

THE FATE OF THE LEAGUE

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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.

Vol. XVIII. No. 7 [The Journal of the League of Nations Union]

JULY, 1936

[Registered with the G.P.O. for transmission by the Canadian Magazine Post] Price 3d.



"You understand, I don't want to go anywhere where there are revolutions, or wars, or political upheavals or anything, but somewhere where they understand that we English mean to be very nice to everybody."
 "What about the Isle of Wight?"

By kind permission of "The Humorist."

CONTENTS

	Page		Page
News and Comment	122	The League Must Be Strong. By our Geneva Cor-	130
More Than Ever Necessary. (Editorial)	124	respondent	132
The Fate of the League. By the Earl of Lytton	125	Drugs, By Muriel Lester	132
Sanctions Were Giving Results. By B. S. Keeling	126	General Council Resolutions	133
The Glasgow Congress. By Henri Rolin	127	Book Notices	134
That 40-Hour Week. By C. A. Macartney	128	Readers' Views	136
Italy, Sanctions, and the Covenant. By Vandeleur	129	Here and There	138
Robinson	129	The Need of the Hour. By the Secretary of the	140
		Union	

NEWS AND COMMENT

Sanctions

GREAT BRITAIN asks the Members of the League of Nations to lift the Sanctions voted by more than fifty States against Italy last October when she made war on Abyssinia. The reasons given are that Abyssinia has suffered complete defeat and is no longer a political unit with an organised government, and that in the circumstances the League has no means of helping Abyssinia except a resort to war. Most other Members of the League are following Britain's lead.

The British people are profoundly shocked. Many of them demand a continuance of sanctions. Italy, they see, is experiencing great difficulties due to the closing of markets against her goods and an inability on her part to obtain some important raw materials. In a little while she would be compelled to make substantial concessions to the League; only by so doing could she secure the removal of a pressure which is forcing her towards economic collapse. Others doubt whether measures which failed to stop Italy while Abyssinia still resisted can coerce her now the fighting is over. At the same time they also are distressed by the spectacle of League failure and British irresolution.

Everywhere the questions are asked: Was the British Government ever whole-hearted about enforcing the Covenant, checking aggression, and making collective security real? Were Ministers ever prepared to pay the inevitable price for an assured peace? The wish is general that the answer might be a confident "Yes"; not less general is the fear that confidence would be misplaced.

Uncertain Voices

IF the Government is blamed unfairly, the fault lies with its spokesmen. Their voices are uncertain, their messages contradictory.

How can even the friendliest hearer draw reassurance from such conflicting pronouncements as the following:—

The Prime Minister, Mr. Stanley Baldwin, speaking at Wishaw, North Lancashire, on Saturday, June 20:

"You cannot have security, collective or otherwise, on the cheap and second-hand, or any system of limited liability."

The Home Secretary, Sir John Simon, speaking in the House of Commons, on June 23:

"With Europe in its present situation, and with the great dangers surrounding us, we are not prepared to see a single ship sunk in a successful battle in the cause of Abyssinian independence."

A successful battle for Abyssinian independence would be the defeat of aggression, the triumph of collective security, the proof of the League's ability to substitute law for war. These objects, Ministers agree, are supremely important. They cannot be attained without cost, the head of the Government points out very truly. No cost at all must be incurred in attaining them, adds leading counsel for the Government in the House of Commons censure debate.

Reassurances

HAPPILY the recent Ministerial speeches are not wholly defeat and despair. Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Eden have spoken some welcome sentences of courage. The quotations which follow should be noted. The League's judgment on Italy will not be annulled; Italy's annexation of Abyssinia will not be recognised; the Sanctions of the League will not be limited by changes in the Covenant; British policy's still based on the League; no loans will be made to Italy.

"There is no question—I must emphasise it—in our view of the judgment passed by the League last autumn on the act of aggression being either modified or reversed."—Mr. Eden, in the House of Commons (June 18).

"His Majesty's Government have no intention at the forthcoming meeting of the League of proposing or assenting to the recognition of Italy's annexation of Abyssinia."—Mr. Eden, in the House of Commons, replying to Miss RATHBONE (June 22).

"The Government, the manifesto of the Parliamentary Labour Party goes on, is advocating the limitation of the sanctions of the League. If they are, it is the first I have ever heard about it. That statement is not a statement of fact. And the withdrawal of Britain from all responsibility for the maintenance of peace outside certain narrow areas in which (it says) this country has special interests. Our task at Geneva in the autumn, in common with all the countries in the League, is to see whether a reality can be made of what has not proved a reality so far. . . . Collective security is worth trying to get. I repeat, it is incredibly difficult with the nations that are outside, but we shall try. I wish, indeed, we could get the countries outside the League back into it. If they would come collective security could be worked to-morrow—if we have Japan, the United States of America, and Germany. But we must not give up hope to get the nations back, and we must not even give up hope that yet some form of disarmament may not be practicable."—Mr. Baldwin, at Wishaw (June 20).

"What is our policy? The League has received a serious setback. It is the duty of the League and not ourselves alone to see what we can do now in the light of the experience

we have had, and in the light of the present state of Europe to see how far we can make collective action a reality.

"Our policy is still based, as is the policy of many countries in Europe, on the League of Nations. We members of the League have the responsibility of deciding what shall be done and responsibility on the question of taking action. We will have to decide, in view of the lessons we have learned from recent events, what steps must be taken at the September meeting of the League, and I hope by that time many countries will have devoted great consideration to the whole matter.

"We have been considering it for a considerable time. It is a most difficult question. We are not only considering our own conclusions, but are in consultation with the Dominion Governments and other members of the League already. We are in touch with the French Government, with whom we shall wish to work in closest unity."—Mr. Baldwin, in the House of Commons (June 23).

"I am asked: 'Do the Government intend to make loans to Italy?' The Government have no power to lend money to Italy, and they have no intention of seeking such powers. Moreover, any proposal which involves the issue of securities in this country on behalf of Italy would in the first instance be considered by the Foreign Transactions Advisory Committee, whose recommendations are reviewed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He would not be disposed to consider any relaxation of the restrictions on the issue of foreign loans in the case of Italy in the present circumstances.

"Applications for export credits for Italy will be dealt with by the Export Credits Advisory Committee solely on commercial grounds with a view to considering United Kingdom exporters, but no applications which relate to munitions. As regards private credits for Italy, the Government are anxious that these should not be offered except to the limited extent which may be required for purely commercial purposes."—Mr. Baldwin, in the House of Commons, June 23.

Tried and Failed?

AMIDST the present babble of voices, one allegation is constantly repeated which supporters of the League must as constantly refute. Cabinet Ministers, minor politicians, newspapers, proclaiming themselves ardent champions of collective security, say: "The Covenant has been tried and has failed. We must face the fact." The fact is the Covenant has not been tried. Only measures to which the aggressor did not seriously object were taken against him. And even those measures have not failed. They are being cancelled when their pressure is making long-continued defiance by Italy extremely difficult.

The Allegation

"The fact remains that the policy of collective security has been tried out. . . . That policy has been tried out, and it has failed."—Mr. Neville Chamberlain, to the 1900 Club, June 10.

"Collective security, in my view, whatever the reasons may be, has failed."—Mr. Baldwin, in the House of Commons, June 18.

The Promise

"In conformity with its precise and explicit obligations the League stands, and my country stands with it, for the collective maintenance of the Covenant in its entirety, and particularly for steady and collective resistance to all acts of unprovoked aggression. The attitude of the British nation in the last few weeks has clearly demonstrated the fact that this is no variable and unreliable sentiment, but a principle of international conduct to which they and their Government hold with firm, enduring and universal persistence."—Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the League Assembly, September.

The Judgment

"The Italian Government has resorted to war in disregard of its Covenants under Article XII of the Covenant of the League of Nations."—Report of the Committee of Six adopted by the League Council on October 7 and by the Assembly on October 9.

The Obligation

"The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League."—Article X of the Covenant.

"Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its Covenants under Articles XII, XIII, or XV, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the Covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the Covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not."—Article XVI of the Covenant.

The Penalties

Sanctions voted by more than 50 nations, on various dates in October, prohibited:

- (1) The export to Italy of arms and munitions of war.
- (2) The granting to Italy of loans, banking or other credits.
- (3) The importation into League countries of Italian goods.
- (4) The export to Italy of (a) transport animals, (b) rubber, (c) certain metals.

And there an end. The one economic sanction—a ban on oil—which would have had a decisive effect was obstructed and postponed on one excuse after another until Abyssinia collapsed.

Glasgow Congress

ON another page M. Henri Rolin, the President of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, gives an account of the Federation's Glasgow Congress. He is naturally concerned more with the play itself than with stage management. Here it is right to record the Union's gratitude to the Glasgow Branch and to all who helped in the vast work of organisation and reception. No effort had been spared for the entertainment of the delegates: they were received in the City Chambers by the Lord Provost; as guests of the Glasgow Branch, they were taken for numerous excursions as well as to a special performance at the Theatre Royal; they were entertained to dinner in Edinburgh; they were the guests of the Duchess of Hamilton at tea in Holyrood Palace; and the great majority of them received private hospitality during their stay in Glasgow. Yet in no case were the festivities allowed to interfere with the work of the Congress, and the fact that tea and coffee could be had for the asking in the voluntary tea lounge adjoining the committee-rooms was a material factor in preserving the even temper of debate. From an organisational point of view, the Glasgow Congress will be remembered as one of the best the Federation has ever held.



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More Than Ever Necessary

NEVER did the nations need the League more desperately than they do to-day.

A single, hurried glance over the world shows the truth of that positive statement. The failure to prevent and later to defeat the Italian attack on Abyssinia has left peace everywhere visibly insecure. Fear is general. Arms give no reassurance. Sir Samuel Hoare, restored to office as First Lord of the Admiralty, told the Royal Empire Society on June 24: "If the British Army, Navy, and Air Force were adequately strengthened in time, there was going to be no world war." In other countries the conviction that the strengthening of the British Services is the one means of averting disaster is not entertained. Japan, insisting on equality with the strongest sea Power, refuses to accept the London Treaty. The United States is resolved to have a fleet at least as large as any neighbour's. Germany, Russia, Italy and France, in different measures and at various distances, will build new ships themselves in answer to any building by Britain. The Anglo-German Naval Agreement, which Sir Samuel himself negotiated as Foreign Secretary, made the British Navy the "yard-stick" of the German: the more ships Britain launches, the more Germany will launch. And what happens on the water is duplicated in the air. On land the connection is not quite so close but is, none the less, unmistakable.

The arms race antedates Mussolini's invasion of Abyssinia. But just as its earlier phases are clear consequences of weakness and hesitation on the part of the League in previous crises, so beyond all denial its recent acceleration is linked with the Abyssinian war. When the Members of the League shrank from taking up, in the spirit of the Covenant, the Japanese challenge in Manchuria, other possible aggressors and other possible victims took note of the incitement or the warning. When the World Economic Conference and the Disarmament Conference were allowed to pass into a paralysis indistinguishable from death, the lesson was not ignored. Here was a world, still astray amid the ruin worked in its last fit of madness, repeatedly warned of its new dangers, which seemed too light-minded or too weak-willed to create the international order, resting on stable foundations, defended by adequate force, which alone could make it safe and

prosperous. Local patriotism, more alert than world loyalty, attempted to reach those ends by isolated, piece-meal action. But the immediate effect of a nation's acquiring more arms was the acquisition in turn of still more arms by neighbour nations who might one day be enemies. The complete conquest of Abyssinia, and the withdrawal of the League's mild coercive measures against the conqueror, is the most complete, the most dramatic of all the League's failures. As should have been expected, it is accompanied by a louder and more insistent demand in more countries for larger arms increases than ever before, and governments are making prompter efforts to comply. The consequences are still the same. Confidence is not restored. Rather is it diminished with every arms increase. Sir Samuel Hoare protests that war is not inevitable, and acts as though it were; less optimistic Ministers omit the protestations. A year ago the world for the first time was spending more than £2,000,000,000 a year on arms, and was entering the deepest shadow it had known. At the present rate of increase its annual bill will soon exceed £3,000,000,000, and the shadows are rapidly growing dark as night.

The way of escape is not through arms. That gaily-decorated path has always led to the pit in the past. It is demonstrably leading to the same destination again to-day. The League is the alternative. Experience shows every weakening of the League followed by intenser fear and vaster armaments, and still more fear and still more armaments, and then again fear. Every strengthening of the League has had the contrasty sequel, and so it will have in the future. The world was never more afraid than now. For that very reason the nations never needed the League more desperately. Only a strong and successful League can make them free, safe and prosperous.

Happily, weak and irresolute though the handling of the Abyssinian crisis has been, all is not lost. There is time and opportunity to re-establish the League, to define its powers, to hasten its action, so that it may come more promptly into play and dispose of more adequate forces. But the time is only just enough and the opportunity may be the last. Reform has become an urgent, inescapable task. The shape given to that reform will decide the fate of the world. Enemies of the League are in full cry for the removal of sanctions from the Covenant. "Make Geneva," they say, "a friendly meeting place for politicians, where conflicting wishes may be explained and the reconciliation of rival appetites attempted. But do not trust the League with any authority." In other words, they would place the peace of the world at the mercy of a single outlaw nation, even a single individual recklessly set on gaining his selfish ends and contemptuous of what deadly damage he may do his neighbours. No sanctions mean the rule of the gunman. There is the danger for whose defeat League supporters must rally at once all their resources.

British Ministers, as is proved by quotations elsewhere in this number of HEADWAY, are not all unaware of the effort required from them. The French Government has proclaimed its unshaken loyalty to the League. The *Times* lends its powerful aid, pointing out that the choice is between the organisation of peace and the organisation of war. That simple truth guarantees victory—if the struggle begins at once.

The Fate of the League of Nations

By THE EARL OF LYTTON

THERE is much talk to-day about "the future of the League," or "the reform of the League." It comes mostly from those who do not want the League to have any future, or who mean by its "reform" making it quite ineffective. It is not necessary to argue with such people. They are not doctors consulting at the bedside of a patient whom they are anxious to save—they are more like vultures hovering over a body whose inertia they have mistaken for lifelessness. All that is required to scatter these birds of prey is for the object of their interest—the League—to make some movement which will show that it still has life, and strength enough to defend it.

But there are also some others, who are genuine friends of the League, who have tried to make the Covenant work and have found certain difficulties in doing so. When these people speak of "reform," they mean changes that will make the League more effective, not less effective, and their opinions are worthy of attention.

It is undoubtedly true that it is both better and easier to prevent a war than to stop one after it has broken out. But Articles 11 and 12, which deal with a threat of war, have been found in practice to be ineffective owing to the operation of the unanimity rule, which requires the vote of the country which is causing the threat. This defect certainly calls for amendment. Again, experience has shown that the method of selecting the Chairman of the Council by alphabetical rotation from the countries occupying seats upon it may result in a lack of initiative and direction from the chair in times of crisis. A system of creating a panel of experienced statesmen for the post of Chairman, and selecting by rotation from such a panel a Chairman who could not be a national delegate and would not have a vote, is worthy of consideration.

But the failure of the League in recent crises has not in fact been due to any defects in the wording of the Covenant, or any difficulties of procedure. It has been due solely to the absence of will on the part of the principal Powers concerned to take the necessary action; and the only reform which is really required is a greater realisation on the part of the States Members of the League of the meaning of collective security, and a greater determination to make it effective.

The underlying principle of the Covenant as it stands is that aggression on the territory of any State Member of the League shall be resisted by all the other Members in whatever way shall be deemed most effective. Neither in the case of China, nor in the case of Abyssinia, has this been done. And the sins of omission by many States are as serious as the sins of commission by two.

In the case of Abyssinia the League did at least offer some resistance, and certain people have argued that the sanctions which were imposed having proved ineffective should now be abandoned. Sir Austen Chamberlain reminded the House of Commons of the difficulty of extracting butter from a dog's mouth. Such an attitude is only evidence that those who assume it do not regard the principle of collective security as sufficiently precious

to be worth making sacrifices to retain. It cannot be shared by those who think this principle the only gain achieved by all the sacrifice made in the Great War and the most precious thing in the world to-day.

None of the States Members of the League would have acted as they have done if their own territory had been invaded or their own interests threatened. And the suggestion by some States that Italy's action should be condoned because Italian help may be required in collective defence of their interests elsewhere is a cynical abandonment of the whole principle on which the League of Nations was founded. It is idle to suppose that nations which have violated their treaty obligations to serve their national interests will ever observe treaties in the future.

One thing is clear, if the present League is destroyed there will be little chance of creating a new and better one. And if the present League is to be saved the States which compose it must be prepared to carry out their obligations and to refuse to retain as members those States which violate them.

If and when the future of the League comes to be considered by those who are genuinely anxious to preserve it and make it effective, certain points will demand careful attention. One of these is the necessity for the presence at Geneva of the men who really control the policy of their countries. A system whereby a country's policy is virtually controlled by one man, who only sends a puppet to Geneva to carry out his orders, is incompatible with League procedure.

Another point which will require alteration is the disloyalty to the Covenant and the principle of collective defence, which is involved in the existence of pacts between two or more States Members of the League. If France had not come to a separate understanding with Italy, amounting to a treaty of friendship, in January, 1935, she would not have felt so embarrassed when subsequently confronted with Italian aggression in Abyssinia.

A third point is the necessity of bringing the old methods of diplomacy into line with the new procedure of the League. So long as States adopt one policy in public at Geneva and another in their diplomatic negotiations, the League cannot function successfully. It is of the essence of League procedure that the policy of every one of its Members shall be publicly stated at Geneva, and that all its actions shall be in conformity with such public declarations.

In short, what is required for the success of the League is not a new instrument but a better use of the existing instrument.

Owing to exigencies of space, we regret that Mr. J. E. Meade's third article on the Tariff Problem must be held over until our August issue.

Sanctions Were Giving Results

Now that the British Government have disclosed their policy, it is time to review the economic effects of Sanctions both on Italy and on the Sanctionist countries.

Of the four embargoes, those on export of arms and on credit facilities to Italy were bound to be limited in scope. For Italy can herself manufacture armaments provided that she can import the materials required, and in any case many States, including Great Britain, had already imposed an embargo on the export of arms to both parties some months before the war actually started. As for loans and credits, Italy's financial

By B. S. KEELING,

who is an authority on economic conditions in Fascist Italy.

position had long ago ceased to have any great attraction for foreign bankers; and in August, 1935, British, French and American banks had decided to cut down to a minimum their existing credits to Italian banks. Nevertheless, there is some evidence that the prohibition even of short-term commercial credits has caused Italy considerable inconvenience, for instance, in purchasing oil from Rumania.

The really important sanctions were those which interrupted Italian trade. For Italy is exceptionally dependent upon foreign supplies of industrial raw materials, notably coal, oil, iron, cotton, and rubber. She was directly cut off from supplies of only a few essential materials whose production is more or less controlled by the Sanctionist countries, including transport animals, rubber, and certain metals, though not, of course, oil. But it was calculated that the complete boycott of all Italy's goods would so diminish her supplies of gold and foreign exchange as to provide a very effective indirect check to her imports.

Precisely how far this has been the case it is impossible to say. For in October, 1935, by way of retaliation against economic Sanctions, the Italian Government suspended the publication of facts reflecting the economic and financial position of the State. However, the League Secretariat has collected from the returns of practically every other country in the world statistics of trade with Italy in merchandise and precious metals.

These statistics, which cover over fifty countries—the chief omissions being Brazil and certain other Latin American States—show that by February the value of Italy's imports, as well as her exports, was less than half that of a year previously. The immediate effect of the imposition of Sanctions was a certain expansion of trade with the United States, Germany, Austria and Hungary. In the Sanctionist countries the fact that goods already paid for were excluded from the embargoes prevented their effects from becoming immediately apparent. But by the early months of this year imports of merchandise from Italy into Sanctionist countries had come virtually to a standstill; whilst exports to Italy, at least from Great Britain, had also largely disappeared, thanks partly to the embargo on certain exports to Italy, but mainly to

Italian "counter-sanctions." It is, however, interesting to note that in November, and again in January—both occasions when the possibility of oil sanctions being imposed were considerable—exports of petrol from France to Italy showed an immense and quite abnormal expansion.

It is reported that more than 100 factories in the north of Italy have had to close through lack of raw materials. But the most unexpected feature of the figures is the fact that, although only certain imports into Italy were prohibited, her imports have fallen still more than her exports, so that the "balance of trade" has actually become less adverse than a year ago. This point was emphasised recently by the Italian Minister of Finance. Its significance, however, must not be mistaken. For a decrease in her adverse balance of trade is of no value to Italy except in so far as her loss of gold is thereby checked; yet the League figures show that Italy's net exports of gold have been far larger than her surplus of imports of merchandise. It might seem that as a result the Bank of Italy's official reserves must have fallen well below the £60,000,000 at which they stood, according to the Governor of the Bank, on December 31, 1935. On the other hand, the Bank must have benefited considerably from the mobilisation of foreign securities, wedding rings, and so forth; and it has been reliably estimated that if these resources are added to the official reserves, the total of gold and foreign exchange available may still amount to as much as £70,000,000. As against this, the total cost of Italy's imports in recent years has amounted to about £125,000,000, and in the more prosperous years before the depression, it rose as high as £370,000,000.

The fifth measure in the League's economic programme, the proposal for mutual assistance in the international marketing of goods to offset the loss of Italian markets, had two practical results. The country hit hardest by the imposition of Sanctions was Yugoslavia, 21 per cent. of whose exports went to Italy in 1934. Consequently, Great Britain provided special facilities for the import of dead poultry, eggs and bacon from Yugoslavia to the value of about £550,000 per annum, while Czechoslovakia made trade concessions to her worth about £280,000. The British Government also received applications for compensation from six other countries. Of these, three were refused, and three were still under consideration on May 6, according to a Government statement on that day.

For the most part, the adverse effects of Sanctions on the Sanctionist countries have been exaggerated. For instance, it is true that until even a year ago Italy provided the second largest export market for British coal, and that now this market has been lost to Germany and Poland. But this change took place even before Sanctions were imposed, thanks chiefly to the increasing delay in securing payment due to exchange restrictions and financial difficulties in Italy. Moreover, it should be remembered that the prohibition of imports from Italy into other Sanctionist countries must to some extent have stimulated a compensating demand for British exports.

The Glasgow Congress Says "No."

HEADWAY has asked me for a short account of the Glasgow Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies. Before giving it, I feel bound to make three remarks.

First, that I very much hope somebody else will describe the exceptional welcome offered the delegates by the local committee and the people of Glasgow. Here I will only express again the real gratitude we all felt for it.

Secondly, that I would be quite unable to give even a brief report of all the matters which were discussed and all the decisions which were taken. (I may have been wrong, but I thought it right to concentrate my personal efforts on the two most important points: help to Abyssinia and reform of the League. Therefore I asked the vice-president to assume the chairmanship of most of the plenary meetings while discussion went on in committee and sub-committee.)

Thirdly, that since we separated, events have progressed—or regressed—in a way which makes it urgent to concentrate for the moment on the first of two points I have mentioned.

The text of our resolution on the Italo-Ethiopian dispute is printed on this page. I will try here to explain the spirit in which it was adopted.

Not one of obstinacy. None of us was blind to the trouble caused by Sanctions to international, moral as well as economic, relations, or to the right of public opinion to know exactly why they had still to be kept in force if that was the line taken.

Nor were we inspired by illusion. We were aware of the ruin caused in Ethiopia by the Italian victory. Material, but also, maybe, political losses, some of them perhaps for a time irreparable.

We admitted, as a supposition, that to restore the "political independence and territorial integrity" of Ethiopia, as we are bound to do according to Article 10 of the Covenant, might be now an impossibility even if a withdrawal of the Italian troops could be enforced. Perhaps the moral unity of the country had been broken by bribery and terrorism.

But, at the same time, we thought that a sound realism forbade us to go to the extreme in the other direction, to renounce our duties, to abandon without any protection the Ethiopian people to conquest and exploitation by Italian

Fascism. At worst a reasonable compromise had to be obtained; in my personal opinion an Italian mandate on Ethiopia—quite unacceptable a few months ago—would mean the maintenance of Ethiopia as a nation and a hope of restoration with, in the meantime, international protection—from Italy the withdrawal of her decrees of annexation would be a gesture of recognition of the authority of the League.

The rejection of the *fait accompli*, we judged, was what loyalty to the League commanded; it was also the only way to restore confidence in the League and make its re-enforcement possible.

By HENRI ROLIN,

Senator of the Kingdom of Belgium, President of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies.

Mr. Eden has announced his intention to go the other way. I leave my British friends to express their feelings towards this unexpected attitude.

Personally I have no reason to doubt that those who think a confession of League defeat inevitable remain genuine partisans of international co-operation and want to open at once new negotiations with mocking Hitler and triumphant Mussolini in order to make the world safe from any new adventure in victorious aggression.

Have they measured in their minds the chances of success in such negotiations? Do they rely on a confident support for such effort from public opinion in their own countries?

I fear they have not the slightest chance to get it.

We know—and none of us in Glasgow denied the fact—that politics was "the art of compromise," but what is now before us means surrender, not compromise. In our conviction the time has come when the civilised countries have the duty to oppose the arrogant claims of militarism, a quiet but firm—No.

We still hope that the unanimous decision adopted by our Congress of Glasgow—which a representative delegation from our different societies will hand to the President of the League Assembly, will contribute to prevent any fatal weakness.

THE ITALO-ETHIOPIAN DISPUTE.

Considering that it is vital to the peace of Europe and of the world that the authority of the League as well as respect for obligations relating to the preservation of peace should be upheld;

considering that in the words of Article 10 of the Covenant Members of the League of Nations have undertaken to preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and political independence of their fellow members;

considering that if the failure of Ethiopia's resistance has made it more difficult to fulfil the obligations of the Covenant such failure cannot justify the acceptance of a *fait accompli*;

considering that if the League of Nations were to bow before threats, even a threat of war, the peoples would again be subjected to the rule of "might is right";

noting that Italy gained her success in large measure through the use of poison gases in violation of international treaties;

considering that the resolute attachment to the cause of collective security shown by British public opinion is an example which, if it is followed by other nations, will constitute a pledge of mutual support in case those other nations should themselves become the victims of aggression;

The XXth Plenary Congress

urges the Members of the League of Nations to continue their collective effort with a view to reaching a solution which will be acceptable to the Council of the League in the sense that it will ensure, to the utmost possible degree, the restoration of Ethiopia's rights;

declares that with this object in view the existing sanctions should be maintained and if necessary intensified;

calls upon its constituent societies to redouble their efforts so that public opinion in their respective countries, undeterred by any sense of disappointment, anxiety, or unreasoning or extravagant reactions, shall be mobilised as energetically as possible for the effective restoration of law and order between nations.

THAT 40-HOUR WEEK

By C. A. MACARTNEY

The following article was written before the International Labour Conference, 1936, ended. In the event the Conference adopted the draft convention on Public Works, rejected (a two-thirds majority not being reached) those on Building and Civil Engineering, Coal-mining and Iron and Steel, and referred its final decision on the Textile Industry to its 1937 Session.

THE storm over the "40-hour week," which has agitated so many International Labour Conferences, shows no signs of abating this year, and the British genius for behaving in a manner totally incomprehensible to the foreigner has never been better displayed. The movement for a shorter working week springs, of course, from many causes, the chief of which is the feeling that in view of the extraordinary increase of industrial production which modern methods have made possible, so that the world can be supplied with its necessities in a tithe of the time formerly required, it is absurd that the worker should not be able to enjoy more leisure. During the great depression, however, there arose also a widespread feeling that the unemployment produced by this technological advance could be relieved if work—and thus the wage bills were spread over a larger number of workers. Thus two demands for shorter hours arose—the one claiming for the worker shorter hours with maintenance of wages as his share out of the world's new productive capacity; the other more modest, content with lower weekly wages if only that new wealth may not prove unredeemed disaster for him.

Last year it was made clear that some of the Governments, notably that of Italy, which were prepared to introduce a 40-hour week, were not ready to maintain wages. The workers in some of these countries were ready to accept the reduction of wages, although all of them would have preferred to see hours reduced and wages maintained. The British workers, so far as could be discovered, rejected the idea of any wage reductions.

The Conference finally adopted the famous Draft Convention which declares approval of the "principle of the 40-hour week" with "maintenance of the standard of living." The maintenance of wages was relegated to a separate resolution which forms no part of the Convention. Thus the proportionate reduction of earnings is permitted, although deprecated. The Convention itself is merely a declaration of principle, which is to be applied to industries in accordance with separate Conventions. One such industry—glass bottles—was dealt with last year; the 1936 Conference, is, at the time of writing grappling with five more: Public works, building and civil engineering, iron and steel, coal mining and textiles.

These Conventions have formed the main object of debate of the Conference, fiercely attacked and stoutly defended.

The attitude of the employers in this question is at least comprehensible. They want no regulation of any kind and do their utmost to sabotage the whole question (it is interesting that the one exception, the U.S.A. representative, comes from the country paying the highest wages in the world). The workers, in the main, are also clear; they want the Conventions. It is the British Government whose attitude is so singularly perplexing.

In the negotiations which led up to last year's Convention the British Government delegates did a considerable service in pointing out the important distinction between a Convention with maintenance of wages and a Convention with "maintenance of the standard of living"—which, as they have rightly insisted, is an entirely different thing. They are also presumably right when they say that the British workers do not want a reduction of hours if it is to be accompanied by reduction of wages. (It would surely have been better if the British workers had said that for themselves; but they, and not the Government, are to be blamed if they left their attitude ambiguous.)

It is the further conclusions which the Government draws that are so truly bizarre. They assume that the Convention, which does not forbid reduction of wages, imposes it. They refuse to admit the possibility that the workers might, under the Convention, get their maximum demand—and yet the text of the Convention obviously admits of the possibility and the Resolution clearly expresses the hope. Further, Mr. Brown maintains with passion that hours cannot be regulated without regulating wages—an amazing assumption.

There is in fact already international agreement on hours throughout a considerable proportion of the world. 22 countries have already ratified the Washington Hours Convention, limiting hours of work in their industries to 48 in the week. Other countries, including Great Britain, have refused to ratify the Convention, but maintain that in practice they maintain a standard at least equal to its provisions. But what of wages? There does not exist to-day one single international wage-regulating agreement in the world. Wages vary by hundreds per cent. as between the poorer and the richer countries; nor are they even stable in any country.

We have here a figure which is entirely beyond any control; and the British Government finds something dangerous in a Convention which does not promise not to divide by five-sixths this floating, variable, unregulated *x*. And then, to crown his illogicality, the British Minister of Labour goes on to argue eloquently against compulsory wage-fixing and in favour of voluntary agreement by negotiation between the masters and the men. Small wonder of Geneva, scratching its collective pate over Mr. Brown's contradictions, sighs for the breezy obstructionism of Mr. Forbes-Watson.

If the Government wishes, as it says that it wishes, to see shorter hours with higher wages, it has a perfectly clear course. It can ratify the Convention of Principle, declaring as it does so that it will not ratify any Convention of Application until satisfied that it can reduce hours in that particular industry without reducing wages. It can then collaborate usefully in the drafting of the Conventions; and ratify them when conditions in the industry concerned admit.

Italy, Sanctions, and the Covenant

By VANDELEUR ROBINSON

(A report by an eye witness of the General Council of the League of Nations Union, held at Scarborough from June 19 to 23. The text of the resolutions adopted on Italy's war in Abyssinia and League reform appears on Page 133 of this number of "Headway.")

PASSIONATE faith in collective security, in spite of the disasters of the past months, characterised the meeting of the Union's General Council at Scarborough, in June. Supporters of the League are shocked and indignant at the betrayal of the Covenant, whatever their views about the responsibility for the crime. The feeling of frustration at the failure to defend peace against Italian aggression was brought to a head by the Government's disclosure that they favoured the lifting of Sanctions by the League against Italy.

The General Council meeting showed a remarkable degree of unanimity in the Union in resentment at the proposed surrender. Some of the delegates would even have liked to commit the Union to immediate intervention in party politics by going into active opposition against the Government. To this end, they sought permission, to introduce a resolution; but, as might be expected, the well-balanced moderation of Lord Cecil and the good sense of the Council prevented any such course.

The all-party attitude of the Union was thus preserved, and it was with this in mind that the Executive's emergency resolution on Sanctions was carried.

The Council was enthusiastic in its desire that Sanctions should be continued, and promised to work for that end by all constitutional means. But it did not commit itself without proper consideration.

Lord Cecil and Sir Norman Angell gave a strong lead; on the other side, the case for the Government was ably and clearly stated by a believer in collective security—Sir Paul Latham, Member for Scarborough, who considered that in the present instance it was useless to continue Sanctions.

The delegates, in considerable excitement, heckled and interrupted Sir Paul, for his conclusions were extremely unpopular; but they joined in a tribute to his courage.

Somebody described it as "a brave speech, advocating cowardice."

Sir Paul put the question, for what purpose Sanctions were to be maintained—to help Abyssinia or to annoy Italy? The answer was variously given. Broadly, it was that the punishment of a murderer is not expected to resuscitate the victim, but to deter future murderers. As Lord Cecil expressed it, "I cannot think that the way to deal with dictators is to make it plain that we are afraid to resist them."

The fundamental issue was whether we were prepared to carry Sanctions to the point where war might be involved. On this point Lord Cecil replied: "I am not prepared to make war against Mussolini; but if, as a consequence of carrying out my Treaty obligations under the Covenant, Mussolini makes war on me, then I shall be prepared to resist." From the cheers which greeted this declaration it was evident that a

large majority of the Council was in agreement with its President.

Professor Gilbert Murray summed up the general opinion when he said: "I do not believe in preventing war simply by running away from it."

Particular indignation was caused by the report that the City of London is likely, if permitted by the Government, to raise a loan for Italy. Lack of money is the severest hardship which Mussolini is experiencing as a result of Sanctions, and it was considered especially objectionable that Britain should assist in the refreshment of the harassed aggressor with healing streams of credit.

A clause urging the Government not to permit any such loan was added to the resolution asking for the retention of Sanctions, and this was then passed almost unanimously. A subsequent resolution advocated the expulsion of Italy from the League, as provided for in Article 16 of the Covenant.

Having expressed its views on the immediate issue of Sanctions against Italy, the Council went on to adopt a comprehensive policy, calling for an all-round reduction of armaments, the provision of means for the peaceful amendment of Treaties (Article 19) and improvement of the procedure (Article 11) for the early effective handling of disputes. The Council was insistent upon the retention of Article 10, which states the responsibility of all Members of the League for the safety of each.

A vital matter which will be raised at this year's Assembly is the amendment of the Covenant of the League. Amendment may either (as the League's friends desire) add to its power, or (as its enemies wish) take away such power as it now has, by substituting limited regional pacts for the general responsibility of mutual protection.

A report drawn up by a committee at headquarters was before the Council, suggesting the lines on which changes might be made. This report (L.N.U. pamphlet 0361) was commended to the branches for study, after the Manchester delegation had obtained an alteration relative to the ascertainment of an aggressor, and another delegate had unsuccessfully attempted to strengthen the part of the report dealing with Sanctions.

The opinion of the Union is expressed in the Council resolutions: Sanctions should go on, at whatever risk, that Mussolini may be defeated; the Covenant must be strengthened, not weakened; regional pacts cannot ensure peace without a general collective system of security; provision must be made for peaceful change within the law. Such are the principal fruits of a Council meeting which was notable for a consistently high tone of debate and for a strong and responsible feeling that the collective system, as the only hope of an assured peace, must be established at whatever cost and by whatever sacrifices.

The League Must Be Strong

Social Services Needed
by Mankind

By Our Geneva

Geneva, June 21

ARTICLE 23 of the Covenant of the League of Nations is that provision of the Treaty of Versailles which created "the other League"—the League which nobody, or hardly anybody, knows at all.

"The League," in the eyes of the men in the street—and, only too often, in the eyes of the men in the newspaper offices—deals with sanctions, war, disarmament, great international treaties, peace plans and the like. "The other League" has different and just as difficult tasks to fulfil in the struggle for human happiness.

In order to carry out these tasks, the League has built up a great international machine, both in its own Secretariat and in the Secretariat of the International Labour Organisation. Some idea of its vastness can be gathered from the various obligations which are actually laid upon it by Article 23.

There is first and foremost the obligation "to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend . . ." This, of course, is the task of the I.L.O., the detailed constitution of which is given in Part XIII of the same Treaty that included the Covenant.

The importance of this work, and the measure of success attained, is shown by the fact that two of the three great States that are not members of the League are members of the I.L.O., simply because both the United States and Japan find that the I.L.O. offers them services which are well worth the contributions which they pay.

It is quite safe to say that when Article 23 gave the impetus to the creation of the I.L.O. it supplied what advertisers call "a long-felt want," and that the organisation itself is something which the nations consider well worth while, quite apart from any political considerations.

The I.L.O. has not yet secured "fair and human conditions of labour" in all the countries of the world, and nobody ever believed that it could in seventeen years. But it has made such an advance along the path to that goal as to convince all men that the goal can be reached and that given goodwill, good fortune and intelligence, the I.L.O. will reach it.

So it is, too, with the other organisations that were set up directly under Article 23 for the good of humanity and for the better functioning of the machine of commerce, trade and industry.

The section of the League which, in accordance with paragraph (c) of Article 23 supervises the stamping out

of the opium traffic and the traffic in women and children has become, itself, a piece of machinery which nobody would wish to see abolished.

Paragraphs (e) and (f) of Article 23 called into being the Health Organisation and the Communications and Transit Organisation of the Secretariat, and both of these bodies have won similar positions.

All this work, which occupies most of the staff and most of the budget of the twin Geneva organisations, has become an integral part of the pattern of world affairs.

If the League of Nations were disbanded to-morrow, the first thing that the majority of the States of the world would do would be to hold a meeting to reconstitute nearly the whole of the Secretariat, for, as somebody said, "If the Secretariat did not exist, we would have to invent it."

But it is idle to pretend that these great social and humanitarian services of the League of Nations and of the I.L.O. can make the same progress in a world in which the League is politically weak, as in a world in which the League is politically strong. In any circumstances, they can do work that is indispensable, but they are certainly not going to make headway in a world in which men, women and children are being bombed and gassed, in which rights of free speech and the common principles of justice are ruthlessly ignored, in which one country floods another with narcotics for the sake of financial and political gain and in which even in the countries that pride themselves on having made the greatest progress on the road of civilisation feel themselves obliged to spend huge sums of money on preparations for a war that, at times, seems very close at hand indeed.

There is the tragedy of the present situation: the triumph of poison gas and of native soldiers snatched by recruiting sergeants from their homes and their villages and sent to face other natives, behind machine-guns and wire for the glory of the white race is not simply an immediate triumph of one particular sort of frightfulness in one particular part of the world. It means more than that. In terms of Article 23, it means longer hours of work and lower wages for nearly every single worker in the world; it means less money spent on the prevention of disease; it means more trade barriers, more silly restrictions placed in the way of financial and spiritual prosperity: that is just the beginning. That is what the Italo-Abyssinian situation means now. If it is allowed to blossom out unchecked, it may flower into a dreadful growth which will blight the lives of all men, women and children now alive.

Between the world and this there now stands but a scrap of paper—the Covenant.

— If It Is To Do Its Work

Correspondent

Sanctions Must Stay In the
Covenant

Geneva, June 24

THE representatives of fifty Members of the League of Nations will meet at Geneva on June 30 to discuss the final arrangements for their surrender to Italy, a surrender which will consist in the lifting of Sanctions, and probably, for many of them, in the recognition, not long delayed, of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia. In addition, some States will endeavour to make a friend and an ally of Italy, and will perhaps lend Mussolini money to consolidate his East African Empire.

There have been many States decisively defeated in war who have made better terms with their conquerors than the fifty Members of the League will make with Italy: for the time being, as far as the diplomats of Geneva are concerned—and the governments which they represent—there has been a complete breakdown of all international ethics. Fear, approaching panic dominates the nations.

In describing the present situation it is quite impossible to avoid using the word incredible many times over when surveying a scene the like of which the world has never before experienced. One State, by threats of force, reduces all the other Members of the League to complete, craven submission.

Britain, France, the British Dominions, the Latin-American Powers, and the United States all yield to Mussolini, in a general *saute qui peut*, which reflects enormous discredit on all, but a superlative of enormity on Great Britain.

Britain led the Sanctions attack, bravely enough, but too cautiously: she has led the flight from Sanctions with no bravery, and in the haste of her flight, with no caution, either.

Only the Government of the Union of South Africa has, so far, had the courage to disapprove of what Britain has done, amongst the fifty-odd Members of the League, and it is bitter to reflect that the unanimity with which the States have followed the British lead in retreat is an indication, to a great extent, of the way in which many of them would have followed Britain in an advance.

Thus it is that the States will meet at Geneva in an atmosphere of treason, surrender, panic, confusion and despair.

When once the details of the great surrender have been settled, the Assembly may then pass to a consideration of the several plans for the reform of the League which may be submitted to it. Already several proposals have been made, notably by the South American States and by Señor de Madariaga, and

there probably will be several more laid before the Assembly.

So far, all these plans have had one thing in common—they begin by stating that the League has failed, and that the Covenant needs revision—with which nobody can disagree—but then they go on to propose the various revision measures which they favour, and these, almost all, call for a slackening of the bonds of obligation which the Covenant lays upon League Members, including, in several projects, the abolition of Sanctions.

How any man can come to Geneva and say "The League has failed, because it was not strong enough; therefore, let us reform it by making it weaker," is one of the many phenomena of the present situation which can only be qualified as incredible.

There must be no mistake about this. A League on the lines, say, of the Chilean programme, becomes a debating society, and a board of management for the social work of the League—until it is engulfed in the final catastrophe of war—for it will never be able to prevent the outbreak of hostilities if a big Power is determined on conquest.

If the League is to prevent war breaking out, or is to stop it once it has broken out, there must be Sanctions—compulsory and far-reaching. Otherwise the League of Nations, as a peace machine, ceases to exist.

However, for the time being, there will be little official talk of a Sanctions League at Geneva.

Possibly by the time that the next Session of the Assembly opens at the beginning of September, some statesman will have recovered his nerve, and someone will set about cleaning up the chaos of defeat and of collapse.

If they do not, the future is only too horribly clear: the League will become a vast discussion group, which will debate everything under the sun, and do nothing, while the big Powers, amongst which Italy will hold a place of honour, will play "big Power" politics, and make a mockery of the principles of Geneva.

The consolidation of the "great Power" theory will be disguised under various plans for League reform, of course, similar to that put forward for regional declarations by Señor de Madariaga. For this reason, League reform must be carefully watched. A few months ago League reform meant a stronger League, a step nearer to the fulfilment of the Geneva ideals; now League reform means a weaker League, and a giant's stride away from the realisation of the world's dream of peace.

We must cling to the hope, and strive hard to translate it into fact, that the present mood of panic and despair is a momentary weakness.

DRUGS

SPENT last year in countries where the drug problem has become a serious menace—the United States of America, Japan, China, Hong Kong and Singapore.

In the United States there are thousands of addicts.

In Japan the trouble is of another sort. Her laws are such that swift retribution falls upon anyone who supplies opium or its derivatives to her people. Japanese citizens, however, make a living by going to China and selling drugs to the Chinese.

In South China, in Canton, where opium smoking is a monopoly of the Government, I walked up streets lined on both sides with dens in which most of the berths are occupied day and night. There is a special boat service across the river, operating from 10 p.m. till 4 a.m. to convey smokers to this quarter of the city.

In the inland province of Honau, near Hwai King, a drug factory was ensconced on top of, and actually inside, the neighbouring mountains. It was being skilfully operated by Chinese Mahometans in such a manner that Government troops could not dislodge it. At any moment everything could be swiftly packed up, machines dismantled and carried underground so as to leave no evidence. There were three hundred people working in this firm. Bandits were encouraged to haunt the neighbourhood so that they could provide safe conducts for the factory agents and employees who carried the raw material from railway to hill-top.

In Hong Kong it was easy for anyone to purchase opium, but the Government had raised the price of it so high that smuggling had greatly increased. Revenue from it fell to half the previous year's figure. The sale of poisonous drugs was on the increase. The habit that foreign traffickers in China have acquired of giving the stuff away in order to stimulate sales by creating new addicts was apparently being introduced into Hong Kong.

There is a tendency among many of the foreigners who live in comfort in the East to make light of the fact of opium addiction. One is constantly told, "It is no more serious a problem than drink is at home"; "It is impossible to separate the Chinaman from his opium pipe"; "It's not so bad as the fact of poverty itself."

In Singapore I spent some time at an "anti-opium" clinic conducted by a devoted philanthropist, Dr. Chen-su-lan. His patients were evidently enjoying their treatment, evincing all the signs of regained self-respect and of confidence in themselves and their future.

A remarkable cure was accomplished in this clinic on a woman addict, who came for treatment with her two-year-old son. He was born doped, and for months she had had to blow opium smoke up his nostrils every few hours in order, she said, to keep him alive. Both of them were thoroughly cured. The child's photograph appeared in the local paper, showing him chubby and normal.

In Singapore licences are issued to smokers. A generous amount is allowed, often much more than a

workman can purchase. The result is that the card holder can do some profitable trade on his own account.

I made special investigations in the demilitarised zone of China, between Peiping and the Great Wall. The county of Changli has 400,000 inhabitants, the city 15,000. There were over thirty drug shops clustering outside the city walls, each belonging to some Japanese or Korean trader. Only one operated inside the wall, for Changli had been a prosperous and self-respecting community until quite recently, and people were not willing to rent their premises for such a trade. Outside the walls the trade starts in mere shanties, but very soon these are transformed into substantial-looking premises.

Certain specially unpleasant features struck me, such as the alliance of gambling, lotteries, brothels and pawnshops with the drug traffic. If an injection is desired a syringe is rented to the customer on the deferred payment system. The first dose is obtainable at a low price, but rises stiffly as the customer becomes an addict. Lotteries are something quite new in the people's experience, and the decrease in prosperity which has occurred during the last three years has made the idea of getting something for nothing specially attractive. One can purchase a supply of drugs for three farthings. Young people are freely served.

The city authorities had to open a clinic for drug addicts. When I visited it there were twenty-five of them, all men, mostly young. Often the number is larger. There is no accommodation for women, though they come asking for treatment.

All the hundred and sixty drug shops in the county of Changli had been set up during the previous two years, sixty-five of them during the previous twelve months.

These conditions are better than in other towns in the demilitarised zone. The worst places are Tangshan, Shankaiknau, Lanksieu, and Chiugwaugtao.

From the International Labour Office a suggestion has just emerged. It is only a recommendation, albeit one that is being brought to the attention of all governments, official representatives, employers' representatives and employees' representatives on the League of Nations.

Under the heading "Opium and Workers," Jouhaux, the French Labour Leader, calls for governments in whose colonies opium is sold to smokers, to: (a) open registers; (b) limit sales; (c) register all workers who smoke; (d) close the registers after twelve months, after which period no more smokers should be registered; (e) issue licences to permit identification of registrant; (f) notify all smokers that sales of opium will be discontinued in five years; (g) reduce quantities sold to registered smokers by one-fifth yearly; (h) establish curative centres for disintoxication; (i) prevent smokers from substituting opium derivatives or cocaine for smoking opium; (j) bring about cessation of licensed use of opium smoking within five years; (k) prevent workers who smoke opium from obtaining and smoking smuggled opium.

By

MURIEL LESTER

who has recently returned from a world tour to study the drug traffic.

COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS

Scarborough, June, 1936

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

- (i) Declares that no alteration of the Covenant or procedure of the League of Nations designed to make it a more satisfactory instrument for the prevention of war will be of any practical value unless the Governments and peoples of States Members are firmly resolved to fulfil the obligations which they have undertaken.
- (ii) Believes that the general reduction and limitation of national armaments by international agreement is an indispensable condition of a lasting peace.
- (iii) Insists that the principle embodied in Article X of the Covenant is of fundamental importance, and must on no account be abandoned.
- (iv) Asks that, in order to provide not only for the pacific settlement of all international disputes, but for the removal so far as possible of the causes of war, the Assembly of the League shall adopt without delay the procedure necessary to make Article XIX effective as a means of bringing about, without recourse to arms, the political and economic changes in international conditions which justice may require. Such procedure should include the creation of a permanent panel of competent persons from whom the Assembly should constitute a Commission of Inquiry to examine any demand made by a State Member for the alteration of existing international conditions and to make recommendations.*
- (v) Is convinced that it is of paramount importance to ensure that the Council of the League shall, in dealing with any international dispute, take vigorous and timely action to prevent the outbreak of hostilities, and to this end the Council should be enabled to adopt and put into force, under Article XI, but without counting the votes of the parties to the dispute, whatever measures are considered wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.
- (vi) Remains of the opinion that the repression of aggression, committed in breach of the Covenants of the League, requires, as part of the League system, the imposition of economic, financial, and, if necessary, military sanctions upon the aggressor.
- (vii) And believes that, in the application of such Sanctions, it is the duty of every Member of the League "to co-operate loyally and effectively in support of the Covenant and in resistance to any act of aggression to an extent which is compatible with its military situation and takes its geographical position into account." (Annex F to the Locarno Agreements.)

* * * * *

The General Council of the League of Nations Union

Deeply regrets that H.M. Government have decided to propose at Geneva the abandonment of Sanctions against Italy which have not in fact been fully tried out; and

Urges members of the Union to use all constitutional means to obtain a reversal of that decision;

In any case urges H.M. Government not to recognise the annexation of Abyssinia or to allow credits or other financial assistance to Italy and to put forward proposals for similar action by the other States Members of the League on June 30 at the Assembly;

Moreover urges that, at the forthcoming meetings at Geneva, His Majesty's Government should propose that in accordance with the terms of Article 16 (paragraph iv.) Italy, having violated the Covenant, be declared no longer a Member of the League.

* The following procedure should be adopted for the application of Article XIX of the Covenant:—

If any Member of the League desires the Assembly to advise, under Article XIX of the Covenant, the reconsideration by Members of the League of a Treaty (on the ground that it has become inapplicable) or the consideration of specified international conditions (on the ground that their continuance might endanger the peace of the world) a Commission of Enquiry should be appointed to report on the facts and to recommend what, if any, action should be taken.

After considering the report or reports of the Commission of Enquiry, the Assembly should "advise" and, if the Members of the League who are parties to the treaty or are responsible for the international conditions in question do not act upon the advice within a reasonable time, it may be desirable that the Council should consider the matter under Article XI.



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BOOK NOTICES

The Anti-Drug Campaign. By S. H. Bailey. (P. S. King & Son, Ltd. 12s.)

Mr. Bailey, who is Senior Lecturer in International Relations at the London School of Economics and Political Science, has an enviable reputation with all students who are seriously interested in world affairs, and especially with readers of HEADWAY. His primer, "The Framework of International Society," is complete as well as concise. His latest work repeats those merits and adds to them an extra measure of originality which makes it even more useful. Many years ago F. W. Maitland, with his characteristic insight, pointed out that the British people, passionately involved as they were in political controversy, were apt to lose interest when promise gave place to performance, when the Bill became an Act. British supporters of the League show something of the same very natural weakness. They enjoy the excitement of debates on high policy, but they devote little attention to the heavy constructive work by which the organs of the League are building up a League world. Yet that strenuous, persistent labour is, perhaps, the most vitally important factor in the whole League effort. Slow advances, not easily won, are in the end the best worth having, for they are likely to prove the most solid and lasting. In any case, the League exists not to put on record high professions but to translate such professions into workaday fact.

Administrative success does not come of itself in world affairs any more than in national government or business organisation. The right methods are suggested by careful forethought and given a chance by systematic planning. They cannot, however, be finally distinguished from the wrong except by trial and error. In its warfare on the drug evil, the League has achieved some of its most valuable results, and has made

some of its most instructive experiments. Mr. Bailey shows that those results have been earned by a courage which has refused to despair and a struggle which has refused to weary.

"Among the lurid accounts of the drug traffic and its menace to moral and physical welfare," he writes, "the patient work of the international and national officials who have shouldered the responsibility for drawing the net more closely round the illicit traffic is often lost to view." If there were no League an essential part of that "patient work" could not be done. Because of the League, "from the tangle of mixed motives which direct the erratic course of governmental policy, a constructive purpose has emerged and seems destined to prevail."

The Advisory Committee watches the campaign against harmful drugs along the whole world front, the Permanent Central Board checks the restriction of supplies to permitted uses and permitted quantities, the Supervisory Body sees to the correct estimating of legitimate requirements. They have been created at different dates to perform different functions as one by one those functions were shown by experience to be important. The story Mr. Bailey tells has a

significance ranging far beyond its confessed subject, interesting and important as that is.

The Shadow of To-morrow. By J. Huizinga. (Heinemann. 7s. 6d.)

Professor Huizinga is a Dutch historian with a world public. Two of his books—"The Waning of the Middle Ages" and "Erasmus"—are as well known in Britain, America, France, and Germany as they are in Holland. His latest volume shows the same gifts employed on a task which will make, perhaps, an even more vivid appeal to more numerous readers.

He joins the distinguished band who during recent years have explained, with invincible candour, amidst delighted applause, how much is wrong with our world and ourselves. Most of them see our present in the darkest colours, and promise us a not less gloomy future. Professor Huizinga is different. Being a genuine humanist, he shuns exaggeration. He recognises our parlous situation, he points out the many forces at work to worsen it, but he believes things can still be mended. He is even persuaded that we have the power and the time to mend them.

The crisis of to-day is an inner crisis. The world has let slip its values. It has lost its balance. Force suppresses reason. The mob prevails over man. The idolatries of race and State are symptoms of the evil. The age betrays itself which attempts to found the human community on a "zoological basis." Characteristically, the zealots of race and State are always "anti" something. That fact is enough to condemn them.

Professor Huizinga exhibits the case for the prosecution in alarming detail. The reader begins to wonder what can be said for the defence. The defence is uncomfortably vague. Action and reaction, he remarks, are linked together. Countless men and women of goodwill in all parts of the world are going on decently doing their duty, unostentatiously prepared to help in saving civilisation when the chance is given them. Youth inspires his nearest approach to an assured hope. It is "decisive, courageous, and of a great purpose. It walks with a lighter step than its predecessors."

Mankind, as Dr. G. P. Gooch has wisely said, made civilisation; to preserve it is a lesser task. But muddled heads and timid hearts which could not have achieved the first are incapable also of the second.

Retrospect: The Autobiography of Lord Parmoor. (Heinemann. 15s.)

This is a book of very special importance written by a man of very special distinction. It is characterised throughout by an unusual sobriety of tone and impartiality of judgment. At first the reader is inclined to regret the absence of high lights and deep shadows. But gradually he finds emerging a lifelike picture of a period, a belief, a man. In a full career Lord Parmoor has done great things for the Church, the Law, and the State. And throughout he has shown a vital consistency.

From the Book Shop

THE TRAGEDY OF ABYSSINIA

A selection of recent expressions of feeling and opinion by British men and women, with cartoons by Bernard Partridge and "Low"

Price 6^d.

Post Time is Adventure Time!

By Claude Esher

"Well, Tom, we ought to be getting along."
"Just a minute, Mark." Tom cocked his head listening. "Yes, there's the postman." He hurried from the room.
Mark looked at his wife. "Your brother's mighty keen on the postman all of a sudden," he grinned.
"Perhaps he's in love," Mavis said, "and—"
Tom's reappearance cut her short. His face was beaming as he tore open the envelope he held. Swiftly he extracted its contents and then flourished a cheque.
"Ten guineas!" he exclaimed. "Not so bad for five hours' work!"
"Two guineas an hour!" Mark looked sceptical. "Nonsense! You couldn't—"
"Couldn't I?" Tom said soberly. "Look here." He took a notebook from the writing table and opened it. "I put in thirty hours' spare-time work last month, and it's brought me in—"
"At two guineas an hour that's sixty," Mark said. "Don't believe it!"
"No; not sixty. It isn't always two guineas an hour. But I cleared thirty-seven pounds odd, anyhow."
"But how, Tom?" Mavis demanded.
Tom sat down. "D'you remember when I went abroad about eighteen months ago, Mavis, you and I corresponded rather fatuously about nothing in particular—just to amuse ourselves?"
"Well?"
"Don't you remember what Mark said when I got back? He'd read all our letters, and he said jokingly we ought to write for the Press."
"So that's—!" Mavis began. "But you're pulling our legs, Tom. You couldn't—"
"No; I couldn't have written for the Press, then, but I can now. I've made it my hobby, and a tremendously exciting hobby it is, too. Pays better than selling motors. I'll be throwing up my job if—"
"But why didn't you tell us before?" Mark demanded.
"I wanted to make good and show you it could be done. Then I was going to persuade Mavis to take a course."
"A course?" Mavis queried.
"Well, merely being able to write a good letter doesn't fit one for writing for the Press. One has to learn what to write about, how to construct and so on. A journalist friend of mine recommended a correspondence course at the Regent Institute."
"I've heard of the Institute," Mark commented. He looked at Mavis. "But we can't afford to let her have a course just now," he said regretfully. "Hard up, you know."
"The fee's nothing," Tom urged. "Besides, you can pay it by small instalments. Think of the possible results. Why, I earned about fifteen pounds while I was still taking the course—covered the fee several times over."
"In that case," Mark said, "we'll—"
"If only I could!" Mavis breathed.
"I'll send for a prospectus for you, right away," Tom promised.

★ ★ ★ ★

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Official League Publications

Slavery.—Report of the Advisory Committee of Experts. Third (Extraordinary) Session of the Committee held in Geneva, April 15 to 24, 1936. (Ser. L.O.N.P. 1936. VI.B.1.) 99 pages. 4s. net.

Repertoire des Organisations Internationales. (Handbook of International Organisations.) (Ser. L.O.N.P. 1936. XII.B.3.) 477 pages. 12s. 6d. net.

The French edition only is available. An English edition is expected to be out at the beginning of 1937.

READERS' VIEWS

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

A STRONG PROTEST

SIR,—Since 1923 I have been an active worker for the L.N.U., and am still an ardent believer in the League, *theoretically*. Actually, I am sick with disgust at what is happening.

The League, by considering first what is expedient, and only secondly what is right, has allowed Ethiopia to be conquered by the most brutal methods, and that by one of its own Members. The war could have been stopped in the first month by proper application of Sanctions and the closing of the Suez Canal. I firmly believe that if that had been done, Europe to-day might have been relatively safe, instead of being apparently on the brink of the most dreadful disaster in history. France, as a Member of the League, has always acted with the one idea of securing her own frontiers, and has throughout pursued this aim with a blind selfishness which may, finally, jettison the League, and incidentally bring about her own ruin.

Though still believing in the League ideal, I am now convinced it will not materialise in our time, nor, perhaps, for a century to come. The shame and dishonour of the betrayal by the League of Abyssinia must be carried individually and collectively by all the States Members, and by France and Britain in particular.

I feel (and, indeed, have felt for the past couple of years) that we should abandon the League for the time being, and organise a genuine peace campaign, free from all taint of self interest and nationalism, *by, through, and in the Christian Church*. Britain is still a Christian country, and it is only in this country that such a campaign could be started.

In the meanwhile, I am not prepared to continue canvassing for members for the L.N.U. under the present circumstances, unless you can supply me with a really adequate argument in reply to the above, which is approximately what I expect every thinking person to bring forward when asked to join.

I am trying to keep an open mind on the subject. Awaiting your reply.

D. M. LAW.

Bournemouth.

THE DEMAND FOR COLONIES

SIR,—I sent February's HEADWAY to an Austrian friend of some political standing, and enclose herewith a translation of his comments upon the article entitled "The Demand for Colonies." The author, like so many of his countrymen, feels that Germany's cause is his cause. To him an independent Austria is absurd. The letter, naive though it is, does give an idea of the way in which many Germans regard this Colonial question.

"You ask for my comments upon the article The Demand for Colonies, by H. D. Dickinson. Time does not permit me to deal adequately with each of the points raised, though all could be very easily challenged.

"The article was obviously written from the point of view of the British Empire, a standpoint fundamentally different from that of the German people. To the latter the matter of poverty of wealth appears as of only secondary importance. Their chief desire is for land, land for a steadily increasing population, for room and new possibilities of existence.

"The German people has no desire to be a wealthy little nation, whose citizens are content with their comfortable lives; who are pleased to be able to send their excess population, the youth of the nation, abroad, to be absorbed sooner or later by the people among whom they settle. Even this very unsatisfactory kind of emigration is difficult nowadays.

"The German people is not a decadent nation, comparable to Sweden, Norway, Denmark or Switzerland. It will not be confined within a small space like these, satisfied in its declining years with a degree of comfort, yet getting year by year slacker and more feeble, and ceasing eventually to be an important factor in the polity of great nations.

"No. We Germans regard this colonial question from a higher standpoint. We do not see it either as hypocrites or as business men.

"The recent happenings in the Far East, to say nothing of the danger signals in Europe, should make us realise that it is high time the two most powerful nations, Britain and Germany, decided, as far as foreign policy is concerned, to act together. Only such a combination will save Europe in the near future."

NORMAN C. REEVES.

Birmingham.

ITALY AND EXPANSION

SIR,—In the booklet, "The Demand for Colonies," by Mr. Lionel Birch, I notice he makes much of the alleged over-population of Italy.

It is bad policy just at the moment for the L.N.U. to issue booklets boosting Italian real or supposed grievances; although I, as a sincere member of the L.N.U., wish for fair treatment of all States.

As matter of fact, is Italy overcrowded? Her population per square mile is much under ours (British). Germany, too, is well under our congestion per square mile; and far under that of, say, Belgium.

Mr. Birch should have stated these points clearly and not confined himself to "special pleading" for Italy and Germany. He does touch on the correct figures in his Appendix I, but in my opinion the figures per square mile of, say, ten European States should be tabulated conspicuously on page 3 or 4 of his booklet.

May I, as an Englishman who has lived abroad for many years (chiefly in Switzerland) remind you that on the whole we are *blamed* for our strong support of the League. I never hear anyone, or any paper (with perhaps a very few exceptions) give us a word of praise for our efforts to make Sanctions a reality. We are not blamed for not having supported the League with sufficient vigour, but for having supported Sanctions at all!

Extreme pacifists are doing much harm to the Union and to the peace movement generally. There is no chance of world peace unless would-be evil-doers know that they run the risk of being coerced or punished. There is no such Commandment as: "Thou shalt not kill." It is really: "Thou shalt not murder" (see Revised Version of the Bible).

Lausanne.

CLIFFORD MUSPRATT.

THE U.S.E.

SIR,—Those of us who hold fast to the "United States of Europe" ideal are saddened but not surprised by the horrid shocks lately administered to current conceptions of "collective security." It has long been clear to us that so long as the "precious bane" of national sovereignty is suffered to flourish rankly throughout the world, hopes of making an end of war are utterly delusive. Do we Europeans prefer to unify and preserve our continent (as a first step to federating the world) or to perish in bloody ruin? I do not believe there is any third course.

"The League is not a super-State." That is deplorably true; but when questions of its reconstruction are debated, let us seek to give it, or its European section, some of a super-State's attributes. Let us at least pool all Europe's aeroplanes and naval forces under its sole control, and set up a supreme tribunal to administer and enforce justice

between the States, without prejudice to devoted and passionate endeavours to weld these into one political unit with complete freedom of trade, a common currency and a European patriotism and allegiance.

I know well enough what vast sentimental difficulties exist, and have no real hope of anything of the sort being done till after the next Great War or two. But that this kind of policy constitutes the only way of saving millions of lives and averting incalculable suffering I entertain no doubt whatever.

R. D. C. GRAHAM.

Gray's Inn, W.C.1.

HOME STUDY CIRCLES

SIR,—The L.N.U. could at least double its influence and efficiency if more adequate attention were given to the formation of interesting study circles. It is not difficult to start them. One method is as follows:—

The organiser goes from house to house in the road he lives in, and, if necessary, in the adjoining streets. He suggests some general subject such as "Foreign Politics" or "International Relations" for the circle and particular subjects for each paper-reader in turn. He invites every one, whether members of the L.N.U. or not, both friends and foes. Meetings are best held fortnightly in one another's homes. The members take it in turn to introduce some subject unless they are unwilling so to do. Most, however, are willing. From 10 to 20 is a good number, the circle breaking into two when a certain number (say 20) is reached.

The main idea is the gradual propagation of the idea of a world-community. Topical and controversial subjects should be dealt with freely. There should be machinery at Headquarters for spreading and co-ordinating such circles.

R. GORDON MILBURN.

Chesham Bois.

SOULS OF PREY

SIR,—A boy at a public school, Sheldon Wilkinson, of Epsom College, has sent me this poem:

Il y a des ames de proie
Comme il y a des loups.

Hush! Birds on the forest tree
At peace, carefree. Below
Animals night-prowling, seeking food.
And lo!

Two meeting, one aggresses—
Insatiable, tearing asunder, devil-urged.

Hark! God in His heaven above
Calls Peace and Love. Below
Nations, glory-seeking, make attack.
And lo!

His work is rent asunder, war besmirched.
The serpent, subtil as of old, has tempted; man obeyed.

* * * * *

God in His heaven calls Peace and Love.

I send it to HEADWAY as a message to your readers from Youth.

DRURY LOWE.

[HEADWAY apologises to its many readers who have been so kind as to send it letters for publication. But they have set it an impossible task. Its space is sufficient for only a tenth of the communications it has received. A strict selection has had to be made. In the emergency those letters which carry on the argument about Christian Pacifism have been held over until next month.

In the meantime HEADWAY asks its readers to remember that it does not agree with the opinions of all its correspondents. It does not take sides in every controversy in its columns. On the present occasion it must point out that the General Council of the L.N.U., at Cambridge, in June, 1935, resolved that: "The objects of the Union as set forth in the Royal Charter are alone binding upon all members of the Union." There is a place in the Union's ranks for Christian Pacifists.]

Why does TOM LONG tobacco
A mammoth indicate?
The answer's surely obvious—
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Dr. F. W. BOREHAM, the well-known author:

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HERE AND THERE

The attention of our readers is again drawn to the excellent opportunities of visiting Geneva offered by the League of Nations Union this year. The Junior Summer School, for boys and girls from the upper forms of public and secondary schools, from July 30 to August 9, and the visit to the Geneva Institute of International Relations from August 16 to August 22 are particularly attractive. A party of speakers, Branch officers and others interested in the work of the League will also leave London on September 5 to be present at this year's assembly. Full particulars will be sent on application to the Secretary of the Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

There will also be the Youth Expedition to Geneva from July 18 to August 2, with holiday extension in the mountains—(fee £13)—comprising five days in Geneva, informal lectures, visit to new League building and I.L.O., bathing, walking, excursions, and one week at Champéry, a mountain resort beneath the Dents du Midi.

The Committee of the **Waterloo, Crosby, Seaford and Litherland** Branch deserve hearty congratulations on the success of their Annual Summer Event, which this year took the form of a bazaar. The greater part of the success was due to an exceedingly clever Peace playlet, specially written by Mr. Eric Shave. This feature, which was entitled "Alice in Blunderland," took the form of a neat distortion of Lewis Carroll's classic, in such a way as to present an exceedingly lucid exposition of the international problems of to-day, and the value of the League of Nations, without losing sight of the comedy and drama of the original "Alice." It was well produced and acted, and the two performances drew packed audiences, standing room being the order of the day. This successful and admirable Peace play is quite within the scope of most branches and is strongly recommended for the purpose of entertaining and instructing simultaneously at gatherings of this type. Full details can be obtained from Mr. Arthur Armitage, of 74, Coronation Drive, Great Crosby. Stamped envelope should be enclosed for reply.

The **Ealing** Branch has held a short series of Sunday-evening open-air meetings on Ealing Common with a degree of success which was greatly enhanced by the splendid advance press publicity obtained for the meetings by the hon. secretary, Mr. Cave. There is a tendency on the part of so many branches to ignore the need of advance announcements, most of them being content merely to circularise existing members without the slightest attempt to rope in the "unconverted." The result of Mr. Cave's good work was that many hundreds attended the meetings who had not previously been interested in the League of Nations.

Our readers should find plenty to interest them in the forthcoming World Congress of Faiths, under the auspices of World Fellowship, which will be held at London from July 3 to July 18. In addition to twenty Sessions in the Great Hall of University College, there will be four Public Meetings at Queen's Hall on July 3, 6, 9 and 17. Among the speakers will be Lord Allen of Hurtwood, Sir Herbert Samuel, Viscountess Snowden, The Gaekwar of Baroda, and many other very prominent personages. All sections of opinion will be represented, and in addition special services will be held at St. Paul's Cathedral and at Canterbury Cathedral. Space does not permit of more details here, but fullest information will gladly be supplied by the Organising Secretary, 17, Bedford Square, London, W.C.1.

OVERSEAS NOTES

At a recent meeting held at **Stockholm** on the occasion of Professor Ruysen's visit to that city, a resolution was adopted giving expression to public feeling in Sweden concerning the present situation of the League. "The latest event in the world," says the resolution, "has shown that the League of Nations in the conflict between Italy and Abyssinia has not proved to be an effective protection of the principles on which the Covenant of the League is based. This great disappointment should not, however, give rise to despair. Criticism should not, in the first place, be aimed at the League, which is not a super-state provided with its own means of power but is in spite of its shortcomings the most important instrument in the service of international co-operation. If this instrument is not used in accordance with the laws of the Covenant, the fault is not that of the instrument but theirs who have neglected to use it properly. To the citizens who feel the responsibility and are conscious of the risks of the present situation, we address our appeal for calm and deliberation in the present state of affairs. Even if one may judge the League severely, it should not be condemned. The instrument, which to-day has not proved to be sufficiently powerful, is still of far too great value to be recklessly broken asunder. It is a great task also for the smaller countries to show their desire to promote peace preserving co-operation within a strengthened League of Nations."

NATIONAL CANVASS.

Encouraging news of the progress of the Canvass in **Hampstead Garden Suburb** has come from the secretary who reports that in six weeks 278 new members have been enrolled and that further applications are reaching the branch officers every day. As the secretary says: "This is not without interest as some proof that the faith of this country in the League of Nations is fully maintained."

The **Corsham** Branch was just beginning its canvass when the news of the final Abyssinian collapse arrived. Without delay the branch issued a poster urging the people of Corsham to make their protest against the failure, not of the League, but of those whose business it was to use the machinery of the League, by joining the Union and helping to strengthen the League for the future. The membership has been increased by 80 and further enrolments are coming in.

Two branches which were formed within the past year have benefited greatly as a result of their house-to-house canvasses. **Holt** (Wilts.) has now a membership of more than 100 out of a population of about 1,000, while **Tow Law** has increased its membership from 31 at the end of 1935 to more than 70.

In **North Norfolk** a special committee has been set up to carry out a campaign in the villages, particularly in those where no branch yet exists. As a result, groups attached to neighbouring branches have been set up in many villages; one new branch has been formed and four existing branches are in process of revival.

The **Woodhouse** (Yorks.) Branch has increased its membership from 71 to 195 and hopes to add still more to its numbers in the near future.

In **Bournemouth** the various branches are co-operating to carry out the work; the **Southbourne** Branch has already enrolled about 300 new members in its area and the **Westbourne** Branch about 200. Other branches have similar satisfactory results to report.

SCOTTISH NOTES

Aberdeen and the North of Scotland had a week-end visit from Dr. A. Maude Royden in May, during which a rally of the branches in the North-East corner of Scotland was organised on the Saturday afternoon at Turfiff when about 600 people attended from a radius of about 30 miles.

On the Sunday afternoon an audience of about 2,000 listened to Dr. Royden's address on "Women's Part in Making Peace," the meeting being broadcast on the Scottish Regional programme.

The Aberdeen branches combined in a public meeting on the Monday evening when an audience of about 1,200 attended. Dr. Royden spoke on "The World, The League and Abyssinia." The meeting was also notable for the fact that the chair was taken by the newly appointed Principal of the University—Principal W. Hamilton Fyfe—his first public appearance in the city. The meeting resulted in over 70 new members.

Dr. Royden's services were much appreciated everywhere and much interest was roused in the area.

The entertainment of the delegates to the Twentieth Annual Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies by the town of **Glasgow** has helped the work of the Union in the district. Numbers of new members in the town of Glasgow have already been enrolled by the local branch. In this connection the hospitality organised for the delegates has been responsible for bringing Union principles before people whose interest in the movement had hitherto been difficult to capture. The presence of so large a number of distinguished foreigners in the town of Glasgow, of which the public availed itself of the opportunity to be present at the meetings, was a good answer to the question so often put to League of Nations Union workers—"What are foreigners doing to help the League?" At the close of the Congress, Dr. Kose and Dr. Zilka gave lectures on Central Europe at several well-attended meetings in Glasgow and neighbourhood.

WELSH NOTES

There was a record attendance of Branch delegates from all parts of Wales and Monmouthshire at the Annual Meeting of the Welsh Council, held at the Memorial Hall, **Barry**, on June 12 and 13. The present critical international situation was discussed with keen interest. The paid membership of the Union in Wales and Monmouthshire for the last 12 months is the highest recorded since the Welsh Council was formed.

On the motion of the Rt. Hon. Lord Davies, the retiring president, Mr. Dudley Howe, J.P., C.C., of Barry, was unanimously elected President of the Welsh Council for the coming year. Mr. Howe became a member of the Union before he was demobilised in France

at the end of the War and he has been a member of the Executive and Finance Committees since the Council was formed. For many years he has served as deputy-chairman of the executive committee and chairman of the finance committee. Throughout the years he has rendered magnificent service to the Union and his election as President is welcomed throughout the Principality.

The chairman of the Barry Urban District Council gave a Civic reception to the conference and immediately after the reception Lady Davies laid a wreath on the Barry War Memorial, on behalf of the Welsh Council.

In addition to the meetings of the executive committee and of the Education Executive Group, a well attended meeting of the Women's Advisory Committee was addressed by Dame Maria Ogilvie Gordon, D.B.E., LL.D., J.P.

The main Public Meeting was addressed by Lord Davies, Mr. Dudley Howe presiding, and a large meeting was also addressed by Mr. Robert Richards, M.A., M.P., on the subject of the "I.L.O."

The conference was brought to a close with a Festival of Youth, when Councillor Dan Evans, chairman of the Barry Education Authority presided and a most admirable programme of international items was given by the schools of Barry and the Glamorgan Training College. The Rev. Gwilym Davies, M.A., gave an address on the World Message of the Children of Wales and the adjudications on the 1936 Geneva Scholarships Examination and the National Essay Competition were given by Major Edgar Jones, M.A.; and Mr. A. Oldfield Davies, M.A., respectively.

COUNCIL'S VOTE

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

Branden, Mottisfert, Woodhouse Eaves.

For 1936:—

Albrighton, Ashurst Wood, Barcombe, Burpham, Bassett, Bewdley, Baildon, Bourne, Bradford Heaton, Cocoa Works (Cleethorpes), Caldbeck, Caldecote, Cambridge (Melbourne Cong. Church), Cradley Heath, Clandon, Dunmow, Deddington, Ditchling, Fakenham, Great Ayton, Hessle, Heckfield, Hoddesdon and Broxbourne, Hambledon, Kimpton, Kirby Moorside, Lavenham, Maryport, Minchinhampton, Mytholmroyd, Newick, Oxhey, Otley, Pickering, Pershore, Stainforth, Selmeston, Storrington, Sedbergh, Stebbing, Sturmer, Stewkley, Shawbury, Sheffield (Firth Park), Tollesbury, Wootton (Beds.), Waterbeach, Woodbridge, Whittington, Wills (No. 1), Yeaden.

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

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

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

Registered Members: 5s. or more a year. (To include HEADWAY, or, if preferred, one of the subsidiary journals of the Union, by post, and occasional important notices.)

* 3s. 6d. or more a year. (To include HEADWAY, or, if preferred, one of the subsidiary journals of the Union, by post.)

Ordinary Members: 1s. a year minimum.

Life Members: £25.

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



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Occasional legacies have helped us to carry on this work, and in particular our training of crippled girls for making artificial flowers, including millions of roses for QUEEN ALEXANDRA'S Day. Also the work of our Girls' Orphanage. Further legacies are much needed.

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THE NEED OF THE HOUR

By The Secretary of the Union

THE General Council of the League of Nations Union meeting in Scarborough ten days ago spent one afternoon discussing finance. The Council faced the fact that the Union had of late suffered a substantial loss of income.

The strength of the Union's influence on public policy has frightened off some of our more cautious or timid supporters. The failure of the Sanctions Policy has disappointed and disheartened many who were over-sanguine. And the imposition of Sanctions itself has turned against the League a number of commercial firms and wealthy business men who complain that, instead of increasing international goodwill and removing obstacles to trade, the League has of late been making trouble between nations and creating new obstacles. Thus, at a time when the whole existence of the League of Nations is at stake, and the causes of Collective Security and Disarmament are in extreme danger, the one great organisation in this country on which those causes depend is gravely embarrassed by loss of subscriptions and donations.

Much of this trouble is temporary and will pass. It is certain that the League does favour peace and help international trade, and we shall in time recover much of the commercial support that we have lost. But it seems clear that henceforth the Union must learn to depend far more on the steady support of some hundreds of thousands of members and less on the munificence of a small number of individuals or companies.

In these circumstances—and in order that the Union's activities may not have to be drastically curtailed at the moment when they were never more necessary to save the world from war—the Union's Council at Scarborough appealed to the Branches of the Union to assist their national Executive by raising voluntarily, as from October 1 next, a new Maintenance Fund of £11,000 a year for its use. Not only were the Council unanimous in reaching this decision, but several Branches immediately announced their readiness to do their share; Lord Lytton announced that his Branch at Knebworth would give £20 a year to this Fund, and a representative of Manchester District Council said that his Council intended to contribute at least £100 a year. The Montague Burton Branch has already sent £100 and a number of other Branches have sent smaller amounts.

If the Branches will realise that from now on the raising of money for the Union is no less an essential part of their task than the educational and political work they have done so well, their new efforts to raise funds for the Union will assure its continuance and ultimate success. It is suggested that such efforts should include:

A campaign to enrol very many more Foundation Members;

An appeal both to Foundation Members and others to increase their subscriptions;

The house-to-house canvass for new members;

Various social activities to raise money and win members: bazaars, sales of work, American ("bring and buy") teas, drawing-room meetings, garden parties and fetes, pageants or plays presented by adults or by school children, whist drives, dances, social evenings, flag-days and the like.

These efforts should be organised and set going by small groups of determined and enthusiastic people; one might be concerned with Foundation Members, another with the house-to-house canvass, and a third with social activities. In several of these efforts the Youth Groups could no doubt render signal service.

If we can obtain the support of any reasonable proportion of the multitudes who expressed themselves in the Peace Ballot or in the protest against the Hoare-Laval proposals, our success may be so great as to raise a substantial sum in excess of the £11,000 maintenance fund required to balance the Union's current account. In that case, the finances of the Union will be strengthened by adding to its far-too-small reserve and thus enabling the Union to weather future financial storms.

In any case, the proposed addition of the £11,000 maintenance fund to the existing Council's Vote of £25,000 a year will make no greater demand upon the present Branches than the payment of the Council's Vote alone made upon the Branches of ten years ago.

The disastrous events of recent months have created in many minds a sense of helplessness to avert an impending catastrophe.

But here is a plan that enables every member of the Union to take a personal part in averting war and rebuilding peace. Recurrent war is inevitable so long as each nation regards itself, or its Government, as the supreme authority for deciding every issue which concerns it.

To convince the nations of this fundamental fact and to persuade them to regard themselves and others as parts of a greater whole must be a long and difficult task. It is to this task that the League of Nations Union and its sister societies in forty foreign countries have set their hands. The work must go on until it is complete.

A sudden big increase in the membership and income of the Union would exert a far-reaching effect upon the Parliament and Government of this country and so upon the future of the League of Nations.

It is no exaggeration to say that the League may be saved by the Union. It is within our power to alter the course of human history. J. C. M. G.