

HEADWAY

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AUGUST 1939

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THE FAR EAST

**The Executive Committee of the
League of Nations Union**

**Believes that in the interests of
World Order and lasting peace,
it is of the utmost importance
that the Japanese invasion of
China should be repelled, and**

**Calls upon the Government to
take every possible step to
secure this result, and in par-
ticular to follow the lead of the
United States in giving notice
for the abrogation of our com-
mercial treaty with Japan.**

27.7.39

HEADWAY

TOWARDS FREEDOM AND PEACE

Editorial Offices: 19, Devereux Court, Strand, London.

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CONTENTS

	Page		Page
WHAT THE L.N.U. MUST DO NOW: Editorial Discussion—No. 3	2	CANADA HELPS TO ARM THE WORLD. By K. Vellacott Jones	13
RULE OUT WAR. By Professor A. F. Pollard	4	AMERICAN POLITICS STOP AT THE WATER'S EDGE. By Barnet Nover	14
PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE. By Ronald Cartland, M.P.	5	WHICH WAY AMERICA? By Gordon Shepherd	15
THE GERMAN WAR-CRY. By Lawrence Clark	6	THE I.L.O.: 1939 IS A YEAR OF ACHIEVEMENTS AND DIS- APPOINTMENTS. By James H. White	17
LORD CECIL ON THE COVENANT AND THE GOVERNMENT. By Sir Norman Angell	7	ROGER FORTUNE REVIEWS TWO TIMELY BOOKS ON WORLD PROSPERITY AND WORLD POLICY	18
RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT L.N.U. COUNCIL MEETING	8	"HEADWAY" LETTERS...	19
BEHIND THE NEWS	10		

OUR EDITORIAL DISCUSSION—No. 3

WHAT THE L.N.U. MUST DO NOW

The third set of HEADWAY LETTERS discusses the policy which the League of Nations Union should ask the British people to approve in the difficult, and dangerous, world situation of to-day. After the meeting of the General Council at Birmingham the Editor of HEADWAY invited Miss K. D. Courtney, who is vice-chairman of the Executive Committee, to give a text to HEADWAY'S readers. She wrote:—

Dear July 19.

You ask me for my ideas as to the policy which the League of Nations Union should follow now. I therefore send you an outline based upon the theory that our policy, as distinct from our principles, must be determined by the political situation of the moment.

1. The Union should stand for resistance to aggression, as set forth in the speech made by Lord Halifax on June 29. Such resistance should be made effective by definite agreements with individual countries, including Russia. This to be regarded purely as a stop-gap policy, undertaken with the definite intention of returning to the League method.

2. Since right action depends upon clear thinking, the Union should insist upon a grasp of the difference between collective security and the kind of security obtained by means of bilateral agreements. The latter do not provide for third-party judgment. They lose the moral support of a code of international law such as that provided by the Covenant of the League, and they take us back to the anarchy of competing national interests.

Education and Action

3. The present situation has roused the country to some realisation of what collective security means and of the necessity for it. We should seize the opportunity to rally these forces, and to carry on a national campaign of education and action.

4. A demand for collective security and resistance to aggression must be accompanied by a positive policy for rebuilding world order. The L.N.U. should promote the study of this difficult subject, and should avoid facile proposals for a world conference and for the removal of grievances without a clear understanding of the problems which have to be solved.

5. World order cannot be built upon a foundation of competitive armaments. A reduction and limitation of armaments by international agreement must be an essential part of any durable peace. It should be part of the policy of the L.N.U. to make this understood.

Return to League Methods

6. Last, first, and all the time, the League of Nations Union must urge a return to League methods. It is an essential part of our task to make people realise that there is no substitute for the League, and that the difficulties which confront us to-day are in large measure due to our failure to use the international machinery which was expressly created to meet the need for international co-operation in the modern world. Of course, it should not be the policy of the Union to refuse to discuss suggestions for world co-operation in any form or for the improvement of the Covenant, but we must avoid the tendency to run away from the League of Nations because of the attempts made in certain quarters to blame the machinery instead of blaming those who have failed to use it.

K. D. COURTNEY.

Having read Miss Courtney's letter, Mr. Philip Noel-Baker, M.P., commented:—

Dear July 26.

I am in close agreement with Miss Courtney.

1. The handful of bilateral Pacts which we call our "Peace Front" are no more than a desperate expedient to avert an immediate outbreak of European war. I

AUGUST 1939

HEADWAY

3

do not believe they will succeed in that purpose unless Russia is brought into the system without delay.

2. They do not, and cannot, constitute a system of real collective security. They do not look like such a system to the peoples of the neutral and marginal countries, nor even to those persons who call themselves supporters of the League in those countries. That, in my belief, is why opinion in the United States and elsewhere has moved so strongly back to isolationism and neutrality in the last three months.

3. The Pacts must be regarded, therefore, as simply the starting point for the return—as rapid as may be—to a system of real collective security, founded on the rule of law.

Back to Geneva

4. I believe this can best be done by beginning to use the League again for the work for which it was created. Certainly no system of collective security will succeed that is not built on the fundamental conception of international relations enshrined in the Covenant. Moreover, I think it most unlikely that an attempt to redraft the terms of the Covenant or to change its machinery would really introduce great improvements, except upon the lines already under discussion by the Assembly and the Disarmament Conference between 1929 and 1933. "Back to Geneva" is therefore, a slogan of vital importance. The absence of the aggressor nations from Geneva is no argument against this view.

5. Above all, we must return to the practice of publicly debating all important questions which obtained in Geneva until 1933. The relapse into secret diplomacy has been responsible for the disasters of the last eight years in a far greater degree than is generally believed.

6. We must be ready, as Miss Courtney says, for a great campaign of education. The ideas for which we stand still live in the hearts of the peoples. They will become irresistible as soon as we can show that they are practical politics, and that no other road will lead to peace. Our opportunity may come at any moment.

PHILIP NOEL-BAKER.

The Hon. Harold Nicolson, M.P., also read Miss Courtney's letter; he calls for sacrifice:—

July 22.

Dear

I read with interest the letter written by Miss Courtney on July 19. I fully agree with her that in the present condition of the world we must differentiate between a short-term and a long-term policy. Lord Halifax's splendid speech on June 29 appears to me to give the completely right tone to the short-term policy, namely, one of resolution without anger. I also fully agree with her regarding the difference between "Collective Security" and the balance of power. The essence of that difference is that the competing forces agree to submit to arbitration or third-party judgment, rather than to have recourse to war.

What is Collective Security?

I also agree with her that the public should be educated to a more precise and realistic conception of what "collective security" means. I cannot but feel that many thousands of people fell into the habit of using that expression as some mystic incantation and of

believing that it implied that other Powers would always help us whereas we were under no obligation to help other Powers. And, finally, I agree with her that if any durable peace is to be secured, there must be some general agreement for the reduction and limitation of armaments.

Short Term and Long Term

Miss Courtney is too experienced a student of international affairs not to realise that in the present situation a short-term policy is the only one which can prove immediately effective. This realisation is in fact implicit in her letter, but I doubt whether she makes the distinction between the short-term policy and the long-term policy sufficiently apparent. It is of slight value to blame successive Governments for their hesitation to defend the League since 1931 unless we also admit that we who believe firmly in the League policy have failed clearly to bring home to the public that such a policy is not one of evasion of difficulties but of resolute confrontation of difficulties. I have always felt that the peace ballot was not a clear-sighted or courageous confrontation of these difficulties and that its effect was harmful rather than helpful.

In my opinion the League of Nations should take the doctrine of sacrifice as one of the many elements in its propaganda. Such sacrifice has a dual aspect. It implies, as a short-term policy, resisting violence by force. As a long-term policy it implies making special concessions and surrendering historic advantages for the purpose of achieving a world order based on disarmament, arbitration, and an international police force strong enough to enforce the conclusions of any arbitral tribunal. It is for this reason that I feel that the New Commonwealth group are doing valuable work in emphasising that the idealism of the Covenant is ineffective unless backed by the realism of force.

HAROLD NICOLSON.

Finally, Mr. Wickham Steed strikes a more emphatically critical note:—

July 23.

Dear

On Points 1 to 4 (inclusive) of Miss Courtney's valuable letter I agree with her, with one reservation about the "League method" mentioned in Point 1. Points 5 and 6 need, I think, to be more clearly defined.

First, as to Point 5. World order certainly cannot be "built upon a foundation of competitive armaments," and "a reduction and limitation of armaments by international agreement must therefore be an essential part of any durable peace." Certainly, too, it "should be part of the policy of the L.N.U. to make this understood." Not less essential is it, in my view, that those who try to make it understood should themselves understand exactly what is to be understood.

Time Limit to Alliances

Independent national armaments (which are necessarily competitive) serve to affirm national sovereignty and independence. Military alliances are combinations to preserve the national sovereignties and independence of their members. Like every contract, they limit to some extent the freedom and independence of the con-

tracting parties. Usually there is a time-limit to alliances and contracts, the underlying assumption being that the parties to them shall be able, sooner or later, to resume individual freedom of action.

The form of alliance or contract known as the League Covenant was no exception to this rule. Though a definite time-limit was not fixed for membership, members were free to withdraw from the alliance at two years' notice.

I am convinced that there can be no lasting "reduction and limitation of armaments by international agreement" without a permanent surrender of national sovereignties and independence to whatever extent may be necessary for the creation of real "collective security." I am convinced also that "collective security" must fail if (a) it is merely directed against war, and (b) if it is not based upon an effective union, as distinguished from an alliance, between peoples determined to create peace.

Armaments are Needed

The primary object of such a union must not be merely to reduce armaments. It must be to ensure that collective armaments shall not fall below whatever level may be needed to deter aggression. The pooling of national armaments under the executive authority of a "collective security union" would allow the military as well as the economic and financial strengths of members of the union to be better co-ordinated and less wastefully employed than they are likely to be under any form of alliance, including the present Covenant of the League.

WE MUST RULE OUT WAR ALTOGETHER

Professor A. F. POLLARD Examines The Balance of Power

THE CORRESPONDENCE columns of *The Times* have recently contained a trickle of letters in which the sound common sense of the British people has been praised. Thank heavens, the writers have said, we have got rid of that nonsense about the League Covenant and collective security and the rest, and have returned to the altogether admirable and thoroughly British policy of the balance of power.

To that discussion an illuminating foot-note has been contributed by one of the most distinguished of modern English historians, Professor A. F. Pollard. Elaborating the text that the phrase "balance of power" by itself means nothing at all for it means endless different things, he writes:

It was introduced into the annual Mutiny Bill in 1729 to justify the keeping of a standing army in time of peace, and was repeated every year until 1867, when it was by common consent of both Houses of Parliament

deleted. In 1752 David Hume wrote: "It is a question whether the *idea* of the balance of power be owing entirely to modern policy, or whether the *phrase* only has been invented in these latter ages." Cardinal Wolsey's biographer, Fiddes, revealed in 1724 its real British meaning when he referred to "that grand rule, whereby the counsels of England should always be governed, of preserving the balance of power in her hands." There was, perhaps, a faint echo of that idea in Lord Goschen's phrase in 1901 about "splendid isolation," and learned French and Dutch historians have been somewhat satirical about a balance of power which Great Britain was to hold by keeping out of the scales and holding them, like Justice, with an impartial and upright mind. As Sir Henry Craik remarks in his edition of Swift, "a balance ceases to be true as soon as its adjustment is entrusted to any one."

The crucial ambiguity is between the "simple" and the "multiple" balance, between a pair of scales and, for in-

stance, a chandelier with a number of lights. Castlereagh had the latter idea, and it was appropriate enough to the problem of Napoleon. If one State became over mighty, the others were to combine to balance and restrain it. This worked well enough for a time; but the States ultimately fell into two groups, the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, and the race for armaments began which inevitably led to war, and war to President Wilson's idea of a "community of power." Just now Russia is reverting to the eighteenth-century British idea of keeping the balance of power in her hands." But our idea is not a "balance of power," which has always, sooner or later, led to war. Our object is, by diplomacy and rearmament, to create such an overwhelming "Peace Front" as to rule out war altogether; and the immediate future of mankind lies in the hands of Russia and the United States. Ruling out war is an indispensable prelude to conciliation.

It stands to reason that when a collective security union should have made successful aggression impracticable on any large scale, its armaments would be reduced to whatever level might be sufficient for an effective international police force.

One great advantage of an even temporary military alliance over the League Covenant is that neutrality is ruled out in the event of aggression against any party to the alliance. The League Covenant—notably in the first lines of Article 16—ruled out neutrality in principle, though "League methods," and other provisions of the Covenant, admitted it in practice. The meaning of neutrality is that it affirms the right of League members, in certain eventualities, to hold aloof from a conflict and therefore, by implication, to treat war (in contradistinction to police action in the service of law) as a lawful undertaking.

What are League Methods?

This brings me to Miss Courtney's sixth point, which calls for "a return to League methods." What are "League methods"? Are they the methods contemplated by the men who drafted the League Covenant or the actual methods of the League as adopted, say, between 1931 and 1937? When this question is gone into I fancy that the full force of Mr. Clarence Streit's contention will be felt—that a League, as distinguished from a union of independent States, retaining national sovereignty over armaments and rejecting "automatic commitments" can never ensure collective security, let alone create peace by positive and constructive international helpfulness.

WICKHAM STEED.

PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE

By RONALD CARTLAND

It is not satisfactory that, at a time like the present, the House of Commons should hand over their rights and responsibilities to the Executive

THE Session is virtually ended, for though we shall return to Westminster in the early Autumn, if the normal custom is followed, we shall meet merely to listen to the prorogation. A few days later the King will open a new Session. There is talk of a General Election in the last weeks of October or the first weeks of November. If an election were to take place, then, of course, dissolution would replace prorogation.

Thanks to Air Minister

Personally, I do not believe that there will be an election this year. My belief may be falsified, but in that event the international sky will have cleared far more quickly and effectively than, at the moment, I think likely. This is not that I am naturally pessimistic, or, using Sir Samuel Hoare's misapplied term, a jitterbug. I am not, however, prone to wishful-thinking. I recognise wishful-thinking in others for what it is, and nothing in the last two or three months has convinced me that Herr Hitler has undergone change of heart. I confess there are many, in the House of Commons and outside, who would disagree, who consider that our rearmament has made such progress that our stocks of guns and aeroplanes have, in our mere possession of them, convinced the Führer that his game is up.

There is no doubt that our strength is now formidable. The thanks of the nation are due, in particular, to Sir Kingsley Wood, while depreciation of Mr. Hore-Belisha should certainly cease. As Secretary of State for War he is in the same class as Lord Haldane. He has, perhaps, had greater difficulties to contend with. Both the introduction of Conscription and the setting-up of a Ministry of Supply are to his credit more than to that of anyone else. But to suggest that there is no more to be done, or that Herr Hitler is now convinced that we shall fight and win is, I believe, to underestimate our major obstacle to peace—the obstinacy of the German leaders and their misreading of our revived determination.

True Spelling of Danzig

The blinkers have fallen from British eyes. The true spelling of Danzig, as I heard Mr. Churchill say the other day, is H. I. T. L. E. R.; and, as Mr. Harold Nicolson wrote in a remarkable article in the *Spectator*, it is the revelation of the real character of Herr Hitler to our

nation that will make our men march to battle.

What a pity it is, therefore, that rumour should still persist that the Cabinet, or some distinguished members of it, yet hanker after appeasement. It is this suspicion of the Government's intentions which has led to protests because Parliament is to adjourn on August the fourth and can only be called together again (before the appointed day) on the request of the Government themselves. It is not satisfactory that, at a time like the present, the House of Commons should hand over their rights and responsibilities to the Executive. Yet many people who would like a change in procedure are influenced and disturbed by the difficulties of framing any other. There is, of course, little doubt that a personal demand to the Prime Minister for the summoning of Parliament from the Opposition leaders and such Privy Councillors as Mr. Churchill, Mr. Eden and Mr. Duff Cooper would meet with success. What so many people fear is that this year we shall be faced with a crisis as we were last year, and Parliament will be recalled when it can do nothing more than acquiesce in a *fait accompli*.

Support for Liberals

By-election results can be made to prove almost anything. It is to be expected that, in by-elections, Government votes will decline; but the only conclusion which it might be safe to draw from recent contests is the growth of support for "Liberals." Even if they do not top the poll as Mr. Horabin and Mr. Vernon Bartlett did (the inverted commas above are on Mr. Bartlett's behalf) their candidatures arouse intense interest and enthusiasm. The defeat of Mr. St. John Philby, at Hythe, was heartily welcomed. The loss of his deposit may possibly have convinced him that the British people—he had the impudence to label himself People's Candidate—eschew defeatism and surrender, and recognise their duty to their allies and themselves.

Herr Hitler has at least accomplished one thing. He has awoken in many—Members as well as others—a sense of Empire. The House feels sorry for Mr. Malcolm MacDonald. He is very popular, is regarded as an able and conscientious Minister; but what man with the problem of Palestine on his hands

could cope adequately besides with the Colonial Empire? Quite a number of Members are seriously worried over the state of our colonies. We cannot afford further troubles after the West Indian pattern. Sir George Gater's appointment as permanent under-secretary is thoroughly approved. The L.C.C.'s loss is the Empire's gain. But more is required and is being asked for. Shortly we shall have some Colonial Committee—a permanent quasi-official Parliamentary body—who will tackle questions of administration and our whole policy of Colonial development.

U.S. and Russia

The defeat of President Roosevelt's neutrality proposals and the languid pace of the Anglo-Soviet negotiations have cast a gloom over those who realise the value of an Eastern front for Germany's attention, and the immense weight, in any war, may be prevented before it breaks out, of American sympathy expressed in tangible form. I am glad to see the majority of the House of Commons treat as ludicrous and greet with jeers the attempts of some to disparage the Soviet Union in discovering vast complex plots for world disruption. As for the United States, we should abide by the adage and reckon silence more valuable than speech.

Everyone asks what are the prospects of peace? Dr. Goebbels' latest propaganda asserts that "the English have eyes only for the cinema, greyhound races, the betting rooms, horse shows, ducks in the park, newest American magazines and games. Londoners are not aware of the position from which they cannot escape. How many quarters, eighths, sixteenths and thirty-second parts will be left of the British paradise when the bombs fall?" It would suit Dr. Goebbels' book to turn us, in our efforts to make ourselves secure, into a totalitarian grimly-disciplined State.

Hitler's "Fifth Column"

This language, and the obvious concern at the King-Hall letters getting into German homes, shows that in the war of nerves all the victories will not be to one side. Members are anxious about Lord Perth's activities. Has he yet started work? Some of Hitler's "fifth column" are raising their heads again. We must for ever be vigilant. It is on this that the prospects of peace depend—even at holiday time.

THE GERMAN WAR-CRY

LAWRENCE CLARK, the author of this article, is a young Cambridge man who a few months ago went to Germany to see for himself. He was anxious to discover what exactly is the case the Nazi leaders put to the German people and how war would be explained and justified. His conclusions are different from those usually accepted in the democratic countries.

DESPITE myopic nationalistic policies in all countries since the war, despite consequent pedantical governmental preparations for war, there is everywhere little popular appetite for war. This distaste is not unreasonable in days of poison gas.

Now, wars cannot be without war-cries. Those fighting must have belief in their cause, or they will very soon give way. That belief, to endure sufficiently, must be based upon foundations more substantial than a propagandist stunt in the newspapers.

We, in the democratic bloc, take it for granted that there will be no war unless Germany, the leading Power in the other bloc, makes it. Therefore, on this legitimate assumption, there will be no full-scale war in Europe unless the German leaders both choose to make it and also can provide the German people with some war-cry which those people will believe.

Thinking these thoughts, wishing to weigh the chances of general war in Europe and to minimise these chances, I have lately been in Germany, wondering if in point of fact the Germans have such a war-cry, potent enough to hurl them against the democracies, if such should be their leader's purpose, to the embarrassment of civilisation.

I will tell what I have discovered.

* * *

Considering their history over the last twenty years, we may understand that their grievances, which sound abstract and fabulous only to our unimaginative selves, are to them an experience in their bones. It is to this experience that the Nazis appeal; on this soil that they flourish.

In 1919 the Germans felt that they were defeated for ever. Children were underfed; foreign troops were in the Reich; blocs of territory had been detached in defiance of Wilson's Fourteen Points. Industry was paralysed; Communism flared up here and there, like a will-o'-the-wisp of destructive flame, in the cities. The mind of Germany was dissipated. The young roamed the country in bands, vaguely hoping for a new order to drop from the clouds of their own minds. Everywhere there was discussion, egotistic and partisan.

Uncounteracted, the landslide towards anarchy went on. Inflation liquidated the internal debt and the savings of the middle classes. In some industries, such as coal and electricity, a period of "rationalisation" began, on loans from Wall Street. But still Germany as a whole was not coordinated, but split up into fragments. And there was enormous unemployment.

Remember that into these depressed areas had been demobilised an army which for more than four years had struggled with splendid courage in the field, almost to victory. Hitler was one of these ex-servicemen, but more inspired than the rest, having indulged in his youth an intense interest in the social problems of the Germans. The stage was set for such a man; he took his chance on it, and is still acting the flamboyant role of national saviour, which he inaugurated in those bad old days.

* * *

Consider that role in its dual aspect of home politics and foreign affairs.

In home politics he could appeal to the people over and against the obvious incompetence of his opponents. On this plea he won power. Some centralised Government had to be set up; and most preferred that this should be done in familiar nationalistic terms rather than in internationalist-Marxist terms. Among a host of intellectuals, dialectical materialists, writers, and critics, Hitler alone positively came forward to do the thing.

So Germany was reorganised internally by force because it seemed to many the lesser of the crowding evils of that time. In Germany to-day one still finds an emotion of gratitude to Adolf Hitler for undertaking this work and this responsibility.

* * *

But the nature of this, his reorganisation at home, was conditioned by his further aim, less obvious at first, of successes in foreign affairs.

This aim led to the unemployed being conscripted not for productive schemes, but into fighting and munition-making services. The Germans supported Hitler that he might reorganise the country; that was the

sugar-coating hiding from them at first the bitter pill of an effort for world domination, a drive towards inevitable disaster. Now that internal order has been restored, the military nature of the further aim is apparent; the sugar-coating has worn off, the pill is bitter.

For the German people do not want to be gambled with, on the world-political tables.

The result is they must see they have been misled by their present leaders, unless the latter can prove to them that Germany is being "encircled" by the deliberate policy of Britain, "the ravenous wolf." Thus the propaganda machine attempts to justify huge armaments to its own people.

* * *

It can do so, for this reason alone: it can play upon the grievances of the Germans, which are still potent, because still unredressed.

Versailles is the chief of these: "not a peace but a penal sentence." Secondly, the other nations did not keep their promise to disarm. Thirdly, the British talk a deal about self-determination; but they did not allow it to the Austrians (the right to a plebiscite for union with Germany was denied), nor to the Sudetens, nor to the Danzigers. Fourthly, we "stole" the colonies.

Under cover of these grievances, the danger is that the Nazis may be able to launch some offensive against civilization, which the Germans would never sponsor, if they could see its true character beneath its mask. In such an offensive, their war-cry would be: "Encirclement of Germany by double-dealing, dishonourable, democratic politicians, who have continually resisted our claims since 1918, must be broken forever."

On such a war-cry, battering rams may be set in motion for the destruction of Europe.

The tragedy is that such a war-cry would not be entirely untrue.

* * *

Such a tragedy may be averted by natural common-sense.

The Germans should be made conscious, that we are willing to allow them a "fair deal," on certain principles, such principles as could support a real peace. Such a declaration, made at the right

moment and through the right agent, would steal the thunder of Goebbel's Press, deflate the German war-cry, and remove the chance of war, by removing the motive which alone could make it. It would liquidate the capital of legitimate grievances, on which the Nazis would float their ambitions. It would free the Germans—and ourselves—from

a tyranny of emotional half-truths. It would satisfy our consciences; for it would mean, that if war yet came, we should not be fighting for international justice, against a people to whom we had denied such justice, in point of fact, when we were world-victors; but against a people who had deliberately refused fair terms.

When I was lately in Germany, I promised the people there to write an article on these lines, and to try to find an editor who would publish it, on returning to England. Those people were all friendly, without an exception, and as much as ourselves they are wishing for deliverance from our present evils. It is quite possible.

LORD CECIL ON THE COVENANT AND THE GOVERNMENT

SIR NORMAN ANGELL

IN the middle of July Lord Cecil contributed a notable letter to *The Times*, in which he reminded those who objected to any criticism of the Munich policy that after all we had definitely pledged ourselves "to respect and preserve as against external aggression the political independence and territorial integrity" of Czechoslovakia, as of China and of Abyssinia, and that instead of doing our best to fulfil these pledges we took a course which sacrificed the independence of those States. Whereupon various critics "went for" Lord Cecil on the ground that circumstances have changed since the undertaking was given, and that as those associated with us in the pledges were not prepared to co-operate we were released from our obligation involving many other similar arguments which have now become familiar.

One critic particularly attempted to make the point that nothing could compel a person or State to do the impossible; and that policy should be based upon the possible. Some, of course, argued—as so many argued in respect of sanctions in 1935—that to have attempted really to fulfil our pledges would have involved war.

Do not Lord Cecil's critics miss the point of his indictment, and beg the question, when they assume that fulfilment of our Covenant pledges was either beyond our power or would have involved war? The implication of Lord Cecil's argument, as I read it, is that if we had been prepared to do in fulfilment of our Covenant obligations what we do readily enough when our direct and immediate interests seem to be involved, the law would have been vindicated without war; and that, further, the question is not whether we could escape the obligations under a somewhat narrow and legalistic reading of the Covenant in given circumstances, but whether fulfilment would have added to our material security and moral prestige and the peace of the world.

We were told in 1935 that to defend the Covenant meant war. But if Abyssinia had been British territory we all know that Italy would never have attempted its conquest, which means that, had we made it clear that we would defend the Covenant as we would defend Kenya, defence of the former would have been secured without war as certainly as defence of the latter. Would it have involved greater risk in, say, 1934, before German rearmament and the formation of the Axis, to commit ourselves to defend the independence of Abyssinia than it does to commit ourselves to the defence of the independence of Poland after the rearmament of Germany and the formation of the Axis?

While professing to stand by the Covenant, and describing it sometimes as our sheet anchor, we have in practice,

when it comes to taking risks, applied two standards: for the law and the Covenant, very little risk indeed; for the protection of our own special interests, very great risks if necessary. We do not regard the defence of the law as a major interest; as an indispensable part of our own defence. So long as we thus fail to grasp the moral foundations of defence, our policy will remain amoral, if not immoral, and we shall remain as insecure as we are to-day, twenty years after the overwhelming defeat of the aggressor, who has now returned, a greater menace than ever. Is our next victory over him to be as effective?



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RESOLUTIONS AT L.N.U. GENERAL COUNCIL

Resolutions adopted at the twentieth annual meeting of the General Council of the League of Nations Union, held in Birmingham from July 7 to 10, 1939.

The General Council of the League of Nations Union:

REBUILDING WORLD ORDER.

Convinced of the need for applying the principles of the League of Nations to prevent aggression and to rebuild world order,

Welcomes the recent declaration of Lord Halifax that our immediate task is to resist aggression and that if international law and order is to be preserved we must be prepared to fight in its defence,

Holds that the first necessity for the peace of the world is the formation of a Peace Front too formidable to be challenged, which will "preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence" of all nations concerned; and that when that object has been attained all States, including Germany, Italy, and Japan, should be invited

(1) to confer about all serious international grievances and claims; and

(2) to declare their readiness to accept Third Party judgment as to all such grievances and claims,

Believes that the League machinery and procedure, including publicity, should henceforth be used as far as possible for the settlement of all international questions such as those dealing with boundaries and other territorial matters, economics, refugees, social and humanitarian questions, and generally any question which threatens to disturb peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends,

Welcomes and supports the "wider application of the principles which now obtain in the mandated territories" in colonial matters, as suggested by Lord Halifax, but

Considers that no progress can be made towards an enduring peace until all Powers have definitely abandoned the use of war as an instrument of national policy and have agreed to effective provisions for the reduction and limitation of armaments.

RUSSIA.

Regards it as of the first importance for the cause of peace that there should be unreserved co-operation between Great Britain, France, Russia and the other members of the Peace Front in resisting aggression, wherever it may be threatened in Europe, and

Trusts that no further delay will take place in bringing about an agreement with this object.

RAW MATERIALS FOR WAR PURPOSES.

Noting Japan's outrageous and increasing aggression in the East and her high-handed conduct at Tientsin and other Treaty Ports, and the manifest danger that Germany and Italy may continue their series of aggressive blows in the West; and

Noting that huge quantities of raw materials, required for war purposes, have been imported lately by these countries from the British Empire;

Re-affirms the Union's often repeated demand for concerted measures to withhold purchasing power and war supplies, including oil, from Japan; and

Urges that immediate action should be taken, by Governmental purchases or otherwise, to stop, as far as possible, exports of armaments, or materials required for their manufacture or use, from British Empire sources to Germany and Italy, and that every effort should be made to secure the co-operation for this purpose of France, Russia, the United States and the Netherlands.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND ALBANIA.

Realising that the destruction of the independence of Czechoslovakia and Albania is part of a policy of aggression which threatens the peace of the whole world,

Urges H.M. Government to continue its refusal to recognise the seizure of these two countries by Germany and Italy respectively.

REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS.

Believing that the present armaments race must lead to universal disaster,

Welcoming the initiative of President Roosevelt in making his appeal to the Dictator States for a truce of ten years, to be accompanied by negotiations for the reduction of armaments and the remedying of economic and other grievances,

Urges H.M. Government to take the earliest opportunity in concert with other Members of the League of Nations and the United States in bringing about a limitation and, if possible, a reduction of armaments in accordance with Article VIII of the Covenant.

The Council trusts that in pursuance of this object the Government will work for economic disarmament and improvement of facilities for international trade.

REFUGEES.

Welcomes the union of the Office of the League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees with that of the Director of the Inter-Governmental Committee;

Urges

(1) That in framing regulations for entrance for refugees into this country and proposals for their emigration to other parts of the Empire, the Government should recognise

(a) that refugees constitute a potential asset which if used aright will strengthen any country in which they are received, and

(b) that their migration should be linked up with schemes of colonial development;

(2) that, since the problem is beyond the unaided resources of private organisations, the various governments concerned should recognise their immediate obligation to assist these organisations financially either by direct subsidy or by a guarantee of an international loan;

(3) that, having regard to the great value of a travel document such as the Nansen Passport, efforts should be made to persuade the various governments concerned to adopt the relevant provisions of the League Convention of February 10, 1938.

(4) that H.M. Government should instruct its diplomatic representatives abroad to give all possible assistance to the work of protecting refugees.

(5) that H.M. Government should make every endeavour to enlist the wholehearted co-operation of the Dominions for the extensive settlement of refugees in their countries.

SPANISH REFUGEES.

In view of the fact that the problem of the Spanish Refugees is not at present within the province of the Office of the League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, requests His Majesty's Government to submit proposals at the next Assembly of the League to enable these refugees to be included within the scope of the activities of the Office.

JEWISH REFUGEES.

In view of the fact that large numbers of Jewish families already settled in Palestine are able and anxious to undertake the support of aged relatives desirous of escaping from countries under Nazi domination; and

In view of the fact that admission into Palestine of this class of refugee can have no permanent effect upon the economic or political future of the country;

Urges His Majesty's Government to allow these old people to rejoin their families without further delay, counting them as outside the numerical quota of immigrants to Palestine envisaged in the White Paper of May, 1939.

PALESTINE.

In view of the opinion, widely expressed in Parliament and elsewhere, that the policy of the Government with regard to Palestine, as laid down in the White Paper of May 17, 1939, is not in accordance with British obligations under the Mandate,

Urges

(1) That the Mandatory Power shall refrain from putting into execution any steps towards implementing the new policy envisaged by the White Paper before the Permanent Mandates Commission and the League Council have reached their conclusions on the compatibility of this policy with the Mandate.

(2) That the Report of the Permanent Mandates Commission be published before the end of July, in order that Parliament may have full information, before adjourning, on a matter which so vitally affects the honour of this country.

SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES.

Believing that in the absence of some satisfactory procedure for the redress of grievances and the removal of injustices no system of collective security will of itself suffice to ensure the maintenance of a just and lasting peace,

Reaffirms the proposals enunciated in its resolution (No. 706) on this subject adopted at Scarborough in June, 1936,

And urges the adoption of a procedure, whereby all law-abiding nations, while expressing their determination collectively to resist all attempts to secure the revision of the status quo by methods of violence, would set up machinery for the impartial and equitable settlement of such international disputes as had proved incapable of solution by negotiation and conciliation and which by their non-judicial character were unsuitable for reference to the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

The Council considers that the object indicated in the preceding paragraph could best be achieved either by the appointment of a Permanent Tribunal or Commission consisting, not of Government representatives, but of individuals who "appear to offer the highest guarantees of competence and impartiality," or alternatively by the nomination of a panel of such persons

from among whom Commissions could be constituted ad hoc as necessity required: it being understood that in either event the report of the Commission or Tribunal would be submitted as a recommendation to the Assembly of the League.

INTERNATIONAL AIR POLICE FORCE.

Whilst welcoming the steps recently taken by H.M. Government in the direction of assuming, in conjunction with other countries, wider mutual obligations for resistance to aggression,

Considers that unilateral or bilateral guarantees can only be regarded as satisfactory in so far as they represent preliminary measures to the establishment of a system of collective security in which all law-abiding nations would be pledged to join in resisting an attack upon any one of their number.

The Council therefore reiterates the terms of its resolution adopted in June, 1938,

Urging upon H.M. Government the pressing necessity for an international agreement to abolish all national military aviation, to place civil aviation under international control, and to establish an international air police force in order to prevent the abuse of civil aviation; and, in view of the developments of aggressive international action.

Urging the vital necessity of taking all possible preliminary steps to facilitate sanctions, both economic and military, so that these shall be as prompt and predictable as possible and so that the practical certainty of overwhelming power being immediately available shall prevent war from breaking out at all.

Believing that by these means the States members of the League can contribute to a system of international policing as a step towards a more complete system of international police action.

RULE OF LAW.

Refers the following propositions to the Executive and branches for discussion and study:—

(1) It is urgently important that the relations between all national States should be brought under the rule of law, based on equal justice for all nations and the prohibition of aggression and supported by effective means of enforcement.

(2) Such a system of law involves the establishment of a legislative body, upon which the Governments of all the States to be bound by the law should be entitled to representation.

(3) The legislative body, in order to work effectively, should be entitled to take all its decisions by prescribed and reasonable majorities, and the system should give to each State a reasonable weight of voting power.

(4) The powers of the legislative body should include the making of

(a) general laws to regulate, in the interests of international peace, justice and fair dealing, the conduct of all States, and to provide for the establishment and carrying on of services of general benefit;

(b) special laws to settle particular disputes or adjust particular relations between particular States; and

(c) procedure laws to prescribe how the work of the legislative body shall be conducted, and how its laws shall be executed and enforced.

(5) Such a system of law could best be established by a reconstruction of the League of Nations, with extension of its membership and powers, but it would be capable of establishment by the creation of an international legislature as a separate body co-ordinated with the League.

(6) In order to bring such a system of law into operation a world conference should be held, to which all self-governing States (including fully self-governing dominions) should be invited to send representatives. It should, if possible, be agreed in advance between all the States that the conference should not require unanimity for its decisions, but should be entitled to take decisions by specified and reasonable majorities, and that the several States should be entitled to specified representation and voting power.

(7) Until the conduct of all Governments towards one another is controlled by the power and machinery of such a system of law, individual Governments cannot be secure against aggression and threats of violence and other forms of injustice to them or their people, or enter with confidence into negotiations and agreements with other Governments, and the general desire of the peoples of the world to live in peace and friendship, free from the fear of war and the burden of armaments, cannot be attained.

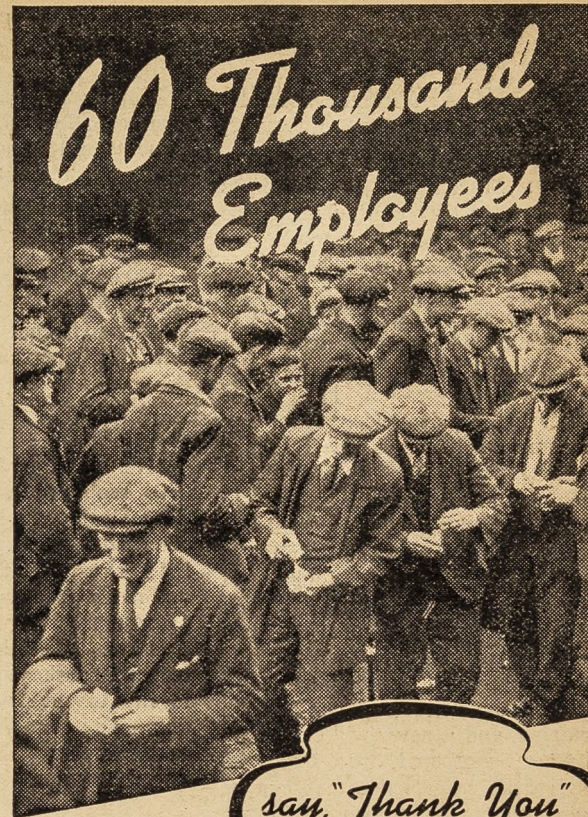
CONTROL OF ARMS PRODUCTION

Recognising the necessity, under present conditions, of a vastly expanded production of armaments in this country;

But recognising also that there is an intolerable contrast between the terms on which the Government now demands the profit-making services of industry and those on which it demands the life-risking service of the armed forces;

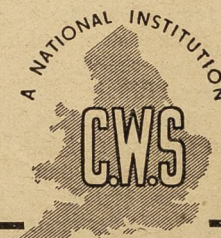
Believing that neither an improved costing system nor an increase of taxation can adequately meet the need;

Urges H.M. Government to make all firms engaged in war industries into temporary agents of the Government, so far as their war production is concerned, working upon Government account, under financial control and technical direction of a Ministry of Supply.



WHEELWRIGHTS, electricians, moulders, tailors, jam-boilers, tobacco-workers, weavers, woodworkers . . . nearly sixty thousand of these C.W.S. employees will again draw their usual full trade-union wages at the end of this week—thanks to you.

They'll greet the coming week with an enviable sense of security based on the knowledge that their conditions of work are second to none in the country, that no spectre of unemployment threatens their happiness. Again thanks to you. Your support of C.W.S. products, which you buy regularly through your local Co-operative Society, ensures these things. Because the C.W.S. exists "to Serve, and not to extract profit from, the people."



WITH AN INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION

BEHIND THE NEWS

ECONOMIC APPEASEMENT?

AFTER political appeasement, economic appeasement. The word is not used: Munich has destroyed its credit. But the way of thinking is the same; and the consequences would once again be disastrous. They would be disastrous because the payment of Danegeld never persuades the Danes to stay at home. The removal of injustice is a means to peace; tribute paid under a threat of aggression incites the aggressor to new demands. Successive surrenders to force have led Germany, Italy and Japan to use force still more.

The only hope of world peace rests in a world order whose principle shall be: "Nothing to violence, everything to reason." No shadow of a doubt must be allowed to remain; all the world must know that a Peace Alliance has been formed, sufficiently strong to defeat any attack, and resolved to meet any attack with a common defence. When such an order exists, and it never will exist until its defence is assured, then under its protection the constructive task can be begun of remedying proved grievances. Nothing except disaster can result from the reverse procedure of first allowing war to prevail over law.

£1,000,000,000

THE FACTS would seem to be these, so far as they are known. But they are not all known, for questions in Parliament and interviews in the Press have failed to bring to light the sources from which full information could be obtained.

For several weeks past there have been comings and goings between London and Berlin. The persons concerned have not been official. Whether they have had even semi-official contacts remains obscure. One thing is certain. What has been happening has been reported at every stage with the utmost promptitude from German quarters to Moscow.

The object was a bargain between Great Britain and Germany. Germany should be allowed to incorporate Danzig in the Reich. She should be given, under whatever respectable form of words, a free hand in eastern, south-eastern and central Europe. In return she should promise not to attack Great Britain.

During the week-end from July 21-24, Herr Wohltat, General Goering's right-hand man, came from Spain to London, to discuss whales. He saw Mr. R. S. Hudson, the Secretary of the Department of Overseas Trade, who talked to him about the war danger in Europe. If peace could be assured, then a wave of prosperity should circle the globe.

Britain could not surrender territory overseas. But, subject to a political settlement and disarmament all round, Britain might grant Germany a vast loan to facilitate the change over of her economy from a war basis to a peace basis. The figure spoken of was £1,000,000,000. Although Mr. Hudson is a member of the British Government, the views he put before Herr Wohltat were purely personal.

ILLUSIONS REVIVED

THE unhappy consequence of the Wohltat-Hudson talks has been a revival of illusions which are deadly dangerous. In Germany the belief is strengthened that Great Britain is not really resolved to resist threats of aggression but will surrender under pressure. In other countries the suspicion is darkened that Great Britain's loyalty to the Peace Front cannot be depended upon. Belief and suspicion are both mistaken. They are none the less desperately mischievous.

DEBTOR IS MASTER

SUPERSTITION dies hard. Nowhere harder, perhaps, than in places where boast is made of realism. All the bitter experience of recent years has not taught the City of London not to count on controlling the policy of a nation through the grant of a loan. Before a loan is made the would-be borrower bends the knee, afterwards he cracks the whip. If his creditor does not obey him he threatens to default. In the international anarchy of to-day the debtor is master.

WHAT GERMANY BUYS

THE Nazi leaders, as Goering has put it, prefer guns to butter. The key to German scarcity to-day is not the perverse determination of British investors not to lose more money in Germany. In the last six years Nazi Germany has spent between £3,000,000,000 and £4,000,000,000 on armaments. If Hitler slowed down this rearmament, he would have little difficulty in improving the lot of his people.

The Nazis, however, deliberately choose the opposite course. Having squandered Germany's assets and exhausted her reserves, they have turned to reduction of consumption as the main basis of their economic policy. Whereas in 1929 almost two-thirds of Germany's national income went into consumption, more than half of a smaller national income is now re-

invested to produce "capital" goods, mostly armaments. A comparison of the imports of certain key commodities for 1929 and 1938 shows how Germany now concentrates on imports of war materials and cuts down on consumption goods.

NET IMPORTS OF COMMODITIES INTO GERMANY.

Commodity	Quantities (1,000 tons)	
	1929	1938
Iron ore	15,794	21,926
Manganese ore	389	425
Copper ore	430	654
Lead ore	114	141
Zinc ore	95	138
Rubber	49	108
Raw cotton	358	351
Raw wool	161	165
Wheat	1,820	1,268
Lard	125	42
Cheese	64	32
Eggs	168	102

On foodstuffs the Nazis economise. On arms they spend recklessly. Whatever criticism can be made of the policy of the Western Powers towards Germany since 1918, over Germany's present economic difficulties their conscience can be clear.

PROFITS FROM ARMS

HOW do the Nazis intend to pay the cost of their war machine? By plunder. The Nazi newspaper *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* has written: "A strong army, whose technical equipment is by no means cheap, more than pays its way not only because it protects, but because it increases the space and wealth of the German nation." Until now the Nazi view that nothing pays like armaments has seemed to be vindicated.

NEVER MORE DANGEROUS

AMIDST the hubbub over the suggested buying off of German aggression with £1,000,000,000 several incidental disclosures have passed almost unnoticed. For example, the following ominous sentences in an interview with Mr. Hudson, reported by the *Daily Express*:

Herr Wohltat indicated to me that he and others in high places in Germany thought that the international situation between Britain and Germany had never been more dangerous. He greatly feared an explosion. What he had learned since his arrival in London of the stiffening attitude of the British people had only strengthened that view. Herr Wohltat tried to make it clear that whether or not Danzig caused a war this trouble was only symptomatic of something far greater underlying the Danzig question. He regarded this dangerous situation with great regret because he was convinced that, once the political difficulties were out of the way, general prosperity would return to the world.

FAR EASTERN CONTRAST

IN the Far East Great Britain has retreated and the United States has made a stand.

After a refusal by the authorities of the British Concession at Tientsin, the port of Peking, to surrender out-of-hand to the Japanese army four Chinese political refugees, against whom a charge of murder was made, Japanese troops blockaded the Concession, stopping the sending out of goods and the bringing in of supplies. British subjects who left the Concession or entered it were subjected to many indignities. Proposals that the charge against the four Chinese should be examined by a joint tribunal with a neutral chairman were rejected.

The Japanese army wished to exploit the clash at Tientsin to force Great Britain to cease giving any support to China and to accept Japanese dominance and dictation in the Far East.

Japanese ruthlessness was rewarded by the opening of negotiations in Tokio. British Ministers in both Houses of Parliament have announced that there is no question whatever of Britain surrendering so far as to modify her policy towards China. But those who have watched most closely Britain's course in the Far East since 1931 are most alarmed.

The United States, not directly concerned in the Tientsin quarrel, has served the requisite six months' notice on Japan to terminate the American-Japanese Treaty.

JAPAN'S WAR SUPPLIERS

THE United States supplies 91.2 per cent. of Japan's imports of motor-cars, 60.5 per cent. of her petrol, 59.7 per cent. of her scrap iron. The British Empire supplies 97 per cent. of Japan's copper, 71.7 per cent. of her aluminium, 65 per cent. of her zinc, 84 per cent. of her wool, and 34 per cent. of her rubber.

Some of the British Empire supplies reach Japan through the United States.

These figures relate to 1937; the proportions of trade in 1938, for which statistics are still incomplete, will not be widely different.

During 1939 the export from the United States of arms and ammunition to Japan has almost ceased. But the sale of war metals and oil is very large. In 1937 Japan bought 1,905,000 tons of American scrap metal; in 1938 she bought 1,382,000 tons; from January to March, 1939, she bought 1,000,000.

HOPE REAWAKENED

THE United States' warning to Japan that the sands are running out is an historic event of the first importance. It reawakens hope in a time when hope has to fight hard to live.

Ever since 1931 the British political weakness in the Far East, which has retreated at every crisis and given impulse after impulse to the headlong course of world disaster, has been justified by those who have ordered it with the habitual excuse: "We should have been left to fight alone. The Americans would not have backed us up." In the United States the reverse excuse has been made: "You can't trust the British. They will let you down."

Now, at a moment when Britain was giving one more example of short-sighted irresolution, the United States has acted. Great Britain can act in exactly the same way. If Great Britain does act then the United States and Great Britain together will defeat Japan, for without their supplies she cannot continue her aggression.

IF A LINK BREAKS

THE AGGRESSOR'S chain which is choking the world is exactly like all other chains. Its strength is the strength of its weakest link. If a link breaks the chain breaks. A victory for China will be a victory for freedom, justice, humanity. The right of the Chinese people to lead their own lives, to employ their own resources, to build a new China for themselves is the fundamental right of every people. To save it is to save all.

STIFFER BACKS

HHEADWAY readers will not be surprised to find that President Roosevelt has taken a step which leaves the British Government with no decent alternative to stiffening its back. HEADWAY's Washington correspondent, who is in close contact with Mr. Roosevelt and knows intimately what he wishes and intends, reported early in the year Washington's doubts of the vigour and courage which were likely to be shown in Europe in the defence of freedom and peace. The President, wrote HEADWAY's correspondent, would take each opportunity as it came of forcing the hands of Democracy's supposed champions.

TIENTSIN FORMULA

THE FORMULA agreed upon by the British and Japanese Governments as the basis for the Tokio negotiations contains several phrases which have aroused acute anxiety. Its terms are:

His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom fully recognise the actual situation in China, where hostilities on a large scale are in progress, and note that, as long as that state of affairs continues to exist, the Japanese forces in China have special requirements for the purpose of safeguarding their own

security and maintaining public order in regions under their control, and that they have to suppress or remove any such causes or acts as will obstruct them or benefit their enemy.

His Majesty's Government have no intention of countenancing any act or measures prejudicial to the attainment of the above-mentioned objects by Japanese forces, and they will take this opportunity to confirm their policy in this respect by making it plain to British authorities and British nationals in China that they should refrain from such acts and measures.

AMERICAN CONTRASTS

BEFORE Great Britain's weakness to Japan in the Tientsin negotiations President Roosevelt put it on record that the refusal of the United States Senate to take into consideration an amendment of the Neutrality Law until next January

weakens the leadership of the United States in exercising its potent influence in the cause of preserving peace among other nations in the event of a new crisis in Europe between now and next January.

When the news from Tokio reached Washington, Senator Hiram Johnson, of California, a leader of the isolationists, commented:

The people of this country can thank God they have a Congress that hasn't made the mistake thus far of intervening in the present state of affairs in China or of being the ally of anyone. If we had followed Mr. Chamberlain we should be in the same fix that we were in in the Stimson incident, when Mr. Stimson and Sir John Simon endeavoured to halt Japan's early conquest of North China. We would be left holding the bag again—we would be in a "heluva" fix.

Happily Mr. Roosevelt's courage is in charge, not the U.S. Senator's haste to stand aside and "thank God he is rid of a knave."

ANOTHER DECEPTION

IN an article in the magazine *Art in the Third Reich* Herr Hitler tells his readers:—

In December of 1937 and January, 1938, I decided to solve the Austrian question and establish the Greater German Reich. The old Chancellery would then be totally inadequate. On January 11, 1938, I charged Professor Speer to build a new one in exactly one year. From these unambiguous words of

Herr Hitler himself it now appears that there was no honesty in the frantic accusations flung last March at Dr. Schuschnigg and his desperate attempt to save Austrian independence by a plebiscite. The aggressor had already decided to destroy Austria.

AN UNJUSTIFIED BOAST

HITLER'S own revelation of his long formed resolve to destroy Austrian independence throws an ironic

light on a passage in the latest book of Mr. Ward Price, the star special correspondent of the Rothermere newspapers and a friend and admirer of the German dictator. When Mr. Ward Price met him and the invading German army at Linz, Hitler said:

"Four days ago, I assure you, I had no idea at all that I should be here today," and he went on to complain of the "deceit" of Dr. Schuschnigg's proposed plebiscite.

"When I give my hand and word on a matter" was another declaration by Hitler which Ward Price records, "I stand by it, and expect anyone who enters into an agreement with me to do the same."

WORD AND DEED

ON JUNE 6 Herr Hitler told the German airmen returned from war in Spain:—

In July, 1936, I took the speedy decision to fulfil the request for help which that man (Franco) addressed to me, and to give him a support commensurate to the help which the rest of the world granted to the internal enemies of Spain, and to continue my support as long as this help would be given by the others.

On August 9, 1936, the German Government, in a Note to Great Britain, declared that "it neither had sent, nor would send, any war material to Spain."

On August 24, 1936, in a Note to France, the German Government promised "to prohibit without delay all direct and indirect exports to Spain and the Spanish possessions of all kinds of arms, munitions, and war material, as well as of mounted and dismounted aircraft and all kinds of warships."

On October 9, 1936, the German representative at the Non-Intervention Conference in London declared that all allegations that Germany had sent arms to Spain "were pure inventions and had no basis whatsoever."

On January 25, 1937, in a Note to Great Britain, the German Government promised to frame a law under which "journeys of German citizens to Spain for the purpose of participating in the civil war, as well as the enlistment for this purpose, would be forbidden."

On February 20, 1937, a law was published in the *Reichsanzeiger* (the Official Gazette) in which the most important paragraphs read:—

Par. 1.—German citizens are forbidden to enter Spain and the Spanish possessions, including the zone of the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco, for the purpose of taking part in the Civil War.

Par. 2.—The Reich Minister of the Interior is authorised to take the necessary measures for preventing the departure and the transit of persons who want

to travel to the territories indicated in paragraph 1 in order to take part in the Civil War.

Par. 3.—It is prohibited to enlist persons for participation in the Spanish Civil War or to conduct them to recruiting officers.

Par. 4.—Anyone who breaks the orders of paragraphs 1 and 3 of the present law or the prohibition announced in execution of paragraph 2 will be punished with imprisonment.

THE GENERAL COUNCIL

EXPERIENCE is rapidly teaching the professed friends of an ordered world that, if peace is to be saved, they must be up and doing. The League of Nations has suffered many rebuffs during the past few years. Each rebuff has cost the nations dear. In proportion as the League has weakened so they have slipped towards the abyss. In the Covenant of the League, and the ideas which inspire it, is the only promise of a settled peace. Outside the League is nothing but the jungle.

The General Council of the L.N.U., holding its annual meetings at Birmingham in the second week in July, was clear and resolute. With a unanimity such as it has seldom shown, it recognised what ought to be done and made up its mind to do exactly that. The essentials remain unaltered: (1) Collective security; (2) the friendly settlement of all disputes; (3) peaceful change; (4) disarmament. Insisting on the supreme importance of social justice, the General Council decided to continue unflinchingly its work of keeping public opinion true to the only policy which can avert the collapse of civilisation.

CALL FOR GREAT EFFORT

TWO of the speeches at the General Council were specially encouraging to workers for the League idea. The first was Lord Cecil's presidential address:

The conception of the League of Nations, an international organisation for the promotion of international co-operation and the prevention of war, is essential and constitutes the best, if not the only, hope for an enduring peace in the world. The events of the last few months have greatly strengthened the grounds for that conviction.

The lower the League has sunk the greater has been the tendency towards unrest and disorder in the world. I am confident that if we can only induce the countries to reverse their policy and make the League as strong as it ever was, the danger of war will again recede into the background. . . . We have to re-educate the world at large, and the people of this country, in the principles of the League. We have to do a great deal of work—greater, perhaps, than we have ever attempted before. It is an entire illusion to suppose that we can sit quiet and allow peace to come to us.

Peace can only be obtained by great exertion and great effort. We have got to make that great effort.

The second was the official welcome of the Lord Mayor of Birmingham, Alderman Crump:

The League of Nations is but the application of common sense to international affairs. The present difficulties of the League are due to the inability of great nations to live up to that greatness, and, far from sharing the opinion of those who assume the League to be ineffective, I consider that the state of the world emphasises more strongly than ever the vital need for the use and application of the principles for which the League stands. Those of you, therefore, who are working hard under most discouraging conditions are accomplishing work, not only of national, but of international service, for I am certain that, come what may, reason will triumph over unreason, and that the League will win through sooner or later.

NUTRITION

"THERE is no wealth but life," wrote Ruskin. His maxim was accepted and ignored. In recent years, thanks in great part to the League, the world has been aroused to the scandal of poverty in the midst of plenty, which means the starvation of human beings, the denial to them of the first requisites of health and happiness. All the food, all the kinds of foods, they need can be produced if they can be bought. The League has made generally available scientific knowledge of the foods essential to health. It is creating a determination everywhere not to allow the indefinite continuance of the worst kind of impoverishment—the destruction of human efficiency and the spread of weakness and disease through improper and inadequate feeding. Nutrition has become a master word.

A Committee of the British Government Economic Advisory Council, whose existence is due to the stimulus applied by the League, has just issued a report on nutrition in the Colonial Empire. It covers forty-eight territories with an area of two million square miles and a population of fifty-five millions. Over that vast field semi-starvation is the rule. Milk and animal products are almost absent from the diet of the immense majority. Workers are weak, apathetic; children regularly go hungry to school on the last days of the week, when they go to school at all; disease drains the energies of tens of millions and destroys the lives of millions in their best years of manhood. Great Britain's trusteeship imposes on her an imperative duty to shoulder without delay the honourable burden of a vast economic and social reconstruction. Industry, agriculture, education, public health must all be vivified and extended.

CANADA HELPS TO ARM THE WORLD

By K. VELLACOTT JONES, a Canadian journalist who has made a close study of the trade in war metals
The Totalitarian States—Germany, Italy, Japan—could not arm sufficiently to plunge the world in war unless they were supplied with essential materials by the Democracies

NOT many years ago Canada's importance in world affairs lay mainly in her wheat exports. The discovery of mineral deposits throughout the Dominion has changed that. The Sudbury nickel ores in Ontario and other reserves in British Columbia comprise 90 per cent. of the world's supply, and since nickel is essential for the manufacture of heavy armaments, the control of these ores gives her an importance far out of proportion to her actual population of only eleven millions.

With all the Great Powers engaged in the manufacture of arms, Canada's mineral resources are eagerly drawn upon. A survey of her exports of nickel reveals a disquieting picture. While democratic statesmen throughout Europe and America are bending every effort towards stemming the present headlong plunge towards a second world conflict, Canadian nickel is being used in vast quantities to build the war machines of the dictatorships of Germany, Italy, and Japan. Last year Canada supplied three-quarters of Germany's requirements of nickel, and recent shipments of aluminium, nickel, copper, and scrap iron to Japan amounted to approximately one million dollars' worth a month.

Doubled in Eight Years

In 1930 Canada's exports of fine nickel amounted to a total of 672,066 cwt. By 1938 these had risen to 1,380,447 cwt. Exports to Germany soared from 2,703 cwt. to 15,517 cwt. Italy imported only 7,758 cwt. in 1930, but in 1938 these had increased to 15,681 cwt., with the peak year of 1937 showing a total of 26,894 cwt. Japan's aggression in China stimulated trade in the metal of death. From 1,767 cwt. in 1930 her importations from Canada rose to 135,429 cwt. in 1938. The fiscal year 1938-1939 shows an even greater total of 145,127 cwt.

A similar comparison can be made in other forms of nickel, such as ore, matte, speiss, and oxide. In copper Germany's imports from Canada showed an enormous increase from 39,046 cwt. in 1933 to 510,725 cwt. in 1938-1939. Trade in copper with Japan rose from nil in 1930 to 295,237 cwt. in 1939. It is significant of the increasing importance of nickel that the total exports of Canadian nickel in 1938, amounting to 2,270,879 cwt., far exceeded the peak war-time production of 920,000.

The full story of Germany's purchases of Canadian nickel cannot be gathered from a study of the direct exports. Customs returns show that much nickel was trans-shipped from England and through other European countries. It is not difficult to account for the difference in Canada's direct exports to Germany, and Germany's total imports of refined nickel.

Canada's nickel resources are operated mainly by a single company, the International Nickel Company of Canada, whose assets run well over the 200,000,000 dols. mark. Their mines are located at Sudbury, Ontario, and the control of the company rests jointly between British and American interests. In December, 1937, there were 9,849 pref. shareholders and 76,598 common shareholders, of whom 16,043 were in Canada, 25,744 in Great Britain, 43,654 in the United States, and 2,452 elsewhere. This gave Canada 18.2 per cent., Great Britain 31.7 per cent., and the United States 46.4 per cent., with only 3.7 per cent. outside these three countries. The executive

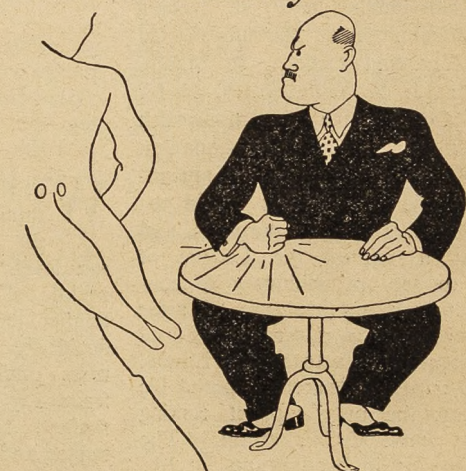
office is in New York, with a Canadian office in Toronto. The president and chairman, also the executive vice-president, are resident in America; the three vice-presidents are drawn from America, Canada, and England.

In 1937 the International Nickel Company supplied 86½ per cent. of the nickel sold in the world market, 6 per cent. of copper, and 55½ per cent. of the platinum metals. It operates the largest copper refinery in the British Empire, maintains research and technical laboratories at Birmingham, England, and supplies a large refinery at Kristiansand, Norway.

Test Supplies for Japan

In British Columbia one of the last reports by the former B.C. Nickel Mines, Ltd., which in 1938 was in process of reorganisation under the name of the Pacific Nickel Mines, Ltd., announced the shipment of an initial test consignment of nickel concentrates to Japan. This was about 400 tons. Up to August of 1937 some 2,500 tons of crude ore and 500 tons of concentrates had been shipped to Japan for test purposes. With a favourable opinion from the Japanese buyers, the company planned to build a concentrator with a starting capacity of 250 tons daily. Later, further plans for the installation of a 500-ton concentrator were made, and negotiations were begun with Japanese interests for a five-year contract which would take the entire output of the 500-ton mill. Thus would be created a market for the company's production, irrespective of the fact that the nickel was for use in the manufacture of Japanese armaments in their aggression against China. At that time one Japanese

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firm alone had spent 134,000 dols. in investigating the metallurgy of the ore, and had under consideration the construction of a refinery for the British Columbia nickel shipments.

Protests by the Canadian Public

The conscience of the Canadian people has been profoundly stirred over the traffic in munition metals, and protests have arisen in many quarters. Demands are made that the Government must exercise rigid control over exports of nickel and other metals for armament purposes. The Trades and Labour Congress backed a strong movement to nationalise the nickel industry, asserting that a loss in trade of some 50,000,000 dols. a year, which would result if a watertight embargo were enforced, would be a small price to pay to prevent war. They further asked that no shipment of nickel should be allowed to leave Canada until Government officials were satisfied that it was intended for peaceful purposes only.

As far back as 1933 the Native Sons of Canada, a Dominion-wide organisation with a large membership, proposed the nationalisation of the nickel industry. One object was that the Government should control the export of nickel on the outbreak of war in any part of the world.

League Action Suggested

Peace groups, political parties, and private individuals have all voiced their condemnation of the unrestricted sale of Canadian nickel. In March, 1934, Mr. J. S. Woodsworth, leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation Group in the Canadian House of Commons, moved an amendment that the Government forbid the export of nickel for war purposes, and also that it request the League of Nations to set up machinery to control the private manufacture of arms and the exchange of raw materials used in armament manufacture. Both Liberal and Conservative speakers opposed his suggestions, the only support coming from the small C.C.F. group. The subject was again brought up by Mr. Woodsworth in May, 1935, when he asked the Government to take steps to co-operate with the League of Nations to prevent any Canadian nickel passing into the hands of armament firms. Mr. Bennett, then Premier, replied that it was impossible to determine for what purpose Canadian nickel was being exported, and that consequently it was impossible to control its export for armament purposes.

Again in March, 1936, in 1937, 1938, and 1939 protests were made in the

Canadian House of Commons, and many debates have raged around this subject. But so far no action has been taken. Instead, Canadian exports of both nickel and copper have soared to new levels.

In the House of Commons

Those who advocate control of Canadian munition metals have repeatedly stressed the fact that the only embargo levied on war materials from Canada was the stoppage of all shipments of armaments to Spain in 1937. They argued that if the Government considered itself morally bound to cease shipments to Spain, a friendly Power which had committed no act of aggression, it is much more an obligation to place a strict embargo on all shipments of essential metals to those nations who openly advocate and carry out a course of international piracy.

While Canada controls and supplies approximately 90 per cent. of the world's supply of nickel, and its reserves are sufficient for at least another century, there are other sources which could be tapped were Canada to restrict its exports or stop production from its nickel mines. The French island of New Caledonia, in the Pacific, formerly supplied the world with nickel, but ceased mining when the rich

Ontario deposits outpriced the New Caledonia metal. In recent years these mines have been reopened by Japanese interests, and the ore is now being shipped to Japan. Other small deposits exist in Norway, Korea, Soviet Russia, Germany, Alaska, Brazil, and Africa, while the International Nickel Company itself has already spent a considerable sum in developing the nickel holdings in Finland.

Moral Responsibility

Nevertheless, many Canadians feel that the existence of other sources of nickel does not exonerate their country from the moral responsibility she is incurring by permitting the shipment of unlimited quantities of these war materials to the aggressor nations. Even those who are at present profiting by the traffic in copper and nickel cannot refute the charge that should the British Empire become involved in war with the dictatorship countries—Germany, Italy, or Japan—British troops and British civilians will be killed by munitions made with Canadian nickel, the sale of which remained unrestricted by any official action during the years when re-armament and open aggression formed the major activity of all three countries.

AMERICAN POLITICS STOP AT THE WATER'S EDGE

By BARNET NOVER, the Famous Political Commentator

WASHINGTON, July 11. **W**ASHINGTON, in July, is anything but a summer resort. Built on swampy land practically at sea level, its climate from about the middle of May to the middle of September tends to be hot, humid and decidedly unpleasant. With temperatures often ranging in the '90s and frequently exceeding 100 degrees Fahrenheit, tempers get frayed, nerves ragged and judgment is impaired. That is one reason why the pressure to adjourn Congress increased steadily as the thermometer rose and why Congress is adjourning while there is still much outstanding business before House and Senate.

The principal obstacle to adjournment was the dispute over neutrality legislation. But on this subject the position taken by the Administration, on the one hand, and that of a powerful element in Congress, on the other, are sufficiently far apart to make agree-

ment difficult. Nor does the subject lend itself to compromise.

The President at first insisted that Congress must not adjourn before eliminating the mandatory embargo on arms, ammunition and implements of war from the present Neutrality Act. By a very narrow vote last month the House turned this proposal down. The present law was amended to exempt "implements of war" from the embargo. But the embargo on arms and munitions was retained. The fight was then transferred to the Senate. There a bloc headed by Johnson of California, Borah of Idaho, Clark of Missouri and Nye of North Dakota—Isolationists all—announced that they would fight to the bitter end to prevent the lifting of the embargo. That meant they threatened, if necessary, to resort to a filibuster to prevent the subject from coming to a vote and, by tiring out the advocates of repeal, to force an adjournment before action on neutrality legislation in

line with the President's desires could be taken. On July 11 the powerful Foreign Relations Committee, by the narrow vote of 12 to 11, voted to postpone consideration of neutrality legislation until the next session.

Delay Most Dangerous

In ordinary circumstances this would mean that any modification of the present neutrality law is out of the question before January, when Congress meets again. Both President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull have announced that they are still convinced of the imperative need for an immediate change. Delay, they say, is most dangerous. But at present the outlook for repeal is certainly dark.

The Senators who insist on a mandatory embargo on arms, munitions and implements of war belong to both of the major parties. There are ardent New Dealers among them as well as Conservative Democrats. By no means all Republicans in the Upper House belong to this camp. Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, who is prominently mentioned as a possible Republican candidate for the Presidency, is in favour of lifting the embargo. Yet there is undoubtedly a partisan aspect to this fight over neutrality—not so much in the usual terms of Republican versus Democrat (although this is also partly the case) as in terms of pro-Roosevelt and anti-Roosevelt. In other words, the very fact that the President demands repeal of the embargo is a factor which has undoubtedly influenced some Senators to join the "battalion of death" sworn to fight all efforts to change the present law, even though they regard that law as unsatisfactory from their own point of view.

If There Is War

There is an old saying among Americans, "Politics stop at the water's edge." But that principle is all too often honoured only in the breach. Antagonism to the President, fear that by playing an active rôle in world affairs he may extend his authority and, perhaps, pave the way for a third term, the desire to win a victory over Mr. Roosevelt—all these and other personal and partisan reasons are probably far more important in the opposition to the lifting of the embargo than the arguments which are officially advanced. Those Senators who favour the continuance of the embargo know full well that should war break out in Europe the United States would supply to the democratic countries a vast quantity of cotton, copper, wheat, petroleum, and other commodities as essential to a nation at war as are guns and shells and

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airplanes. But no one in Congress has ever seriously suggested an embargo on such foodstuffs and raw materials. The American people would not stand for it and the members of the House and Senate know it. But that is precisely why some of them set such great store by the embargo on arms and munitions.

Symbol of the Impossible

The embargo on arms has become the symbol of the kind of neutrality legislation they would theoretically like to see on the books, but which it is politically impossible to enact. In the meantime sentiment in the United States is steadily swinging around to the lifting of this mandatory embargo. That sentiment will ultimately have its effect on Congress. But the time lag may prove disastrous. This is understood by President Roosevelt and by Secretary Hull, which is why they will continue to battle for revision of the neutrality law, despite the present delay.

WHICH WAY AMERICA ?

By GORDON SHEPHERD, who has close contacts with many leaders of American public life

ONCE again, with the drama of Roosevelt's hard fight for his Neutrality Act amendments, the problem of America's relationship with Europe steps into the limelight of diplomacy.

Devil and Angel

The issue cannot be baldly stated as a choice between armed intervention and total isolation. True, nineteenth-century American politics saw the one as the besetting devil and the other as the guardian angel of United States policy. But the somnolent days of the Monroe doctrine are gone—political Malthusianism of that nature can find no place in the world of to-day. The shrinking of the earth's surface beneath the contracting pressure of modern transport and the emergence on that surface of certain ugly nationalistic wrinkles have forced America's statesmen to restate their time-worn tenets in terms of the new emergency. A new testament has thus been added to that old political bible which served their forefathers so well. Even the most conservative of America's thinkers nowadays regard intervention and isolation as the rock and the whirlpool between which America's course must be charted; while the "progressives," or partisans of a "strong" foreign policy, favour, as is well known, an out-and-out abrogation of the isolationist tradition, which would place America inevitably on the side of the democracies in Europe.

What often puzzles European observers is the surprising prominence of everyday American public opinion, which—through the medium of Roosevelt's broadcast talks, his Press conferences, and the "straw votes" of the big magazines—seems to form an essential and even a dominant background to the whole issue. It puzzles them because Europe lags far behind America in practising the strange principle that ordinary men should be allowed to deliberate what they are called upon to die for. In France, public opinion, like the Marseillaise, loses force by being played too fast and too often. In post-war England, as a serious factor in diplomacy, it slumbered with the lion till the famous outcry against the Hoare-Laval Pact. In the totalitarian States, of course, public opinion belongs to racial mythology, and has no place in a country where the most important thing about a head is the helmet on it.

Public Opinion a Force

But in America public opinion is a force to be reckoned with, not only in local State politics, where citizen polls often determine the mould of civil legislation, but also in the broader realm of Federal foreign politics. Indeed, it is not too much to say that the final attitude of American diplomacy towards European rivalries will basically be determined by the temper of this public feeling, against which no President and no Government dare or could run for

long. Public opinion is coloured in the solid blacks and whites of contesting emotions. There are no greys or half-tones of compromise, as in the register of diplomacy. All is sentiment and moral idealism.

It follows naturally, therefore, that moral issues, canvassed on a nationwide scale, have always been responsible for violent swings of the political pendulum in America. The Spanish War of 1899, the only modern war into which America entered as a primary contestant, was declared mainly under the pressure of a public outcry against Spain's ruthlessly cruel suppression of the Cuba rebellion, and the whole idea of a crusade to free the Western Hemisphere from tyranny alone sustained interest in the campaigns. Again, though economic entanglements proved an obvious cause, it was the rally of moral opinion against Germany—marshalled by such actions as the invasion of Belgium and the sinking of the "Lusitania"—which finally drove America into the World War, just as, after the peace had been signed, it was public bitterness over the "bad faith" of the Allied debts and disgust over France's Ruhr policy which confirmed America in her volte-face of abstention from the League.

Footpad Diplomacy

In recent years the domestic policy of the dictators and their footpad diplomacy have exerted a double influence on this moral susceptibility, so pronounced in American history. First, a nausea is produced which poisons the whole political nexus: the United States, with its large Jew population, reacted even more violently than did Great Britain to the German pogrom of November, 1938, and took the lead in embodying its distaste in concrete diplomatic form by the recall of its Berlin envoy. Second, the American's pride in his democratic government, a pride which burns behind the hardest business skull, becomes sublimated into a crusading ethic, invoked to protect that theory and practice of individual liberty which alone gives to civilisation its significance. The fact that all this is evangelical rather than political does not affect the issue. The point is that the American is coming to regard the foreign policy of his Government as the makeweight which alone can sway the precarious balance of the world, poised now between sanity and anarchy.

Four-square behind this attitude stands Roosevelt himself; it is the President who symbolises and sponsors the cause of the interventionists. It was primarily Roosevelt who got the Ludlow Act—a potential weapon for the isolationists

providing for a compulsory referendum on the war issue—rejected. It is Roosevelt, supported to the full by Secretaries Hull and Ickes and by Ambassador Kennedy, who at the present time is working for a revision of the Neutrality Act. At the least this will bring into operation Senator Pittman's famous extension of the "cash and carry" clause so that it shall govern arms as well as other shipments to European belligerents; at the most, it may entail a ban on munition exports to the party declared by the President to be the aggressor, while allowing unlimited exports to the rival Power or Powers (Senator Thomas' proposal).

Helped by Dictators

Helped by the activities of the dictators themselves, the President and his associates are mustering an ever-increasing percentage of American citizens behind the interventionist banner. "Straw votes," taken immediately after the September crisis of 1938, showed that whereas eight per cent. of America's citizens condemned the Chamberlain policy and nineteen per cent. thought it foolish, some forty-seven per cent. thought it about the best in the circumstances, while eleven per cent. fully approved.

British rearmament made a further difference. A "Fortune" poll of last December showed a seventy-three per cent. vote for American intervention to protect Canada's integrity, a twenty-seven per cent. vote to protect that of Britain and a twenty-two per cent. vote to protect that of France—percentages which jumped appreciably higher following the seizure of Bohemia-Moravia in the spring.

Press is Outspoken

The American Press, with certain important exceptions, also supports the foreign policy of the President and the ruling sentiment of the people. The *Washington Post*, the *New York Herald Tribune* and the *New York Sun*—papers which bitterly opposed Roosevelt over his New Deal—have come out in strong support of his interventionist principles. Even greater is the unanimity among the famous columnists of American journalism, who exercise a magnetic influence on public opinion unparalleled, perhaps, in any other country. Though the greatest of them, Walter Winchell, is a confirmed isolationist, the two other deities of the American Press trinity, both Walter Lippman, whose writings cover 184 newspapers with a total circulation of 7,147,000, and Dorothy Thompson, whose works embrace 196 newspapers with a circulation of 7,555,000, urge a reawakening of the

American conscience in the world cause of democratic liberty, and in this they carry most of the lesser commentators with them.

Clearly, it is not only these moral considerations which are motivating against isolationism. On the positive side, Nazi activities in Central America, which culminated in the Brazilian revolt, prove a serious source of German-American hostility. On the negative side, America realises the strategic importance to her of the integrity of the British Empire, maintained by the supremacy of the British Fleet. She sees a friendly Australia and New Zealand as natural bulwarks against the violent expansion designs of Japan, and regards the maintenance of a British West Africa as a wise insurance against avowed Nazi projects to found German transatlantic aeroplane bases on those shores. Furthermore, America's material interest in the well-being of the French and British Empires is second to that of no other nation. By a series of Anglo-American trade pacts America has mounted high on the ladder of Imperial vested interests, high enough to range her inevitably with the "Haves" of the world in any battle with the "Have nots."

Union of Belief

But though these material considerations demand attention, they are, we think, of secondary importance. The future of the American attitude towards Europe rests with the development of this spirit of a democratic brotherhood united in the defence of its rooted principles. It must be a brotherhood broader than that implied by the old postprandial tag about "the English-speaking peoples." There are many Americans—e.g., the large Irish population—who actually resent this approach, and whose interventionism might well be summarised as a determination to defend Britain's Empire "to the blood of the last Englishman."

The union contemplated by the idealism of current American opinion is a union of belief, not of blood or tongue. That the world stands in need of such a union is a platitude of political philosophy. That the world is moving nearer its consummation by the all-important addition of the United States is an inference that may reasonably be drawn from trends in contemporary American public life.

The American, confronted like the Englishman, with ideals which cannot coexist with his own, is beginning to repeat thoughtfully that savage dictum of Marat: "We must organise the despotism of liberty to overthrow the despotism of tyrants!"

THE I.L.O.

1939 IS A YEAR OF ACHIEVEMENTS AND DISAPPOINTMENTS

By JAMES H. WHITE, of the Intelligence Section of the League of Nations Union, who has returned encouraged from the annual International Labour Conference at Geneva

IT was formerly the custom when looking back at an international conference called for any purpose, as, for example, disarmament or economic co-operation, to ask the simple question whether it had been a success or a failure. Fortunately, International Labour Conferences have passed the stage of being summed up in terms of the success or failure of one particular project. The I.L.O. is responsible for the day-to-day social progress of the world, and therefore its conferences must continue their work, however threatening external conditions may be, in order that, as we should say, the King's Government may carry on.

Very Remarkable Results

But I should be giving a false impression of the recent International Labour Conference if I failed to point out that its achievements, even in this year without grace 1939, have been very remarkable indeed. The attendance was almost as good as in any year of the past, and the co-operation between the three groups—governments, employers, and workers—was, perhaps, closer than has ever been the case before. Employer delegates completely abandoned the boycotting tactics of the past. No fewer than four conventions and ten recommendations were adopted by overwhelming majorities.

The most striking progress has, perhaps, been made in the field of native labour. A black worker from Java with the high-sounding name of Jackiman Wirgosandgago came to the conference to express the point of view of his fellows. The conference agreed that the contracts by which employers in tropical countries engage native labour should be regulated to see, for example, that they are attested by a public official and that the workers understand and agree freely to their provisions. The system of penal sanctions, by which natives may be treated as criminals if they are not diligent enough in their work or if they attempt to strike against evil conditions, is to disappear. The British expert thought that the conference would be "singularly ill advised" to abolish these penal sanctions immediately, but Sir Frank Noyce, speaking from the experience of the Indian Government on this point, hoped that the conference would agree to "the total and immediate abolition of a system which . . . is . . . repugnant to large—and, I think it is correct to say, increasing—sections of public opinion." This incident throws a strong light on the extent to which the Indian Government is independent of British influence. The conference, however, in the light of political expediency, would only agree that penal sanctions be abolished progressively and as soon as possible.

Longer Hours for Democracy

The great disappointment of the conference was the temporary abandonment of the forty-hour week. Yet this decision was absolutely right. Shorter hours of work are out of place when democracy is manning every pump to keep itself above water. Our gratitude is due to the workers' delegates, who recognised this, and enabled the conference to turn what might have been a difficult corner. Only two votes were cast for the forty-hour week, though we under-

stand that a third would have been added if the Irish worker had arrived in time for the voting. To make up for his absence, Mr. Daly treated the conference to a really Irish speech, full of wit and poetry.

Road Transport Progress

Only one convention was adopted on hours of work. It fits the famous eight-hour day and forty-eight-hour week of the Washington Hours Convention to the special conditions of work of professional drivers who own their vehicles. The Belgian employer made a long speech denouncing the I.L.O. for interfering with owner-drivers. But the conference did not take this objection very seriously when it learned that these same Belgian employers, when asked for their co-operation in limiting the hours of work of road transport workers in their own country, had refused to negotiate without an assurance from the Government that the limitation would apply to owner-drivers. Perhaps the Belgian employer had driven his own vehicle from Brussels to Geneva without adequate rest periods, and the journey had had an unexpectedly jolting effect on his thoughts, or perhaps it was merely a case of a somewhat exaggerated group loyalty.

It is pleasant to record that the British Government supported all the conventions (except that on road transport) and most of the recommendations. In view of the really stalwart work which Mr. Leggett and Mr. Clay, representing the British Government and workers respectively, put into the preparation of this convention on road transport, to such an extent that it may almost be called a British convention, one must regret that our delegates were obliged to abstain from voting. It can only revive the suspicion that elements in the British Government are opposed to the limitation of hours of work on principle and in any circumstances.

Movement of Labour

The conference also took steps to promote the movement of labour from one country to another, which may incidentally prove to be of great assistance to refugees in search of work. It adopted useful recommendations regulating vocational training and apprenticeship.

If the conference was able to achieve so much in such an environment, how much more could it do in an atmosphere of peace. It is not any weakness in the structure of the I.L.O. or any timidity in its action which is holding up the economic and social progress of the world. For in truth, as Sir Arnold Wilson said recently, "there is no more efficient body than the I.L.O." The burden of armaments and the ruthless competition of countries which know not Geneva constitute the sole obstructions, but these are mighty indeed. So there can be no social and humanitarian progress, no raising of the standard of living, no expansion of the social services, no increase of leisure for the workers of the world without the achievement of world peace and world security.

Roger Fortune Reviews Two Timely Books on World Prosperity and World Policy

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF CLASS CONFLICT AND OTHER ESSAYS ON POLITICAL ECONOMY.
By Lionel Robbins. (Macmillan. 6s.)

The other day an authority on world labour problems declared that Professor Robbins was the only economist whose books he could read. The implied criticism of all other economists was an expression of a strangely widespread and strangely ill-founded prejudice. Adam Smith was a master of clear and simple English, and his successors, far from being specially given to involved and obscure jargon, have numbered amongst them many men able to write plainly and forcibly. Cannan, Pigou, Keynes, to name only living leaders of the science, all possess pointed, lively pens. But Professor Robbins does deserve the compliment. It is always a pleasure to read his work. He knows exactly what he wants to say, and he says it exactly.

His latest book is full of interesting things. In a world which seems in all its affairs to be growing increasingly illiberal, Professor Robbins has found himself brought by close attention to economic fact and its careful analysis to a more confident liberalism. Many of the economic evils of our day, he finds, are not inherent in the existing economic order but are the consequences of unwise policy, and could be redressed by the adoption of a wise policy. He would go very slow with planning and scrutinise most anxiously every proposal, having become convinced that political attempts to take prosperity by force often defeat themselves.

Professor Robbins shows that the causes and cases of economic conflict between classes are much exaggerated in common report, that the supposed economic inevitability of monopoly is an illusion, that the State's well-meaning interference in agriculture has been an expensive luxury for the community at large, that import boards are obstacles to sound economic development. Everywhere the efforts of mankind to supply its material needs are thwarted by (1) confused thinking and (2) political obstruction.

One of Professor Robbins's chapters, on the Economics of Territorial Sovereignty, is specially interesting in its bearing on world peace. It has already appeared in Professor Manning's volume on "Peaceful Change."

But it amply repays rereading. It proves once more, in the most timely fashion, that the so-called "Have Nots" are not poor because the so-called "Haves" hold nearly all the colonies. If the purchase of colonial raw materials has become difficult for the "Have Nots," that is due to their own deliberately chosen policies of non-co-operation. There is, however, a warning to be added. A vast, world-wide Empire, such as the British, must be liberal and not restrictive. It must accept the obligation to promote to the limit of its resources the welfare of all peaceful peoples. If it falls back upon selfish exploitation it will not be tolerated indefinitely.

THE SHIP OF STATE: THE ESSENTIALS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE. By Edward Jenks. (Duckworth. 6s.)

Dr. Jenks has done great work for the education of several generations of English-speaking men and women in law and government. An authority of the highest professional standing on the history and theory of the law and a constitutional historian of no less repute, he has always borne in mind that systems of law and government exist for the service of human beings, and must meet its living needs. In his latest book his constant concern with life and its purposes and fullness gives vitality to his discussion of topics whose treatment is too often abstract and dead.

HEADWAY LETTERS

THE LEAGUE CANNOT BE PLANNED ALL THE WAY

Sir,—Lord Lytton hopes that, just as Russia has become internationally minded since the time of the League's Commission of Inquiry into the Far East, so the Fascist States will change their attitudes, when their co-operation would be welcomed, "even though their forms of government remained unchanged." If their attitudes to other countries changed they would no longer be Fascist States. The Nazi and Italian Fascist parties keep in power by creating anxieties in the minds of their people, which the Governments may represent themselves as allaying. Emphasis on internal enemies, such as Jews, Pacifists, Reds, serves the

Three subjects on which Dr. Jenks has much of special interest to say are the State and nation, the Totalitarian party, the League of Nations. On the first, he shows that the nation is a political community whose members share interests and intentions, memories and hopes. To make it depend upon the ties of an imagined race is to make nonsense of it. Race is irrelevant, and, in any case, the supposed races of Europe are the assumptions of an uncritical ethnology. On the second he is equally explicit. The National-Socialist party in Germany, the Fascist party in Italy, the Communist party in Russia are a novel factor in political organisation. The parties familiar in British politics are voluntary associations of like-minded persons who seek to win the approval of the electorate for their policy. Totalitarian parties, which alone are allowed to exist in Totalitarian States, are privileged instruments of discipline. Finally, the League of Nations is the first serious attempt to equip our shrinking world with the political institutions as necessary now in the international realm as their national counterparts became within the State centuries ago. The League has limited national sovereignty; Dr. Jenks contemplates further and much greater limitations. The making of laws is as essential a part of any political system as is their interpretation and enforcement.

The attention Dr. Jenks devotes to the urgent problems of our own time gives his book a quality not found elsewhere. In a unique fashion he is both learned and up to date. His readers do not study yesterday under the delusion that they are learning about to-day.

Fascists' purpose only for a time, after which the "enemy" must be another "race" or country. This question is ably dealt with in Mrs. White's "The New Propaganda." One need not be a Freudian psychologist in order to realise that Fascists cannot enter into "international co-operation" even if by so doing they further their own economic or cultural interests, because they nullify the effects of the propaganda which maintains them in power. It would be excellent if the new system of alliances could be made the nucleus of a revived League, but just now this point has little practical importance.

Sir Arthur Salter and Lord Cecil both wish to see the League reconstituted. Sir Arthur thinks that its use to prevent war is a long-range goal; Lord Cecil wants this function always to be paramount. Presumably Sir Arthur has in mind the fact that the League commands little respect and no authority at the moment. All countries are in the floodtide of national enthusiasm. For once this enthusiasm may be useful in forcing dilatory statesmen to build and to adhere to a "front" against Fascist aggression. If peace is maintained the fervour will die down.

What then? So far there has been little public discussion as to what sort of international developments are likely to follow a period of tension in which the Fascist challenge is met and rebuffed without war. Obviously, there will then be need for a sane international policy on the part of each country, and it is at such a time that European opinion will be ready for a "new" League. From this stage the world might advance until a series of regional leagues had been brought into being, and finally they would be brought together.

I am convinced that, so long as national States remain in existence, the only way to form a working League is to allow it to evolve. It cannot be planned all the way.

LEONARD GRUGEON.

Chiseldon, Wilts.

Millions Against Appeasement

Sir,—I strongly disagree with Sir William Munday. If people believe (as millions in England do, and many more millions throughout the world) that Mr. Chamberlain's policy of "appeasement" was leading us steadily and with gathering speed to war or annihilation, they have every right to criticise him. He has not been badgered "for party purposes"—many of his own followers in Parliament have been worried by his policy, and have even tried to go against it. But those keepers of men's freedom, the party Whips, kept them in order!

Mr. Chamberlain has acted as dictator since he came into office instead of sharing his "burden" with some of the most able and brilliant men in the country. He turned a man out of office who had travelled up and down Europe for several years in his capacity of Minister—one who must have known facts about other countries and their rulers far more shrewdly, from continual contact, than Mr. Chamberlain possibly could.

Mr. Chamberlain will brook no criticism, and will have no one in his Cabinet who may disagree with him—

though he is having to moderate, and even change, his policy considerably now. Had a speech such as that of Lord Halifax at the end of June been made eighteen months ago war would have been averted, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Memel, Albania would still have been free, and millions of money would have been saved. Mr. Chamberlain's policy encouraged the aggressors, as oil encourages a fire.

DOROTHY WOMERSLEY.

Harpden, Herts.

Tribute to Mr. Cartland

Sir,—What does Sir William Munday want?

He complains in his letter in July HEADWAY that Mr. Cartland, while professing sympathy for Mr. Chamberlain in the carrying of the gigantic burden of present-day international policy, is guilty of baiting the Prime Minister for party purposes.

I daresay all adverse criticism of policies emanating from his own party is highly objectionable to Sir William, but I would remind him that criticism, adverse or otherwise, is the essence of our parliamentary system. Any leader of a party in British politics knows perfectly well that he stands to be shot out, and even the Conservative party is no exception.

Are we to suppose, then, that any criticism that is not in "entire accord" with Mr. Chamberlain's policy (as at present stated) or his methods is necessarily jeopardising and embarrassing his effort for peace?

Who told Sir William that Mr. Ronald Cartland, M.P.'s questions and criticism are "ill-informed"? My own reading of Mr. Cartland's articles in HEADWAY and elsewhere lead me to conclude that they are very well informed, and that, so far from persistently "badgering for party purposes," he is sincerely and anxiously concerned (and solely concerned) to urge the Government toward what, in his opinion, is the right course of action for the speedy production of a lasting peace.

I think I detect almost a note of plaintive regret in Sir William Munday's letter—that we are not in the "happy" position of the Governments of totalitarian States, which have the "immense advantage" (*sic*) that none of their respective subjects dare utter in public a word of criticism. If that is Sir William's hope for British politics I am quite sure it will never be realised, for we know too well that such a condition is the price—the *deadly* price—men pay for allowing dictators to take responsibility off their *shoulders*, e.g., "Leave it to Chamberlain—he knows."

Ill-advised and offensive criticisms of responsible Ministers are of rare occurrence in Parliament, and most members are considerate enough not to press for answers where answers might prejudice the nation's interests; but I say emphatically that members know quite enough about the game to refuse to tolerate the "throwing of sand in their eyes" by the *pretence*, on the part of responsible Ministers (or Sir William), that a straightforward reply to an awkward question would always have the effect of compromising the situation.

CHARLES SAUNDERS.

Shipley, Yorks.

Make Colonial Concessions

Sir,—The chief reason for the League's failure to maintain peace is that it has always been used (largely under the influence of France) as an instrument to stereotype the status created by the Versailles Treaty, and not as an intelligent organisation to reconsider treaties which have become inapplicable and to consider international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world, as laid down in Art. 19 of the Covenant.

The continued management of the former German colonies by Mandatory Powers is certainly a condition which endangers the peace of the world. Press and politicians in England, France, and South Africa are showing the Germans day by day that they will not recover their colonies unless they make war for them.

Why should not the L.N.U. urge our Government to move in the next Assembly that the Council should be requested to withdraw the mandates and offer to return the colonies to Germany if she will accept the mandatory system? Except France, all the other members of the Council would probably welcome the proposal, and so remove one of the darkest clouds from which a general war threatens. France would have to be persuaded or coerced, as the decision of the Council must be unanimous, but the rendition of the colonies held by Britain and France would be a small price to pay for the lifting of the threat of war and the inauguration of a lasting peace.

The inhabitants of Tanganyika and the rest were not asked their opinions when we took over the colonies, so why should they be asked about their rendition? The inconvenience caused to post-war settlers in the colonies could be compensated for by a trivial cash payment.

W. S. HAMILTON.

Fleet, Hants.

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