

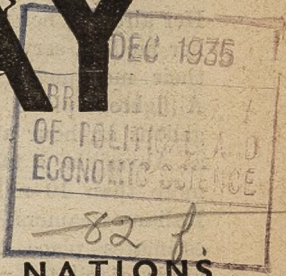
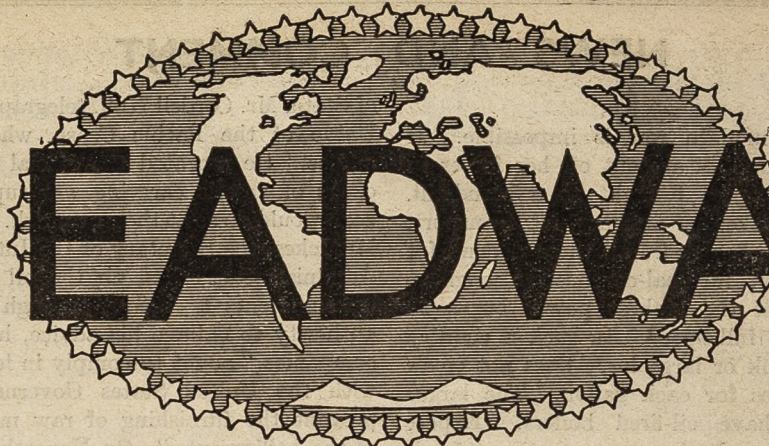
SANCTIONS IN FORCE

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POPULATION AND PEACE

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# HEADWAY



## A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

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### Union of South Africa

Office of the Minister of Justice,  
Palace of Justice,  
Pretoria

21 October, 1935



My dear Maxwell Garnett,

I wish to congratulate the League of Nations Union for the very fine part it has been playing in recent times, and for the marked effect which its propaganda has produced on public opinion.

The British Government has served the cause of the world and the League well, and one cannot help feeling proud of Eden and the stand he has made on behalf of the collective system and of legality in international affairs. The application of the sanctions policy in actual fact is an enormous step in advance, and I trust will have a marked effect not only in the Abyssinian case, but also in other future cases, and will serve as a warning against international adventures of this kind in future.

I hope that the Union will go from strength to strength, and, after the very hardest battle in the finest of all causes, will begin to see daylight at last.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) J. C. SMUTS.

DR. MAXWELL GARNETT, C.B.E., Sc.D.

## NEWS AND COMMENT

## Oil

WITHOUT oil modern war is impossible. If Italy's oil supplies are cut off her forces in Abyssinia will be brought to a standstill. Her aircraft, her tanks, her artillery, her transport, her medical service, her staff—all these depend for their movement on internal-combustion engines. A fighter plane of the highest power burns 50 gallons an hour at full speed. In such a country as Abyssinia, a tank or large lorry does not cover more than 10 miles for each gallon. The larger Italian steamers have oil-fired boilers. Expert estimates place the Italian consumption of all kinds of oil for purposes directly associated with the war in Abyssinia at more than a quarter of a million gallons a week. The immensity of this figure is a proof how necessary to the war-maker are unimpeded, adequate oil supplies: and how effectual a restraint would be enforced upon Italian aggression by a League embargo on oil.

## In the League's Hands

THE League can cut off Italy's oil supplies. It need not interfere with the merchant fleet of many flags which is busy carrying them across the seas. All it need do is to place oil on the list of banned key exports.

League countries sell Italy nine-tenths of the oil she uses. The proportions are: Rumania, 34; Russia, 22; Iran (Anglo-Iranian Oil Co.), 12; Dutch Colonies, 10; France, 4. Rumania, Russia, Britain, Holland and others have all said: "Yes, we will, provided others do likewise."

Why, then, is so right and decisive a step not taken?

## Why Delay?

THE answer is simple. The plan to bribe Signor Mussolini to permit the world to live at peace, though repeatedly proved futile, has not yet been abandoned everywhere.

An oil embargo was proposed in the League Committee of Eighteen on November 6. It covered petroleum, iron and steel, and coal, coke and derivatives. The Committee approved the principle and decided to name a date for enforcing the ban, if the replies of the various Governments warranted such action. The obstacle was supposed to be the United States. Producing more oil than any other country, and already supplying Italy with one-tenth of her needs, the United States could easily nullify any step taken by the League.

Events soon proved that difficulties would not be created by the United States. On November 18 the Washington Government informed the League that it considered the export of oil, copper and other raw materials to be contrary to the spirit of the Neutrality Act, and that it proposed to watch the export of these materials to see if they exceeded the normal amount. On November 19, the Secretary

of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, telegraphed to the Marine Union of the Pacific Coast, who had asked his advice. He repeated the official warning that the crews of vessels carrying war supplies to the war zone would do so at their own risk. On November 21 Mr. Ickes, the Secretary of the Interior and Federal Administrator, called on the oil industry to hold up shipments to Italy. Though he had no legal authority to enforce his advice, he thought the oil companies "ought to comply in letter and in spirit with the United States Government's efforts to prevent the furnishing of raw materials to either of the belligerents." On November 22, the United States Shipping Board addressed a circular to all shipping companies calling attention to the various official statements which had deplored the exportation of war essentials.

The American company which operates the two regular shipping services between ports on the Gulf of Mexico and the Mediterranean has suspended the carriage to Italy of iron and steel and oil.

France is the cause of delay. The Chairman of the Committee of Eighteen had called a meeting for November 29; M. Laval asked for a sudden postponement on the ground that the French political and economic crisis prevent his leaving Paris. In itself his request was not unreasonable. But he is known to dread the taking of any step which would bring Signor Mussolini face to face with failure. He shrinks from making a choice. If choose he must, he will choose the League and Britain. To that extent the latest reports are reassuring. He is said: (1) to recognise the final inevitability of an oil embargo. (2) to have told Britain she can count on French armed help in repelling an Italian attack; (3) to have warned Italy in the same sense.

## An Offence to Conscience

BRITAIN cannot consent to a long continuance of the present deadlock. The country is the largest shareholder in the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. Government directors sit on the board. That Ministers should condemn Italy's war-making in Parliament and at Geneva, and that all the while a company which is in part public property should reap profits out of Italy's war, is an offence to the national conscience.

In the United States public feeling is strong against "blood money." Americans are not League enthusiasts. Indeed, they still retain so much of their habitual suspicion of foreign entanglements that President Roosevelt and his admirers believe themselves obliged to explain from time to time the entire independence of American policy. The sole object is to discourage war by every pacific means: how it is to be attained is not communicated to any other government, nor is any guidance sought from Geneva. A close watch, however, must be kept on what the League is doing.

In the same way as the United States, by hanging back, can cancel League action, so the League, by hanging back, can cancel United States action.

In the matter of oil supplies, this point is much more important than has hitherto been realised in League countries. The United States has moved faster than the League. If League delays give rise to an American conviction that the League is not in earnest, irremediable damage may be worked.

Thoughts of the kind to which the postponement obtained by M. Laval give rise are pungently expressed by the *New York Post*, a strong supporter of President Roosevelt.

The League Powers have double-crossed us as usual. . . . If this does not teach the State Department to stop taking sides in foreign quarrels nothing will.

It is an unfair comment, excusable only because it was uttered in a moment of not unusual irritation. Its unfairness does not prevent its being highly significant.

## Britain Has Not Said "No"

M. LAVAL, broadcasting on November 26 an appeal to the French people to support his Government, made a reference to British policy which may give wider currency to a misunderstanding already dangerously prevalent.

"In constant collaboration with Great Britain," he asserted, "we have always been concerned to localise the conflict. We have done everything to prevent its extension. From the beginning we were in agreement over the avoidance of military sanctions as well as any measures likely to lead to a naval blockade. The closing of the Suez Canal has never been considered."

A false suggestion may be read into these words. Great Britain has not declared herself against any steps by the League required to secure the restoration of peace. As Sir Austen Chamberlain put it, in his famous interview with "Paris-Soir": "To preserve the Covenant Great Britain is ready to do her part in the measures which are necessary, no matter what their character." Mr. Winston Churchill emphasised the same point with his phrase in the House of Commons debate: "The whole way with the whole lot."

The speeches on Abyssinia of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and of the Minister for League of Nations Affairs have noticeably omitted any assertion that Great Britain will not do this, or will not do that. They have declared Britain's resolve not to act alone but only with the League and through the League. They have banned nothing else.

It is M. Laval's habit to confess sorrowfully that France has no freedom of choice, but must fulfil her obligations under the Covenant. More warmly he protests the friendship of France and himself for Italy, their recognition of Italian interests, and their eagerness to discover terms of settlement acceptable to Italy. He hesitates to speak of Abyssinia, the tragic victim of unprovoked aggression.

## Something New

M. ANTHONY EDEN, the Minister for League of Nations Affairs, said a timely word at a crowded L.N.U. meeting in Edinburgh on November 22:

For the first time in history fifty nations have undertaken collective action against one of their number who has resorted to war in violation of its obligations under the Covenant. This is surely a momentous happening. . . .

The world has never before seen any similar manifestation, and the unanimity and the promptitude with which it was staged constitute something new in the annals of international life. . . .

Maybe these last few months will be judged by a historian of a later day as having been the decisive phase in establishing the League's authority. If so, then the world will have gained an inestimable asset for the future to set against the unhappy event of the dispute itself.

## Race to Disaster

M. JACQUES STERN, explaining French Naval policy to the Finance Committee of the Chamber on November 11, said:—

If, for some years, France has not been able to push actively ahead with the execution of her naval programme, has accepted a diminished activity of her fleet, and has consented to allow her ships to be undermanned, it is impossible for her to maintain to-day this passive attitude in the face of the general increase in other navies. It should not be forgotten that the German Fleet can, under the Anglo-German Naval Agreement, by the simple use of a ratio which will, we can rest assured, be adopted, automatically follow any increase in the British Fleet. It would be an ill-chosen moment to abandon, by a reduction of the estimates, the already modest and openly-known programme presented by our country at Geneva four years ago.

Your armaments force me to rearm; my armaments force you to rearm; your armaments . . . and so on to the lurid end of the chapter in another world disaster.

## Dr. Johnson Prophecies

DR. JOHNSON is not usually accounted a prophet. Here, however, is a passage from "The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia, a Tale," which might have been written with foreknowledge of 1935:—

"If men were all virtuous," returned the artist, "I should with great alacrity teach them all to fly. But what would be the security of the good, if the bad could at pleasure invade them from the sky? Against an army sailing through the clouds, neither walls, nor mountains, nor seas, could afford any security. A flight of northern savages might hover in the wind, and light at once with irresistible violence upon the capital of a fruitful region that was rolling under them. Even this valley, the retreat of princes, the abode of happiness, might be violated by the sudden descent of some of the naked nations that swarm on the coast of the southern sea."

It reads as though it were an accurate prediction. But, of course, it is simply good advice by which the 1930's have hitherto shown themselves unable to profit.



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## PEACE TERMS MUST BE JUST

ECONOMIC sanctions are producing an effect. That much alone is certain. Whether, given time for their working, they can in the end compel Italy to abandon her aggression against Abyssinia, no one dare predict. Equally difficult is it to say whether the time will be given. Two months after the launching of the Italian attack and the formal condemnation by the League of Italy's breach of the Covenant, the result remains undecided of an experiment on which depend the world's peace and, perhaps, the survival of a rational world order.

Something there is for gratitude in the events of the past two months: something also to regret.

What the League has failed to do is obvious. The critics of the League are making sure, by tireless repetition, that its failure shall not be overlooked. Though it had more than half a year's warning, the League could not prevent war. At the beginning of December the League is not yet within sight of stopping the war which began in disregard of the Covenant at the end of September. Day after day men, women and children are being killed; the homes of others are being wrecked and their means of livelihood destroyed.

The present tragedy is dark. An even blacker, more ominous shadow overhangs the future. The danger is real that Abyssinia, intimidated by the Italian advance, will collapse. Her defence may be broken under the repeated blows of an enemy immeasurably superior in resources and equipment. In the face of aircraft, tanks and artillery, ill-armed tribal levies are helpless. The Emperor may be driven to surrender and to take whatever terms the conqueror is pleased to concede.

Both in the north and in the south the Italian armies have occupied vast stretches of Abyssinian territory, extending to many thousands of square miles. The inhabitants, illiterate, cut off from all contact with the capital, afraid, subject to pressure and to bribery, have shown a constancy in misfortune which exhorts admiration. The Italians, however, have bought some acceptance. They may buy more. Though the loudly-trumpeted case of Ras Gugsu is sufficient evidence of what their new servants amount to and how far they are sincere, discouragement may spread.

Abyssinia's home affairs are not the business of the rest of the world. What does concern the whole world is the chance which may be offered the aggressor, in defiance of her pledged word and plain justice, to snatch

the booty for whose possession she went to war. The League's critics conclude their case by presenting to its friends alternative evils: either a vicious peace, or a prolonged struggle destructive alike of life and wealth—both discreditable to the League.

Thus far the regrets. They make sad reading. Happily they are not the whole story. What the League has done since September is a cause also for gratitude. Admittedly the League has been slow to act. Its measures have been tentative. It has moved hesitatingly. It has shrunk from decisive steps. Judged on the words of the Covenant, it has fallen short of its duty. But the fair standard of present judgment is not what was hoped for sixteen years ago. It is what can be obtained in the world situation of to-day.

So viewed, the League's dealings with the Italo-Abyssinian dispute are seen, not as feeble and dilatory, but as vigorous and prompt, beyond all expectation. Over 50 nations have been brought to one mind in an explicit condemnation of a Great Power who is guilty of a deliberate breach of its international engagements and an attack upon a weak neighbour. Having branded Italy's resort to war in defiance of the Covenant, more than 50 nations are now hampering Italy's campaign. The considerable cost to themselves has not intimidated them. Moreover, they have given evidence of an intention to take further drastic steps should their action to date fail to enforce peace. They are going no further than they need, perhaps not as fast as they ought. But they will not stop until they have reached the goal which they have set for themselves. The news of the moment and the comments made upon that news often obscure the important facts. Minor difficulties are thrown into high relief. One League Member, at some point, lags a little behind. The raggedness of the line is discussed as though it were a retreat. The steadiness and the concerted character of the general advance are overlooked. They are a new thing in history. The active loyalty of League Members demonstrates that peace is not only the object of all the world's desire, but also a possession which much the greater part of the world is prepared to defend.

The sympathetic attitude of nations outside the League is further ground for congratulation. It is not the least precious gain of the last two months. Germany and the United States will not co-operate openly to carry out a League policy. They have home reasons for their shyness. But that has not thrown them into opposition to the League. It does not prevent their acting in the same sense as the League. Germany checks any abnormal increase in her normal trade; the United States prohibits the export of war supplies, while outside the range of the first embargo the Government exerts all its influence to induce American citizens not to provide Italy with materials she requires for her campaign. The idea of the League is the idea on which all enlightened nations are persuaded by the character of the modern world to base their world policy. The persuasion is visibly working, even where there is not yet a full sense of its force.

A scrutiny of the events of September and November reveals more occasion for contentment than dissatisfaction. But that contentment can be permanent only if the League pursues its brave beginning to an equitable end, not too long postponed. Abyssinia must receive a justice which comes soon enough to be real.

## A TRIBUTE TO M. ROBERT HAAS

(By a Former Member of the Transit Section of the League of Nations)

THE League of Nations has lost, in the death of M. Robert Haas, one of the most brilliantly constructive men of our day. He was of such a retiring disposition that his very brilliance was only known to those closely connected with his work.

It is perhaps wrong to bemoan his loss too much. Rather ought we to be grateful for the sixteen years, out of a brief total of forty-four, which he gave so generously to the work of the League. His firm, unobtrusive work is recognisable in almost every constructive plan carried through by the League.

The work of the Transit Organisation, for which M. Haas was responsible, covered a very wide field. It includes conventions on the unification of buoyage and lighting of coasts, the unification of river law and rules relating to collisions in inland navigation, conventions on road traffic signals, some of which are embodied in our own traffic regulations; and conventions on wireless communications in times of emergency. As a result of visits made by M. Haas to China in 1932 and later, the Chinese Government requested the Transit Organisation to set up a centre for the technical study of public works, and also with regard to the training of civil engineers. A report on China by M. Haas, which was published shortly before his death, gives the latest position in regard to the work in China.

The unobtrusive figure of M. Haas was familiar at all important League meetings. If it happened to be a

meeting of one of his own Committees, he had a way of slipping quietly into the vacant space beside the Chairman a few minutes before the crucial point was likely to be raised. He said very little, but what he said was effective. Nothing escaped him. He seemed to read the minds of the delegates. I asked him once how he thought a particular session was going. His reply was typical "There is too much agreement," he said. "They must talk more and get things off their chests, or else they will never come to a clear decision."

He would vanish as mysteriously as he appeared, and at the end of the meeting would be found in his own office busily dictating a working draft for the next meeting. Whenever a difficulty arose there was always the same cry "*Ou est M. Haas? Il faut trouver M. Haas.*" And if the problem were really urgent M. Haas would suddenly appear, though perhaps one had been searching for him high and low without success.

M. Haas was a brilliant and interesting talker when among those who were congenial to him, and he had a delightful sense of humour. Although essentially a Frenchman, his outlook went far beyond nationalities. To casual acquaintances his dynamic personality was almost entirely hidden by his quiet, slightly hesitating manner. He obtained, without asking for it, the whole-hearted devotion of his section, and he in return was staunchly loyal to every member of his staff.

## SANCTIONS IN FORCE

By DAVID WOODWARD

Geneva, November 25.

FOUR economic sanctions by 51 States against Italy for breach of the League Covenant were in force on November 18. So far, Italy has been unable to find any better answer to them than a violent anti-British Press campaign and a decision to boycott the work of the League and its various organs, without giving that notice of withdrawal from the League which might have been expected of her.

Geneva is confident that the proper application of the sanctions voted will result in developments in Italy before 1935 is out. But in order to make sure of success, the Sanctions Committee of Eighteen is to meet in the near future to investigate the working of existing measures, and to investigate also the possibilities of extending their power by the voting of additional restrictions. The most noteworthy of these will, in all probability, be the adding of oil, coal, and iron and steel to the list of key materials which League Members are bound not to export to Italy.

Italy has no coal or oil of her own. The collaboration of non-member States with the League ban seems assured for varying reasons, at least by the United States and Germany, the most important of potential sources of Italian supply. This should make it a matter of weeks only before Italy is deprived of these commodities and her reserve stocks are exhausted, always provided, of course, that the League's stipulations are loyally applied.

The attitude of the non-member States to sanctions

has been both encouraging and helpful to the League. These words run the risk of being termed an understatement. Egypt is complying entirely with sanctions measures; Germany has checked the export of raw materials to Italy on the ground that all the materials named by the League are necessary to Germany; Japan has not made any effort to break through the League ring around Italy; the United States authorities are doing all in their power to prevent the delivery of banned raw materials to Italy, though their efforts are not as effective as they might be, in view of the peculiar structure of the U.S. Constitution and the forthcoming Presidential Election. Brazil is the only defaulter so far.

The United States stand has been particularly "encouraging and helpful" in regard to an embargo on the export of oil to Italy. With the United States producing more than half the oil in the world, it would be idle for the League to place a ban on export to Italy from Member countries only.

However, thanks to the principles of President Roosevelt with regard to neutrality, little trouble is likely to be met with by the Committee of Eighteen, and another twist will be taken in the cord with which aggression is being strangled.

And then, during December, the League will settle down to watch what will happen. There is no pomp and circumstance, there is little daring and courage in this war of 51 nations against 1. But then there is, nowadays, in normal circumstances, no particular

daring or courage attaching to the action of a number of policemen who bring a common bully to justice.

Indicative of the quietude in word and deed which characterises the working of League machinery in what, after all, is the greatest moment in world history since the world war was "Sanctions Day" at Geneva. On November 18, for the first time, Article 16 went into force. No delegates were in Geneva; there was no crowd of special correspondents or of sightseers; there was no outward sign to distinguish November 18, 1935, from any other day at the League Secretariat. This is a fact worth stressing and stressing again and again. The League faced its great crisis—and with the League stood the future of civilisation—with no fuss, no ceremony, and not even any self-consciousness. On that day the League accepted the risk of victory or defeat.

The journalists in the Disarmament Lobby in the Secretariat Building flatter themselves that they have their fingers on the pulse of the world, and that they are always at least two beats ahead of that pulse. They were busy discussing the situation in the Far East, which has really been giving Geneva far more concern than the Italo-Ethiopian war.

In Abyssinia, the die has been cast for good or for evil. Geneva is pretty confident that the lot has fallen for good. But if and when the League successfully enforces peace, it will have at once to turn to the Far East. True, its prestige and power will be immensely enhanced. But it has suffered defeat in that quarter

once, and it will be much harder to bring to reason the Mikado's advisers.

So the League, hopeful of its success in the battle which it is now waging, ponders the struggle which will follow when the present fight is won.

When M. Litvinov termed the League's action in the Italo-Ethiopian dispute a "dress rehearsal," he was right. When he foresaw that it was a "dress rehearsal" for dealing with another onslaught by Japan on the living body of China, not even he, shrewd as he is, foresaw that the "real thing" would come along when the "dress rehearsal" or tactical exercise was still in progress, although it might have been easy for him to have done so. Japan has always struck when the Western world had its attention and its resources concentrated outside the Far East, and the present efforts to detach five of her provinces from China is but another example of these tactics.

Success for the League in the handling of the Italo-Ethiopian conflict, doing much to restore the League's prestige in the Far East, will also contribute powerfully to the safety and peace of Europe. So much is obvious, and in contrast with the magnitude of the issues involved, the calm and self-confidence of Geneva are the more remarkable.

Certainly calm is a good augury after the flourishes which have attended the beginning of work on the League's great failures. But as long as this war goes on, no one can feel content. As long as war goes on, the law is being broken, and men are dying.

## Au Peuple Français

### Hommes et Femmes,

*On voudrait vous faire croire que la neutralité dans le conflit actuel vous garantira la Paix que nous voulons tous.*

### C'EST FAUX !

#### La neutralité, c'est :

**Le reniement de tous les engagements de la France, devenus des chiffons de papier;**

**L'abandon du Pacte de la Société des Nations et de la Sécurité collective, notre seule chance de salut ;**

**Demain, l'isolement de la France devant une agression que vous redoutez tous.**

#### Est-ce cela que vous voulez ?

*Si, aujourd'hui, MUSSOLINI peut faire la guerre sans risques, pourquoi HITLER se gênerait-il demain ?*

**LIGUE des MÈRES et des Educatrices POUR la PAIX**  
Section Française 90.000 Membres

**BUREAU CENTRAL : 1, Rue Lacroix prolongée, PARIS XV<sup>e</sup>**

Vast numbers of the leaflet reproduced above have been distributed in France by French Peace Societies.

## THE LEAGUE AND REFUGEES

By MARY ORMEROD

IN a recent article the attention of HEADWAY readers was drawn to the fact that the problem of "refugees" would once more claim a place on the Agenda of the League of Nations during the 16th Session. Actually, in spite of the fact that the Abyssinian conflict dominated the thoughts of every delegate and every visitor to that historic assembly, the tragic, difficult problem of refugees was the subject of considerable discussion and argument, both in the Assembly and in the Sixth Commission.

The subject was first raised by the Norwegian Government, which had addressed a memorandum on the subject to the Secretary-General, calling attention to the terrible plight in which these people found themselves, and also to the unsatisfactory nature of the provision made by the League for rendering them assistance.

Some 800,000 Russian and 170,000 Armenian refugees are cared for by the Nansen office. The Assyrians are dealt with by a special committee of the Council, the High Commission for German Refugees deals with refugees from Germany and the Saar refugees who were of German origin, the other Saar refugees having been placed under the care of the Nansen office.

The grants to the Nansen office are being drastically reduced each year and, by a resolution of the 1928 Assembly, it is due to close down in 1938. The High Commission for German refugees receives no grant from the League, and the expenses of that office are entirely borne by Jewish charitable organisations. This unsatisfactory position with regard to finance handicaps the work of these organisations most severely, and in

addition minimises their authority when dealing with Governments.

In view of these considerations, the first delegate of Norway proposed that the League should set up a centralised organisation to deal with all these different categories of refugees. He appealed to the League not to forget the terrible suffering of these unfortunate people, but to carry on the great humanitarian work for refugees which owed its inception to his heroic compatriot, Dr. Nansen.

Even in the preliminary discussion in the Assembly, some opposition to this proposal manifested itself. Notably, Mr. Litvinoff considered that League money should not be spent on refugees but that each country should deal with its own refugee problem, and that in any case the Nansen office should be wound up in 1938.

It was quickly decided to refer the question to the Sixth Commission to study the various aspects of the situation and report its conclusions to a later meeting of the Assembly. In the Sixth Commission opposition to the Norwegian proposal was vocal—on the part of Latvia virulent. Several delegates considered that the League could not afford to spend money on refugees and that to attempt to settle their problems would only sow discord among the States members of the League. Some implied, though only one put it into actual words, that refugees were worthless undesirables who could not expect to be helped. Lord Cranborne, delegate of the United Kingdom, gave sympathetic support to the Norwegian proposal, as did the Swiss, Chinese, and other delegates.

Mr. de Valera (Chairman of the Sixth Commission) closed the debate by appointing a sub-committee consisting of the delegates of the interested countries to consider the whole problem.

The sub-committee sat in private, but heard evidence from Major Johnston, director of the Nansen office, and from Mr. James G. MacDonald, High Commissioner

for Refugees coming from Germany. Memoranda were submitted to it by several charitable societies who are engaged in relief work for refugees.

In the meantime a big step forward was taken in settling the fate of one whole category of refugees. It was finally decided to accept the French Government's offer to find a home for the Assyrian Christians in the Syrian Mandated territory.

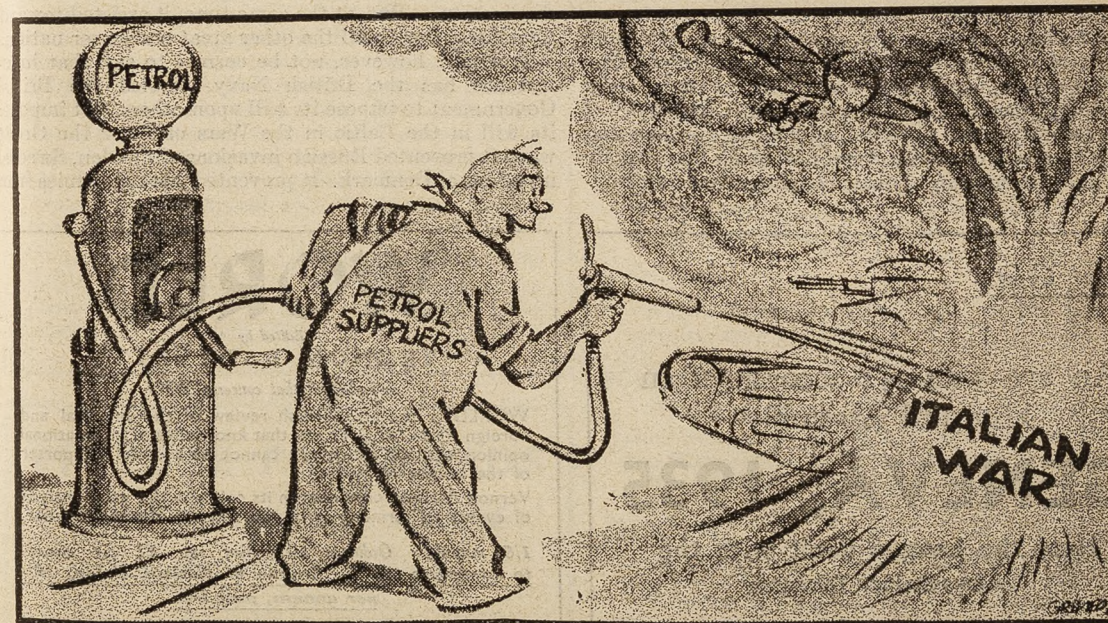
The total estimated cost of this settlement is £600,000. On the British and Iraqi Government each promising to provide £250,000, the League finally agreed to vote the remaining £100,000.

A few days later the Sub-Committee on Refugees presented its report to the Sixth Commission. It recommended that a small committee of experts be set up immediately to study all the aspects of the problem and to report to the League Council in January on a centralised, international organisation suitable to deal with all categories of refugees. It was envisaged that the Council might set up that organisation immediately, its decisions being subsequently ratified by the Assembly in September.

It needed all the persuasiveness and enthusiasm of the Norwegian delegate, Dr. Christian Lange, to steer that report through the Sixth Commission, but the opposition was finally overcome, and it was adopted and subsequently presented to the Assembly, which agreed to carry out its proposals, except that it seems doubtful whether the actual organisation can be set up quite so rapidly.

At the time of writing the names of the experts are not known. They will probably be an Englishman, a Frenchman, a Norwegian, a Swiss and a Czechoslovak, and (possibly) one woman. We can only hope that they will be humane and public-spirited enough to ensure that thousands of men are not left to drift from one prison to another, leaving their wives and children to starve, for the only reasons that they are homeless and denied the right to earn their bread.

### POURING OIL ON THE TROUBLED .....?



A FUNNY WAY TO END WAR

[By courtesy of the "STAR."]

# SEA POWER v. DICTATORS

By ADMIRAL SIR W. H. RICHMOND

(Former Commandant of the Imperial Defence College)

It has frequently been asserted in recent years that no one can render himself secure without, as a natural result, rendering others insecure; and this is used as an argument against providing Great Britain with a Navy adequate for her security. On the face of it, this has the appearance of logic. On land, it may be true. At sea, so far as Great Britain is concerned, it is demonstrably untrue.

In the many wars in which this country has had the misfortune to be involved, sea power has never been able, single-handed, to enforce the will of the country upon another people. It has, through its strength, preserved the country from invasion, provided the oversea parts of the Empire, enabled its trade to continue—all essential measures in defence. But its powers of offence, confined as they are to the exercise of economic pressure, have always proved slight. Alone, Great Britain never has been able, with the possible and partial exception of the first war with the Dutch, to compel compliance upon another people.

The sole means which a navy possesses of compelling compliance upon a people is the cutting off its means of livelihood in so far as those means of livelihood pass by the sea. The whole trade of no country, except an island, passes by sea—on a rough average one-half moves across land frontiers, one-half over the sea. Effectually to stop that half which moves by sea is possible only by a complete blockade of all the ports into and out of which trade moves. No such blockade has ever been possible for Great Britain, nor has she ever attempted it even in the days of her greatest maritime preponderance. During the Dutch wars no blockades of the Dutch ports were possible except for very short periods. The French and Spanish navies might be blockaded in their naval ports, but shipping could and did move into other ports. Great restrictions might be imposed upon the enemy's trade, but those never were sufficient to compel the submission of either Holland, Spain, or France when Great Britain alone was the opponent. In other words, while England was made secure against the vital injuries of invasion and isolation, those countries were not made insecure by a partial interruption of their commerce—an interrup-

tion to which they were always able to respond by attack upon British trade.

On the other hand, when the sea power of Great Britain was thrown into a "common cause" against an international perturbator seeking the dominion of Europe—a Louis XIV, a Napoleon, a Wilhelm II—sea power was a great though a slow-acting factor in preventing his success. The strength at sea which the necessities of security had compelled Great Britain to maintain were then able, in association with the land forces of the Continental powers, to exercise a vast influence. It was not British sea power alone which arrested the successes of the would-be dictators of Europe. It was the part which it was able to play in weakening their military strength.

To maintain the great armies fighting in many Continental theatres was costly in the extreme. Wealth to support those armies was needed, and the source of wealth lay in foreign trade. Sea power curtailed that foreign trade. To supply the armies, raw materials and munitions, such as saltpetre for gunpowder, or clothing, or transport were needed. Many of these came from sources oversea. That which the British Navy had the power to do was to deprive the enemy armies of those supplies, and thereby to weaken the power of the dictators to keep their armies in the field. But it was ever a slow process.

The resources of a great Continental country, extensive as they are, prove capable of unexpected expansion under the stress of war; as the Napoleonic and the Great War have shown. But exhaustion eventually comes. To this extent, then, it may justly be said that in safeguarding herself with a strong navy Great Britain rendered someone else insecure. That "someone else" was now attempting to bring the world under his domination. But, at the same time, it assisted towards giving security to all the other great and lesser nations.

It would, however, not be correct to say that in no instance has the British Navy enabled the British Government to impose its will upon others. It imposed its will in the Baltic in the Wars of Peter the Great, when it prevented Russian invasions of Sweden, Swedish invasions of Denmark. It prevented Turkish armies from

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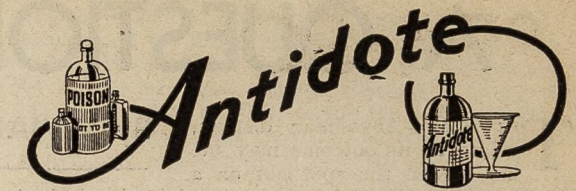
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crossing the seas to massacre and crush the Greeks in their War of Independence. It prevented Spanish armies from using the sea to conquer Sicily or territories in Northern Italy. Lying across the line of passage of the armies of the aggressor it prevented them from moving; it was, in other words, a bar to aggression. But even in the most comprehensive use of the word "insecurity" this action would not be interpreted as rendering either Russia, Sweden, Turkey or Spain insecure because they were not allowed to conquer their neighbours.

Napoleon III did not share this modern view that British security spelt French insecurity. "Let each build," he wrote to Lord Malmesbury, in 1861, "what he considers the right number. You ought to have twice as many as I, as they are your principal protection."



POISON:

"I am against the League of Nations. I hate and despise it. I want a League of Nations of the British Empire. The Covenant has not the support of the people of this country."—LORD BEAVERBROOK, speaking at Biggleswade.

ANTIDOTE:

As the British Empire is part of the League, Lord Beaverbrook evidently hates the British Empire! The majority of voters in the Peace Ballot who supported the Covenant was 10,642,560 against 337,964. The majority who supported the Government in the General Election was 11,581,163 against 9,878,404, but I have not yet observed any suggestion from Lord Beaverbrook to the effect that the Government "had not the support of the people of this country" at the General Election when all parties and therefore all voters supported the League!

POISON:

"Lord Cecil is one of those people who would kindle a world war in order—as he imagines—to stop a minor conflict. He has just demanded action by the fleets of Great Britain and France against Italy. They are to sever the communications between Italy and Abyssinia. He assumed that the French would co-operate. He cannot have studied the French Press or he would know that French support for such a provocative policy as he has outlined is out of the question."—Leading article in the *Daily Mail*.

ANTIDOTE:

As every normal Briton knows with pained regret, study of certain sections of the British Press would give a foreigner an entirely mistaken idea of British public opinion. It would probably be equally misleading to judge French public opinion by the sections of the French Press which appeal to Lord Rothermere as infallible indications.

POISON:

"The manhood of Great Britain have never been unwilling to sacrifice themselves for her welfare. They proved that in the Great War when one million of them made the great sacrifice. And there is more than the probability that the call to fight for Britain's own cause may sound once more."—Leading article in the *Daily Mail*.

ANTIDOTE:

Which shows that the sacrifices of war are only a temporary palliative—not a remedy.

POISON:

"Armaments are a check on war, a much greater check than the League of Nations. Our Navy stopped the Russo-Turkish War and prevented war in 1884, 1897 and 1899."—SIR REGINALD BACON.

ANTIDOTE:

Our archers did splendid work at the Battle of Agincourt, but they could not cope with the situation to-day. As late Director of Naval Ordnance, however, Sir Reginald is possibly prejudiced, just as a chauffeur annually advocates a new car immediately after the Motor Show at Olympia.

C. C. T.

## WANTED!

### A Red Cross Aeroplane

In a letter to Viscountess Gladstone, Lady Barton, wife of the British Minister to Abyssinia, writes:—

The situation as regards Red Cross efforts is beyond description. The Ethiopian Women's Work Association is supplementing the Red Cross in every possible way—and the first field Unit for the North is leaving for Dessie this week. It will take the Unit *five weeks* to get up to the front, and an aeroplane going to and fro each day could have done it in *five days*. . . . We want thousands of field dressings and water bottles.

As Chairman of the Women's Advisory Council of the L.N.U., Lady Gladstone has undertaken to acquire, fit out, and despatch the aeroplane for which Lady Barton asks. One of the most experienced and intrepid airmen in Great Britain has offered to fly it to Addis Ababa without payment, accompanied by a pilot who would remain in the employment of the Ethiopian Red Cross Society. The total sum required is about £3,000. Towards this amount a generous member of the Union has given £500, and about £160 has been received from other sources. The balance is most urgently required. Contributions should be sent to Viscountess Gladstone, Red Cross Aeroplane Appeal, at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

Contributions received at Headquarters of the L.N.U. in response to the appeal on behalf of the British Ambulance Service in Ethiopia now amount to more than £180.

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# A QUESTION OF RIGHT

THE Italo-Abyssinian dispute, whatever its outcome may be, has turned the spotlight on a number of questions about which opinion has hitherto been vague. Three associated points that have been raised but not clarified are these:—

- (1) What right has one nation to intervene in the internal government of another?
- (2) What right has the League to intervene in the internal government of a nation?
- (3) What right has anyone other than the people itself to assign a people to this or that government?

These are questions of fundamental principle, which will have to be faced in bringing the present conflict to a close.

Italy claims the right to take over the government of Abyssinia because of certain kinds of internal disorder—notably slavery and the Emperor's inability to control border tribesmen. Italy has judged, and this is Italy's verdict. Prominent persons in England and elsewhere have so far agreed with this claim as to say that Abyssinia needs "the assistance of a mandatory Power." This means, in bald language, that whether the Abyssinians want it or not, outsiders have the right to butt in and take over her internal government, or at least certain vital parts of it.

The same argument was used by Japan and may be used again by other Powers. It would have been used to justify the Partition of Poland if European opinion had demanded moral justifications in those days. It always takes this form: the country X is suffering from internal disorder, therefore somebody or other has the right to intervene as the mandatory of civilisation.

That the argument is often insincere is obvious from the fact that it is chiefly used by nations which otherwise deny the right of the Comity of Nations to overrule the wishes of the Sovereign State. But are there any principles on which intervention in the internal affairs of another country is ever justified?

Is the fact of internal disorder, i.e., the inability of the government to control, a sufficient reason? If we apply it to any particular instance, we shall find that the party affected at once denies the right. When the British Government was failing to control the Irish, would some other Power have been justified in landing troops to restore order? During the disorders in Italy and Germany since the War, would intervention have been justified? In a case where outsiders did butt in—Russia after the Revolution—everybody agrees that it was an inexcusable blunder.

The lesson of history,

By VIVIAN OGILVIE

in fact, is that a people must be left to set its own house in order. Even a revolution, if it stays at home, is nobody else's business.

What of the case where some practice goes on which the rest of the world condemns? Slavery is one example, but not the only one. Civilised people agree in condemning the persecution of racial or religious minorities, yet Jew-baiting is the central heating system of one European Power. Ought some high-souled neighbour, or the League, to have declared a mandatory mission and marched in to stamp out the crime? Nobody, I think, would advocate it. The most that can be done is to apply the moral pressure of world disapproval—a slow method, no doubt, but sure in the end.

Another case in which intervention is urged is that of a country whose nationals abuse the frontier. This charge is brought against Abyssinia. But it also hits Germany, whose nationals under the present régime have on a number of occasions kidnapped and murdered people on a neighbour's ground. Such breaches of international law deserve the strongest diplomatic action, but few people would regard them as calling for outside interference with the government of the offending country.

The examples I have given make one thing clear. Nobody talks of taking such steps in the case of strong Powers, whatever their conduct. It is a corrective reserved for the weak. That in itself condemns the notion. The League system is only worth supporting if it labours to secure equal justice for weak and strong nations alike. It exists to provide for the peaceful settlement of differences and therefore has the right to take steps to prevent the invasion of any member's territory.

If ever a day comes when States surrender their sovereignty so far as to create a world government with acknowledged competence to deal with peoples over the heads of local governments, things will be different. But at present there is no authority, whether an individual neighbour or the League, with the right to intervene in or take over the internal government of a nation. And the Great Powers, which have so grudgingly yielded to the League such authority as it possesses, are in a very poor moral position to advocate anything of the kind in the case of a weak member.

A nation may of its own free will ask for assistance, or even hand over the reins for a time. But I have seen no reasoned argument justifying the principle of uninvited intervention and the substitution of mandatory rule for a home government. It is more difficult



The Archbishop of Canterbury blessing the flag of the mobile Hospital unit before its departure to Abyssinia.

to see where that principle would stop than to suggest where it ought to begin. In the absence of such a principle, any *ad hoc* invention of a "right" to fit this particular case would be the most transparent capitulation to blackmail, and it would be idle to imagine that the League's moral prestige could survive it. If Abyssinians can be handed over unwillingly under threat of force to open or disguised Italian rule, then, as far as international ethics go, the same thing may legitimately be done in other cases. Germany may take Alsace or Austria, Poland may be partitioned again, anybody who can may take Switzerland. The race is to the swift and the battle to the strong. But that is the end of the League, and probably of civilisation.

The League has suffered greatly by its association with the Peace Treaties. There is now a heaven-sent opportunity for restoring its prestige by an uncompromising assertion of principle. The British stand came like an electric shock to Europe: even in Germany a new note of respect for the League has been heard. The League's strength is moral strength; how great it could be the present crisis has given us some inkling. But moral strength can only be built up by resolute loyalty to principle. There was much in the Peace

Treaties that was unwise, even unprincipled. But the League and the Peace, though twins, were not Siamese twins. We have got to show that the League stands for certain principles, some of which were betrayed by the Peacemakers of 1919, among them this: "Peoples and provinces must not be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were chattels or pawns in a game." When Wilson enunciated this principle he was repeating what Kant had preached in his "Perpetual Peace" a hundred and forty years ago. Two of the preliminary conditions of peace which Kant set out were these: No State shall be acquired through inheritance, exchange or purchase; for it is not a property, but a society of human beings. No State shall forcibly interfere with the constitution and administration of another.

If the nations of the League will stand firmly by such principles as these, we may be destined to see a new sunrise on the international horizon. But if they compromise the League by buying off the aggressor in this case with a slice of Abyssinia, whether annexed or mandated, it will have been a false dawn and we shall be plunged again into the black night of international anarchy.

# POPULATION AND PEACE

WE are frequently told in these days that certain countries, especially Germany, Italy and Japan, must find new homes for their surplus population. This cannot be merely because their populations are increasing; for the population of Germany is only increasing slowly, while in Italy and Japan the rate of increase, though considerable, is nothing like as high as in Russia or Palestine, about which no such statements are made. It must be because it is supposed that in these countries there is overcrowding, or prospects of overcrowding, as well as increase of population. The situation of these countries, therefore, requires examination from these angles.

It might well be imagined that it was easier to arrive at some conclusion about overcrowding in any country than about the probable future course of its population. But that is not so. Future population is determined by births and deaths; and in countries where the birth and death rates do not undergo sudden fluctuation but follow steady trends, experience shows that a fair estimate of future population can be made for some little time ahead. On the other hand, there are no means of saying whether a highly industrialised country is overpopulated, though the more a country depends upon agriculture the more likely it is that something can be said about this matter.

If we examine the position of Germany we find that the size of family has sunk so low that the population is no longer replacing itself. Calculations made by Dr. Burgdorfer, of the Statistische Reichsamt, about four years ago, led to the conclusion that the population of Germany, now about 65 millions, would never reach 70 millions, and would begin to decline about 1945. It is true that lately, owing in part at all events to Government measures, the birth-rate has risen, but it has not risen enough to place the population once again in the position of replacing itself and, furthermore, it is very uncertain how permanent the effect of these measures will prove to be. In short, the prospect in Germany is that the population will shortly decline, and that the decline may become rapid. As for the question of overcrowding, all that can be said is that there is no evidence that Germany is overpopulated in the proper sense of the term. The

inference is that Germany has no problem of surplus population.

When we consider Italy and Japan we discover the position to be different. In both countries the population is increasing, though not very fast; but a moderate rate of increase in these countries implies a large surplus of births over deaths in a year, amounting to about 400,000 in Italy and 900,000 in Japan. We

By Professor A. M. CARR SAUNDERS  
of Liverpool University: the foremost authority on  
population problems.

also discover that the population is more than replacing itself, a fact which does not necessarily follow from the fact of a present annual surplus. But in both countries there are clear signs that the increase will not continue indefinitely.

The birth-rate in Italy has been steadily declining for some time, and the decline has not been checked by Government measures. In 1931, Dr. Gini calculated that on certain assumptions the population of Italy, now over 42 millions, would be rather under 50 millions in 1961 and would thereafter increase but little. Judging from the increase between the date at which Dr. Gini wrote and to-day, it does not look as though the increase would be so large as this by 1961. Thus the anticipations for Italy are an increase of something less than 8 millions in the next quarter of a century.

It is not possible to make definite forecasts in the case of Japan owing to paucity of information. We know that the birth-rate is now declining; the annual number of births in Japan has stabilised in recent years at rather over 2 millions, and there is evidence of the practice of family limitation. Dr. Uyeda thinks that the population of Japan, now about 68 millions, may reach 78 millions by 1950, but that the increase will then slow down and that the total may never reach 90 millions.

Although the prospects of increase are limited in these two countries, they are considerable, especially in the case of Japan, and this is important because there

is some evidence that both these countries are overcrowded. It is worthy of note that the density of population in Italy, 133 per square kilometre, is almost as high as in Germany, where it is 137 per square kilometre. But Germany is far richer in natural resources than Italy; the proportion of the occupied population engaged in agriculture in the former country is only 29 per cent., whereas in Italy it is over 47 per cent. There are good reasons for supposing that there are too many people on the land in Italy and that the prospect of absorbing them in industry is remote. The density of population in Japan is higher than in Italy or Germany, 169 per square kilometre; moreover, Japan is so mountainous that only about one-fifth of the total area can be cultivated, which makes the density in the cultivated area very high indeed. About half the occupied population in Japan is engaged in agriculture and fishing, and there can be little doubt that the country is over-peopled.

It is thus probable that both Japan and Italy are overcrowded, and will become more so in the next two decades. But it should not be imagined that they are the only countries in this position; the situation of Poland, to take only one example, is probably more difficult than that of Italy.

This does not, of course, justify the seizure of either Abyssinia or Manchuria; further, it is most unlikely that either Italy would find in Abyssinia, or Japan in Manchuria, any solution of the problem. It is worthy of note that there are apparently even now only about a quarter of a million of Japanese civilians in Manchuria.

## ARTHUR HENDERSON

### The Passing of a Peace Champion

NO one writing on Foreign Affairs can review the events of the autumn without dwelling

By K. D. COURTNEY

on, in the first place, the death of Mr. Arthur Henderson, British Foreign Secretary in the Labour Government of 1929, and President of the Disarmament Conference from 1932 onwards.

It was as President of the Disarmament Conference that I knew Mr. Henderson best, and it is his services to the cause of Disarmament and Peace that I want now to recall.

Many great qualities which one might mention spring to mind—his courage, his tenacity, his steadfastness, his endurance. It must not be forgotten that Mr. Henderson took up the gigantic task of presiding over the Disarmament Conference when he was already stricken with illness, and he fought a gallant battle against ill-health as well as against the forces above and beneath the surface which ranged themselves against the success of the Conference.

#### Representative of the Common People

But what I think of most of all when I recall the great meetings of the Disarmament Conference, and the sometimes interminable technical discussions in the Committees, is that Mr. Henderson never forgot the common people—humble men and women all over the world, whose lives and whose happiness were the ultimate stake in the decisions made at Geneva.

The delegates at Geneva carry on their discussions in rooms from which they cannot see out of the windows, and I have often thought that this in some sort symbolises their concentration upon the technical side of the matters under discussion to the exclusion of their

One solution of the Italian problem is possible. Apart from the present world depression, America and Australasia are capable of absorbing an annual average of well over a million immigrants; the United States alone, in normal times, can take that number. But the countries in these Continents have mostly drastically limited the total inflow and have discriminated against Southern Europeans; the United States since 1926 has only permitted a few thousand Italians to enter each year. In one year before the war the whole surplus of births over deaths in Italy was removed by emigration. But this solution, of course, involves the transfer of the emigrants to another flag. All that can be said is that the hope of building up overseas a new Italy or, for that matter, a new England, which will not in time demand recognition as an independent community, is illusory.

For Japan, however, so long as the new countries are closed to Asiatics, no such solution is possible; and non-European countries, with their relatively low standards of living, will never attract Europeans or Japanese, who, among non-Europeans, have a relatively high standard. It is on this account that Abyssinia is of no use to Italy, or Manchuria to Japan, as outlets for surplus population.

Finally, it is relevant to ask how far a claim to anything can be created by the mere fact of over-population; for it is within the power of any community to regulate numbers, and the difficulty resulting from the failure to do so can hardly be held to create a right to dispossess other peoples of their possessions.

realisation of what it all means to real men and women. But Mr. Henderson never forgot the common people.

He seemed to have constituted himself their representative, and to feel himself called upon to serve them, and so he never lost an opportunity of giving expression to that public opinion which he knew to be the life blood of the Conference.

#### Advocate of Expression of Public Opinion

No one who was present at Geneva on February 6, 1932, can ever forget that great occasion on which the Disarmament Petitions were presented to a plenary session of the Conference. It was an unprecedented event. The ordinary public, men and women not delegates for their Governments, had never before appeared on the platform to put their points of view. It was well known that some of those who attach importance to precedent had objected to such a new departure. It is doubtful whether their objections would have been overcome but for the advocacy of the President of the Conference himself, and the occasion justified his faith in it. Even those delegates who had come in a cynical state of mind were impressed, as petition after petition from country after country was laid on the table by the procession of women—over nine million signatures from fifty-six countries. "We have often talked of public opinion," said one delegate, "now we have actually heard and seen it."

#### Petitions and Resolutions at the Disarmament Conference

This was the first and perhaps the greatest expression of public opinion which was made possible by

Mr. Henderson's attitude. But it was followed by thousands of others which, but for Mr. Henderson, would probably never have seen the light. Resolutions from organisations of every sort and kind, and from almost every country in the world, poured in a steady stream into the offices of the Disarmament Conference at Geneva. They might at the best have been merely filed, or at the worst have found their end in a waste-paper basket, but Mr. Henderson insisted that every one of these records of the people's wishes should be carefully kept, and he caused them to be published at intervals in special supplements to the daily official Journal of the Conference which was circulated to all the delegates and was available to the public.

Thus it was that at intervals all through the Conference the delegates were reminded that their labours were a matter of deep concern to the great masses of the people all over the world, and that the proceedings of the Conference were being closely followed with anxiety and sometimes with apprehension by great organisations of men and women.

Amidst the constant crises which afflicted the Disarmament Conference and called for the unremitting attention of its President, he was always ready to receive deputations of any representative groups, and to give every opportunity for their views to be made known. Never can ordinary men and women have felt themselves so closely in touch with those world happenings which they are generally powerless to control, although their own lives and happiness are at stake.

It is impossible to over-estimate the value of this service which Mr. Henderson rendered. Because he insisted, as he did, that public opinion mattered, it will be impossible in the future for public opinion to be ignored at Geneva.

But Mr. Henderson's services at the Disarmament Conference did not begin and end with his concern for what disarmament means to the world at large. His singleness of purpose, his shrewd judgment, and his faith in his ideal, kept the Conference in being when otherwise it would have been given up.

#### Disarmament Still a Live Issue

It is well to remind ourselves that Disarmament is not a dead issue, and that the importance of an international agreement for the reduction and limitation of armaments is, if possible, even more important to-day than it was during the years Mr. Henderson laboured for it. It is impossible to organise world peace when the nations of the world are building up armaments against each other; an undertaking to reduce armaments is one of the first obligations of the Covenant, and it is because that obligation has never been met that so little progress is made in other directions. The Italo-Abyssinian dispute itself would never have reached so desperate a stage if Italy had been one of the nations united in an international convention to limit armaments under the control of a Permanent Disarmament Commission. No country can plan a war without increasing its armaments, so that the matter would come to the notice of the League of Nations long before an act of aggression had taken place.

Sir Samuel Hoare, in his speech at the Assembly last September, very opportunely reminded members of the League that the reduction of armaments is one of the principal conditions for the working of the system of collective security.

Mr. Arthur Henderson's great work will live after him: an international conference on disarmament must some time be resumed, must some time be successful if peace is to flourish in the world. It is then that the precedents he established and the example he set will come to fruition.

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## BOOK NOTICES

**International Law.** By L. Oppenheim. -Vol. II: Disputes, War and Neutrality. Fifth Edition. By H. Lauterpacht. (Longmans. 45s. net.)

There is no evidence of the rapid growth of International Law under the inspiration of the League of Nations more convincing than the increasing bulk of treatises upon this subject.

The present reviewer made Oppenheim (was it the first or second edition?) the first object of his study. That old text-book of his has long since been lost. Its intrinsic value as a guide to present-day practice would be very small. Even since 1926, when Professor McNair brought out the fourth edition of Volume II, the changes have been many and far-reaching. Dr. Lauterpacht, of the London School of Economics, the present editor, draws attention to the "substantial alterations or additions" that have been necessitated throughout, and gives a list of 17 sections, some of them lengthy, that have been introduced practically for the first time in the fifth edition.

The expert will read them all. To the ordinary lay-reader it may be pointed out that among these new sections he may find at pp. 134-5 and at pp. 144-6 Mr. Lauterpacht's views on the application of Article XVI of the Covenant to the Manchurian Dispute and in general. He may take even greater interest in Chapter III of Part I, where some 20 pages are devoted to the legal aspects of the Renunciation of War under the Pact of Paris.

A question that is sure to occur to the intelligent but innocent layman is why—in view of the Renunciation of War—there should be need for any Law of War at all. Some may suggest that all attempts to humanise war are mistaken, for the more brutal it becomes, the more quickly it will be abolished. Others again maintain that, when war actually breaks out, the laws made in the calm of peace will not in fact be observed. A third objection that many will raise is that the very existence of laws of war discredits the sincerity of war renunciation.

Our present editor devotes much of his preface to consideration of this attitude and justifies the continued exposition of his subject. Two of the points that he makes are (1) That much law of this kind has in fact been created since the Pact of Paris—e.g., conventions regarding the treatment of sick and of prisoners, regarding submarine attacks and aerial bombardment of civilian population; and (2) That war against law-breakers is still contemplated as a possibility, and requires laws as much as any other.

Many other parts of this volume, which there is no room even to mention, will interest layman and lawyer alike.

**Economics in Practice.** By A. C. Pigou.—(Macmillan and Co. 4s. 6d.)

Mr. Pigou's six lectures at the London School of Economics show one of the most brilliant of present-day economists in an unaccustomed light. Professor Pigou

always has had a pretty wit and a brilliant literary gift, but for many years the public has enjoyed few opportunities to admire them. His large treatises have been very high, and, except for those who like that sort of thing, very dry. His latest book, made popular by his own insistence, will not for that reason be any less useful, particularly at the present moment.

Nowadays political controversy is shot through and through with economic argument; planning has become a word of power. Public, Press and politicians, even the exalted kind who sit in Cabinets, are given to talking about economics and economic using phraseology—often with no clear idea of their own meaning. Professor Pigou points out to them that when they talk about economy and waste, the balance of trade, inflation and deflation, State action, and restriction of output, they are apt to recommend the pursuit at one and the same time of two irreconcilable objects. He does not give them a great deal of practical help, except the advice, complete with illustrations, that they should make sure of exactly what they mean and exactly what they want. Public planning, he points out, is advocated on two grounds. First private persons are alleged to pursue incompetently the ends that they set before themselves; secondly the ends chosen by private persons are frequently, in part at least, discordant with the ends of the community. In political argument

these two grounds are commonly confused. When a case has been made out for trusting the State to prevent the evils and wastes of the second kind its ability to prevent the first kind also is assumed without further proof. Yet, whereas the superior fitness of the community to estimate correctly the relative values of its own purposes and activities is a reasonable opinion supported by a mass of evidence, the likelihood that an individual official or a public board will gauge the market demand more shrewdly than the mass of private traders is too shadowy to sustain a moment's serious challenge.

Mr. Pigou's book, which amply rewards the reader with its convincing logic, rewards him again with its quotations. One, from the greatest of the author's forerunners in his Cambridge chair, Alfred Marshall, is a timely answer to the present noisy critics of Parliamentary Democratic Government: "There has been a vast increase in the probity, the strength, the unselfishness and the resources of Government . . . and the people are now able to rule their rulers and to check class abuse of power and privilege in a way which was impossible before the days of general education and a great surplus of energy over that required for earning a living."

**La Paix Mondiale ou La Guerre.** By Paul Dupays. (Librairie Hachette, 3s.)

M. Dupays' book of thoughts and dialogues on the League has for the English reader the interest that it is characteristically French. It does not come to any

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:: FOR 1936 ::

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(G.M. 146.)

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(S.C. 279.)

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(I.M. 124.)

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## THE MINERAL SANCTION

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clear conclusions; it does not solve any problems. His belief in moral disarmament and mutual comprehension is evidence of his own good will rather than a policy. But his book helps, in a special way, towards an understanding of the League's difficulties by throwing into high relief certain factors for which sufficient allowance is not usually made in British discussion.

British opinion values security. Both stroke and counter-stroke, however, are supposed remote, speculative, theoretical. "If any country were to start a war . . ." it argues. French opinion faces a much more definite danger. Under whatever form of words, its starting point is, "If Germany invades France again . . ." For many Frenchmen even so much doubt is too great a concession. They begin "When Germany invades France again . . ." They desire world peace. They will help to make collective security real. But first, last, and all the time they must be sure that on their Eastern frontier force will be repelled with force.

As a consequence, much French thought on the League is disabled from long and daring flight. Like a bird with a hampered wing it flutters only a little way and soon tires. M. Dupays, for example, does not come to grips with half the vital problems at which he glances; he does not venture far enough. General disarmament and the air menace he shakes his head over; "most desirable, but is it possible?" is his comment. At the back of his mind, perhaps not always perceived by himself, is the constant pre-occupation, "France must not run any risk." For that very reason, his book is instructive; it explains France in the League. There is one prime French need the League must serve if it is to retain French loyalty. It must provide a collective defence so powerful and so prompt that to challenge it must be idle.

With the best will in the world French people cannot imitate British idealism. Both their past and their place in the world forbid. Happily the gap is being closed by increased understanding on the British side. To an undiminished eagerness for peace is being added a more conscious readiness to pay the price of peace.

### Official League Publications

**World Production and Prices, 1925-1934.** (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1935. II.A.15), 146 pages. Price 5s.

An analysis of recent changes in the world production activity in different fields—agricultural and non-agricultural, primary and industrial production—supplemented by a comparative summary of the changes in world trade and a review of significant price changes. The volume contains the League index of world primary production and the companion index of the quantum of world trade. It contains also similar calculations relating to industrial activity and employment. While the statistical framework covers the whole decade 1925-1934, comment is mainly directed to developments during 1934 and the early months of 1935. New information which has recently become available concerning production, consumption and stocks, etc., has been utilised for this edition.

**World Economic Survey, Fourth Year, 1934-35.** (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1935. II.A.14), 310 pages. Price: In wrappers, 6s.; bound in cloth, 7s. 6d.

This volume is the fourth of a series, entitled "World Economic Survey," giving an account of recent events presented in a form intelligible even to the layman. It records recent economic and financial developments up to July, 1935. Numerous statistics, often in the form of graphs, are included in support of the statements contained in the volume.

**Report on the Work of the League Since the Fifteenth Session of the Assembly.** Part I. (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1935. II), 117 pages. Price 4s. Part II. (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1935. IV), 70 pages. Price 2s. 6d.

**Annex to the Report on the Work of the Council and the Secretariat to the Sixteenth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the League.** (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1935. V.3), 122 pages. Price 5s.

**Pollution of the Sea by Oil.** (Ser. L.o.N.P. 1935. VIII.5), 32 pages. Price 1s.



## READERS' VIEWS

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

## WHAT OF THE PAST?

SIR.—In reply to your correspondent, Mr. Gilbert T. Sadler, M.A. (Oxon.), LL.B. (Lond.), the League does not necessarily "ignore the conquests of the past" because it does its duty in the Ethiopian conflict before attending to the question of past conquests. The latter is essentially a matter for prolonged and detailed investigation and discussion which will be put in hand as soon as may be, and it is relevant to mention that Britain has already proclaimed her readiness to take part in an investigation of the distribution of Colonial raw materials which, far more than mere acquisition of land, is what the "have-not" countries are so anxiously concerned with. At the present moment the League is quite rightly concerned with primarily mustering its forces to put a stop to an act of armed aggression on the part of one of its member States.

The League does not call upon Britain to give back India to the Hindoos (*sic*) because there is so obviously no need to. Britain has been busily engaged for the last fifteen years or so in actively preparing India for self-government, and an enormous stride towards this goal has only recently been taken. For the benefit of Mr. Sadler it is apparently necessary, however, to point out that there never has and never will be any question of giving back India to the Hindus; the rights of a good many millions of Mohammedans, Christians and others have also to be considered.

As regards Canada and Australia (your correspondent curiously omits any reference to South Africa), the point is, of course, that when we "seized" these countries—and India also—there were neither Covenant nor Kellogg Pact to stay our undoubtedly grasping hand; we were merely succeeding in international brigandage, in competition with other countries which failed to "seize" new lands not from any moral or other scruples but from lack of ability. No case on all fours with the Ethiopian dispute has occurred in the history of the British Empire. Italy, in contravention of a whole host of solemn pledges, is pursuing a war of aggression and annexation against a fellow-member of the League whose admission to the League she herself strongly championed. In such circumstances the League's duty is clear, and the question of the "conquests of the past" is irrelevant. But supposing for the purpose of argument that it were possible to follow your correspondent's fantastic advice and give back India, Canada and Australia "to the people who lived there," how on earth is this going to benefit Italy or satisfy her need for land?

Finally, it is nowadays a truism to mention that the League is not directly concerned with stopping Italy "getting some bits of land in N.E. Africa." It is primarily concerned in dealing, strictly in accordance with its Covenant, with a Member State which has broken its pledges and treated the Covenant as the proverbial scrap of paper.

K. H. FRASER.

Mercara P.O., Coorg, S. India.

## RELIGION AND THE LEAGUE

SIR.—May I refer to the article by the Rev. E. N. Porter Goff, published in your September number, concerning Religion and the League.

The writer quotes the provisions of the Minorities Treaties and of the Mandates requiring the free exercise of any creed, religion or belief. In contrast certain provisions of a Russian decree of April 8, 1929, are quoted, among them the prohibition in State, social and private schools of "religious" education. Similarly in Mexico "religious education" is forbidden.

In my opinion, the article in question creates a confusion which may well be pointed out. It places together prohibitions of different kinds. Surely the writer does not suggest that there is any possible objection to the prohibition of religious teaching in State schools. This is the case in New Zealand. Provision for such teaching means a State religion, which, in itself, would be, one imagines, contrary to the spirit of the League, especially in mandated territory. What religion would the Government impose upon any Province of India?

F. A. DE LA MARE.

Hamilton, N.Z.

## PEACE POSTERS

SIR.—The South African League of Nations Union is planning to have a Peace Poster Display for a fortnight during the Empire Exhibition to be held in Johannesburg, September, 1936, to January, 1937.

In South Africa we are organising poster competitions for posters on a general peace or League subject, and for posters showing the links between the League and South Africa.

Might I, through the medium of HEADWAY, ask for help from the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations? This is an Empire Exhibition, and it will also make a stronger impression on those who attend the Exhibition to see posters from Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and so on. I should be very grateful to those who would send posters or inform me where they may be obtained.

JENNY K. ROBERTSON,

Hon. Secretary, Johannesburg L.N.U.  
University of the Witwatersrand,  
Johannesburg, South Africa.

## AN INTERNATIONAL CURRENCY

SIR.—A great deal is written about the currency question, but we do not seem to get any further.

Why not institute an international currency and issue credit to all nations in proportion to their population?

Each Government could then issue credit to firms trading internationally in exchange for its own currency, which might possibly be by tender. All dealings between nations would then take place in international currency. Exchange would be a purely national question, each country dealing with it as it saw fit.

I am not a financial expert—will someone who is say what is wrong with the idea?

Wareham.

H. W. KELSALL, Lieut.-Colonel.

## NATIVE INTERESTS

SIR.—The October issue of HEADWAY seems to be a special number for the restoration of the German colonies. I submit that it is most untimely, and that HEADWAY is doing no service to Germany by advising her how best to make trouble.

Captain Bean's article assumes that the interests of backward nations will not suffer if transferred to the League. So far as British Possessions are concerned, the assumption is not warranted. An inexperienced and heterogeneous Civil Service could not work as efficiently as a homogeneous service with many decades of tradition behind it. There is also the difficulty of language. Unless the interests of the governed are a subordinate consideration, there is no reason for any change, except fear.

Dr. Schnee would have us forget his country's record in the war, with which Mr. H. T. Roberts has dealt fairly and faithfully. (By the way, anyone who wishes to envisage England under a victorious Germany should

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## "I HELD IT A LONG TIME"

Last Christmas a missionary gave some boxes of candies to the tainted children in a leper colony in Japan. On his next visit one dear little fellow said, "Pastor, I gave my box of candy to my father, but before giving it to him I held it a long time." "Had your father never received such dainties before?" asked the missionary; and the boy replied, "Never."

From this moving story an analogy can be drawn. We have a treasure—the Word of God—and we have held it a long time. Are we thinking of those who have never yet possessed it?

That little lad parted willingly with his precious gift, although it meant a great sacrifice. His giving left him with empty hands. And here the analogy breaks down—for we may make world-wide distribution of our treasure and it yet remains ours.

There are many who do not possess the Word of Life in their mother-tongue: will you do your part to make possible the giving of this priceless gift to all such?

BRITISH & FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY,  
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read that pre-War masterpiece, "When William Came," by Saki.) He also ignores her record in the matter of the Jews. So long as she treats them as an inferior nation she automatically brands herself as an inferior nation. It is she who by so doing discriminates against herself; though her anti-Semitism is, of course, only one symptom of the mentality expressed in the War by the dishonouring of her obligations to Belgium and the introduction of the use of poison gas. It is, therefore, frivolous to suggest her as a possible trustee, even if her veterinary services are as good as Dr. Schnee claims.

Lieut.-Colonel Kelsall overlooks Lord Olivier's contribution to the discussion. His Majesty's Government has given its pledge that its trust for the native peoples it governs is a trust "which it can neither delegate nor share." None of your correspondents protested when that declaration was made. If it is to be disregarded, as it was when we gratuitously ceded Jubaland to Italy, let it be violated in the interests of anyone sooner than the treaty-breakers. It is poor policy to put a premium on dishonour.

J. A. WATSON.

Shirley Holms, Lymington.

## EX-GERMAN COLONIES

SIR.—Many will agree with much of Mr. Roberts' letter in your October issue. They will agree with him in his insistence on German war-guilt in 1914, and with his opinion that a selfish nationalist outlook and a taste for religious persecution are not good qualifications for the government of "backward" peoples. Who will not agree, too, that to return (*e.g.*) Tanganyika to Germany's control merely from fear of the consequences if we do not would be the height of cowardice?

But how do such considerations justify the assumption that Great Britain is specially appointed by the Almighty to govern a larger proportion of the "backward" inhabitants of earth and to control a much larger proportion of its raw materials than her own needs require? Mr. Roberts, having repudiated the doctrine that Might is Right, cannot plead the Right of Conquest. Let us, as Col. Kelsall suggests, offer fair play all round. Many Germans, thank God, are patriots, not nationalists, tolerators, not persecutors, and would add lustre to an international colonial service.

W. L. ROSEVEARE.

Minbu, Burma.

## EXPANSION

SIR.—In your August issue there appears a letter from Henry T. Hooper asking (*inter alia*) whether Japan has not as much right to unoccupied Australian territory as Britain had a hundred years ago. Possibly this letter was meant as a humorous comment on the question at issue—in which case, like Queen Victoria, "we are not amused."

If it was meant as a serious contribution to discussion I should like to point out to the writer that Australia is recognised in the comity of nations as a state; that she is a member of the League of Nations; and that by the Balfour Declaration of 1926 Great Britain has recognised her as "equal in status, in no way subordinate . . . in any aspect of external or domestic affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown." . . . Australia has as much right to offer part of the British Isles to Germany as Britain has to offer Western Australia or any part of any Dominion to a foreign power.

(REV.) M. E. MCKENZIE, M.A.

Solway College,  
Masterton, N.Z.

## HERE AND THERE

**Special Mention** in this month's "News Sheet" has been awarded to Mrs. Bulmer, hon. secretary of the **Hereford** Branch.

Hearty congratulations to the committee and officers of the **Leamington** Branch on their good fortune in having been able to persuade the Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P., to become president of that Branch.

When Miss K. D. Courtney spoke on the Italo-Abyssinian dispute at a conference for representatives of women's organisations which was held in Nottingham on November 5, under the auspices of the **Nottingham** Branch and the Notts. Federal Council, 222 delegates from 110 women's organisations were present as well as a number of L.N.U. speakers and others. The chair was occupied by Mrs. W. O. Woodward, one of the leading L.N.U. workers in the East Midlands.

The **Chard** Branch, which had been allowed to lapse to some extent, has been revived as the result of a representative meeting at the Town Hall.

The **Fellowship** Branch asks us to announce that Mr. W. Arnold-Forster will be the speaker at their meeting at the Guildhouse, Eccleston Square, Victoria, on Thursday, December 5, at 8.15 p.m.

In order to encourage local interest in the work of the League, the **Herts. District Council** have arranged a special essay competition for all boys and girls living or attending school in the county. The Earl of Lytton has kindly consented to act as final judge. The Bedfordshire Council is participating in the scheme, and it is hoped that there will be keen competition between the children of the two counties. Full details of the subjects and conditions can be obtained from Mrs. Innes, hon. secretary of the Herts. District Council of the L.N.U., 29, High Oaks Road, Welwyn Garden City, and all inquiries should be accompanied by a stamped and addressed envelope for the reply. The competition will close at the end of next March, by which time all essays must have been received.

The **Middlewich** Branch has inaugurated a series of informal discussions on League affairs which promises to be interesting and is of especial value because it is calculated to appeal strongly to those who are not already converted. The debates take the form of conversations in a railway carriage, somewhat on the lines of a broadcast feature in the B.B.C. programmes which was very popular a few months ago, each of the contributors to the discussions being regarded as a casual acquaintance on a train journey. For the information of readers in the district who might desire to be present at some of these debates, they are held at Gater's Café, Wheelock Street, Middlewich. Full details will gladly be sent on application by Mr. R. T. White, 12 The Crescent, Middlewich.

The **Edinburgh** Branch merits congratulation upon its success in having persuaded the Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden, M.P., to address a vast mass meeting at the Usher Hall, Edinburgh, last month. The Marquis of Lothian took the chair and an audience of over 3,000 thronged the hall. If tickets could have been sent to all who applied for them from all parts of Scotland, the hall would have been filled three times over. The interest evinced at the meeting surpassed anything previously experienced in the history of the Union in Scotland and a very large accession of strength rewarded the appeal for new members.

On December 7 and 8 the **Congress of Peace and Friendship with the U.S.S.R.** will be held in London. On the first day it will meet at the Friends' Meeting House, Euston Road, and on the second at the Metropole Cinema, Victoria Street. The chairmen will be Mr. R. Boothby, M.P., Mr. A. G. Metcalfe, and the Viscount Hastings. Among the many distinguished speakers who will discuss "The Peace Policy of the U.S.S.R.," "The Building of a New Economic System," "Cultural and Social Life," will be Lord Allen, Lord Marley, Sir John Russell, Sidney Webb, Professor H. J. Laski, Dr. Edith Summerskill, Lewis Casson, Mrs. Anabel Williams Ellis, the Hon. Ivor Montague, and Professor P. M. S. Blackett. Every effort has been made to avoid any touch of party prejudice. The three

## A PALPABLE HIT!

The following paragraph, which appeared in the foremost theatrical paper, "The Era," merits quotation:—

**Lords Beaverbrook and Rothermere have been conducting an intensive and remorseless campaign during the past few years against the League of Nations.**

**Result: All parties united at the General Election to support the League of Nations.**

**That's influence, that was!**

chairmen, as it happens, are all Conservatives, but the speakers will include members of all parties.

In recognition of her many years of devoted service to international and feminist causes, it has been decided that a special presentation be made to **Mrs. Corbett Ashby** on the occasion of her celebration of her silver wedding on December 14. Letters (marked Presentation Fund) containing subscriptions with signatures should be sent as soon as possible to the Viscountess Astor, M.P., at 17, Buckingham Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2, by December 14 at the latest. The signatures of donors will be assembled in book form to make part of the presentation. Individual amounts will not be mentioned.

The 24th annual **Conference of Educational Associations** will be held this year at University College, Gower Street, London, W.C.1, from Monday, December 30, 1935, to Monday, January 6, 1936, and as usual the League of Nations Union will take an active part. This year, the Union will hold a session on New Year's Day at 10.30 a.m., to discuss "The Work of Junior Branches, with special reference to out-of-door activities, camping, foreign travel, etc.," and on Friday, January 3, at 2.30 p.m., the Union will hold a joint meeting with the Modern Language Association, when Dr. Vaughan, Mr. J. O. Roach and others will speak on "European Civilisation and the Schools." As the Union is affiliated to the Conference, our members are entitled to attend these meetings and any other sessions except those marked "Private." Full particulars, vouchers for reduced railway fares, etc., can be obtained on application (with stamped addressed envelope and the names of those for whom vouchers are required) from headquarters of the L.N.U.

## OVERSEAS NOTES

The Sixth Council Meeting of the **South African** League of Nations Union was held in Bloemfontein on August 3, 1935. Professor Botha was elected chairman, Dr. Gey van Pittius and Miss C. H. Stohr were elected joint secretaries-general, and Miss Mary Roxburgh was elected secretary. Resolutions were passed on education, urging in particular that further instruction should be given to school children concerning the League of Nations and all that the League stands for. Teachers were also asked to encourage international correspondence.

The following resolution was adopted unanimously at a meeting of the Executive of the **Australian** League of Nations Union on Monday, October 14, 1935: "The Central Committee of the Australian League of Nations Union being deeply concerned regarding the need to limit and to stop Italian Aggression against Abyssinia; and being convinced that united and unqualified acceptance of the obligations of the Covenant of the League of Nations is necessary for this purpose, welcomes the recent statement of Federal Ministers that the Commonwealth Government is in accord with the British Government in supporting the Covenant of the League of Nations; and earnestly invites all political parties to support joint action by Members of the League.

The Ninth Annual Conference of the Dominion Council of the **New Zealand** League of Nations Union was held in Wellington on August 28-29, 1935, under the chairmanship of the Rev. F. H. Wilkinson, President of the New Zealand League of Nations Union.

Professor James Shotwell has been elected president of the **American** League of Nations Association in succession to Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick, who has resigned on account of poor health. Professor Shotwell's devotion to the League of Nations dates back to the Paris Peace Conference, where, as an American delegate, he was chief of the Division of History and a member of the International Labour Legislation Commission. He was also American member of the Organising Committee for the International Labour Conference.

## ANOTHER McLEOD PLAYLET.

Mr. Walter McLeod, whose list of playlets suitable for presentation to League of Nations Union audiences is steadily growing, has just completed another welcome addition to the list, entitled "**The Power of the Press.**" It is a merciless exposure of the absolute superficiality of the opposition to the League of Nations in certain sections of the sensational press. The dialogue is crisp and amusing, the staging required is well within the reach of any small dramatic company, there are only five characters, and from all points of view we heartily recommend it to branches in need of an entertaining playlet with sound pro-Peace value. Permission to play "The Power of the Press" must be obtained in advance from the Beverley Press, Ltd., 18, Market Street, Dartford, Kent, the fee for each performance being 10s. 6d. Copies of the playlet can be obtained for 1s. 2d., post free, from the Union's Book Shop at 15, Grosvenor Crescent.

## WELSH NOTES

At an important meeting of the Welsh Council's Executive Committee, resolutions were adopted urging that the imposition of sanctions should be speedy and effective.

The annual conference of the Welsh Council in 1936 is to be held at **Barry** on Friday and Saturday, May 29 and 30. The Welsh Council's annual appeal to all the Churches in Wales and Monmouthshire was issued for Armistice Sunday. At no time in its history has the Council been in greater need of practical support.

## An Appeal

The International Federation of League of Nations Societies is appealing for funds in order to enable the trustees of the Campagne Rigot to acquire the large wooden building which has hitherto been used as a canteen for the workers engaged in the building of the new League headquarters. The building is equipped with central heating, electric light and telephone and contains a large hall, three small rooms and a large semi-fitted kitchen. Were the trustees of the Campagne Rigot to acquire this building, it could be used, among other purposes, for housing some of the students to the summer school of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies which meets in August every year; various groups of young people, or of boy scouts, of whom a number come each year to Geneva; and particularly some of the delegates to the World Youth Congress, which is to meet for 10 days in September, 1936. In order to purchase the building the sum of 14,000 Swiss francs has to be guaranteed at once, although payment can be deferred. Some 4,000 or 5,000 francs might be made available by the trustees themselves, but the balance will have to be found elsewhere. Any contributions, however small, would be gratefully received and may be sent to the League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

## Council's Vote

The following Branches completed their Councils' vote payments for 1934:—Belford, Berwick, Bishops Castle, St. Annes-on-Sea.

For 1935:—

Albrighton, Ashwell, Angmering, Boston, Blackham, Blagdon, Banbury, Bucklebury, Blunham, Boldre, Claydon (Bucks.), Caldicote, Cheltenham, Epping, Felixstowe, Frenchay, Hatfield, Halstead, Horsforth, Hereford, Harleston, Hockley, Ipswich, Jarrow, Jordans, King's Lynn, Kinnerley, Kettering, Ludlow, Loughborough, Melksham, Maldon, Norwich, North Portsmouth, Newport (Salop), Ossett, Queen Street (Wolverhampton), Quorn, Rochford, Sudbury, Selly Oak, Scarborough, Shelford, Syston, Street, Tettenhall, Thirsk, Whitby, Willington, Wollaston, Wendover, Walgrave, York.

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## AT THE ALBERT HALL, OCTOBER 31

### Passages From The Speeches At The Abyssinia Meeting of the League of Nations Union.

#### ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY :

MAY I ask for a moment what is the motive that has led to this general support of the League of Nations in its policy at the present time? It is certainly not any excitement about British interests. They are most indirectly concerned. I think I can speak not only for myself but for you, that the thought of British interests in this matter has scarcely entered into our minds. The only British interest with which we are concerned is the supreme interest of maintaining the peace of the world.

It may be that the aggressor may choose to regard some episode as a cause of war, if so the responsibility is his not ours, and all we ask is that we shall have sufficient equipment and resources to enable us to take our proper part in defending collective action if it is assailed.

#### SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN :

It is neither affection for Abyssinia, nor dislike of Italy or its form of government that brings me here. It is my deep and profound conviction that if Treaties solemnly signed, Covenants freely undertaken, pledges to pursue a peaceful regulation of the disputes which arise among nations, and to abjure war as an instrument of national policy, that if all these covenants, promises and pledges can be broken and nothing happens, then it is idle to pretend that peace will be anywhere secure, that there is any prospect, I will not say of disarmament nor even of limitation of armaments, but of anything but a great increase of them. Nations go back to savagery, and there is no faith between them.

It is only as a member of the community of nations, only as one of those who have signed the Covenant, have sought to make a reality of it, who are slow perhaps to enter into engagements, who are very loth to extend them, but who are determined not to break them, it is only as such that we stand forward to support, and I think it must be said to lead, the League. For leadership was necessary upon the path which the Covenant had laid down.

Is public faith to be kept among the nations of the world? Is the pledged word worth the paper on which it is written? Can you put your trust, I will not say in Princes, but in peoples? Or are we back in pre-War times when a treaty could be called a scrap of paper, when no man and no nation has any duty except to itself, and when the rule is the rule of force, and he shall take who has the power and he shall keep who can. We thought, we hoped we had seen at least the dawn of a better day. We knew that before the ideals of those who framed the Covenant could be realised, long and patient effort would be needed. We knew that a great institution like the League, like a great forest tree, would only grow slowly and gradually, but we looked to the time when those first dawns of hope should have become the strong mid-day sun. We looked to the time when the acorn planted in the ground should have become the great tree, under whose branches the nations of the world might shelter. To-day we stand here to say that when those hopes are brutally challenged, when those covenants are ruthlessly broken, we pledge ourselves to our Government, whatever it may be after the Election, to give it our full support in any action it is called upon to take, in any collective action which it is called upon to take by the Council of the nations of the world.

#### MR. HERBERT MORRISON :

If this world is to be preserved for all time from the horrors of war, then the world as a whole must be prepared firmly and with decision to deal in some way with the aggressor, and to make it impossible for that aggressor to do it again successfully.

And so Economic Sanctions and Financial Sanctions may be necessary. They ought not to be unduly delayed, though they should not be precipitately used. They ought to be effective, and complete, and decisive. And, properly used, that should be sufficient to deter any aggressor in any circumstances. But if the question is put to us: "Would you, in the last resort, go to Military Sanctions?" (Cries of "No!" and "Yes!") I will give the answer that I think is right. I think you are bound to say, though you would do everything to avoid it and nobody would walk to that point with enthusiasm, that

in the end the League, as the policeman of the world, must not be afraid to restrain the aggressor.

Finally, let me say that the Covenant is a big thing. It is not Sanctions and Sanctions alone, and we must not go Sanctions-mad. Treaty revision, peaceful Treaty revision, is in the Covenant. International agreement as to aviation and the control of international military aviation, Disarmament, the removal of the economic causes of war—all these things are essentially part of the Covenant and they must not be forgotten.

But just as we have ended wars between the Scots and the English—the invasion of England from Scotland is now a peaceful one!—just as what survives of the Wars of the Roses is an annual cricket match, so must the world evolve into this new state of mind, whereby wars between countries are "not done," they become unthinkable. The peoples themselves must instinctively feel that just as in our private disputes we try to settle them and then, if necessary, resort to arbitration, so in the relationships between the nations of the world.

#### LADY VIOLET BONHAM-CARTER :

I could conceive no greater, no more appalling danger than the death of the League, the collapse of the whole collective system, and nothing less is at stake to-day. For unless the League can here and now wield the will of the world with irresistible effect, unless it can defeat those who have defied its authority, unless it can protect those who have invoked its help, it cannot survive as a living force; for it lives by the trust of the weak and by the respect of the strong. Therefore, if economic Sanctions should fail, which heaven forbid, if they should fail, we cannot on that account accept the failure or the defeat of the League. Still less could we accept any peace which would bring it dishonour. We should not, to my mind, rule out in advance any form of Sanction, any form of action whatsoever, within the collective will of the Covenant that may be necessary to assure its victory.

Peace cannot be built on a defiance of law. Peace cannot be founded on a betrayal of right, peace cannot be bought by the abject surrender of justice to brute force. And those who counsel us to-day to become content with gestures and with half measures are in effect advising us to yield to blackmail. Yes, and to pay its price, not with our own lives, not with our own possessions, but with those of others, for whom as members of the League we stand trustees. Let them make no mistake. Collective security cannot be applied piecemeal. One law for the strong, and another for the weak, one law for the white and another for the black, one law for ex-allies and another for ex-enemies. We cannot make licensed brigandage in Africa the price of peace in Europe. We cannot toss backward peoples into the expansionist maw to save our own skins. Abyssinia, her wrongs, her sufferings, and her dead are very far away, but to those who have eyes to see they are our own. In Abyssinia's fate let every nation read its own destiny, and let those who seek to break or blunt the sword of justice now, realise that if they succeed to-day it may never again be drawn in their defence.

Let us prove that though we love peace above all things, we do not lack the courage to defend it, and we may lead it to a victory won, not for ourselves alone, but for all humanity.

#### VISCOUNT CECIL

The truth is, and it is the plain truth, that the Italian Government has resorted to war in breach of their pledges under the Covenant. And it is as clear as it can possibly be, that when that fact has been ascertained as it now has been ascertained, by the verdict of fifty nations, that when that fact has been ascertained, it is the duty, the pledged duty of the other members of the League to take whatever action may be effective to put a stop to war.

No one would be so wicked as to reject or disapprove of a genuine settlement by agreement of this war, if it can be reached. But it must be a genuine settlement, and here I am glad to have the authority of the British Foreign Minister behind me. A genuine settlement accepted by the League and by Abyssinia, as well as by Italy. And in my judgment there is no hope of such a genuine settlement unless it at any rate goes further than the terms which were offered to Signor Mussolini before he began the invasion of Abyssinia.