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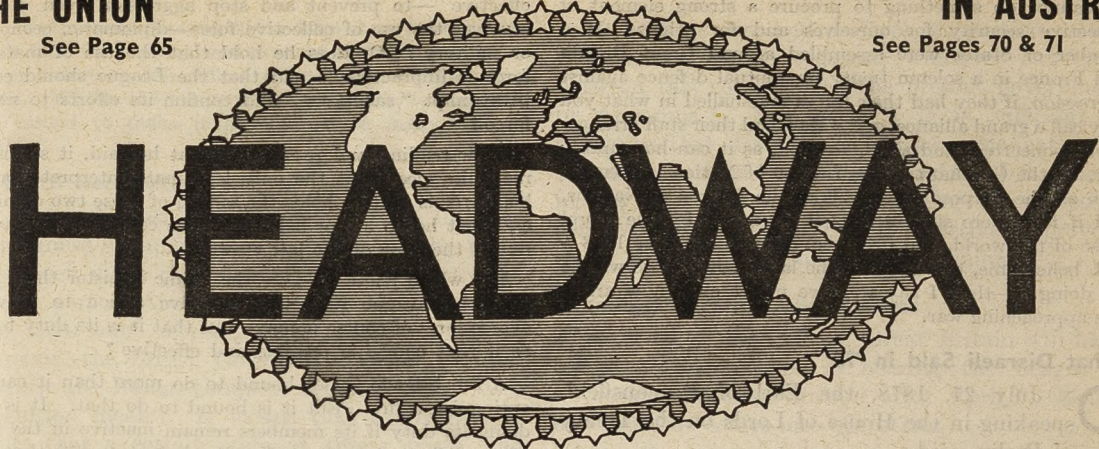
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**LORD CECIL WRITES TO
THE UNION**

See Page 65

**BEHIND THE SCENES
IN AUSTRIA**

See Pages 70 & 71



A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

Vol. XX. No. 4 [The Journal of the League of Nations Union] APRIL, 1938 [Registered with the G.P.O. for transmission by the Canadian Magazine Post] Price 3d.

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NEWS AND COMMENTS

What Next ?

WHAT next? The next step is to restore the League of Nations. Every month's experience only serves to demonstrate afresh the truth already proved beyond all reasonable doubt. The world has no assurance against war—except the League. Since the Manchukuo calamity in 1931, Great Powers have defaulted on their League obligations time after time. Each time the excuse has been the same; it has been too dangerous to save the world's peace. In the result they find themselves in a world without peace, which is vastly more dangerous. Each failure to use the League has left peace less secure and the danger of war nearer and more dread.

Not Lost Faith

ON March 15, General Smuts intervened in a debate in the South African Parliament to assert his unshaken belief in the League. He said:—
There are only two possible courses before the world, either the way of the League—the way of consultation and

understanding—or to fight it out to the destruction of civilisation and the world. I do not believe that mankind, unless it becomes bereft of all reason, will choose the second course. A menacing position has arisen, and a realisation of the tremendous dangers in our path will call a pause, and the nations will realise that there is a better way and that that better way is the League. I have not lost faith in the League, because I know there is no other way if our human race and our civilisation are to be saved.

The Last Chance

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL, in the House of Commons, on March 14:—
There must be a moral basis for British rearmament and foreign policy. We must have that basis if we are to unite and inspire our people and procure their wholehearted action, and if we are to stir the English-speaking peoples throughout the world. Our affairs have come to such a pass that there is no escape without running risks. On every ground of prudence as well as of duty I urge his Majesty's Government to proclaim a renewed, revived, unflinching adherence to the Covenant of the League of Nations. In this debate a Member has jeered at the expression collective security. What is there ridiculous about collective security? The only thing that is ridiculous about it is that we have not got it. Let us see whether

we cannot do something to procure a strong element of collective security for ourselves and for others. If a number of States were assembled around Great Britain and France in a solemn treaty for mutual defence against aggression, if they had their forces marshalled in what you may call a grand alliance, and if they had their staff arrangements concerted, and all this rested, as it can honourably rest, on the Covenant of the League of Nations, agreeable with all the purpose and ideals of the League of Nations, and if that were sustained as it would be by the moral sense of the world, and if it were done in the year 1938—and, believe me, that may be the last chance there will be for doing it—then I say that we might even now arrest this approaching war.

What Disraeli Said in '78

ON July 27, 1878, the Earl of Beaconsfield, speaking in the House of Lords on the Treaty of Berlin, said:—

I say it is extremely important that this country should take a step beforehand which should indicate what the policy of England would be; that you should not have your Ministers meeting in a council chamber, hesitating and doubting, and considering contingencies, and then acting at last, but acting, perhaps, too late. One of the results of my attending the Congress of Berlin has been to prove, what I always expected to be an absolute fact, that neither the Crimean nor this horrible devastating war which has just terminated would have taken place if England had spoken with the necessary firmness.

Things Written

FROM a parent's letter: "She might as well see what she can of Europe before it destroys itself—and us. What with the gorillas in Germany and the rabbits in England, the life of *homo sapiens* has become difficult."

From a *Daily Herald* serial story on the Fascist coup in Britain.

Everybody saluted everything.

Dates in April to Book

READERS OF HEADWAY are reminded of (1) The L.N.U. Easter School to be held in Bristol from Thursday, April 14, to Tuesday, April 19. Speakers will include Dr. Gooch, Chang Su Lee, and Dr. Gilbert Murray.

(2) The International Conference of Teachers, to be held in London, April 21 to 25. Speakers will include Viscount Cecil and Mr. H. G. Wells.

Will anyone who is interested please make immediate application to 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1, for details?

Lord Halifax Explains

VISCOUNT CECIL and Viscount Halifax, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, have exchanged letters on the foreign policy of the British Government, as set out by the Prime Minister before his speech in the House of Commons on March 24. In his last letter, on March 11, Lord Cecil said he was still bewildered as to what is the Prime Minister's policy with regard to the League and collective security.

Does he hold that it is the duty of the members of the League to do all they can—all that is "possible and

effective"—to prevent and stop aggression even if that involves the use of collective force—diplomatic, economic or military? Or does he hold that the use of material force is impracticable and that the League should cease to attempt "sanctions" and confine its efforts to moral force?

After reading and re-reading what he said, it seems to me quite clear that the only legitimate interpretation of his words is that he holds the second of those two opinions and that he no longer believes in the contrary view as he did at the time of the last election.

The whole point is—does the Prime Minister think that the League may take coercive action to prevent aggression—of course it may—but that it is its duty to do so if that course is possible and effective?

A fire brigade is not bound to do more than it can to extinguish a fire. But it is bound to do that. It is not doing its duty if its members remain inactive in the face of a conflagration or confine themselves to pointing out how much better it would be if people refrained from setting their houses alight.

Action Sanctions

On March 21, Lord Halifax answered—

You put forward two interpretations of the Prime Minister's attitude to the League. I do not think either of these interpretations represents the Prime Minister's view.

The members of the League are under an obligation to take action to prevent a breach of the Covenant, but the degree to which such action can be effectively taken depends, among other factors, upon the roll of membership of the League, and the measure of agreement amongst its members to take forcible action in a particular dispute. It is the presence of these factors which imposes limitations on League action.

His Majesty's Government have frankly recognised, as have many other members of the League, that in present circumstances, and in view of the actual composition of the League, the Covenant cannot be fully applied in all cases, and that States members cannot therefore rely upon it as an unfailing guarantee of their security.

They also recognise that an unsuccessful attempt to apply the Covenant would weaken rather than strengthen the position of the League and might be fatal to the prospects of its development. But the recognition of these facts does not imply that, because the League is not in a position to take effective action in every case, it should not attempt such action in any case.

The recent statements of the Prime Minister are therefore not to be interpreted as meaning that the League in future should confine itself solely to the exercise of moral force, that any article of the Covenant should be abandoned or that the principles of collective action should not be applied when such action can be taken with a reasonable possibility of it being taken with effect.

May I conclude by reminding you once again of the statement of League policy made on behalf of his Majesty's Government at the 100th meeting of the Council, from which I quoted in my letter to you of March 8.

The passage of his letter on March 8, to which Lord Halifax refers in his closing sentence, reads—

The statement of League policy made by my predecessor at the recent meeting of the Council represents the views of His Majesty's Government. In the course of this statement he said, His Majesty's Government "consider that the League, despite its existing limitations is the best instrument which has yet been devised for giving effect to the principles of international co-operation, and

they are therefore determined to keep it in existence, to give it their full support, and to make use of its machinery and procedure to the fullest extent that circumstances permit. Within the limits which they have to recognise they intend to make it as efficient an instrument as possible."

De Facto Recognition

IN recent discussions on relations with Italy, in the House of Commons and elsewhere, the point has been made that since Italy is in control of at least part of Abyssinia, and since Great Britain must have some relations with the authorities in Abyssinia, the British Government should at least recognise the Italian conquest *de facto*. What does recognition mean? It means that a government admits that a certain state of affairs exists, and that it is prepared to admit the legal results that follow from that state of affairs. Non-recognition does not mean that a government denies that the state of affairs exists, but that it is not prepared to admit the legal consequences. In other words, the British Government is not prepared to allow the law courts and the administrative machinery of England to be used in completing a conquest made in violation of international law.

Diplomatists make play with two kinds of recognition, *de jure* and *de facto*, but to the lawyer and to the judge they are both one. If we wish to prevent Signor Mussolini using English law courts to complete the conquest of Abyssinia, we must

deny both *de jure* and *de facto* recognition. Does this mean that no relations whatever can exist between this country and the present government of Abyssinia? Not at all. It is sufficient to recognise that Italy is in military occupation of Abyssinia, and allow her the rights of a general in the field. That will suffice for all necessary communications, and it will effectively prevent Great Britain being party to the conquest.

Broadcasts From Radio-Nations

SHORT-WAVE listeners in Great Britain will have more opportunities of hearing the League of Nations Wireless Station after April 3, when a new schedule comes into operation.

It will give British listeners a choice of three different wave-lengths, and two alternative hours.

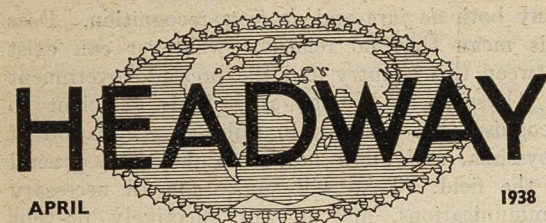
Every Sunday, from 3.45 p.m. till 4.30 p.m. (G.M.T.) Radio-Nations will broadcast on HBH (18480 kcs.: 16.23 metres); and from 6.45 p.m. till 7.30 (G.M.T.) two different wave-lengths will be used—HBJ (14535 kcs.: 20.64 metres) and HBQ (6675 kcs.: 44.94 metres).

Each transmission will include an account of the latest activities of the League of Nations and the International Labour Office, besides a short musical introduction. Reception reports from the British Isles will be welcomed by the Information Section, League of Nations, Geneva, Switzerland.

CASTING THE BELLS FOR THE PEACE PAVILION



At Croydon the bells for the Tower of the Peace Pavilion at the British Empire Exhibition, Glasgow, were founded with the usual ceremony. Amongst those present were Viscount Cecil, Sir Archibald Sinclair, M.P., and the Rev. Sir H. Dunnico.



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We Must Restore the League

ON one fundamental matter public opinion in Great Britain is unanimous. All the opinion, at least, that counts. The League of Nations is weak and ought to be strong. Neither the fact nor the need is anywhere denied. In some quarters the League's feebleness is emphasised; in others it is minimised. There is the same difference upon the promptitude and vigour with which the revitalisation of the League should be carried through. On the one flank is an insistent desire to be slow and sure; on the other flank there is a fear that excessive caution will produce a policy which is slow to be sure and sure to be too late. Nonetheless, the broad agreement is real.

A resolution, passed by the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union and submitted to an emergency meeting of the General Council, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on April 1, calls upon Ministers for "a great effort to restore the power and authority of the League of Nations." The Prime Minister, in his painfully-awaited speech in the House of Commons on March 24, said: "I have not ceased to believe in the possibility that the League might be so revived and so strengthened as to serve as an effective instrument for the preservation of peace . . . The best thing we could do for the League would be to nurse it back to health, not only because its original aims were right, but because if only we could make it wide enough and strong enough to fulfil the functions for which it was originally designed it might yet become the surest and most effective guarantee for peace that the world has yet devised." Admittedly, Mr. Chamberlain added many comments which were much less satisfactory. But his more welcome words were not omitted, and their inclusion is sufficient to show that the League of Nations Union in the advance guard and the Prime Minister in the rearguard are on the same road, looking in the same direction. What must be done now is first to compel those who are contentedly marking time to step out, and then to persuade the laggards to quicken their pace until they are keeping up with the leaders. The pace must be swift if the headlong drive of events is not to be allowed to sweep disastrously out of control.

In an utterly critical situation any ostentatious parade of points in dispute would be a crime. Mr. Chamberlain, in the House of Commons, asserted that

he was looking, not for differences, but for agreement. He is entitled to expect from his opponents the same wise avoidance of superfluous controversy. But not less imperative is it that wilful, self-satisfied blindness should be candidly and sternly discouraged. The easy belief that nothing much need be done, and that what little is required need not be done without delay, is a terrible danger. Things are bad and are becoming worse. Irresolution will leave them irreparable. Mr. Chamberlain's appeal for an effort to revive the League is welcome. Only, however, on the clearest and most positive understanding that it is a genuine appeal for a powerful and persistent effort to which Mr. Chamberlain is prepared to contribute more than an inactive recognition of its necessity.

Here is where the L.N.U. can perform a public service of the highest value. It can supply the spur of reasoned conviction; and, when that stimulus is effective, it can afford guidance drawn from a prolonged study of the essential problem. The problem is not how to deal with a sudden emergency, how to manoeuvre against a forceful rival, and, if possible, how to out-manoeuvre him. It is the setting up of a world order, worked with vigour enough to secure to all the world's people the opportunity for healthy development and defended with courage enough to defeat any aggressor. Isolation is impracticable. Impracticable also is the restriction of any nation's interest to a few selected quarters of the globe. All nations are linked together by chains which they cannot break. A severe shock anywhere is felt everywhere. War is paid for not only by both victors and vanquished but by neutrals as well. And the consequence of war is only too probably further war, involving alike victors and vanquished and neutrals in a lunatic dance to a common ruin. When a Great Power refuses to concern itself with distant troubles, saying it will wait until they come nearer home before it interferes, it is taking the surest way to bring worse troubles to its own doorstep. The one substitute for war is law; and law lacks authority, is in fact not law, unless it is generally accepted. "A house divided against itself cannot stand," quoted President Lincoln in his Springfield speech in the crisis of American history. "I believe this Government," he went on, "cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other." Lincoln's prediction eighty years ago was justified by events. The L.N.U.'s prediction to-day will be fulfilled also, because, like Lincoln's, it is prompted by a clear sight of the facts.

Peace must be strengthened and secured. For that great purpose no instrument except the League is at hand and effectual. Only the League can give both collective security and peaceful change, each of which is unattainable without the other. Only the League can guarantee that the collective force of the peace-keeping peoples is not mobilised for any selfish end, but solely to restrain an aggressor openly tried and branded as such. Only the League can stand guardian over the unthreatened growth of all peoples. But the League cannot be strong unless its member States refuse, no matter how plausible the excuse, to destroy it at the behest of its enemies. They must say: "We have the League, and we are resolute to work it, not for your ill but for our good."

A Letter From The President to Members of The L.N.U.

THE present international position is very alarming. Wars and rumours of wars prevail in Europe and Asia, and we may easily be involved in them. The League of Nations, which was brought into existence as the guardian of peace, has been allowed in the last few years to fall into decay. Our League of Nations Union exists to maintain and strengthen the League. It is urgent that we should exert ourselves to the utmost to do so. If we fail in this duty we may again be plunged into the abyss of 1914, or worse.

What, then, can we do?

We can ask the Government and Parliament to make it the first purpose of our foreign policy to restore the League's authority. Mere professions of belief in the League are not enough. The immediate danger to peace is the aggressive policy of certain Powers based avowedly on the principle that the only thing that counts in international politics is force, that in a word, Might is Right. Against this doctrine the whole League should be called on to protest, not merely by passing resolutions, but by devising practical measures by which the peace-loving Powers may come effectually to the assistance of any State whose "territorial integrity or political independence" is threatened by "external aggression."

No doubt it is equally essential that international grievances should be remedied by pacific means and that a great effort should be made to arrest and reverse the competition in armaments. But these things can only be done in an atmosphere of confidence and security, and that can only be achieved by the restoration of the League of Nations.

In that great cause no exertion can be too great, and I venture to appeal to my fellow members of the Union

to make a supreme effort to convince our rulers that such is the Will of the People.

The great purpose should be for each branch of the Union to obtain the assistance of its parliamentary representative in this cause.

Two resolutions are printed at the end of this letter. One concerns policy, the other deals, for the most part, with collective action to secure support for that policy. And this action will only succeed if members play their full part in the organised efforts of the Branches.

But I hope that my fellow members will not rest content with taking part in collective action. There is so much they can do as individuals. They can:—

- (1) Either singly or in company with others see their Member of Parliament and ask him to support our policy.
- (2) Either singly or in company with others, write to their Member of Parliament and ask him to support the policy.
(I prefer 1 to 2)
- (3) Make use of the local newspapers for spreading information and correcting misunderstandings about the League and the Union, and repelling attacks.

And, one thing more, get at least one new member to join the Union. This is surely not asking too much of anybody.

Yours very sincerely,

Cecil

Reinstate The Covenant

ON April 1, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, an emergency meeting of the General Council of the L.N.U., attended by 200 delegates from all parts of Great Britain, passed with virtual unanimity the following resolution:—

Realising that the present grave international situation is directly attributable to the repeated non-observance of the Covenant of the League by this and other countries;

that the result has been to put the security of Great Britain and of the Empire in greater jeopardy than at any time since 1918; and

that any further breach of the peace of Europe is likely to cause a calamity, which even the heaviest and most efficient national armaments will be impotent to avert;

the General Council declares that no time must be lost in reinstating the Covenant as an effective instrument.

The General Council accordingly defines the policy of the Union as follows:—

- (1) To call for a public and immediate declaration by H.M. Government that this country will carry out to the full its obligations under the Covenant;
- (2) To press the Government to summon an immediate meeting of the Assembly of the League, and there to present detailed proposals for the protection by collective action of any State threatened with aggression.
- (3) To urge that the Government of Spain shall be enabled to enjoy its rights, under the normal working of international law, to obtain the food, munitions and other materials necessary for its defence; and
- (4) To demand that an end be put to the present practice of starving the constructive non-political activities of the League and boldly to develop its work for health, social justice, economic restoration, education, the suppression of great world-wide evils and the protection of refugees.

Czechoslovakia, The Next Victim?

By ELEANOR F. RATHBONE, M.P.,

in her recent book "War Can Be Averted: The Achievability of Collective Security" (Gollancz 5/-)

The next victim after Spain is likely to be Czechoslovakia.

Herr Henlein (the leader of the non-co-operating Germans) remains unreconciled. Should his party break out into open revolt, the situation at the beginning of the Spanish rebellion may be expected to repeat itself, with the stronger grounds and greater opportunities for German intervention which racial affinity and close neighbourhood afford.

The geographical situation of Czechoslovakia, bounded at its western end on three sides by Germany, provides not merely the opportunity but the motive. Strategically, it is indeed a key position. Berlin is not likely to have forgotten the dictum of Bismarck, "The master of Bohemia is the master of Europe." But has Whitehall forgotten that saying? Or is it regarded as no longer—if ever—true? Dr. Arnold Toynbee, who, in knowledge of international affairs has few equals, seems to take it for granted. In an article in the *Economist* of July 10th, 1937, he says that

If Czechoslovakia were to disappear from the map, that would mean a change in the European balance of power, which might end in putting Great Britain at Germany's mercy.

Dr. Toynbee, though in some respects critical of the Czechs, has a high opinion of their fighting value. They are, he says, so tough and resolute that

They will not yield, or even flinch, if the catastrophe comes. If they are crushed, they will get to their feet again sooner or later, as they have done in the past. Czech meat would be as indigestible a fare for Berlin as it once proved to be for Vienna, and it is not even likely that Germany, if she did attack Czechoslovakia, would have the chance of killing and devouring her prey at leisure. The Czechs are ready, well equipped, determined. They have had time to prepare efficiently. And highly technical modern warfare favours the defence. The clash between Prussian and Czech would be so shattering a shock that it would bring down the whole European house.

If the Foreign Office shares that opinion, it can scarcely feel quite happy about its intention—if it is its intention—to desert the Czechs and persuade the French to desert them. If, even alone, she would be a formidable foe for Germany, she would equally be a valuable ally for ourselves if a European war does come, either a League war in defence of collective security or a war of rival alliances. All her natural and acquired proclivities, as a "satisfied" Power, as a nation unified and given her constitution by her philosopher-statesman, the late President Masaryk, are towards loyalty to the League and friendship with ourselves and the other surviving democracies. The charge of Communism as directed against her by Hitler is so peculiarly absurd that even the most credulous organs of the British Press can hardly pretend to believe it. During the Great War, when the Czech prisoners interned in Russia formed themselves after the Revolution into regiments, they resisted every incitement to serve either side and battled their way out of Russia to join the Allies. The favourable treatment accorded

to Czechoslovakia by the Versailles Treaty was partly an acknowledgment of the services rendered to the Allied cause. Their present constitution is completely democratic. Like ourselves, they have never sufficiently feared the extreme parties of either Right or Left to deny them full freedom of electoral rights. But the Communist Party holds only 30 seats in a House of Deputies of 300 members.

That the Czechs should be required to give autonomy to the province inhabited by the discontented German minority sounds reasonable, does it not? Yes; and it might possibly be a solution well worth considering, on three conditions.

First: that the charge was willingly accepted by the Czechs as part of a negotiated process of peaceful change under Art. XIX of the Covenant, and not forced on her by the Great Powers as a means of securing some advantage for themselves.

Secondly: that as compensation for being asked to give the control of the only strategically defensible frontier between themselves and Germany into the hands of a German minority of known disloyalty, the Czechs should receive binding and completely reliable guarantees of their security from those Powers which asked them to make the sacrifice.

Thirdly: that equally reliable and binding guarantees could be secured for the rights and liberties of those 400,000 Czechs who live in North Bohemia, and also for the Jews, Liberals, Socialists and Communists within that land.

But merely to set down these provisions on paper is enough to make one realise their impracticability under the conditions of to-day. In the light of the history of the past five years, why should Czechoslovakia trust any guarantees, written or verbal, that could be given her by the League or by the Western Powers within it? If paper pledges are any use, she has them already—from all of us under the Covenant, from France and the U.S.S.R. by treaty. As to the prospects for minorities in any land where Herr Henlein's party had control, he already claims the right to suppress every party but his own, preaches anti-Semitism, and models himself so closely on Hitler that he may be expected to share that leader's ideas of the sanctity of pledges and treaties. As to succour from outside, protection of minorities under Treaty is already a function of the League—one of its most neglected functions.

The case of Czechoslovakia is in fact but one illustration of the main thesis of this book: that until the League or some strong group of States within it takes steps to establish for itself a reputation for honesty, resolution and scrupulous fidelity to the pledged word, collective justice will continue to be as impossible as collective resistance to aggression. How is it that our "nation of shopkeepers," whose prosperity is founded upon just such a reputation, is so slow to apply the same principles to international affairs?

The German Minority in Czechoslovakia

By H. P. S. MATTHEWS

RECENT events in Austria, the virtual encirclement of Western Czechoslovakia through the extension of Germany's frontiers toward the South-East, and the feeling that Czechoslovakia is likely to be the next objective of German foreign policy, have concentrated the attention of the world upon the question of the relations between Czechs and Germans within the borders of the Czechoslovak Republic.

Czechoslovakia is a democracy, and the only democracy surviving in Central Europe; the lot of the German minority in Czechoslovakia is considerably preferable to that of the German minority in Poland; there is no comparison whatsoever between the treatment meted out to the Austro-Germans of the South Tyrol by Signor Mussolini and the way in which M. Hodza's Government rules the Austro-Germans of Bohemia; the present German Government is pledged, by "Point I" of the National-Socialist programme, to work for the "union of all Germans within a greater Germany." All this is true—even if one agrees with Professor Toynbee that Czechoslovakia is a "spartan democracy." But it is, nevertheless, neither true nor wise to dismiss the much-advertised grievances of the Sudeten-Germans as being simply the product of an unscrupulous propaganda financed and supported from across the borders of the Reich. The leaders of the German "Activist" parties—the three democratic groups which are collaborating with the Czech Government—would be the first to say that the grievances are real and that they are genuinely felt.

The very magnitude of the German minority must differentiate this question from other minority questions. The Austro-Germans of the South Tyrol number a few hundred thousand in a country of 40,000,000; the Germans in Poland are some 3 per cent. of the total population of the country. On the other hand, there are something like 3,250,000 German-speaking inhabitants of Czechoslovakia, and they represent 22 per cent. of the total population of the state. Thus the establishment of a satisfactory relationship between Germans and Czechs must of necessity be one of the most vital conditions—perhaps the most vital condition—of the internal harmony of the state. If the Germans of Czechoslovakia are to be welded into the state, they must be brought to regard themselves, not as a minority, but as an integral element in the community. The problems of Czechoslovakia have often been likened to those of Switzerland—indeed, that comparison was made, as long ago as 1920, by President Benes himself. It is an essential feature of the Swiss Constitution that in Switzerland there are no minorities.

Collaboration between an element of the German minority and the Government dates from the year 1926. Until that date the German parties *en bloc* had been in opposition, even the Social Democrats regarding their incorporation in the state as having been put through at the time of the Peace Treaty against the wishes of the German population. Those among the Czechs and the Germans who set themselves the task of uniting the two

peoples in loyalty to the new state had to combat deep-rooted prejudices and suspicion. The Czechs remembered the days when, under the old Austrian Monarchy, cafés were to be found in the German-speaking areas which bore legends stating that "Czechs, Jews and dogs are not admitted." The Germans could not easily forget the acts of discrimination practised by the Czechs, raised so suddenly from the position of a subject race to rule over their former masters.

The work of conciliation between Czechs and Germans went on undisturbed for nearly 10 years. Then, two years ago, thanks to the depression, the rise of Hitler in Germany and the discrimination practised against the Germans in Bohemia, a new factor emerged in the shape of the extremist Henlein party, which won the adherence of 70 per cent of the German minority in the elections of May, 1935.

In order to strengthen the hands of its democratic German allies, the Czech Government concluded with them, in February, 1937, a far-reaching agreement promising equitable treatment in the allotment of State contracts and in the filling of Government posts. This conciliatory gesture was warmly welcomed by democratic opinion in Britain and elsewhere. How has the new agreement worked? It was largely in order to discover the answer to this question that I went to Czechoslovakia last autumn.

I found the "Activists" frankly disappointed with the fruits of the agreement. They recognise the great difficulties which its fulfilment entails. They realise that jobs can only be found for Germans as they fall vacant, and that many German candidates for state employment must be suspect so long as an element in the Henlein party frankly avows its loyalty to the Third Reich and its hopes of the union of the German areas in Czechoslovakia with Germany. But, even taking these factors into account, they feel that much more could have been done. They speak of "deliberate sabotage," even in "high places." They maintain that much more could have been done by those in authority to restrain the excesses of nationalist extremists among the ranks of Czech officialdom. They speak of organised and deliberate attempts, on the part of the Czech nationalist associations in the frontier areas, to frustrate the conciliatory policy of the Government. They do not for one moment deny the good intention of President Benes and his immediate collaborators. Nor do they deny that there has been "here and there" a "slight improvement." But the results in general have been disappointing.

Faced by the new threat from the Reich, however, the Czechoslovak Government seems determined to make a new effort. The right of the German minority to a share in the administration corresponding to the proportion of the population which it represents is to be guaranteed by law. There is even talk of negotiations between Germany and Czechoslovakia which would regulate the differences between them.

Youth Demands Peace and Social Justice

By P. A. TIMBERLAKE

President, British Universities League of Nations Society.

THE greatest disservice that the wise and disillusioned of mature years can do to-day to the cause of civilisation is to attempt to convey their "disillusionment" to the under-thirties.

Hasty as it may appear to condemn out of hand every well-intentioned corrective to the optimism and determination to change things that abound to-day as never before in the minds of young people, it is both shortsighted and selfish to imagine that such correctives can do anything to improve the social and international relations of the future. Those who have discerned the truly significant tendencies amidst the bewildering medley of activities that go to make up the modern existence of the under-thirties can bring proof after proof that there are movements springing up among the youth in all parts of the world now which contain within them the certain promise of a new order of society, based on peace and social justice, in the not distant future.

Powerful Movements in many Countries

I do not propose to speak here of the modern miracle of the World Youth Congress Movement, for I am hardly qualified to do that. What I have to say concerns a special, but immensely important, section of the youth of which the general public too often knows unbelievably little. I refer to the students at universities and colleges who have rejected the counsels of the social sceptic and begun to accept the challenge of present-day problems. Their numbers are growing not only in England and the United States, but in every country in which the flame of democracy is still alight, and in some in which it is not. Powerful student movements standing for peace and social justice exist in Central and South-Eastern Europe, in the Netherlands, in the South American countries, in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, in Spain and in China. To give the merest sketch of the growth of these movements or of the programmes they support would require a very much longer article than this. Each of them has a history which is sufficient in itself to refute the social sceptics and to inspire redoubled efforts in the cause of international agreement. The student movement has its own record of self-sacrifice and tireless effort in the face of overwhelming odds, comparable with that of any of the great movements that make their appeal to the general public. This explains why the eccentric and Bohemian student is already of far less consequence in the universities than the student who recognises an obligation to employ his knowledge and ability to further the cause of peace and mutual understanding from the time when he first begins to understand the problems underlying the international crisis. But what evidence is there that this desire to work for peace is taking on a practicable form?

It sounds a little grim to say that the Chinese students supported collective security before they themselves became the victims of the failure to operate it in the Far East. This is nevertheless true of the 350,000-strong

All-China Student Union, whose amazing contributions to the building of the new China are becoming daily better known in the West as the war goes on. Even after Japan renewed her aggression last summer, an international appeal from the Chinese students could still speak in such terms as: "The war of aggression against the Chinese people has brushed aside all international treaties, such as the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact and the Nine-Power Treaty, the sanctity of which is indispensable for the preservation of international peace and order." Nor does the desire for international co-operation stop there. The student organisations in Shanghai actually addressed to the Japanese students last year an appeal for joint opposition to the aggressive designs of the Japanese Government. They received favourable replies from the students of two universities in Tokio (some of these have since demonstrated in public against the war), and one reply from an individual Japanese student that was reproduced in full in the Chinese student paper, *Student Voice*. Student representatives from China have been touring Europe and America in recent months, spreading the story of the new China and the All-China Student Union; and in spite of the great demands which are being made upon students in China at the present moment, their organisations will almost certainly have delegates at the World Youth Congress at New York in August.

Students Against Aggression

To move nearer home, to a country whose government is far from being democratic, we find Jugoslavian students at Belgrade University repeatedly declaring themselves in favour of the collective peace system and against the policy of abandoning France and the Little Entente for an Italian alliance. The great demonstrations of welcome for Benes and Delbos in the streets of Belgrade—demonstrations in which not only thousands of students but large numbers of the inhabitants of the city took part—contrasted strikingly with the hissing crowds that greeted Count Ciano on his visit in the spring of last year. All of these demonstrations were organised by the co-ordinating committee of the student societies of Belgrade, uniting the 90 per cent. or so of the students of that University who are opposed to any movement away from the League of Nations towards alliance with the aggressor States. What an enormous reservoir of pro-League feeling and support for collective action must underlie such manifestations as this! Who can talk lightly of "the spreading rot of the League system" when thousands of young men and women are prepared to risk becoming targets for police bullets in order to show their support for collective security?

When student meetings in—for example—English, French and Dutch colonial countries declare in favour of closer international co-operation through the League of Nations, people in England do not always attach

very great significance to their declarations. It is perhaps otherwise when the declarations come from the United States, the one Great Power invariably dismissed by "experts" and other professional pessimists in this country as irrevocably isolationist. The British public read with mild wonder of the annual American Student Strike against war, which grew from 20,000 in 1934 to over 1,000,000 in 1937. But they would still agree with the cynics who said that this was merely a demonstration against war as such, and represented nothing more than a futile expression of sentiment. This year the American Student Union at its Convention formally abandoned the "Peace Pledge" (adopted from the resolution passed by the Oxford Union, before the left-wing at Oxford was as strongly in favour of collective security as it is now), and declared for "American leadership in naming and employing embargoes against aggressors" and for "immediate steps to restrain aggressors by contributing America's decisive influence on behalf of world peace." President Roosevelt, in his message to the Convention, showed a clear understanding of the importance of the American student movement in the political life of the nation. How long will it be before the Prime Minister of Great Britain is compelled to pay tribute to the public importance of the attitude of English students on international questions?

Not long, perhaps. We have nothing as yet to com-

The Man Who Prayed on the Grave of the Unknown Soldier

A Personal Memoir of Frank Kellogg, Ambassador of Peace

By KEES VAN HOEK

IN that magnificent Court Room of the Peace Palace at the Hague an ever-fresh wave of emotion ripples among spectators when the usher pronounces the magical words "La Cour" followed by the entry of judges who do not summon before them mere individuals but the nations themselves. Frank Kellogg, though one of the smallest in stature among the imposing array of his world eminent colleagues, stood out markedly with his withered strong lined face above the distinguished sobriety of the ruffled lace over his black velvet and silken robes.

I once saw the sentries in front of the palace of the late Queen Mother spring to attention as a magnificent limousine rolled up. Almost before the car had stopped a short square figure had worked itself out of the cushions—had alighted, and without waiting for flunkies to throw open the door which stood ajar, Frank Kellogg had found his way in unattended.

After the Assembly of the League of Nations had elected in September, 1930, the former Ambassador and Secretary of State as a judge in the World Court, I was often privileged to talk to him in his small luxuriously-furnished study in the Peace Palace.

He was a typical citizen of the New World. His distinguished sun-tanned face had a very individual beauty, although it probably would not meet the classic standards of Old Hellas. There was strength in his powerful mouth, his light blue eyes were irresistible and his white silky hair spun a halo of distinction around his broad brow.

He used to speak with something of local patriotism about St. Paul, where he lived for the greater part of his life, coming back to it faithfully from wherever the

interests of the State had called him: London and Washington, the Hague; and where he returned to die. Mr. Kellogg never allowed the famous Pact which bears his name to be mentioned without amendment. "The initiative was Briand's," he always insisted, for the French statesman commanded more than his respect. Kellogg admired him with deep affection. In one of our last conversations when he was about to retire from the Court—ill-health already beginning to interfere with his favourite round of golf a day—he looked at the future: "There will always be international difficulties and problems," he said—"but the nations have to be educated to understand that wars are a barbaric means of solving them. Too brutal, moreover, really to solve anything." Only by peaceful methods under international jurisdiction and justice will the world be able to settle its problems. "Towards this education of the nations," Kellogg emphasised, for he was a convinced Christian, "the Churches can probably do their greatest work." In Kellogg's mouth "ideal" was no empty word. Though far from ostentatious, he once made one great public gesture, almost an example to the world. When, after the signing of the Kellogg Pact in Paris, he visited the tomb of the unknown warrior underneath the Arc de Triomphe he did what no one—no visiting prince or statesman had ever dared do before—he knelt on the pavement notwithstanding guards of honour, cabinet ministers and diplomats, and prayed with closed eyes before that symbol of the millions who fell for a new and better world. So intense were Frank Kellogg's convictions.

By an Austrian in England

The Other Side of the Picture

WHEN events are moving so fast the past is liable to be overlooked. But in the great history of little Austria it is the past that counts if one wishes to see the recent German action in the right light. German propaganda has hammered the slogan of "Austria's happy return to Germany" in so many ears that reason has been deafened.

Did not Austrian emperors rule Germany? Was not one of the much-abused Habsburgs the last Roman Emperor of the united Austria and Germany? Was it not Germany that broke away from a country which is so different in race and outlook? Did not the Austro-Prussian war in 1866 open a gulf between the two countries that could never again be really closed?

History does not stand still. In the past century an entity was moulded in the Danube region that is homogenous politically and economically, and in the old Austro-Hungarian monarchy a culture was developed, a culture of its own from which German influence has gradually been disappearing. When the peace treaties broke up the monarchy they only broke up an economic union. They did not break up a union between Germany and Austria, for the simple reason that those countries had not been united for more than a hundred years.

True both countries fought side by side in the Great War but to assume from that that Austria believes in "Ein Volk, ein Reich" (not to speak of "ein Fuehrer") would be tantamount to saying that England would welcome an annexation by the United States, since they both speak the same language and fought side by side in 1917 and 1918.

When The People Wanted Union

Let us go back to the time when the majority of the Austrian people truly and honestly wanted a union with the Reich. That was soon after the war. The old Empire had been broken up, and there seemed no hope nor wish on the part of the liberated successor states to join the Austro-Hungarian Commonwealth of Nations again. The small dismembered Austria had to turn for help to other countries. She turned to her neighbour Germany, whose effort to overcome the great difficulties of the post-war years everywhere inspired admiration. She turned to the leaders of Socialist Germany, who had been left in the lurch by that section of the German people which made the world war. To the same Socialists they turned on whom fell the tragic duty of signing the peace treaties. Because the Socialists were brave enough to accept responsibility, Junkers and officers, and, later, their executor Hitler, were able to blame them for "a shameful treaty."

But not even then did the Reich return Austria's goodwill. As before, Germans looked upon Hitler's native land as a useless little brother, incapable of the

efficiency and achievement for which Germany was willing to starve. Austria, peaceful and quiet, always preferred butter to guns (which was the German slogan even before Hitler). But many hundred thousands of Austrians after the war thought it would be worth while fighting for permission to join the Reich. They felt that the protection of a great nation would help them to win the terribly hard struggle for life which the loss of the war forced them to undergo. It is significant that the German Reich could not, or, as many have reason to believe, would not assist the Austrian people effectively in this struggle. It was the Western Powers who, through the instrument of the League of Nations, granted the request, suggested by the Austrian Chancellor Dr. Seipel, and interpreted by Baron Frankenstein, the Austrian Minister in London, for help and loans to Austria.

With such help the Western powers built up a new Austria. Their faith in Austria's ability was betrayed. The loans were met and Austria's financial position recovered so far that the League of Nations was able to withdraw its protective hand and grant a discharge to the previously bankrupt country.

Keeping Out The Wolf

Austria was small. But she was strong in her desire to find the "Anschluss" with Western civilisation, to progress towards friendship with France and Great Britain. The great mass of the Austrian people, who for a time after the war had desired the union with Germany, turned their backs on a country which had been subjugated by a man whose cradle once stood in Austria. They could judge for themselves the difference between Dollfuss or Schuschnigg on the one hand and Hitler and Goering on the other. Although many of us did not think the Austrian system an ideal one, we gladly submitted to it for the sake of keeping the wolf out of the country.

How else could National Socialism be described in a country which is ninety per cent. Roman Catholic, and whose population worships a God and a Church that is hourly and daily dragged into the mud in Germany? What other description could be used by the people of Vienna? More than thirty per cent. of the Viennese are Jewish or have Jewish affiliations, which deprive them of their full rights of citizenship in the eyes of Nazi Germany.

Another third, it has been said jokingly, are of Czech origin. A joke, well. An exaggeration, true! But there is much truth in it. The number of Czechs, Hungarians, Jugoslavs, Poles and Rumanians in Austria is greater than most people think. Centuries of common frontiers have made common bonds between these nations and Austria—bonds sealed by marriage and intermarriage many thousand times.

Behind the Nazi Triumph

Our beautiful and charming little country in the last few years has disproved all the assertions of those who had maintained that Austria was economically stillborn. She miraculously came back to life with her unassuming energy, her sense of humour, and her determination to act without making a fuss about what she was doing.

When I visited Austria in January I found economic conditions improving, the political situation settled—except for rowdy youths who, by order of Herr Hitler, tried to disturb the peace with noisy demonstrations from which the adult citizen turned away in disgust. I found the Socialist workers on the road to reconciliation with the Government, a reconciliation which was hurriedly completed in the hour of danger. I found the Christian element, the backbone of the country, happy and tolerant. I found a large section of the population looking forward to the prospect of an early restoration of the Habsburgs.

Those Who Would Not Submit

I have been asked to state the position of those Austrians who refused to submit to Hitler. They are thinking in their hearts what I am able to write openly here after their mouth has been shut possibly for ever. They watched with horror the events on the other side of the frontier. They witnessed the persecution not only of the Jews but of everybody who did not subscribe to Nazi opinions. They watched with increasing anxiety the extravagances of German foreign policy. They felt fortunate in being able to retain their place in the sun of civilisation, and also in the hearts of the world. Wherever Austrians went they were received as friends. They were proud of that. They were hosts to hundreds and hundreds of thousands of foreigners who left Austria delighted, determined to return at an early occasion.

Their struggle to remain Austrians, to enjoy their freedom in an independent Austria based on their own traditions has been in vain. Their attempt to decide their own fate in a free plebiscite has been frustrated.

Hitler has come to Austria, but not as a friend. He has come with his troops like a conqueror of a hostile nation. He has brought his ruthless Gestapo with him, who, within a week or so have sent thousands and thousands of Austrian "brothers" to prison and concentration camps. Within two days all the horrors that have beset Germany in the last few years have been imported into Austria ready made. The Austrian people have not been granted even the breathing space which the Germans enjoyed in 1933, while their new rulers figured out the most effective tortures. Five years' experience in suppression has been applied to the Austrian people in the first two days. Blood is flowing in Vienna, Austria is doomed. The tears of a terrified population make the Danube swell. Trains loaded with prisoners

are being dispatched to German concentration camps every day. Requisitions are taking place every hour.

There is a section of the population who wanted Hitler. They wanted Hitler first and Germany second. They expected from Hitler the marvels that Dr. Schuschnigg in his last speech declined to announce when he produced the "solid facts" of Austria's economic position. What of the Austrian Nazis? They have been placed in the background for the best posts are being filled with special commissioners from the Reich. To mention two examples: all the Viennese newspapers are run by these commissioners, and the State Railways have been put under control of a director of the German Reichsbahnen. German police and military officers are taking over. Austria has been reduced to the state of a province.

Hundreds of thousands anti-Nazis and Jews have been deprived of their livelihood overnight and are left to starve. This is their tragic fate. The suicide wave that is rapidly spreading has already torn from Austria many of her most distinguished citizens.

Austria, the thousand-year-old Austria, is no more. In the old Kaiserstadt Herr Hitler has been received by 120,000 German troops and S.S. men "in triumph." The population of Vienna has poured out into the street to see the show. But their jubilation has been forced upon them by the roar of three hundred bombers circling over the town for two days ready to punish every outward sign of disapproval.

Despair, Terror, Murder

The world Press reports the triumphant entry of Hitler into his homeland. But the people of the world should be shown the other side of the picture. This picture has been before me day and night ever since that unlucky March 13. It is a picture of despair, terror and murder, of fifteen-year-old boys in control of a country. Boys with rifles on their shoulders and swastikas on their arms, who are free to loot and shoot, to inflict the most degrading insults on decent citizens just because they happen to be Catholics or Jews.

On every page the Nazified Viennese newspapers warn looters and forbid individual actions. The frequency of this warning is a horrible indication of its necessity.

What the world should know is that the Austrian people are not taking their fate lying down. "Passive resistance" is the only means of fighting Hitler, for the majority of the people true to Dr. Schuschnigg's wish that no blood should be shed; it is the watchword throughout the country. It will be hard for Hitler to swallow the big bite he has taken. Indeed, it may well be that National Socialism will be choked by it and by the consequences Germany's action against Austria is bound to produce.

A CHINA BULLETIN

Supplied by The China Campaign Committee

The China Campaign Committee is grateful to "Headway" for devoting a page to a China Bulletin. The Bulletin is intended to show something of what can be done to help the Chinese people in their present struggle.

CHINA CALLS TO US

Telegram from Hankow. March 3

Due difficulty communication with occupied areas, following telegram much delayed. Sender requests transmission to International Peace Campaign Committee.

"Your collective action in upholding international justice has greatly heartened us. Believing that action of International Peace Campaign will effectively help China and also hasten restoration of world peace, we beg to submit following proposals:—

"First, organisation of permanent committee to carry on international movement in support of China's cause; second, starting of international rally for adoption of economic sanctions against Japan; third, non-supply of munitions, raw materials and foodstuffs to Japan; fourth, positive moral and material help to China; and, fifth, invocation of articles sixteen and seventeen of League Covenant against Japan, and non-recognition of such bogus regimes as might be established by Japan in China. Signed, North China's People's Self-Defence Committee."

Letter from Muriel Lester, who is working among refugees in Shanghai:

"Many children, deprived of vegetable salts, are becoming paralysed with beri beri. Refugee camps cannot afford any vegetables, even the cheapest. They are scarce and expensive in this city, so the weakness spreads. Who will send a ton of fruit juice to the children of Shanghai? Or Marmite? Marmite saved many of our soldiers from scurvy in Mesopotamia during the world war. One teaspoonful in a cup of hot water once a day would help."

Report from Japan, "Times," March 3:

Though in the first two months of 1938 Japan cut down her imports by 193,000,000 yen (for example, she imported 180,000,000 yen less of cotton), yet her imports for January and February together exceeded her exports by 45,000,000 yen. Although her gold stocks were

Issued by China Campaign Committee:—China Appeals to You (Pamphlet 1d.). Leaflet on Destruction of Chinese Culture and Education (12s. 6d. per 1,000). Obtainable from the Union Book Shop.

HALF A YEAR OF WAR

A Chinese View, by Hubert S. Liang, Late Dean of School of Journalism, Yenching University, Peking, now in Japanese hands

FOR half a year now Japan's undeclared war on China has been raging.

China's losses have, of course, been tremendous in terms of human lives and property, both civilian and military, which must run into billions and billions of dollars. But her consolation is that she has had to resist and continue to resist for her very existence as a free and independent nation. Moreover, whatever may

revalued at the end of 1937 they only amount to 800,000,000 yen.

THE PEOPLE EVERYWHERE HELP CHINA

U.S.A.—Owing to the boycott of Japanese goods carried out by the Commonwealth Association in the state of Washington, U.S.A., the value of Japanese imports into the port of Seattle declined from 1,463,000 dollars in May, 1937, to 684,000 dollars in December, 1937, even though Japanese imports are usually at a maximum in December.

Sweden.—The Swedish Aid Committee for China has recently sent six tons of bandages, medicines and medical accessories to China on the *Tamara*, sailing from Gottenburg.

France.—Les Amis du Peuple Chinois are organising a big exhibition in aid of China, to be held in Paris in April. It is to show what people in every country are doing to assist China, both in relief work and in organising boycott.

Ireland.—The Irish Seamen's and Port Workers' Union has decided to boycott all Japanese goods entering the port of Dublin. In 1936 Irish imports from Japan were £408,427.

Great Britain.—On Monday, March 11, the Chinese crew of the Holt liner, *Pyrrhus*, refused to sail with her to Portland, Oregon, U.S.A., to take scrap iron to Japan. Nor could another Chinese crew be found, and English seamen also refused to sign on. But Liverpool is large, and the Union is not all-powerful. On Wednesday some sort of crew was scraped together, and she left with the first tide on Thursday.

The Co-operative Union (National Co-operative Authority) decided on March 3 to call on all sections of the Co-operative Movement to boycott Japanese goods. The Brighton Industrial Co-operative Society led the way by asking for 50 shop boycott posters to display in their stores.

The Chinese Art Exhibition in London realised £947 for Chinese Medical Aid.

Miss Koo had a most successful tour in Lancashire, ending with a big meeting in the Picton Hall, Liverpool, at which £180 was raised.

have been her losses they have been diminished by certain distinct gains. In a sense China feels that despite the occupation of her territory by an alien army she has scored a victory over her enemy already in that she did not capitulate without a struggle, which was what Japan wanted but did not get.

Another gain for China is her increasing political solidarity. Even after the Sian incident, potent factors

were working for civil war. The chief of these factors was Japanese intrigue. Now that Japan is attacking China openly, the ground is cut from under the feet of those who connived or would have connived at Japanese mastery. As long as the National Government continues to fight the political unity of the country will be further strengthened. As long as resistance goes on no group, faction or party would dare to rise in opposition against the Central Government. Hence the political unity which China enjoys is of the truest and most solid kind, because it is firmly rooted in the objective realities of the situation.

Still another gain for China is the movement of industries and population into the interior. China's economy has for a long time been of a peripheral nature, that is, an irrational development of coastal areas at the expense of the hinterland. As a result, an unbalanced and abnormal concentration of wealth in a few seaport cities is witnessed and, concomitantly, a class of easy-living and luxury-loving people have come into being. Wealth, ease and luxury were the ideals of Chinese youth, who, following the footsteps of the grown-ups, flocked into the metropolitan cities. Thus the hinterland was steadily impoverished not only in terms of physical wealth, but in human materials as well. War is beginning to change all this. Except for a small minority who are left behind in the seaport cities, able and patriotic elements are forced to return to their native towns or villages, and, being there, they are compelled to share the life of the masses from whom they have, hitherto, been far removed. For the national defence, industries will now have to be developed in the hinterland, thus shifting the base from foreign-controlled and foreign-dominated coast cities. By moving her political and economic base into the interior, China is pursuing the right course, which will undoubtedly lead her to her final objective, national freedom and independence.

Internationally, China's position has been considerably improved. Formerly China has been looked down upon with contempt for her non-resistance against aggression. Now that she has resisted, and resisted heroically, the world's sympathy, goodwill and respect are on her side, as is manifested in the boycott of Japanese goods in the different democratic countries. What is more, the nature of the situation is such that when China resists and continues to resist, assistance from friendly powers, for the sake of their own interests if for no other reasons may be forthcoming.

Such then is the prospect facing China after six months of life-and-death struggle against her mortal enemy, militarist Japan. Instead of being depressed, young China is fighting with grim determination and a complete confidence that out of her present travail a free, independent and truly progressive nation will be born!

COME TO SCOTLAND!

in 1938

The head office of the Union is considering the arrangement of parties to see the Empire Exhibition at Glasgow, including the Peace Pavilion, and to spend a few days in Scotland, visiting Loch Lomond and other places of interest. Such parties might be organised at intervals between the end of May and the end of September. Will all those who may be interested in this proposal please communicate with 15 Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

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League Thoughts on British Policy

(From Our Special Correspondent)

GENEVA, March 20.

Apparently they did not mean it.

"His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom . . . continue to regard the League of Nations as the best instrument yet devised for securing international peace."—[BRITISH GOVERNMENT DECLARATIONS AT THE 100TH SESSION OF THE COUNCIL, AND IN THE COMMITTEE OF XXVIII.]

ALTHOUGH events in Austria have tended to overshadow the recent re-orientation of British foreign policy—for it seems nothing less—international observers have not been slow to trace the connection between them. First and foremost, League opinion regards the resignation of Mr. Eden and Lord Cranborne as perhaps the biggest blow which the League has been dealt for several years, not so much from the personal point of view as because of the fundamental change in British policy which, though strenuously denied by the supporters of the new dispensation, is to international observers as plain as a pikestaff. Let it be hammered in that this is no issue of mere personal popularity—Sir Samuel Hoare was personally most popular. Still less is it a question of—detestable phrase!—political ideology. No one not wilfully blind to facts could call Mr. Eden a Bolshevik or a supporter of Bolsheviks. No, Geneva registers with pain, but with complete certainty, the definite switchover of British policy from Collective Security to a sort of watered *Machtpolitik*, which is neither the "balance of power," nor even the good red herring of isolationism. It remains unimpressed by the phrases in which Mr. Chamberlain veiled his renunciation of hope in collective methods; the more so because both the "praise" and the "blame" were to the address of a League of Nations which has never yet existed, to the address, that is, of some kind of would-be super-State with Headquarters in Geneva, of an institution apart from the Governments which compose it, of that kind of institution, in short, which the veriest schoolboy knows Geneva is not, if he knows anything at all of post-war history.

Can international observers be reproached if they discount both blame and praise from such a source? When, in addition, the same high authority on foreign affairs openly cites the Nyon arrangement as an example of what conciliatory measures with Italy can achieve, is it to be wondered at if international delegations feel a change for the worse in the *expertise* of the British touch on international affairs?

Nowhere has the feeling of depression and uncertainty been so profound as among certain—and those by no means the least influential—of the Latin-American Delegations in Geneva. With few exceptions, the Latin-American States are and have been genuinely devoted both to the political ideals of the League and to the social ideals of the International Labour Office. There has been a lamentable tendency in certain places to write down much of this devotion as "lip-service." It is a disastrous mistake, a mistake which springs, I

sometimes feel, from that apparently ineradicable British habit of persuading oneself that "the other fellow never means what he says." It is a dangerous attitude, if only because it is the halfway house to isolationism, which is always waiting round the corner for the British mentality. Be that as it may, the change in British policy reflected in Mr. Eden's departure came as a staggering disappointment to most of the Latin-American supporters of the League. Anything like British abandonment of the League will, I am told, throw the Latin-American States back upon Pan-Americanism (which is already rearing its head again), and we may expect to see the fruits of the new policy before the end of this year at the Pan-American Congress in Lima.

Though at the time of writing there is no official announcement, we may expect at any moment to hear of Austria's withdrawal from the League. Even if Austria is henceforth to be regarded as a "Dominion," it would be too much to expect a "Dominion" to be represented where the "Mother Country" is not represented. Hitler's *main-mise* on Austria is regarded here, not as the first-fruits of Chamberlainism—deeply as Geneva regrets the change in British policy, we are not so shortsightedly partisan as that—but rather as the culmination of the inherently vicious system of the Peace Treaties. It seems sometimes to be tacitly assumed that Geneva made the Peace Treaties—Hitler often talks like that, and his English friends use the same language. Alas!—Geneva had only the unenviable task of operating the Treaties, and time and again French and/or British policy has blocked the avenue to any sane readjustment of their more iniquitous clauses. On the score of Austria, Geneva, as an international institution, has nothing with which to reproach itself. The whole trouble goes further back, not only to the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye itself, but also to the deliberate exclusion for years of the Reich from the League. No one who was present will ever forget how, in 1920, at the First Assembly, in reply to M. Motta's reasoned plea for the early readmission of the German Republic to the comity of nations, the late M. Viviani, in a torrent of eloquence, swept his hearers off their feet and barred the door against Germany for six years. Who can forget 1926, with its humiliating six months' "waiting on the doorstep?" Not the Germans, certainly. From that moment Hitlerism was given its real chance. And now that the British and French Governments stand aghast at the Franckenstein monster, in the creation of which they were the chief engineers, now that the British Government, in face of this appalling menace to peace, conceives it to be its duty to abandon collective security for indeterminate bargaining with the disturbers of the European order, and attempts partially to justify itself by sneering at the organisation it has enfeebled and abandoned, international observers may be pardoned if they remember, apparently, further back than their new critics, and say among themselves, though in no spirit of levity, "Vous l'avez voulu, Georges Dandin."

CHURCHES UNITED FOR PEACE

NEARLY two years ago a few men and women, interested in the League of Nations Union and in Church work, met informally in the County of Northampton to discuss possibilities of further co-operation between the Churches and the L.N.U. The conclusions were brought before the Northamptonshire Federal Council of the League of Nations Union, and the Council formally constituted a Churches Committee to act for the County. Outside bodies were asked to appoint members to the committee which, as finally constituted, included nominees of the L.N.U., the Anglican Church in Northamptonshire and North Bucks., the Northamptonshire Federation of Free Church Councils, the Salvation Army and the Bishop of Northampton (R.C.). The basis of action had first to be agreed upon, and the following statement was accepted:—

1. Christianity proclaims the brotherhood of all mankind through the Fatherhood of God.
2. The lesser loyalties of clan, creed, party and race shall at all times be subject to the supreme loyalty to Christ.
3. War, as an instrument of national policy, is incompatible with the spirit of Christ.
4. Christian love demands that the law of force be replaced by the force of law. It is therefore the Christian duty to direct policy towards:—

(a) A new international order founded upon law and the common responsibility for its defence, in place of complete national sovereignty and the imperialistic domination of backward peoples (*i.e.*, the strength of each for the defence of all—not each for himself alone).

(b) World disarmament, arbitration and world co-operation.

(c) A League of Nations made effective by the spiritual dynamic of a practical Christianity.

The next step was to put into effect the decisions. With the approval and support of the Bishop and Dean and Chapter, arrangements were made for holding a United Christian Peace Service. This was most successfully completed on March 12 when a congregation of nearly 2,000 gathered from all over the County of Northamptonshire joined with visitors from surrounding counties and London in a most impressive service in the beautiful cathedral at Peterborough. A sermon was preached by the Bishop of Peterborough (Dr. Blagden). The lessons were read by Mr. Carey Wilson, Chairman of the County L.N.U. and Lt.-Col. H. H. Neeve, Divisional Commander of the Salvation Army. Prayers were taken by the Dean of Peterborough (Dr. Simpson) and the Rev. James Sinfield, Chairman of the County Federation of Free Church Councils. The singing was led by Dr. Coleman at the organ and two Anglican choirs, and the local band of the Salvation Army gave a recital at the close of the service. The hymns were Kipling's *Recessional*, J. A. Symond's "These Things Shall Be" and John Oxenham's "Peace In Our Time, O Lord." The Mayors of three of the boroughs in the county attended in their official robes and were accompanied by the Chairmen of the various Urban, Rural and other Councils to the number of twenty. Numerous organisations, institutes, guilds, etc., throughout the county were asked to send official representatives and about 150 attended.

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Photo by Howard Coster.

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THE I.L.O. AND SEAMEN

By JAMES H. WHITE, Information Department, L.N.U.

WE hear a great deal about the clearance of slums on land and the fumigation of neglected property. It is only at rare intervals that we are reminded that numbers of our seamen are forced to spend a large proportion of their lives in quarters which the Medical Officer of the Hull and Goole Port Sanitary Authority has described as "unfit for human habitation." We know vaguely the contribution shipping makes to our balance of payments and how dependent we are on the men of the Mercantile Marine for our food supply but how often do we think of our responsibilities to them? Sir Roger Keys has estimated that we have to-day 2,000 fewer ships and 40,000 fewer seamen and firemen to man them than we had in 1914, though we now have 4,000,000 more people to feed.

Life in the Merchant Service is not attracting as large a proportion of young men as it ought to do, and it is evident that this is connected with the fact that conditions at sea have not improved at the same rate as those in factories and farms on the land. Some owners are inclined to argue that their crews would not appreciate improved living quarters, but there is more truth in the assertion that the foul accommodation in a large number of our merchant ships is preventing the type of youth, who would best do justice to such improvements, from going to sea. Moreover, those who are responsible for training young men for the service report that whenever reasonable amenities are provided there is no difficulty in persuading the youngsters to look after them.

There are two specially effective means of training seamen to keep their quarters in good condition. One is to include time spent in cleaning and tidying the fore-castle as part of the ordinary routine of the ship's service: the other is the inspection of the quarters, at least once a week, by the ship's master. One of the most urgent needs is, therefore, to secure a high standard of officers, and in particular to eliminate as far as possible those who, once the articles of agreement have been signed, ignore entirely all that goes on in the bunks and messrooms of the crew. From this point of view the International Labour Convention, passed by the special maritime conference in the autumn of 1936, which deals with the minimum requirement of professional capacity for the masters of merchant ships, is of the greatest significance. All skippers and ships' officers must, by the terms of the Convention, hold certificates of competency, and to qualify for such certificates they must be men of a certain age and experience and have passed examinations in the duties for which they are qualifying. Countries which ratify this Convention must ensure its enforcement by an efficient system of inspection.

If service at sea is to recover its popularity it must offer security in case of sickness and guarantees against overwork similar to those provided by jobs on shore. The I.L.O. Maritime Conference provided a scheme for compulsory insurance of seamen against sickness and for limiting hours of work to 56 per week at sea and to 48 a week in port. A further

Convention makes shipowners responsible for paying sickness benefits for a maximum period of 16 weeks to uninsured seamen. This is very important because, even when all countries have sickness insurance schemes seamen employed on ships under other flags than their own will still not be able to avail themselves of such provisions. As British law stands at the moment, shipowners are required only to repatriate sick or injured seamen. It follows that there is no great inducement to see that the crew's quarters are kept healthy and free from vermin. In case of the outbreak of some epidemic, even if it is a direct result of unhygienic conditions on the ship, the shipowners' liability is very restricted, except in those rare cases where the seamen cannot be repatriated. If Lascars, for instance, fall ill on the voyage to India, and are landed there, the shipowners have no further responsibility.

The recommendations of the Maritime Conference of the I.L.O., dealing with the promotion of seamen's welfare in ports, are very valuable and would greatly help to attract the right kind of men into the service if they were energetically carried out. In these questions it is to Great Britain, as the greatest shipping country in the world, that other countries are looking for a lead. Unfortunately Great Britain has given no sign, and it has been left to Norway to initiate the movement for ratification of the seamen's charter. It ought by this time to be clear that the adoption of I.L.O. standards in the British Merchant Service is not only desirable in the interests of international idealism, but has become one of the vital interests of this country.

TROOPS MASSING ON THE "PEACE" FRONTIER

As a result of last month's announcement in "Headway," enrolments of Members for the PEACE BOOK CLUB have been received from all over Great Britain.

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L.N.U. Branch

LEAGUE AND EMPIRE

SIR.—Readers of HEADWAY will already be aware that a Peace Pavilion is in course of erection at the Empire Exhibition to be held at Glasgow from May to October. As one who has visited the site of the Pavilion and conferred at length with those friends of the League of Nations in Glasgow who are making such a heroic effort to ensure the success of the venture, I feel it right to draw attention to one or two facts and to a practical way in which members of the Union in England and Wales can help their Scottish colleagues.

There has never before been so ambitious a form of publicity undertaken in this country on behalf of the League as the Peace Pavilion. It will be the first enterprise of its kind in the United Kingdom—the Union only had a little kiosk at the Wembley Exhibition. It will be the means of showing the League in its historical setting, with some indication of all the constructive work upon which its different sections and the I.L.O. are engaged, to a vast number of visitors. Even if only a small proportion of the crowds expected by the Exhibition authorities visit the Peace Pavilion, there will in all probability be between half a million and a million people who will see it.

The Secretariat of the League of Nations and the International Labour Office are both contributing exhibits; but the burden of raising the money for the Pavilion, the bulk of the internal exhibits and the surrounding garden lies upon the Pavilion Committee at Glasgow. This Committee has printed subscription sheets for a Shilling Fund, for they have realised the difficulty of obtaining large donations. They very much hope that these sheets will be displayed for signature by branches of the Union and of other peace societies, churches, schools and business offices throughout the kingdom. Applications for Shilling Fund sheets should be addressed to Miss Marsh, Peace Pavilion Committee, 13, Union Street, Glasgow, C.1.

JOHN EPPSTEIN.

COUNCIL'S VOTE

The following branches have completed their Council's Vote payments for 1936:—Darlington, Port Isaac.

1937:—

Ashbourne, Aldershot, Adlestone, Barlaston, Barnt Green, Bedworth, Bristol Road (Birmingham), Bishop's Stortford, Clacton, Crosshills, Chesterfield, Clare, Cradley Heath, Carnforth, Falmouth, Horsham, Hoddesdon, Long Melford, Lyndhurst, Newport Salop, Port Isaac, Rainham (Kent), St. Marks (Bristol), Silverdale, Sea-view, Shaftesbury, Southwell, Washington, Windsor, Welwyn Garden City, Walton-on-Thames.

FILM ON ABYSSINIA

A striking film of historical interest on the war in Abyssinia is available on loan, the cost of transport only being a charge upon the Branches undertaking to exhibit it. The film, which is entitled "BIRTH OF AN EMPIRE," is composed of news reel material (with music and commentary) taken during the Abyssinian war, including the bombing of Red Cross ambulances by the Italians. The film is available in both 35-mm. and 16-mm. versions. Length, 4,000 ft. approximately. Running time—45 minutes.

The film is the property of the Ethiopian Women's Work Association.

The distributors are General Film Despatch, 174, Wardour Street, W., to whom applications should be addressed.

Geneva and the Drift to War

Lectures delivered at the Geneva Institute of International Relations, August, 1937

by

Sir Norman Angell
J. B. Condliffe
Malcolm Davis
C. P. Gooch
Carter Goodrich
Jacques Kayser
M. D. Mackenzie
Edgar A. Mowrer
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An Examination will be held on May 19 (preliminary) at candidates' own Schools, and May 26 to 28 (final) at Mill Hill, when several ENTRANCE SCHOLARSHIPS will be offered for competition to candidates who are over 12 and under 14 on April 1, 1938.

About eight Scholarships are offered, varying from £100 to £60 per annum.

Exhibitions for the sons of Christian Ministers are awarded once a year following an examination held in May. These Exhibitions vary in value up to £100 per annum each, but in special circumstances may be increased.

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READERS' VIEWS

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

THE IRON GUARD

SIR.—Mr. Harrington Edwards objects to some sentiments expressed by me in my article on "The Roumanian Crisis" and questions some of my facts.

(1) I see no reason not to feel gratified if the Foreign Minister of Roumania (like the present British Government) seeks friendly relations with the U.S.S.R., Roumania's neighbour, and fellow-member of the League of Nations. In this way he fulfils his country's obligations under the Covenant, and helps to reduce the number of danger-spots in Europe.

(2) It has a great deal to do with the League of Nations whether Roumania does or does not join the Rome-Berlin axis, both present members of which are declared enemies of the League system. Both M. Goga and M. Codreanu stated repeatedly that a corollary of Roumania's joining the axis would be her resignation from the League. See the election speeches of either of them.

This answers the last sentence in Mr. Edwards' letter also.

(3) M. Codreanu's record. I fear that what Mr. Edwards' friend's wife (or sister?) does not know is "not evidence." M. Codreanu's rise to political influence dates from the day when he shot a member of the Prefecture of Police in Jasi, an act in which he glories publicly. He has since steadily preached violence, and members of his party, the Iron Guard, acting under his inspiration, have committed large numbers of murders, including that of M. Duca, then Prime Minister of Roumania. Only recently, M. Codreanu announced that he wished to drive all Jews in Roumania to the Black Sea. Those who could might escape over it; the rest could go into it.

Mr. Edwards can easily verify these statements if he will take the trouble to look up the Press of the time when the events occurred, or any reputable year-book, etc. The last person to deny them would be M. Codreanu, who owes his popularity to his violence.

C. A. MACARTNEY.

All Souls College, Oxford.

FREEDOM AND AUTHORITY

SIR.—It was good to read Dr. Garnett's review of Lippman's book on "The Good Society," and its analysis of the defects of the totalitarian philosophy.

The great problem of government has always been the reconciliation of the individual's demand for freedom (for self realisation) and the State's right to efficiency.

In a "good society" there must be, therefore, a healthy tension between freedom and authority.

The gravamen against the totalitarian state is that it cares only for national efficiency, and therefore has an unworthy view of human personality.

It reverses Kant's golden rule, and treats men as means to an end, and not as ends in themselves.

Man, by his nature, owes complete allegiance only to the eternal order of absolute values; he should not be called upon to serve blindly any "visible" order—however efficient it may be.

W. A. PAYNE.

Kettering.

A NUCLEUS OF GOODWILL

SIR.—I fully share the Union's admiration for Mr. Eden, and for all that he has tried to do, and I should be only too glad to endorse a very hearty vote of thanks to him.

At the same time it is only too apparently true that the policy advocated by him and wished for by all whole-hearted supporters of the League's ideal has never been carried out to a logical and useful conclusion. By reason of what difficulties and risks is known only to experts, but

the fact remains that nothing has been done to help victims of attack or to stop aggression. It seems to me very much more than probable that nothing could be done without, in the present circumstances, involving the world in a major war. All that has been done is to alienate and aggravate countries who are desirous of friendship with ourselves—and, in the case of Germany, anyhow, a country which has many claims to sympathetic handling.

Seeing these things in this light, I feel that if Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Halifax are brave and strong enough to shoulder the responsibility for making the best of a bad job, and so laying the foundation of an appeased, less frightened and more peaceably inclined Europe, it is not our place to make their task more difficult by interfering with resolutions and suggestions which are bearing no fruit and are only making confusion worse confounded.

I, at any rate, am incapable of taking any such active step. Perhaps we may begin with a new faith in a more united Europe to build up a solid nucleus of goodwill, if we acknowledge our failure and start again.

M. T. H. DUBOULAY.

Sidecup.

HANG TOGETHER—OR HANG SEPARATELY

SIR.—It must be evident to all lovers of humanity, who are at the same time good democrats and supporters of the League of Nations, that the power and authority of this body must be greatly strengthened if peace and civilisation and the rights of man are to be preserved. We see a strong, determined and conscienceless effort made by certain nations who have cast aside, we trust only temporarily, the restraints of international obligations, and have put what they consider the material welfare of their nations above every law and moral bond, and the best ties that unite humanity. Unless we, who sincerely believe in that new and better world order inaugurated by the League of Nations, hang together, we shall hang separately. Taken in detail, we shall be destroyed one at a time, and militarism, force, and the law of the jungle will replace justice, righteousness, international law and co-operation, and the peaceful betterment of mankind. Let us, both as individuals and States, do all in our power to prevent this calamitous prospect coming to its full fruition, and by reason, democratic co-operation and faithful adherence both to the letter and the spirit of the Covenant of the League of Nations, put humanity on the road to its true welfare once again.

J. R. PHILLIPS.

Guildford.

PEACE—BUT NOT AT ANY PRICE

SIR.—Now that the British Government appears to have abandoned the League as an instrument for preserving law and order, it seems to me that if the League of Nations Union is to survive it must adopt a much more vigorous policy than hitherto.

Since the Great War the Governments of this country have, if anything, overestimated the desire for peace of the British people. They have regarded us as spineless creatures who are incapable of fighting and have determined to preserve peace at any cost, regardless of all moral obligations. But they are wrong. We are still the people who sailed with Raleigh and Cook. Who fought under Clive and Wellington. We want peace, yes! But not the sort of peace they offer us. An ignoble, uneasy peace. A peace obtained by segregating warring parts of the world by diplomacy in the hope that the trouble will not spread. We don't want that sort of peace! We want universal peace—peace all over the world, and if we can't have that —!

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Many of the older members of the community went to fight for an ideal in 1914. We are prepared to do the same. But this time we will make sure before we fight that we are fighting for our ideal and not for something else.

And how are we to ensure that our lives will not be wasted? That we shall not be called upon to die in some Imperialist squabble? There is only one way.

As a minority organisation, we cannot force the Government to support the League through the medium of the vote. But if the Government won't help us to make peace, why should we help them to make war? We must sign a pledge. We must refuse to fight in any future war unless it be waged on behalf of the League of Nations!

If every man and woman in the Union were to sign this pledge I do not see how any Government would dare to make war otherwise than by the League's order. Our population is small enough already without any large reduction of the reserve of fighting forces.

We are not blackmailing the Government. They repeatedly allege their adherence to the League. We are simply keeping them "up to scratch."

C. M. HILLIARD.

Edgware, Middlesex.

A NOVEL BALLOT

SIR.—May I suggest a novel ballot for readers of HEADWAY? It would be instructive if we might all put in order of importance the five people whom we consider to have done most damage to the League of Nations. Such names as Laval, Hitler, Hoare, Mussolini, Simon and Chamberlain spring at once to the mind. The voting would be illuminating, and if the ballot were to be "won" by a member of the League of Nations Union, it might be allowable to ask him to resign.

There must be many members of the Union who deplored the fact that open enemies of the League are counted among our numbers. It is particularly galling to those of us who have contracted to support the Union for seven years, for we have thereby disfranchised ourselves from having any voice in its management, such as would accrue from the liberty to resign.

JOHN R. BAKER.

Burnt Oak, Kidlington, Oxford.

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

Particulars of the work in Wales can be had from The Secretary, Welsh National Council, League of Nations Union, 10, Museum Place, Cardiff.

"Isolation Is A Fruitful Source Of Insecurity"

Mr. Cordell Hull's Washington Speech

The United States Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, delivered an important speech to the National Press Club of Washington on March 17. He carried further the argument of President Roosevelt's Chicago address, which was Printed in November HEADWAY. Here are the chief passages in Mr. Hull's speech:

WHAT is most of all at stake to-day throughout the world is the future of the fundamental principles which must be the foundation of international order as opposed to international anarchy. If we and others were to abandon and surrender these principles in regard to the Pacific area, which is almost one-half of the world, we should have to reconcile ourselves to their certain abandonment and surrender in regard to the other half of the world.

It would be absurd and futile for us to proclaim that we stand for international law, for the sanctity of treaty obligations, for non-intervention in internal affairs of other countries, for equality of industrial and commercial rights and opportunities for limitation and reduction of armaments—but only in one half of the world and among one half of the world's population. The catastrophic developments of recent years, the startling events of the past weeks offer a tragic demonstration of how quickly the contagious scourge of treaty-breaking and armed violence spreads from one region to another.

Those who contend that we can and should abandon and surrender principles in one half of the world clearly show that they have little or no conception of the extent to which situations and developments in any part of the world of to-day inevitably affect situations and conditions in other parts of the world. The triumph of this seclusionist viewpoint would inescapably carry the whole world back to the conditions of medieval chaos, conditions toward which some parts of both the Eastern and the Western worlds are already moving.

The momentous question is whether the doctrine of force shall become enthroned once more and bring in its wake inexorably international anarchy and a relapse into barbarism; or whether this and other peaceful nations fervently attached to the principles which underlie international order shall work unceasingly—singly or in co-operation with each other as circumstances, their traditional policies and practices and their enlightened self interest may dictate—to promote and preserve law, order, morality, and justice as the unshakeable bases of civilised international relations.

We might, if we could reconcile ourselves to such an attitude, turn our backs on the whole problem and decline the responsibility and labour of contributing to its solution. But let us have no illusions as to what such a course of action would involve for us as a nation.

It would mean a break with our past both inter-

nationally and domestically. It would mean a voluntary abandonment of some of the most important things that have made us a great nation. It would mean an abject retreat before those forces which we have throughout our whole national history consistently opposed.

It would mean that our security would be menaced in proportion as other nations came to believe that either through fear or through unwillingness we did not intend to afford protection to our legitimate national interests abroad but, on the contrary, intended to abandon them at the first sign of danger. Under such conditions the sphere of our international relationships—economic, cultural, intellectual, and other—would necessarily shrink and shrivel until we would stand practically alone among the nations, a self-constituted hermit State.

All this we should be doing in pursuit of the notion that by so doing we should avoid war. But would these policies, while entailing such enormous sacrifices and rendering the nation more and more decadent, really give us any such assurance?

Reason and experience definitely point to the contrary. We may seek to withdraw from participation in world affairs, but we cannot thereby withdraw from the world itself. Isolation is not a means to security; it is a fruitful source of insecurity.

We believe that a world at peace with law and justice prevailing is possible, and that it can be achieved by methods to some of which I have referred. That is the cornerstone of our foreign policy—a policy graphically described by President Roosevelt when he said:—

"There must be positive endeavours to preserve peace. America hates war. America hopes for peace. Therefore America actively engages in the search for peace."

The objectives of our foreign policy are as easy to grasp as they are fundamental. The means we are using to attain these objectives are the only means approved by reason and by experience. For the sake of the best interests of our people we must maintain our strength, our courage, our moral standards, our influence in world affairs—and our participation in efforts toward world progress and peace. Only by making our reasonable contribution to a firm establishment of a world order based on law can we keep the problem of our own security in true perspective and thus discharge our responsibility to ourselves—to America of to-day and to America of to-morrow. No other course would be worthy of our past or of the potentialities of this great democracy of which we are all citizens and in whose affairs we all participate.