to see to the well-being of the native inhabitants and to raise their standard of life, and on the other to make the resources of the country available without discrimination to all members of the League of Nations. It is to be noted, however, that the principle of equal opportunity for trade does not apply in what are called the "C" Mandates over the territory of South-West Africa and the South Pacific Islands, and that no part of the Mandate system applies to the former colonies of the Allied Powers.

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It is one of the complaints of Italy and Germany and other unsatisfied countries that they have not a fair opportunity of obtaining from Africa the raw materials which they need and of exporting their products in return, because of the vast Colonial Empires of England and France and, to a less extent, of Belgium and Portugal, which are closed markets. The complaint has been aggravated in recent years, so far as the British Empire is concerned, by the policy of the Ottawa Agreement, which has rendered it more difficult than it was before for foreign countries to trade with the British Crown Colonies.

It has been suggested as one remedy for the international discontents that there should be a redistribution of the Mandated territories, so that Germany and Italy might administer a territory under mandate. But it is not satisfactory to hand over native peoples to a new rule unless they should desire the change; and although they may not in all cases love the present guardian, they would probably not want to try another.

A truer line of progress is to be found in the extension of the Mandatory system to the colonies of the Colonial Powers, so that the specific obligations of government and the principle of the "Open Door" and equal opportunity for all members of the League of Nations under international supervision may be applied in all undeveloped countries which are not self-governing.

If we set the example, the other Colonial Powers might follow. And if the great part of Africa and the Colonial territories in the Far East, where natives are ruled by European Governments, were placed effectively under an international trust, the economic demands of the unsatisfied Powers of Europe, which are to-day one of the principal causes of unrest, would in large measure be satisfied. More than that, the native peoples would be more likely to be content, realising that the supervision of the League would be exercised to secure their regular advance to self-government and their social and educational progress. Lastly, there would be an end to the military training of the coloured races for service in the armies of the governing Powers.

The Assembly of the League in 1931, after the Mandate system had been in force for ten years, recorded that "the essentially humanitarian experiment instituted by the Covenant has been crowned with indisputable success." That judgment is justified. The government of native peoples in these Mandated areas is no longer an internal or purely national question, but one in which the governing Power stands before the bar of world opinion.

If there is serious trouble, the matter is brought without delay to the notice of the international body, which examines with the representative of the Mandatory the causes of the trouble, and offers its recommendation for their removal. Violent measures and repression are checked when the ruling Power knows that it must give an account of its stewardship. The international supervision also has induced the governing Power to do more than it did under the old colonial system for raising the standard of life, both material and intellectual, of the native peoples. The Mandates Commission, composed of persons expert in Colonial administration or in public life, examines the record of the mandatory, not simply with regard to the particular obligations of the Mandate, but in its whole spirit and application towards the native inhabitants, and sees to it that, in regard to each aspect of government, the acquisition of land, labour, taxation, health, etc., the interest of the peoples is treated as a paramount duty.

The proved success of the system justifies its extension.

The League of Nations and Labour Policy

LABOUR policy, as I see it, is the true League policy. We did not commit ourselves to support of the League with our eyes shut. We want the League to work so effectively that it becomes the instrument for building up a new world order. That is why we would have made the obligations of the Covenant more precise and watertight by the Protocol of 1924, and deeply regretted that our policy was reversed by the succeeding Conservative Government, on the avowed ground that Britain would not submit all disputes to arbitration. That is why now, though we fully recognise the relative weakness of the League as it is, and the danger of the misuse of its machinery for Capitalist ends, we still support sanctions.

We give our support only upon strict conditions. The sanctions must not go beyond what the League, in its present state, can carry through co-operatively and successfully. They must not be used to crush any Power, or to promote Imperialist designs, but solely to restrain the aggressor. Above all, they must be combined with a policy of remedying the proved grievances of the "dissatisfied" Powers, by a real advance towards international control and the equitable repartition of the world's resources.

We are for the Covenant—yes, but for the whole Covenant. Not Article XVI only, but Article VIII, which demands Disarmament; and Article XIX, which demands the reconsideration of treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the interests of world peace. The Labour Party Manifesto of 1918 even went further, and demanded "an International Legislature to enact such common laws as can be mutually agreed upon." The Constitution of the Labour Party itself includes a reference to "such International Legislation as may be possible."

In the resolution of the 1935 Brighton Conference, which has been so much quoted in so far as it refers to sanctions, there are two paragraphs which have been less noticed, but which are of equal importance.

"While resolute in refusing to countenance any resort to war in flagrant violation of international treaties, or to permit Italy to profit by any act of aggression, this Congress recognises the imperative necessity of eradicating the evils and dangers arising from the economic exploitation of colonial territories and peoples for the profit of Imperialist and Capitalist Powers and groups.

"We therefore call upon the British Government to urge the League of Nations to summon a World Economic Conference, and to place upon its agenda the international control of the sources of supply of raw materials, with the application of the principle of economic equality of opportunity to all nations in the undeveloped regions of the earth."

What we have in view is, first the removal of trade barriers; next the opening up of facilities for migration; and lastly, the extension of the Mandate system. The Labour Party pamphlet on Colonial Policy states that the party, when it comes into power, will make a declaration that it is willing to accept the obligations of the Mandate system for all colonies inhabited by peoples of primitive culture.

If this were done also by other Colonial Powers, it would solve, at one stroke, the problem of opening up the tropics to the trade of all nations. Every Mandate includes the provision for the "open door" for all League members, and it has worked with a fair degree of success so far as imports and exports are concerned.

These things must be considered in relation to the problem of world peace, and as part of a process of world resettlement. And in proportion as peace is contemplated as more secure, the demand for the exclusive possession of certain territories will tend to lose its force.

By **CHARLES RODEN BUXTON**

Former M.P., an authority on foreign affairs, who speaks for the Labour Party.

True, much remains to be done in making the "open door" a reality as regards concessions, contracts, and investment, giving to the nationals of all countries a chance of sharing, not only in commercial development, but also in colonial administration. Probably this will necessitate, in the long run, an international college for colonial administrators, just as we have already an international secretariat for the general business of the League.

But we do not forget the primary object of the Mandate system, the protection of native races. The Mandates should include far more definite provisions as to handling of the land question, the maintenance of strict Labour standards, the conditions of White settlement, and, above all, the systematic preparation for self-government.

Space forbids me to enlarge on certain aspects of League policy to which we attach great importance; especially the Protection of Minorities, and the strengthening of the International Labour Organisation. The reason why I have stressed the need for meeting the claims of the "dissatisfied" Powers is that it has a specially close relation to the present crisis.

In this connection, I would add a word as to the criticism that Labour is inconsistent because it opposes Rearmament. A League policy, people say, involves greater armaments. We deny it. Our contribution is ample for League purposes. No foreigner is ever heard to say that Britain must increase her armaments. The cry is for popular use at home. And what gives it force is not League enthusiasm, but an illusory belief that competition in armaments is going to produce greater national security.

We hold that in proportion as the League is made more effective—effective in promoting world justice, as much as in restraining the aggressor—the need for great armaments will diminish. Real national security can only be attained through the collective system, and the next step is not to enter upon the arms race, but to set about removing the underlying causes of war.

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A FRIEND'S WORD OF

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN Says:—



London, October 15th.

FRANCE, so runs the talk here, is on the way to lose British friendship. Our public opinion has not reacted to the invasion of Abyssinia with the same vigour as British opinion. The French Government modifies and delays at its pleasure the application of the sanctions asked for by the British Government. The immense service done us by Britain in 1914 is bluntly recalled. Even to-day, it is asserted our understanding with her is our principal guarantee against a German attack. The public men whom I have interviewed have expressed themselves plainly and emphatically. The language which they have used is a clear warning.

I did not expect that Sir Austen Chamberlain, who first held office forty years ago, who has twice been Chancellor of the Exchequer, a post held to-day by his brother, who during five years from 1924 to 1929 was Foreign Secretary, would speak so strongly as he has done to me. When a man has played a part in the management of public affairs for forty years, when he possesses the prestige of Sir Austen, he is careful how he expresses himself, and when he goes as far as Sir Austen has gone, he does so for good reasons, with full knowledge of the case, and his words must be pondered.

"British opinion has taken its stand with remarkable clearness and unanimity," said Sir Austen. "Assuredly, no one here has desired or desires to pick a quarrel with Italy. But to remain passive would mean sacrificing much more than Abyssinia. It would mean sacrificing the principle that international relations ought to be regulated by public law. Here is the question: are there rules of conduct obligatory on all the nations of Europe? Yes, or no, can we place our confidence in the pledged word and in treaties freely negotiated and solemnly ratified, or is the Covenant of the League of Nations no more than a scrap of paper, to be invoked when that is found convenient and repudiated when it becomes a restraint? That is for us the true, the only question. To preserve the Covenant Great Britain is ready to do her part in the measures which are necessary, no matter what their character."

"No matter what their character!" I exclaimed, with surprise. "M. Laval has just declared that France will take no part in any case in military sanctions!"

Sir Austen continues with quiet authority, "We are astonished, and, why not say it, shocked by the apparent hesitation and the selfish calculations which seem to characterise French behaviour in this affair. To the question whether we are prepared, in order to preserve the Covenant, to fulfil all our engagements, Britain makes a reply which leaves no room for doubt. But the French reply is doubtful."

"I am a little surprised," I say, "to find English opinion declaring itself so passionately in favour of all sanctions. In September, 1924, there was adopted at Geneva the Protocol for the Peaceful Settlement of

M. Bertrand de Jouvenel came to London to obtain authoritative statements of the British attitude towards the Italo-Abyssinian Dispute. He saw both Sir Austen Chamberlain and the Archbishop. His report of his interview with Sir Austen is reproduced from PARIS SOIR.

International Disputes, which expressly provided for sanctions of the utmost severity against any nation committing an aggression. But Britain refused to ratify the Protocol, which was promoted by France. You, Sir Austen, were Foreign Secretary at that time. It was you who refused, in the name of your country, to pledge yourself in advance to sanctions, which in case of need would be military sanctions against an eventual aggressor."

"Precisely," answered Sir Austen. "We Britons," he explains, "do not decide in advance what we will do in a hypothetical situation. The Protocol, in attempting to foresee all possibilities, to imprison, so to speak, the future, was in conflict with our national temperament. For us the Covenant is sufficient. When a concrete case presents itself our conduct is irrefragable. If we refuse to make promises, it is just because we attach so high a value to the pledged word."

"We have in some degree a feeling," I venture, rather indiscreetly, "that the present insistence of Britain to punish the enterprise of Italy is not dissociated from the fact that the Imperial interests of Great Britain are threatened."

Sir Austen turns towards me, austere and aloof. "You are wrong," he says severely. "What moves us is the Covenant and not any selfish interests. Nothing astonishes us more than the French propensity to attribute to British diplomacy a Machiavellian foresight. Those who know the manner in which our national business is conducted are well aware that our rulers concern themselves very little with the ultimate influence of any present event upon our Imperial interests. You mention Lake Tana. Undoubtedly the control of the sources of the Nile is vital for the Sudan and Egypt, and we would have to take thought if our interests in this zone were menaced. But Signor Mussolini has been careful to give us every reassurance on this point."

Sir Austen paused. Then he went on, "British opinion, in all parties and in all classes, is moved, not by any supposed threat to our national interests, but by the plain infringement of the principle of the Covenant of the League of Nations. In her present action Italy is prompted by the ideas, and is using

WARNING TO FRANCE

the methods which prompted us and were used by us and you, too, and the other Powers before the war, ideas and methods which all of us have solemnly renounced by signing the Covenant of the League and the Pact of Paris. The question is not whether the sources of the Nile are safe, but whether the new system of international relations is to die or live. That is the question which all nations must ask themselves. Their destiny depends upon the answer which it receives. So far as British policy is concerned . . ."

Sir Austen utters these words with the utmost care, and I take careful note of them, feeling he is profoundly convinced that the present is a dividing point in the history of Europe.

"So far as British policy is concerned, the next few weeks have a capital importance. If the Covenant triumphs, the confidence which we place in it will be strengthened, and Great Britain will have created for herself a precedent which will determine her attitude in other future crises."

Sir Austen emphasises these words with a significant look. If Britain has contributed to repel Italian aggression against Abyssinia by every means, she will

contribute also by all these means should the day ever come to suppress a German attack against France.

Sir Austen continues, "If, on the contrary, the other nations who have signed the Covenant, who have repeatedly confirmed their pledge, who have sometimes accused the representatives of Britain of lukewarmness towards the Covenant, fail to fulfil their engagements at this decisive hour, then Great Britain will hold herself released from her obligations and her policy will be directed, as it was before the foundation of the League, by British national interests alone. You must understand that the other nations are deciding at the present moment by the attitude which they are adopting the future of the Covenant and the part that Britain will take for the future in the affairs of the Continent."

The door closed behind me. As I walked slowly away with thoughtful steps, I noted that what Sir Austen had said to me was, in fact, "If to-day you allow your policy to be dictated by your friendship with Italy, if you do not go to the end with us in the application of sanctions, do not count too much upon us if you find yourselves in conflict with Germany."

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY Says:—

A PRIVATE and informal conference on the present international situation, representing various Christian Communions in Great Britain, was held at Lambeth Palace on October 11.

I was asked as its chairman to issue a statement embodying the views which those who were present desire to put before their fellow countrymen.

1. We believe that the principle of collective responsibility for the peace of the world, on the basis of an accepted rule of law among the nations, involved in the Covenant of the League of Nations is a practical application of the principles of Christianity.

We regard the State Members of the League who have signed that Covenant as bound in honour to uphold it.

We therefore give our whole-hearted support to the action which the League is now taking in accordance with the Covenant, in the endeavour to restrain what it has solemnly declared to be an act of aggression on the part of Italy and to bring to an end the war which has broken out between that country and Abyssinia.

2. It must not be forgotten that the League of Nations exists not only to restrain acts of aggression but also to do its utmost to remove, or at least to mitigate, causes of international disquiet and discontent which endanger peace.

Among these causes are admittedly both the need felt by certain nations, including Italy, of industrial expansion and the economic strain from which all nations are suffering.

We therefore urge that as soon as may be possible the League should arrange international inquiries and conferences on the more equitable distribution of the material resources contained in the undeveloped parts of the world, and on the removal of the barriers by which national economic selfishness restricts the free flow of trade between the nations.

3. It must also be remembered that one of the obligations undertaken by all members of the League of

Nations is contained in Article VIII—namely, "The members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national security, and the enforcement by common action of international obligations"; and we feel bound to insist that the effort of the League to fulfil this obligation must be resumed at the earliest possible time.

We believe that if the action of the League in this present dispute results in strengthening confidence in collective security, an international conference on general disarmament may have better prospects of success.

We regard it as beyond doubt that the continuance of competition in armaments will not only inflict an intolerable burden upon the peoples of the world but will increase the spirit of fear which is fatal to that sense of settled security on which both peace and the future of civilisation depend.

4. Finally, we are convinced that in the last resort the only power which can secure and maintain the peace of the world is a spiritual power—a power which will lift men above national ambitions and excitements and establish that rule of righteousness, mutual consideration and justice, which is the only basis of peace—in short, loyalty to the Kingdom of God.

To that loyalty all who profess and call themselves Christians are pledged.

The supreme need, as always so specially at this present time when the foundations of peace seem to be shaken, is that individual Christians everywhere should resolve to do their utmost to make their Christian Faith an effective power in national and international life.

We therefore earnestly support the proposal that at this critical moment in the world's history the authorities of all sections of the Church of Christ should be invited to send forth a deliberate and solemn call to all their members in thought and word and act as citizens of their countries to seek first the Kingdom of God and His Righteousness.

NOTES ON THE ORIGIN OF THE LEAGUE

By J. HOLLAND ROSE, Litt.D.

The eminent historian, who was a member of the Balfour Committee, 1918

HEADWAY has invited me, as one of the few surviving members of the late Lord Phillimore's Committee of Inquiry into Earlier Schemes for Preventing War, to sketch the main outlines of its work in those harassing months, January-March, 1918. Under the shadow of the imminent German offensive (which began on March 21, the day after we signed our Report), firm faith was needed to persevere with a plan of universal peace, which the triumph of militarism would render ridiculous. Yet, under the chairmanship of that able international jurist (then Sir Walter Phillimore), we persevered, in the hope that Europe might perhaps struggle through darkness and chaos to a state of peace more firmly founded than of yore.

Appointed by the Right Hon. A. J. Balfour early in 1918, the Committee consisted of Sir Eyre Crowe, Sir William Tyrrell, and Mr. A. R. Kennedy; also of three students of history, Professor A. F. Pollard, Sir Julian Corbett, and myself. Mr. (later Lord) Balfour instructed us to examine, "particularly from a juridical and historical point of view," earlier peace schemes, "to report on their practicability, to suggest amendments, or to elaborate a further scheme." We held in all nine meetings at the Foreign Office, and there brought together the results of our individual researches into the long series of Peace Schemes down to the Holy Alliance of 1815, designed by the Tzar, Alexander I.

Study, followed by discussions and criticisms, led to the general conclusion that those early schemes erred by excess; for (as our Report phrased it) "they aimed at setting up a kind of European Confederation with a super-national authority." Above all, the speedy perversion of the Holy Alliance into an engine of autocratic repression long prejudiced statesmen and peoples alike against similar plans. Yet after 1870 the formation of useful Unions (e.g., that for International Postage), also of many arbitration treaties for the banning of war, showed the longing for peaceful progress. Of such treaties up to June, 1910, the United States signed 24, Great Britain 13, Portugal 11, France 7, Belgium 7, Italy 6, Denmark 6, Spain 2, Russia 1, Austria 1, Germany 0, Turkey 0.

Clearly, then, most of the leading nations, however distrustful of a Union resembling a Super-State, desired closer fellowship in peace for the avoidance of war. These facts induced our Committee to seek to form a widespread Union for the banning of war, "by way of co-operation" (Article 4 of our Report). Article 5 urged the adoption, with all due safeguards, of "a system working by means of a Permanent Conference and an Arbitral Tribunal." The latter body had been almost established by the International Peace Conferences suggested by the Tzar, Nicholas II, in 1898, and held at The Hague in 1899 and 1907. The former had initiated an International Prize Court; and hopes were cherished that it would become permanent and receive larger powers at the next Peace Conference, due to assemble there in 1917!

That year witnessed far other developments. For in April the horrors of Germany's submarine campaign brought President Wilson, reluctantly and with reservations, to join the Allies against her. Already he had urged American students to study the conditions and natural frontiers of European peoples in order eventually to help in framing a just and lasting peace. And on January 8, 1918, in his programme of the Fourteen Points, he stipulated in No. 14 "a general Association of Nations to be formed under specific Covenants for

the purpose of affording mutual guarantees." In France, M. Emile Bourgeois, and in England, Mr. Brailsford, were working along the same lines.

But our Committee was influenced mainly by our chairman's book, "Three Centuries of Treaties of Peace" (Murray, London, 1917). Indeed, the Italian Information Bureau, of Norfolk Street, Strand, sent me a copy of it in that winter—a fact which implies Italian approval of its contents. In brief, his conclusions from a study of treaties were that (1) National boundaries should as far as possible harmonise with natural limits; (2) peoples desirous of living as one nation should not be divided; (3) crushing or humiliating burdens should never be imposed; (4) if a League of Peace be formed, it must not impair national sovereignty; (5) Protectorates rarely work well, but may be needed in order to deal with parts of the Turkish Empire—a suggestion pointing the way towards General Smuts's Mandate System.

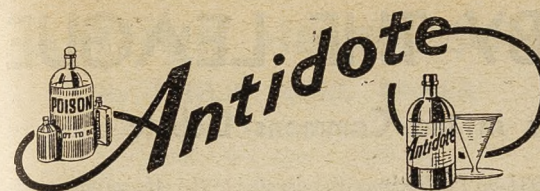
Coming to details, Sir Walter approved Italy's claim to her "unredeemed" peoples, then subject to Austria, but stated that it was difficult on the N.E. to draw the line fairly between Italians and Slavs. He made no reference to Italy's colonial claims, which had not been mentioned even in her secret Treaty of London (April 25, 1915) unless the Turkish Empire were partitioned.* As those claims came up later, it is absurd to charge the League of Nations with having always opposed Italy's interests. President Wilson opposed her annexations of the Botzen (Bolzano) and Fiume areas, because they violated his principles stated above.

In the main, our Committee applied its chairman's conclusions to the forming of a League of Peace, striving to facilitate the entrance of all States to a Union, which, while not seriously impairing national sovereignty, would yet give protection against an aggressor. We hoped that the frank and free discussion of all disputes or grievances (which members must bring before the whole body) would tend to solve most of them, or would give time for angry feelings to cool; but, failing that, an International Tribunal of experts would examine and report on them.

For some reason still unknown, the British Government suppressed our Report and Draft Scheme of a Covenant; and it was not published (I believe) until 1923 by Mr. Ray S. Baker in his book, "Woodrow Wilson and World Peace" (Vol. III), which also shows the debt of the President's three Drafts of a Covenant to that of our Committee and to similar plans drawn up by Colonel House, General Smuts, General T. H. Bliss, Mr. Hurst-Miller, and a French Committee. In conclusion, I would point out that our Committee strove hard to achieve *universality* for the future League, in the hope that thereby its application of merely financial and economic sanctions against an aggressor would be irresistibly cogent. We never dreamt of the withdrawal of the chief Founder-State, which has terribly impaired their cogency.

To those who claim that the failure of all earlier Peace Leagues damns this one, I reply that they broke down because acts of aggression mostly succeeded long before a Peace Conference could assemble to concert counter measures; whereas now, thanks to wireless telegraphy and aircraft, that Conference can meet very speedily and start all the mechanism of civilisation to clog that of war. Human mentality has not yet risen to the heights made attainable by recent scientific progress.

* See Prof. H. W. V. Temperley's HISTORY OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE I, 170, ff.



POISON:

"The League of Nations is shown in practice to be ineffective to limit war. Is it not time to say that we have negotiated long enough, that we have spent enough of our energies on the League of Nations, that we can cut ourselves free from those problems with a clear conscience, and that the time has come when we must devote our attention to our own business and the welfare and happiness of our own people?"—Special article by LORD BEAVERBROOK, "Daily Express," September 24.

ANTIDOTE:

Lord Beaverbrook is apparently labouring under the delusion that the prevention of international warfare is not an important item in "the welfare and happiness of our own people"! It also seems difficult to make him understand that "our own people" (other than himself, of course) are not anxious to formulate excuses for the abandonment of the only attempt yet being made to organise peace, nor is the nation as a whole so utterly dishonourable as to seek specious pleas to cover infidelity to our national undertakings, as Lord Beaverbrook seems to urge.

POISON:

"A League of Nations without Germany, Japan or the United States can no longer be held to represent the interests of the world."—SIR WALTER TOWNLEY.

ANTIDOTE:

Surely Sir Walter does not wish to suggest that, because those three nations are not members of the League to-day, the remaining fifty-eight nations should forthwith abandon their efforts to safeguard the world's interests.

POISON:

"Apparently the League of Nations Union are very keen for us to fight in support of the League of Nations."—Brig-General W. L. OSBORN, at the Re-Union Dinner of the Old Comrades of the Royal Sussex Regiment.

ANTIDOTE:

The League of Nations is very keen on world co-operation to ensure that there shall be no need for anybody to fight at all, and only advocates the use of force if and when all other means of controlling those guilty of ruthless aggression have been tried and have failed.

POISON:

"The League of Nations is an assembly of miserly Conservatives who are trying to assassinate the great victorious Italy of Fascism with a stab in the back."—The Italian paper, "Corriere della Sera."

ANTIDOTE:

Dr. Crippen probably thought much the same of Inspector Dew who arrested him.

POISON:

"One cannot suppress war."—BARON ALOISI.

ANTIDOTE:

One may not be able to, but international co-operation for collective security certainly could.

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BRITAIN STANDS BY THE LEAGUE

Extracts from Ministers' Speeches in the Commons Debate

On October 22, 23 and 24 the last important debate of the 1931-35 Parliament was devoted to the Abyssinian crisis. Ministers declared that Great Britain's support of the League continued unweakened

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir Samuel Hoare) :—

The League, like any other institution, has to be built up slowly in the light of experience. No institution which hopes to survive can come into the world fully grown and mature. That is certainly not a British view. It is as foolish and unreasonable to expect too much as it is to condemn too quickly. The League of Nations is one of the greatest institutions that mankind has ever attempted to build. Its success must in the last resort depend on the willingness of men and women in the various countries to serve it, and this willingness can only be obtained by all its members being allowed to play their part freely and without coercion.

Of course, there have been hesitation and heart-searching during the present crisis. That is neither surprising nor discouraging. It is a sign that the responsibilities of collective action are being taken seriously. What is surprising, perhaps, but encouraging, is the way that the machinery of the League has moved steadily forward during these last few weeks. . . .

Military sanctions, like economic sanctions, can only be applied collectively, and so far as we ourselves are concerned we have made it clear from the beginning of the controversy that, though we are prepared to take our full share as a loyal member of the League, we are only prepared to take our share in collective action. I emphasise that word "collective," for it is the essence and soul of the League.

Neither the League nor, indeed, our civilization can condone a multiple breach of treaties and survive. Our difficulty has been that in some foreign quarters, though most people fully understand the existence of the dilemma, they have not the courage to face it, and so they shrink at one and the same time from acting up to their obligations under the League and from repudiating the League altogether.

The League must stand together, and it must walk together, and within these limits I am proud that we have given it a recognised lead.

A great issue is at stake, much greater than the local merits of an African controversy, the issue of progress towards a new order of international relations or reaction to a state of affairs that we hoped had been ended. An experiment is being made in the world. Perhaps when we are farther away from it, and can see it in its right perspective, it will seem one of the most pregnant experiments for many generations. The world is for the first time putting to an effective test the machinery of collective security. If the machinery proves to be effective, a gain of immense value will have been achieved.

If it fails, a heavy disappointment will have fallen upon all those who desire to eliminate war as an instrument of national policy and an equally heavy responsibility on those who have wavered in the cause.

The Prime Minister (Mr. Baldwin) :—

We are taking, and I am convinced the House is in general agreement with that, the only possible course of action, absolute loyalty to the Covenant, and with that a readiness to seize, and this is only putting in other words what the Foreign Secretary said yesterday, any legitimate opportunity for a settlement. I wish to relieve the mind of the House on that point.

Critics of the Government may feel that there is a loophole for going behind the back of the League of Nations. Nothing of the kind is intended. Such a settlement, and a settlement in the solution of which I am sure the House would desire that we should give to it every attention that we can, must be one fair alike to the three

parties, Italy, Abyssinia, and—I will not say above all, in this tripartite arrangement—to the League of Nations itself.

If any settlement can be arrived at which might considerably shorten the time of war and might take away from the world the fear of a possible war spreading, it will be worth any endeavour, provided that these three principles can be maintained.

I will add this. The League, in my view—and I think some of its best friends in this House will agree with me—has done better in these circumstances than was expected when it entered on its labours in view of the tremendous difficulties of the situation.

It is vitally important that we should never lightly abandon the principle of collective security. At present, the idea is incomplete, it is inadequate. Looking to the future I tremble to think of what may be the fate of Europe if some form of collective security is not devised. . . .

Even if we find, after trying to the utmost to work the League as it is, that it fails to fulfil our hopes and expectations, I shall not give up the struggle because of that. . . .

No man who believes in peace can ever stop, and if we fail this time it behoves us all the more if the League has proved itself inadequate to see what steps we can take to make the League prove adequate. Should that happen, and should it be my fate to find myself at the head of the Government, I shall make the most earnest efforts of which I am capable in the time that remains to me.

The Minister for League of Nations Affairs (Mr. Eden) :—

No change has been made and no change will be made in the League Programme; it will go on as it has gone on before. The only assurance, if assurance it can be called, which has been given to the Italian Government is an assurance that we should not ourselves take action alone. . . .

But here is a duty which has to be done, which must and will be done. . . .

There has been, and will be, no change in the policy of the Government, in which as a loyal member of the League we will persevere. For what is at stake? At this hour it is surely not necessary to repeat that it is neither an African dispute nor an incident in expansionist rivalry between two nations nor a colonial war, but a vital test of the efficiency of the League and of the loyalty of its members to the Covenant to which they have put their names.

We have tried in these post-war years to build up a new order, by means of which we hope to spare mankind in the future the scourge of war. We who are members of the League have sought collectively to create a new ideal and a new international code.

If we fail, even though that failure be not final, we shall have shattered for a generation, and it may be more, the hopes which mankind has placed in this new endeavour. Who can tell what the consequences of such disappointment may be?

If, on the other hand, the League of Nations can on this occasion prove itself able to withstand the strain placed upon it—and I believe it will—even though many serious problems will yet surround us, the world will face them fortified in its faith and inspired to fresh endeavour by the victory of its own ideals.

For the first time, I believe, in the history of the world an attempt is being made to operate an international system based not merely upon power, but upon certain fixed principles of equity. This is an adventure in which we may all be proud to play our part.

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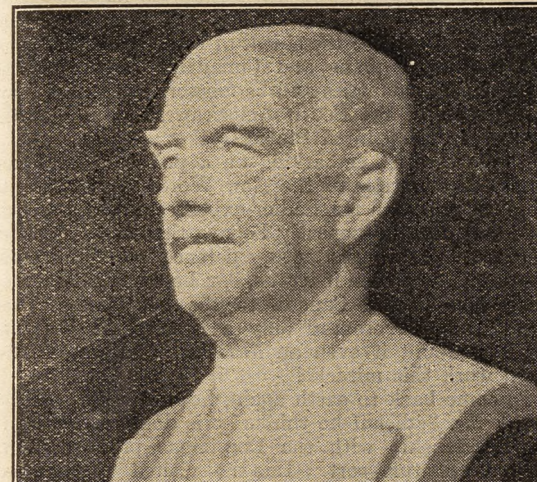
By PHILIP NOEL BAKER

Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (1929-31)

Private Secretary to President of Disarmament Conference (1932-33)

ARTHUR HENDERSON will be remembered in Great Britain, in Geneva, and throughout the world, as one of the great statesmen of the League. He has died in harness, still President of the First World Disarmament Conference, still believing, amid doubts and disaster all around, that in the long run the cause of Disarmament will not fail. His faith and courage have made a deeper impression on the mind of the nations of the world than any man since Wilson has been able to produce.

For this reason he will be remembered as the apostle of Disarmament before all else. But Mr. Henderson's



work for international peace did not begin with the Disarmament Conference in 1932. He had for long worked in the Labour and Socialist International to bring together the Parties of the Left, and to unite them in support for the principles of the Covenant of the League. In 1924, at the Fifth Assembly, he had been placed by the British Government in charge of the drafting of the Geneva Protocol, and had carried through his task with a vigour, a resolution and a skill, both in negotiation and debate, which had made him, with Paul Boncour, the real leader of the League.

In 1929 he became His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and from the first moment he based his whole policy upon the Covenant, and moved all the other great Departments of State to lend him their vigorous support. From the day he reached agreement with M. Briand at The Hague for the early evacuation of the Occupying Forces from the Rhine, he spoke with high authority as a champion of international reconciliation translated into concrete acts of friendship. From that day onward his authority in Geneva grew, and many people remember as remarkable the meeting of the Council in January, 1931, over which he presided with masterly authority and skill.

Not only his friends, but multitudes throughout the world who never saw him, but who may have heard his voice on the wireless pleading for disarmament and peace, will mourn a gallant and courageous man, a faithful statesman, and an ardent patriot, who avowed his loyalty both to Great Britain and to the international community of all mankind.

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READERS' VIEWS

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

GERMAN EX-COLONIES

SIR.—I refer to the article in HEADWAY by Dr. Heinrich Schnee and to certain letters on this subject contained in your issue of October.

Dr. Schnee's case is well stated, but if he means by "equal rights" that Germany should be (now after 17 truly long years) reinstated in all the colonies she previously held, the practical difficulties are obvious. If he means, when he says that the Mandate system should be applied equally to the possessions of other colonial Powers, that the British colonial possessions should also be dealt with by Mandates, the reason for that is not clear. After the War ended, questions regarding British colonies and French colonies did not emerge, whatever injustices may have been done to the Germans, and where war is the medium in which people operate, the only rule applicable is that the loser pays. Militarists must acknowledge that. There is a lesson in that for us all, but especially for the Powers which have large armies and large navies, and rely on them.

Mr. Roberts' letter affords no help, whether he is a Jew or not a Jew, because it is based on prejudice of what is known in Germany as the "Schuld Frage," that is, the clause in the Treaty of Versailles which attributed all responsibility for the War to Germany, and which was no doubt a false clause, probably by exaggeration. In case Mr. Roberts thinks I am prejudiced, I offer him the authority of the Prince of Wales, who recently stated, *apropos* of the war bitterness of what is now a past generation, that those of us who knew that bitterness have forgotten it—or at least desire to forget it.

Whether it is practicable or not to offer Germany territories under the Mandate system, which we believe accepts as primary the rights of the natives, I am not ready to decide. I shall prefer to leave that to people who know more about the practical difficulties. I do, however, feel that the first step in that direction now becomes obvious, and is now being voiced by a number of statesmen in different countries, and of different political views, that anything that can break down trade barriers should be done. That first step would ease the position for nations situated as Germany is to-day, because the raw materials from many territories would be more easily accessible, and would meet urgent needs. Mandates mean more than that. They mean something of prestige, and some precedence for the Mandatory Power and its citizen subjects, but it is, I believe, also fairly obvious that the contributions to the pool of civilisation which could be got from Germany would be good, and for the benefit of us all. Any step in this direction would relieve the present sense of stress in several countries, and put the chances of war in a different perspective.

GEORGE B. CHALK.

Glasgow, C.2.

WHY SO "SAVAGE"?

SIR.—As a regular reader of HEADWAY for many years, I cannot help being surprised at the savage and senseless vituperation of Germany and the German people contained in a letter by Mr. H. T. Roberts in your October issue. It is strange to find such a bellicose letter accorded an unduly large proportion of space in a magazine claiming to present the pacific views of the League of Nations.

The only excuses to be found for Mr. Roberts'

palpable ignorance of Germany and her colonial problem may be in the fact that (1) he had not at the time of writing read the temperate and well-reasoned article of Dr. Heinrich Schnee (former Governor of German East Africa), published in the same issue of HEADWAY; (2) according to Mr. Roberts' own admission, he has not a single Jewish acquaintance, and therefore one may conclude that he lives on a desert island, "the world forgetting, by the world forgot"!

A. S. ATHERTON-SMITH,
formerly Organising Secretary,
L.N.U., Paris.

DOMINION RIGHTS

SIR.—With reference to Mr. G. T. Sadler's letter in the October issue of HEADWAY, he suggests the League should be thorough, and ask Britain to hand back all conquests, and mentions Canada and Australia. Has Mr. Sadler forgotten the status of these two Dominions, and that Australians and Canadians have as much right to their countries and be masters in them as, say, the peoples of the South American Republics or the citizens of the United States?

If you suggest embarking on a policy of this sort, surely all countries of the New World would have to be given up. Can Mr. Sadler explain how he would do this, and does he honestly believe that the League of Nations was brought into existence to "job backwards"? But even if it was, can he explain how they could give back "Canada to the people who lived there," since there are only a handful of Redskins left? I doubt if even an M.A. or a Doctor of Law could work this miracle!

To come back to earth again, however, I would like to ask Mr. Sadler if he thinks he is doing any good to our relationship with the Dominions producing propaganda of this sort. Has he visited Canada and Australia? I have, and I can tell him when HEADWAY reaches those Dominions his letter will be published in the local Press under very uncomplimentary headings. Skeffington, Leicestershire. G. W. TAILBY.

PAST WAYS AND NEW RULES

SIR.—Mr. Gilbert Sadler, having won his degree of LL.B., must surely be aware that it is impossible to make new laws retrospective except on very rare occasions and for small fractions of time.

He takes the "logical" position that because we have formed a League of Nations in 1919, we must revise the happenings of 1757 to accord with our new outlook. It would be easier to revise the cricket scores of 1934 as they might have been if the new l.b.w. rule had been then in operation!

Why stop at 1757? In 1532, Henry VIII divorced his first wife, Catherine, in a manner which modern law and custom would certainly not allow. So on Mr. Sadler's principles, why not declare Elizabeth illegitimate, and therefore not a rightful queen, while Philip of Spain could be visualised as a champion of morals, and the present ex-King of Spain be given all that might have accrued had the Armada been backed up by "sanctions"?

Why stop at 1532? Mr. Sadler has an Anglo-Saxon name. A thousand years before 1532 his ancestors may have come over from the mouth of the Elbe to dispossess some unfortunate Celt. What a splendid gesture of consistency it would be if Mr. Sadler voluntarily returned to the mouth of the Elbe.

Stanmore, Middlesex.

WILLIAM PLATT.

ITALY AND ABYSSINIA

SIR.—In the report of the last General Council, held at Cambridge in June, and recently published by headquarters, I am correctly quoted as criticising Mr. Eden's offer of British territory, in order to settle the differences between Italy and Abyssinia. This needs amplification.

In my speech I stressed the generosity of such a gesture and possible wisdom of some such readjustments of territorial interests, but regretted the manner in which this particular offer had been made.

On the presumption that the Duce was acting in contravention of the Covenant, I suggested that any conciliation should be effected through the machinery of the League, and that any attempt to placate him by independent action or sacrifice upon the part of our country implied the inability of finding a solution through League channels.

In addition, I stressed the point that the principle of transferring territory, in Africa or elsewhere, without the consent of the inhabitants, and merely for the sake of balancing European politics, was open to far-reaching objection.

It has since transpired that this latter objection did not hold good in this particular instance; the territory in question being almost uninhabited except for migrant Somalis, with the exception, of course, of the small seaport which would merely have reverted to its original ownership.

It is generally agreed that the whole question of European national rights over lands and peoples outside Europe must eventually be reconstructed in the interests of world peace.

I offer this explanation because the wording of the report in question implies personal criticism of Mr. Eden, whose magnificent efforts, both at the moment, and in the past, must have won for him the admiration and gratitude of all of us who support the principles for which the League of Nations exists.

Kelvedon.

PHILIP S. MUMFORD.

HISTORY WILL BE GRATEFUL

SIR.—The League of Nations, facing the greatest crisis since its creation, is handicapped by certain members who have seen fit deliberately to ignore promises made by them in the Covenant. As a result of this the League may be rendered temporarily ineffective. But that is no reason for discontinuing our support of it through the League of Nations Union. It may be many years before the League runs smoothly; it may even take the horrors of another war to show the world, not that the League was powerless to prevent war, but that it and nothing else could have prevented war.

Whatever happens, the world must be shown that England believes in the League and will strive unceasingly to make it effective. It is not enough for England to show her trust in it now, she must do so continuously in the future, and thus once again give the lead to other countries.

There is an unpleasant metaphor about rats and a sinking ship, the application of which to themselves over eleven million people must avoid; it can only be avoided by a continued adherence to the League and its principles, and by a willingness to strive gloriously for a cause which alone can bring peace, if not in our time, at least in time to come.

Whatever may be the outcome of the present crisis, if we can claim to have kept the spirit of the League alive, and to have handed down to posterity the conviction that it alone can save the world, we shall not have lived in vain. History will not be ungrateful.

Tadworth.

P. L. R.

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HERE AND THERE

The Union is about to appoint a Secretary of its **Youth Committee** at a salary of £250 a year. Applicants must be under 30 years of age, and it is desirable that they should have some experience of the work of the Union Youth Groups. A form of application will be sent by the Secretary of the League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1, on receipt of a stamped addressed envelope (foolscap size).

Mayfair is taking an interest in the League of Nations Union. This is partly due to the energy of the chairman of the **Westminster** Branch, the Dowager Honourable Lady Barlow, and partly, no doubt, to the critical international situation. On October 9, Lord Listowel spoke at an evening reception held in the Lyceum Club. Lady Barlow presided, and most admirably conducted an energetic discussion on Sanctions.

Dr. Margaret Grant gave an evening party on Friday, October 11, at St. James's Court, Buckingham Gate. It was difficult to obtain enough chairs for all who attended. Lady Barlow, who presided, said she was most anxious that a Study Group should be formed, and she was most gratified when, at the end of the meeting, twenty people offered to attend a fortnightly Study and Discussion Group. It is hoped that a Youth Group will soon be inaugurated.

On Wednesday, November 27, the **City** Branch are organising a ball in Carpenters' Hall, from 9 p.m. to 2 a.m. Double tickets, including buffet and wine, will be 25s., and single tickets 15s. There will be a short cabaret during the evening. There is a strong committee, which consists, amongst others, of Major and Mrs. Lawrence Wright, Lady Broadbridge, Lady Layton, Lady Slessor, Mrs. Vyvyan Adams, Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Syrett, and Miss Pauline Garnett.

Tickets may be obtained from Mr. Wynn Gibson, 43 Russell Square, W.C.1, from members of the committee, or from Miss Clair Hollingworth, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

The Autumn School at Dunblane Hotel Hydro, organised by the **Scottish National Council**, was again an outstanding success this year. Over 100 delegates from all parts of Scotland attended and the excellent addresses delivered by Sir Archibald Sinclair, Lord Polwarth, Miss Freda White, Mr. John Buyers, Mr. A. S. Millward, Madame Bakker van Bosse (of Holland) aroused keen interest. The attitude of the Scottish Press towards this excellent yearly feature was most helpful, and great credit is due to those responsible for its organisation.

Armistice Message

For some years it has been the practice of headmasters and headmistresses throughout the country to read to their assembled pupils on Armistice Day a short message issued for the purpose by the representatives of the Headmasters' Conference, the National Union of Teachers, the Association of Education Committees, and other bodies of teachers and of local education authorities who together constitute the Education Committee of the League of Nations Union. Last year the Message was written by Lord Sankey, and copies were purchased by 138 local education authorities for distribution to their schools.

Conscious of the tremendous issues which are now at stake, the committee felt that this year's Message should come from one of our national leaders who has been most intimately concerned with international affairs, and Sir Samuel Hoare has consented to write it. The price will be 3s. per hundred for orders of less than 1,000 copies, or 25s. for each 1,000 copies.

Some idea of the value of **Headway** as an advertising medium may be gained from a letter which we have received from Mrs. Ormerod with reference to her recent appeal in that paper for support for the postage stamps specially issued by the Duchy of Luxembourg in aid of professional workers. Within five days, orders for stamps to the value of over £14 had been received.

Branch organisers will be interested to learn that a **Model International Labour Conference**, based on the 1935 Conference and dramatised on the lines of the always successful Model Assembly, can now be obtained. It is felt that this innovation will appeal strongly to those who recognise the importance of educating the public to realise the industrial phases of the League's work, in regard to which there is still a vast amount of ignorance. Application should be made to headquarters.

An excellent example of the extent to which unremitting energy can triumph over the most depressing outlook is afforded by the history of the **Aberystwyth** Branch during the past four years. In 1932 the branch "nearly died out," to quote the hon. secretary's own words; in 1933 the membership had revived to 415; in 1934 the number stood at 836, and now in 1935 the membership has risen to 1,409 among a total population of just over 9,000, all those members having paid their subscriptions in full. The secretary

of Aberystwyth Branch claims that his must be the largest Branch in the Principality.

BROADCASTING NOTES

Some little time ago a broadcast discussion took place between a young German and a young Englishman on the respective political ideas of their two countries, and in consequence of the interest then aroused it has been decided that a short series of weekly debates should be given between young men and women from other European countries and young men and women from this country. Though, those who come at the invitation of the B.B.C. cannot, in every case, be considered representative of opinion in the country from which they come, it is hoped that there will be a frank comparison of viewpoints. The subjects under discussion will be those of universal interest; attitudes towards international affairs; social and economic conditions of life and work; the position of women; the uses of leisure; and the aims and aspirations which youth holds for the future. It is hoped to secure speakers from the following countries:—France, Germany, Denmark, Czecho-Slovakia, Turkey, and Russia.

The Armistice Day Service at the Cenotaph will be relayed from all transmitters, as will the Albert Hall Festival of Empire and Remembrance, organised by the British Legion, while at 9.30 p.m., a special programme built round the heroic expedition to the Antarctic, in which Captain Scott and his companions lost their lives, will sound the quiet note that "Peace hath her victories, no less renowned than War." This, like the Cenotaph Service, will be broadcast from all transmitters.

OVERSEAS NOTES

On September 14, 1935, a deputation from the **International Federation of League of Nations Societies** presented the resolutions of its XIXth Plenary Congress to the President of the XVIIth Assembly. The deputation, which included representatives from twenty League of Nations Societies, was introduced, in the absence of Professor Giannini, President of the Federation, by its former President, Dr. Limburg, of Holland.

In the course of his reply, Dr. Benes said: "**The Peace Ballot** initiated by the British League of Nations Union is, in my opinion, one of the outstanding events of these latter months. Its repercussions were wide not only within the British Commonwealth but among all States friends of Great Britain. It has been a lesson and an example. Its organisers are deserving of all praise as are those millions of citizens who replied to their appeal, affirming thus their attachment to the cause of peace and their confidence in the League of Nations. League of Nations Societies in other countries ought in this matter to follow the great example of Britain."

FRANCE: The Comité d'Action and Public Opinion

The following manifesto has been issued: The Comité d'Action pour la Société des Nations, meeting at Geneva on September 27, 1935, confronted with the Italo-Abyssinian dispute and the possibility of the violation of the Covenant of the League of Nations by one of its members, reminds French public opinion that the attitude of the British Government, far from being accidental, finds its source in a profound development in British public opinion following the tests to which the League of Nations has been put during the last three years. The great majority of the British people is to-day solidly in support of that collective security which has been untiringly upheld in France for the past fifteen years. It seems, therefore, that the time has come for French opinion to renew its efforts towards assuring the success of the only real system for the organisation of peace;

Reminds British public opinion that its attitude with regard to sanctions is not yet sufficiently known by the mass of French public opinion, which is still suffering from the effects of disappointments experienced through the failure of previous efforts to establish collective security and to prevent the violation of international engagements.

In the absence of collective security it has been necessary to be content with partial security as expressed in unilateral agreements, concluded, of course, within the framework of the League of Nations.

But a unanimous France would have preferred, and will always prefer, a universal system, rational and effective, which would discourage all aggression.

The Comité d'Action, therefore, appeals to all men of good will to see that the recent declarations of the two Governments succeed in dispersing the absurd misunderstandings which risk delaying collaboration between two great nations who, if they acted in unison, could and must save the peace of the world.

WELSH NOTES

At the beginning of September, the Welsh Council launched its nation-wide campaign for new members of the Union. Over 15,000 helpers participated throughout the Principality in the work of carrying through the Peace Ballot, and all these helpers are now being convened to a series of rallies covering the whole of Wales and Monmouthshire.

Specially printed memento certificates are distributed at each rally, and an appeal is made for the further help of the workers in the Welsh Council's drive for 100,000 new members of the Union. The attendance at the rallies has been excellent.

Wreaths will be laid on behalf of the Welsh Council again this year during the Armistice Day ceremonies at the Welsh National War Memorial in Cathays Park, Cardiff, and at the North Wales War Memorial at Bangor.

Council's Vote

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

Angmering, Aylesbury, Albrighton, Ampsthill, Ashwell, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Abingdon, Banbury, Beccles, Billingham, Bexhill, Bognor Regis, Brightonsea, Bourn, Boroughbridge, Bradford Heaton (Methodist Church), Baldock, Beverley, Bridlington, Barton Hill, Bradfield, Boars Hill, Brentwood, Benfleet, Bishops Waltham, Brockenhurst, Bushey, Crawley, Crowborough, Crewkerne, Cove, Compton, Cirencester, Coleford, Chopwell, Colchester, Chipperfield, Cromer, Debenham, Danbury, Downham Market, Esholt, Eastbourne, East Brent, Eridge, Epping, Emsworth, Felbridge, Forest Row, Faringdon, Felstead, Fordingbridge, Frome, Glastonbury, Great Shelford, Haywards Heath, Henleaze, Hemel Hempstead, Heyford, Headington, Ipswich, King's Langley, Knebworth, Linton, Littlehampton, Leiston, Midhurst, Minchinhampton, Maldon, Minehead, Morpeth, Newick, New Milton, Nailsworth, Newmarket, Otley, Oxford, Pangbourne, Petersfield, Petworth, Princes Risborough, Patterdale, Peppard, Rottingdean, Ringwood, Rickmansworth, Ryde, Slough, Stibbing, Shipley, Seaford, Storrington, Somerton, Snape, Silsden, Stroud, Silverdale, Spratton, Thrapston, Thornbury (Glos.), Tring, Thetford, Uley, Windsor, Winford, Wolsingham, W. D. & H. O. Wills No. 1, Wheatley, Warminster, Waterperry, Wisbech, Winchester, Whitley Bay, Winscombe, Yarm.

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In many households several persons are members of the Union. Where one copy of each Union publication is sufficient for the family the Head Office will be glad to receive an intimation.

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

Foundation Members: £1 a year (minimum). (To include **HEADWAY**, the journal of the Union, monthly, by post, and specimen copies of the pamphlets and similar literature issued by the Union.)

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Ordinary Members: 1s. a year minimum.

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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.*

Post Time is Adventure Time!

By Anita Richmond

"You're very excited, Norah. What's the matter?"
"It's time the postman came."
"But—"
"Ah, there he is!" Norah jumped to her feet and ran to the front door. When she returned, she bore a letter which she flourished triumphantly in her friend's face.

"It's quite an adventure nowadays!" she exclaimed.
"I don't understand," said Marjorie. "Besides, that letter isn't for you. It's addressed to Miss Blanche—"
"My pen name. This letter's from an editor and—"
She tore open the envelope. "Yes, there's a cheque! Ten beautiful guineas!"
"For heaven's sake explain, Norah! Don't be so tantalising."

Norah sank into a chair, her eyes bright with excitement. "I'm a real live authoress, Marjorie. Really I am. I've been writing now for over a year, and I've made—simply pounds. You wouldn't believe it." She pointed across the room. "See that bookcase? That cost me three hours' work—if it can be called work. Really, it's the most fascinating hobby imaginable."

"But you, Norah!" exclaimed the other in amazement. "Why, you never—"

"I know. That's the wonderful thing about it. I never dreamt I could do it, although I always longed to be able to. One day I saw an advertisement of a correspondence course in article and story writing, and sent for a copy of the prospectus."

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

"I don't believe in those correspondence courses," said Marjorie, shaking her head.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LEARN TO WRITE Earn While You Learn

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

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The General Election, November, 1935

The League of Nations Union, an all party organisation, serving a supreme public purpose, has a very special part to play on every occasion when the electors are called upon to choose a new Parliament.

It is the duty of members of the Union, in their branches throughout the country, to see that the voters make their decision with a knowledge of where the candidates stand in regard to the League and Britain's League policy.

The recognised method is for them to address a set of questions to the candidates and to secure publication of the answers in the local newspapers.

The following questions are suggested by the Executive Committee of the Union.

- I
1. Will you support the use of the whole collective force of the League to put an end to the Italian aggression in Abyssinia ?

- II
2. When the Italo-Abyssinian crisis is over—

- (a) Do you agree that the all-round reduction and limitation of armaments by international agreement, including the abolition of "aggressive weapons,"* should still be the aim of British policy, and will you urge His Majesty's Government to put forward proposals to this end for acceptance by other nations ?

- (b) As part of the disarmament plan to be put forward by His Majesty's Government, will you support proposals for the total abolition of the military and naval air forces of all nations in conjunction with the international control of civil aviation ? **

- III
3. Are you in favour—

- (a) Of the elimination of private profit from the production of armaments ; or

- (b) Of removing the evil effects attendant upon private manufacture of armaments by measures of public control ?

4. Will you urge His Majesty's Government to use the machinery of the League of Nations for the purpose of securing agreement to remove or reduce national restrictions to international trade, and to promote international economic co-operation in order to eliminate potential causes of war ?

5. Will you urge His Majesty's Government to use all their influence to promote social justice and improve conditions of labour through the International Labour Organisation, in all parts of the world ?

* "Aggressive weapons" are understood to include the following :—

Chemical and bacteriological warfare and preparations therefor, tanks, heavy artillery, military and naval aircraft, submarines, capital

ships over 10,000 tons and all other types of warships having a heavier tonnage than those fixed for each category in the Treaties of Peace.

** The following resolution, proposed by Lord Allen and Sir Austen Chamberlain, M.P., was adopted by the General Council of the Union at its meeting at Cambridge, July 4, 1935 :—

"The General Council of the League of Nations Union—

Having considered the proposals approved and adopted by the Executive Committee on November 1, 1934, for the abolition of national (military and naval) air forces and for the creation of an International Air Force,

Declares that the need for limitation, reduction and control of armaments has become more urgent than ever ;

Reaffirms in particular its conviction that all round abolition of national air forces, which was proposed on certain conditions in the British draft Convention of March, 1933, is vital to the security of nations against the most sudden and atrocious of all forms of warfare ;

Recognises that such abolition will prove unattainable unless coupled with effective measures to prevent the use of civil aviation for military purposes ;

Urges His Majesty's Government to press unceasingly and with all its influence for the total abolition of all national air forces in the shortest possible time, and to indicate its detailed proposals for the international control or internationalisation of civil aviation ; and

If these objects are found to be impracticable unless the system of international control of civil aviation is supplemented by provisions for the maintenance (as part of that system) of an air force or air forces to prevent the use of civil aircraft for military purposes, the Council further urges His Majesty's Government to examine, through the Air Commission set up by the Disarmament Conference, how such a force or forces may be established ; and

Calls upon the Executive to press for an immediate statement from the Government with regard to the procedure above outlined."