# $S_{1}$ $\mathcal{A}$ Stiftelsen norsk Okkunasjonshistore, 2014

"SANCTIONS" give particulars. **NO FURTHER UTILITY** MR. EDEN'S REASONS WORLD PEACE THE builders of the Queen Mary. As I have pre-viously stated, the choice of builder must be **OBJECTIVE** of the case. GERMAN CONTRIBUTION

Parliament

BRITAIN AND

WELCOMED

LEAGUE REFORM

HOUSE OF COMMONS

THURSDAY, JUNE 18 The SPEAKER took the Chair at a quarter to

o'clock The Huddersfield Corporation (Trolley hicles) and the Kingston-upon-Hull Corvration Bills were read the third time.

#### AIR RAID PRECAUTIONS

Mr. LLOYD, Under-Secretary, Home Fice (Birmingham, Ladywood, U.), replying Mr. SANDIS (Norwood, U.), said that all cal authorities in the United Kingdom had utionary schemes within their areas.

operate. cal authorities which had previously said which confront us, at they would not cooperate in realizing But I would like to begin by attempting to of aggression being either modified or cir responsibility to the population. (Cheers.)

DEFENCE FORCES

#### EXPANSION ACCELERATED

EARL WINTERTON (Horsham and part in collective action. (Opposition cries of orthing, U.) asked the Prime Minister if, in w of the growing gravity of the European d Far Eastern situation, any further steps huld be taken to accelerate the expansion of e defence forces and the provision of adeate munitions and supplies.

Mr. BALDWIN (Bewdley, U.) replied :e development of plans for still further im- collective action remains our aim. In conseoving the organization of supply and for guence we shall continue to take our full share celerating the expansion of the defence

of the working of the Queen Mary so far have met the Cunard White Star Company's fullest expectations. (Cheers.) and assist thereby to obtain a settlement. In any event, I ask the Committee to remember A SISTER SHIP that there was a very good reason for the League to enforce the sanctions-the particular AGREEMENT "IN PRINCIPLE ones they chose-because with an incomplete Mr. DAY (Southwark, Central, Lab.) asked membership they were the only ones they could impose, and which by their own action alone the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether any negotiations or conversations were taking place with his Majesty's Government at the

they could hope to see effective. (Cries of Oil!") Oil could not be made effective by present time regarding the construction of a I eague action alone. Mr. PALING (Wentworth, Lab.) .- What sister ship to the Queen Mary; and would he did America say ? (Interruption.) Hon. Members .--- Order, order! Mr. CHAMBERLAIN -- I have received an

application from the Cunard White Star Com-Mr. GALLACHER,-This is not a Sundaypany for authority to use the sum available school under the North Atlantic Shipping Act for the Mr. EDEN .- The fact has to be faced that

construction of a sister ship. After careful examination of the company's reasons, I have sanctions did not realize the purpose for which they were imposed. The Italian military camagreed to this in principle, but I have reserved paign succeeded. The capital and the most ights of further consultation before any conimportant part of Abyssinia are in Italian tract is signed. The company have obtained military occupation, and, so far as I am aware, preliminary tenders from various yards, and no Abyssinian Government survives in any understand that after considering them they part of the Emperor's territory. re negotiating in the first instance with

#### LEAGUE AND AGGRESSION JUDGMENT

a matter for consideration by the company on the relative technical and commercial merits NO QUESTION OF REVERSAL

That is a situation which has got to be faced. (Cheers.) It is a situation which BUSINESS NEXT WEEK Mr. BALDWIN, replying to Mr. ATTLEE nothing but military action from without, from outside the country, can possibly reverse. Is (Limehouse, Lab.), said that the business next there any country prepared to take such military action ? Or is there any section of MONDAY .- Supply; Committee. The Vote opinion in this country prepared to take such for the Unemployment Assistance Board would

military action ? Mr. McGOVERN (Glasgow, Shettleston, TUESDAY .- Supply; Committee. Foreign I.L.P.) .- The Labour Party. (Laughter.) WEDNESDAY .- Motion to approve the Cen-Mr. EDEN .- Those are the hard facts of the

reason to think that the Learnie favours such

departure or such action. I have no reason

to believe that this country, upon whom the

greatest burden of such a war must fall,

Though the League has not availed to pre

vent the successful accomplishment of a viola-

tion of the Covenant, the Government do not

regret, and I do not believe our fellow-

upon which general agreement could be

effective. We ourselves proposed virtually all

with which we did so, and in that respect

to retract. There is no question-I must

emphasize it-in our view of the judgment

WITHDRAWAL OF

" SANCTIONS "

ht it my duty to

e conclusion that v

is no longer

(Cheers.) I have no

tral (Coal Mines) Scheme (Amendment) Order, situation, and I submit that no member of this Committee can escape from facing them I wish to do it in this way. THURSDAY .- Report and third reading of the if he is willing to appreciate the full problem Air Navigation Bill, Motion to approve the with which the Government is to-day con-Cattle Industry (Extension of Period) Order, fronted. (Cheers.) I suggest that those facts, unwelcome though they are, do bring us to The business for Friday would be announced one definite conclusion-that if the League is to attain the objective for which it originally On any day, if there were time, other Orders set out, then it has to be ready to take measures of an altogether different character from those applied hitherto. To use plain language, it FOREIGN POLICY plain that if the League means to enforce in Abyssinia a peace which the League can

the Mediterranean.

desires it either. (Cheers.)

MR. EDEN'S STATEMENT rightly approve, then the League must take The House went into Committee of Supply, can say that such a war would be confined to

SIR D. HERBERT, Chairman of Committees (Watford, U.), in the chair. On the Vote for the salaries and expenses of

Messrs. John Brown and Co., Limited, the

week would be :-

be considered

might be taken.

Office Vote.

1936.

the Foreign Office. Mr. EDEN, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Warwick and Learnington, U.), en asked to participate in air-raid pre- said :-- I must make it clear at the outset that the Government welcome this debate. (Opposisurteen authorities had informed the tion laughter.) They welcome it as affording

overnment that they did not propose to us an opportunity to make plain the attitude of his Majesty's Government to a number of Mr. LLOYD, replying to a supplementary problems which at present confront the League all those economic and financial measures estion, said that there were over 1,600 local of Nations, upon some of which the League thorities, and only 14 at present had said will have to take decisions towards the close at they would not cooperate. In the past of this month. In a later part of my speech I larger number had taken that attitude, but wish to deal with other international problems. the last few months we had witnessed a of no less importance than those which will be we have nothing to apologize for and nothing ogressive and increasing movement among discussed at Geneva at the end of the month,

> put the statement of the Government's policy reversed. (Cheers.) in respect to the future of sanctions in its true perspective, (Cheers and counter-cheers.) Ever since the Italo-Abyssinian dispute begat

in any decision which the League of Nations in

Accembly at the end of this

until now the Government have taken their full Now I come to the steps to be taken at the No " and Ministerial cheers.) About that Assembly of 50 nations there, will then have to there can be no dispute. (Opposition laughter eview the whole situation, of which this and cries of " Hoare-Laval,") Certainly it may question of sanctions forms only a part. We be argued that collective action should have cannot tell what will be the views of the been more thorough or more complete, but various Governments represented there, but nobody can deny that in the action which has his Majesty's Government, after mature conbeen taken his Majesty's Government have played their full part. We have no intention tary of departing from that principle now. On the eps are being continuously taken, including contrary, we shall continue that practice, and any utility in continuing these measures as a means of pressure upon Italy, HON. MEMBERS .- " Shame ! " " Resign ! Sabotage ! " and " It is most disgraceful."

THE TIMES FRIDAY JUNE 19 1936

member. I understand also that the results in fact done, and that in consequence the different parties in the House as to where they [circumstances. Within these limits, however, ] with the negotiations which the Government show, as they affirmed themselves, that sanctions, which everyone knew could not should sit. That has been done in this Parlia- we think it right that these assurances should operate at once, would produce their effect ment. These seats have been assigned to the continue and we are prepared to state that fact seats and to interrupt debate so as to give an impression either that those interruptions come from this side or that there is dissension in our party is something that is not calculated to give a reasonable chance to the right hon. gentleman who is speaking and to preserve that decency of debate which we desire. suggest that that is entirely contrary to the

wishes of the House, and that those hon. members should withdraw to the part of the House to which they belong. (Opposition cheers.)

LIEUT.-COM. AGNEW (Camborne, U.). On a point of order. As one of those members who is sitting in a seat not usually occupied by those of my political views I should like to give a word of explanation. When certain interruptions were made more loudly than usual from these benches when the right hon. gentleman was addressing the House I ventured, perhaps usurping your functions, to say Order, order." It was then that I noticed that the demonstration against hon, members sitting on these benches began. If it should be your ruling that I should withdraw from this seat 1 am willing to do so. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. R. J. TAYLOR (Morpeth, Lab.) .-Further to that point of order. May I draw are standing under the gallery on this side in we never know what that is. (Ministerial numbers equal to those who are occupying Yes. their seats. (Opposition cries of standing.")

Lieutenant-Commander Agnew and other members then vacated their seats amid derisive Opposition cheers, and the seats were imme diately occupied by Labour members.

The CHAIRMAN,-When a member rises to put anything to me in regard to a point of order it is only right that I should take note of it. The Committee will permit me to do so. I have no power, nor has any occupant of this chair or the Speaker's chair any power, to order any member either to sit or not to sit in any particular place. There are not only the customs to which I have referred but there is a custom which we may take to be an absolute rule in regard to members reserving seats. Outside that I have certainly no right whatever to interfere with members as to where they sit. I think hon. members in all parts of the Committee will be acting to the common advantage of the whole Committee if they do not shorten the already action of a kind which must inevitably lead to short time available for this debate by any war in the Mediterranean. (Cheers.) No man unnecessary points of order or any unnecessary interruptions. (Ministerial cheers.)

# THE MEDITERRANEAN

#### GOVERNMENT ASSURANCES

Mr. EDEN (continuing) .- There is another aspect of the events of the last few months to which I wish at this stage to draw attention and in respect of which I wish to make a declaration on behalf of the Government. The members of the League regret, having made members of the Committee will perhaps recall the attempt. We have in common applied the fact that last December exchanges of view took place between his Majesty's Government and the Governments of certain Mediterranear btained in the hope that action would be Powers as a result of which certain reciprocal assurances were exchanged under paragraph the most important. These are the motives Papers were of Article 16 of the Covenant. laid at the time. In brief, the effect of the assurances we gave was that we assured certain Mediterranean countries that we would come to their aid in the event of their being attacked passed by the League last autumn on the act for action which they were taking under Article 16. It is the view of the Government that this assurance given by this country should

not end with the raising of sanctions but should continue to cover the period of uncertainty which must necessarily follow any termination of action under Article 16. Therefore, should next meeting of the League. The League, the the Assembly at the end of the month decide to raise sanctions his Majesty's Government intend, with a view to making their contribution to establishing confidence in the regions concerned, to state at Geneva that such are our views

I need hardly add that the Government resideration on advice which I as Foreign Secre- gard any such eventuality as those assurances them, have covered not only as hypothetical but as improbable. (Opposition laughter and interrupion.) If hon, members opposite will put themselves in the position of the countries concerned they would not interrupt me. Obviously, these assurances would be intended te only so long as in the opinion of the

Labour Party-(Opposition cheers)-and for at Geneva. Moreover, in the light of the exother members to insert themselves in those perience of recent months the Government have determined that it is necessary that we should maintain permanently in the Mediterranean a defensive position stronger than that which existed before this dispute began. (Ministerial cheers.) Arrangements will be made to carry out that determination.

#### FUTURE OF THE LEAGUE

Important as these matters are, there mother problem the significance of which in my view dominates everything else at this time -the future of the League itself. A further reason which actuated me and actuated the Government in the decision that I have just announced was the conviction that the future of the League needs to be earnestly and We urgently considered by all its members. believe that such consideration can only be given when the preoccupations and problems in connexion with the imposition of sanctions have been liquidated. I must make it plain that the Government are determined that the League should go on. (Opposition cries of "Where? Which way?") In our view the course which we are pursuing is much more

calculated to secure that result than the gibes of hon, members opposite. I was going to cheers.) In our view the fact that the League has tried and failed in this instance is not a reason for making us wish that the attempt had not been made. But it is a reason for making us determine to seek so to organize the League that it may achieve the best chance of success hereafter. (Opposition laughter.) I for the pacification of Europe. That was a beg to think that my remarks have some importance. (Ministerial cheers.) If the League is to have its best chance of success then it mus be organized on a basis which takes accoun of the lessons of the last few months. Those lessons have to be analysed; the instruction which they give has to be embodied in the future practice of the League.

The Government do not anticipate that at the session of the Assembly at the end of this month the other nations will be willing already to deal with that vast problem of the future of the League. We think probably it would be wiser to leave the dealing with that problem intil the normal assembly in September. But in the meanwhile each Government should be engaged, must be engaged, on the shortcomings, the weaknesses, and even the dangers efforts. which have been revealed by the experience of the last few months. All minds must be turned

ment have already begun upon it. We are already actively engaged upon it and we are already in close touch with the Dominions in respect of this question. (Ministerial cheers.)

ive and effective contribution in our power at he Assembly which takes place in September. The question is, can the world succeed in reorganizing itself on a peace basis ? I am convinced, despite the events of the last few months, that it can if it will, (Ministerial cheers and Opposition laughter.) I am convinced that t remains true that a universal League of Nations of substantially disarmed States in a vorld made safe for democracy-(Opposition aughter)-that is what the Covenant contemplated-can effectively and without doubt mainain peace, but unhappily, as I believe, for mankind such a League has never in fact existed nor

in present conditions can it readily be seen how such a League can be made. We are to-day confronted with problems

totally different in character, unwelcome though those differences may be, from the problems which confronted the original authors of the Covenant. We have to comprise within one organization the willing collaboration of Governments of totally divergent character. That gives some indication of the nature of he problem, and unless we do face it we cannot expect the League in the future effectively to meet these problems. At least I will give the definite assuranc Committee t the strive to restore to Governmen .cague its full authority after this set-back which we admit, and to that end we propose to devote ourselves.

I should like to turn to another and no less ment could be revoked, and we did not ask important aspect of the international sit for it hat we did hone from the German

have sought to set on foot ever since the action was only of symbolic significance German reoccupation of the Rhineland in March. Successive Governments in this spontaneously a contribution towards country have long stood for a policy based on restoration of confidence. desire to establish good relations between Government unhappily felt unable to do Germany and the countries which were her So far as we are concerned, we have enemies in the War. We have sought to do everything we could to restore confidence that on a basis of German equality and independence and the equality and independence of others, and on a basis of respect for engagements undertaken. The collaboration of Germany is indispensable to the peace of Europe. and we have asked, as successive British Governments have asked, nothing better than to work with Germany to that end. (Cheers.) That is the purpose that underlay the Treaty of Locarno negotiated by the right hon, member for West Birmingham (Sir A. Chamberlain) It was the purpose in the mind of successive British Governments when they negotiated the reparation arrangements culminating in their disappearance at Lausanne altogether. formed part of the negotiations of the Disarmament Conference, and after the breakdown of that Conference in the spring of 1934 the Government of this country did not relax

their efforts.

these negotiations have followed.

THE AIR PACT

EFFORTS TO LIMIT ARMS

"SEEKING TO REBUILD "

allay apprehensions. (Ministerial ch That is why we reaffirmed on March 19 obligations and our guarantees under Locarno Treaties. That is why as tan evidence of that we agreed to staff conv tions to arrange the technical condition which our obligations could be carried in case of unprovoked aggression. More we made it plain at once that we were r to negotiate with Germany, France, Belgium new non-aggression and sect arrangements for Western Europe. APPEASEMENT THE AIM But it was also clear, in view of the Ge

occupation of the zone, that Enrope at would wish to know what Germany's tions were towards the countries of Ce and Eastern Europe, and all the more n The Committee has only to ally, in the light of the proposals which German Chancellor had himself annous read the Blue Book which we published last April to appreciate the whole course which Moreover, it is important for us and Europe to be assured that Germany now that a point had been reached at which could signify that she recognized and inte to respect the existing territorial and pol status of Europe except, of course, as it subsequently be modified by free negotia There is another important matter to which and agreements. A frank and a reass want to refer. In February of last year the response to that question, I am sure, Joint Anglo-French declaration was agreed in be the signal for a return of confiden Europe, (Cheers.)

We asked the German Government to

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The Ge

London to try to secure a general settlement I believe that nothing less than a Euro settlement and appeasement should be comprehensive settlement, comprising pro- aim. If a reassurance can be given on point then there are elements in the pre posed agreements between Germany and a number of European States, desirable Air Pact situation which would enable us to an to conclude a permanent settlement in Eu agreements, and armaments which should rebased on the disappearance of the demi place the armament clauses of the Treaty of ized zone. That was the primary purpo Versailles. Soon after that meeting in March the communication which the British Germany enacted conscription by declaration, bassador made to the German Govern on May 6 last. The inquiries thus p and the task of his Majesty's Government was the German Government were, in our thereby complicated, but we persevered very necessary and legitimate on our throughout last year in efforts constantly re-(Ministerial cheers.) They were made as newed to secure an Air Pact arrangement in as possible after we had elucidated the po Eastern Europe and to secure an agreed limitaat Geneva in a meeting with the other Pe tion of certain forms of armaments. For signatory to the Locarno Treaty. For various reasons the German Government feit reason the Government felt justified in obliged to postpone their response to our ing for an early reply from the Ge Government, a reply which we trust That was the situation which I found at the enable progress to be made with negotiations which it is our first object t successfully realized.

#### PROBLEMS IN PERSPECTIV

In the remarks which I have address the Committee this afternoon I have conmyself to two subjects, but there are many problems. Although there are many problems, no one in the Committee will that it is these two problems, the Abyssinian dispute and the negotiations Germany, which dominate the present tion. Neither of them is of our own ma but we cannot ignore either. There see me to be a tendency in some quarters to the eye to one and let the other occupy the field. The Government with their resp bilities cannot afford to do that. I reco no one better, that there are many peop this country who have given the Govern strong support in the Italo-Abyssinian di and given me personally strong support. understand only too well their keen disapp ment at present events. As a convince I do not want this afternoon to repeat liever in the League I share that disapp earlier observations that I have had to make on ment. But I feel I am entitled to ask mer in all parts of the Committee to look a that matter. Suffice it to say, and the whole Committee knows it, that the suddenness of problem as a whole. It is in that perspe that the practical question of what to do that action on the part of the German Governsanctions has got to be decided. (Mini-

ment aroused the utmost anxiety and disquiet cheers.) in Belgium and in France and, for other If we cling to a course after the objectireasons, among countries in a great part of become unattainable we may lose the g Europe. In those circumstances the policy of end for which we are working, the the Government was to seek to calm anxieties end being-in anxious days-to keep and thus promote a situation in which con-To that end we have to bend all our er sidered reflection and careful negotiations If it means admitting failure in one in: might be possible. Ever since the events of that has got to be faced. This is a situ March 7 we have sought to rebuild in which there is no ideal way out. (Ministerial cheers.) We did not suppose, of were there would be no differences be course, that the action of the German Governus, in any part of the House or in the con

The one aim on which we are all

end of the year when I came to the Foreign actively to that task. His Majesty's Govern-Office. I felt that I must make plain at once how earnest was my desire to enter into friendly discussions with the German Government designed to secure working arrangements in which that country could participate Accordingly I instructed our Ambassador in THE WORLD AND PEACE Berlin to tell Herr Hitler that I shared the view Our intention is to make the most construche had expressed as to the importance of close collaboration and understanding between Great Britain, France, and Germany, and I expressed the hope that the two Governments

would keep that object in view despite the fact that Germany was unwilling at that moment to open discussions. At intervals in January and February we sought to make progress with these negotiations and also with an Air Pact, but the next development was on March 7, when the German Ambassador came to the Foreign Office and informed me that German troops had entered the demilitarized zone that morning.

Stiftelsen norsk Okkupasjonshistore, 2014 Turnel & 1936

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proving the organization of supply and for accelerating the expansion of the defence forces

EARL WINTERTON.—Does not the very grave statement made by the Secretary of State for War with all the authority of a defence Minister indicate that it is necessary to take yet further emergency action to deal with the situation and also for the information of the mublic? public ?

Mr. BALDWIN.—The steps that are being taken are steps which the Government so far consider requisite. They are keeping the House fully informed and no doubt frequent debates will take place

will take place. SIR A. CHAMBERLAIN (Birmingham, W., U.).—Apart from the steps which the Government refer to as being requisite can the right hon, gentleman give an assurance that in the opinion of the Government they are adequate 12 adequate

Mr. BALDWIN.—Yes, Sir, they are ade-quate, but, of course, we are anxious to pro-ceed with all speed.

CONFERENCE SUGGESTED

Mr. LANSBURY (Bow and Bromley, Lab.). -May I ask the right hon. gentleman whether the Government have come to the conclusion that there is absolutely no other course to pursue than that of piling up armaments in preparation for a war which they have told us will destroy civilization ?

will destroy civilization ? Mr. BALDWIN.—I am quite convinced, and I made many speeches on the subject during the election, that it may be necessary to in-crease armaments in order to play our part in collective security. (Ministerial cheers and Opposition laughter.) Mr. LANSBURY.—Will the Government pot consider calling a conference in order to

Mr. LANSBURY.—Will the Government not consider calling a conference in order to see if this terrific catastrophe could be put off until a discussion can take place to find out if the whole of the civilized nations feel that they must prepare for catastrophic war instead of making efforts for peace? Mr. BALDWIN.—I think a very great part of that question will be raised in debate this evening and I have some observations to make on the subject then. Mr. SHINWELL (Seaham, Lab.).—If the situation is as grave as represented in Earl Winterton's question and in the recent speech of the Secretary of State for War, will the Prime Minister take the House into his confi-dence? Mr. BALDWIN.—I can certainly undertake

Mr. BALDWIN.-I can certainly undertake

Nr. BALDWIN: I the consultation of the definition where the definition of the defini

Mr. BALDWIN — Any question that is in der on Supply—as to what is in order it is not order on Supply—as to what is in order it is i my duty to pronounce upon—can be raised.

# DOMINIONS AND "SANCTIONS"

Mr. MANDER (Wolverhampton, E., L.) ked the Prime Minister whether the asked the Prime Minister whether the Dominion Governments had been consulted and had all concurred in the British Govern-ment's policy with regard to sanctions against ment : Italy:

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Inent's poncy with register to satisfy digatal Haly.
Mr. BALDWIN.—The fullest possible information of the views of his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom has been given to the Dominion Governments.
Mr. MANDER.—Do they concur in it and is it not a fact that the South African Government is strongly opposed to raising sanctions and the betrayal involved ?
Mr. BALDWIN.—It is not for the Government of the United Kingdom to anounce any decisions that may be come to by Dominion Governments. They will make their announcements to their own Parliaments or at Geneva.

quence we shall continue to take our full share in any decision which the League of Nations in its Assembly at the end of this month may decide to take.

A MEMBER OF THE LEAGUE

A MEMBER OF THE LEAGUE We are not the League; we are a member of the League. We shall act fully and loyally in line with any action which the Assembly of 50 nations may decide upon. It would be, I suggest to the Committee, open to the Govern-ment to say that and to say no more until we get to Geneva. (Opposition cries of "No.") It would be open; it would be the very collective action in one aspect of which hon. members speak.

collective action in one aspect of which hon. members speak. It is impossible to have it both ways. (Ministerial cheers.) You cannot both com-plain that we must take our full part in collective action and complain also that we do not state our views in advance. (Opposition cries of "The Chancellor of the Exchequer.") I say that it would be possible for his Majesty's Government to pursue that path, but in our view, at what is clearly a period of difficulty in the League's history, that would not be a very heroic course—(Opposition laughter)— nor one I believe which either this House or the country would wish us to take. Mr. GALLACHER (Fife, W., Comm.).— Remember that you are running away. (Opposi-tion cheers.)

tion cheers.)

tion cheers.) Mr, EDEN.—Perhaps the hon, gentleman will let me make my observations. (Ministerial cheers.) The Government have a responsibility to the League, a responsibility not only for compliance but also for guidance. Many times in this dispute this Government have given the lead—many times; and hon. gentlemen opposite will find not one time when anybody times we have given the lead.

#### LEADS GIVEN BY BRITAIN

We gave it in January of last year, when it was our insistence which brought this dispute

We gave it in January of last year, when it was our insistence which brought this dispute within the action of the Council itself. It was our action and our efforts in the intervening months that resulted in the Council in May handling this dispute, which resulted in the passage of a resolution which maintained the right of the Council, hitherto challenged by lialy, to follow the course of the dispute, and which secured the acceptance then, in May, of the principle and of the machinery of conciliation. Again it was through the initiative of the British Government that the Council met in July when it otherwise would not have met till September. It was at our initiative, jointly with the French Government, that a three-Power Conference was called in Paris in August last year. It is quite true that the Paris Con-ference was aborlive, but no one who at that time or now looks up its proceedings will maintain that our own Government did not do the unost they could to bring about its success. Again, in September, my right hon, friend the First Lord of the Admiralty (Sir S. Hoare) took the lead at Geneva in a specch which met with approval from all sections of opinion in this country. In October, when it came to the organization and application of the collective action which to the instrong of the League had decided for the first time in history that they would take, again it was this Government which took the lead to thin proposing and in organizing the work of those committees. "SERIOLIS MISCALCULATIONS"

of those committees.

Mr. BALDWIN.—The fullest possible information of the views of his Majesty's Government, in the United Kingdom has been given in the United Kingdom has been given in the burner development is strongly opposed to raising sanctions and the betrayal involved ?
Mr. MANDER.—Do they concer in it and rate that the South African Government, is is not a fact that the South African Government, is is not for the Government that it is the impartiality to evolve the events of the past few months. They will make their announcement so rate Government that it is their duty to take their announcement so rate Government that it is their of this country to take. The resonance else and to follow after someon of the first trip.
Mr. DELDWIN.—It is not for the Government that its lead which we are going to take the lead again. No doubt it would be the lead again. No doubt it would be the resonance else and to follow after someon else and to follow after someon

HON, MEMBERS.—" Shame ! " " Resign ! " "Sabotage ! " and " It is most disgraceful." Mr. EDEN.—If the Committee will bear with me I will give them the reasons which have, brought us to take, this decision. It cannot be expected by anyone that the con-tinuance of existing sanctions will restore in Abyssinia the position which has been destroyed; nobody expects that. (Cheers.) That position can be restored only by military action. So far as I am aware no other Govern-ment, certainly not this Government, is pre-pared to take such military action. (Cheers.) The only such purpose conceivable is the restoration in Abyssinia of the position which has been destroyed. Since that restoration, I suggest that that purpose does not in fact exist—(cheers)—and to maintain sanctions without any clearly defined purpose—which in a few weaks' time the League would be con-fronted with a state of aflairs still more drogatory than that which we have to face to day. (Cries of " How do you know?"") If further maintenage of sanctions, would serve no useful purpose there is a danger that what are at present the well-ordered ranks of the attempt them would only bring disorder into what are at present the well-ordered ranks of the League countries imposing sanctions. (Opposition laughter.) Hon, members may ind that amusing, but I do not believe it is and that amusing, but I do not believe it is and should face that fact. UNIONISTS ON LABOUR

# UNIONISTS ON LABOUR BENCHES

#### **OPPOSITION PROTESTS**

Those are the considerations which the Government have had in mind in coming to their decision. But I must repeat that the decision, and the Government will, of course, concur in whatever is the view of the Assembly as a whole. (Opposition laughter.) None the less we have thought it our duty in advance to state our position before we go there. There is another aspect of the events of the last few months to which I wish the Committee would allow me to refer.

months to which 1 wish the Committee would allow me to refer. At this point there was considerable excite-ment on the Labour benches, and there were-criss of "Go outside " and "Clear out." Mr. GARRO JONES (Aberdeen, N., Lab.). —On a point of order. May I respectfully draw attention to the fact that some of the Labour benches are occupied by Conservative members, and while no protest was made as long as those members remained silent, when they begin to interrupt and falsely create the impression that those interruptions are coming from Labour members, we protest. (Opposition

from Labour members, we protest. (Opposition cheers.) The CHAIRMAN.—In a case of this kind, when feeling sometimes runs rather high, it is, I think, the business of the Chair to interfere as little as is necessary in order to preserve the decencies of debate. I have not up to the present thought it necessary to interfere, although there have been times when the inter-ference, if I may put it so, with the Minister occupying the floor of the House, has been a little difficult. I have not attempted to draw any particular view as to the party of any member responsible for that interference, and I do not wish to do so. I do not think that at the present time any question arises where hon, members are sitting. (Opposition cries of "Oh!") While it is perfectly true that under certain conditions members of different parties or groups sit in particular places, there is no rule of the House against any member sitting where he can find a seat. Therefore, I think that a little forbearance all round will enable the Committee to do what I am sure is the inten-tion—to raise the level of the debate and to the statement from the Government of their policy. "SEATS ASSIGNED."

cerned they would Obviously, these assura to operate only so long Government they rema

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A DA LA DA DA DA DA DA DA DA DA DA

Nille 2 R Parliament Continued from page 7

of the world. It is because I believe profoundly that the policy which I have outlined to the Committee this afternoon is that, in the present anxious, difficult, critical situation. which is most likely to preserve the peace that I submit it-with a deep conviction and with a full sense of responsibility---to this Committee. (Loud Ministerial cheers.)

# LABOUR CHALLENGE

"POLITICAL TREACHERY" Mr. GREENWOOD (Wakefield, Lab.) said that members on all sides were impressed with

the importance and seriousness of this debate. In what he had to say he would try to be faithful to the views of his party and to the views, he believed, of a very large number of British citizens who were outside his party. (Labour cheers.)

He was bound to say at the outset that no more deplorable speech had ever fallen from the lips of a British Foreign Secretary. (Opposition cheers.) There had been not one single word of sympathy for a broken nation-(loud Opposition cheers)-and no word of condemnation for a Power which deliberately organized the use of poison gas in spite of its treaty obligations. (Opposition cheers.) It was a speech which meant truckling to a dictator. (Opposition cheers.) Millions of people in ou land would hear with shame and consternation the statement that had been made by the Foreign Secretary.

#### "A SORRY STORY"

The National Government's disastrous foreign policy for five years had been reviewed get a job on the staff all right!" in the House more than once. It was a sorry story. He did not propose to go back further than the last nine months and to face the Government with the noble sentiments which they uttered and issued a few months ago, as compared with the despicable attitude which they were adopting now on precisely the same question. (Opposition cheers.) The speech of the then Foreign Secretary at Geneva last September gave new hope to this country and new hope to supporters of the League of Nations everywhere. It was felt that after the Government's unfortunate adventures in the realm of foreign policy they had at last come down to the basis of reality. The speech made by Sir S. Hoare at Geneva stood out as one of the greatest speeches since the War. They had thought that that was the turning of a new page.

That speech had been re-echoed by other Ministers The Chancellor of the Exchequer. only a month later, said that if the League were to abdicate its functions under the Covenant every weak nation would first begin to rearm and then to seek alliances with its strongest neighbours, and before long the peace of Europe would be at the mercy of the biggest capitulation of reason and the rule of law to and strongest Powers. The Chancellor went wanton lawlessness and gangsterdom. It had an alternative. That is anarchy, and there on: ---- The choice before us is whether we given heart to Mussolini, who could stride in will be international anarchy the moment it shall make a last effort at Geneva for peace and security or whether by a cowardly surrender-(Opposition laughter)-we shall break the promises we have made, and hold ourselves up to the shame of our children and their children." (Ironical Opposition cheers.)

#### THE ELECTION MANIFESTO

The National Government issued over the signatures of its three leaders an election manifesto to which supporters of the Government were pledged and to which right hon. and hon, members opposite owed their seats in the House to-day. The people believed that hese words were what the Government really believed, and in consequence the people gave the Government support. Strange things had happened in nine months. The election maniesto said :---

The League of Nations will remain, as heretofore, The Leasue of Nations will remain as hereiofer. MI. CREENWOOD, proceeding, asked you ""ist have some sort c<sup>\*</sup> uthority there, the keystone of Brush foreins policy. Where the Government and the League not be and the second the

Stiffelsen norsk Okkupasjonshistore, 2014 The Trines Britain's word could ever be believed again ? | war ? ") Hon, members could treat this ques-(Opposition cheers.)

#### "THE RETREAT FROM GENEVA "

Fiddling while Rome was burning was childish folly compared with the gross incompetence of the National Government's handling of foreign affairs. The Foreign Secretary had made a speech which he would live to regret. Who would have believed that the new and enthusiastic apostle of the League of Nations (a Labour member: "Apostate") would have led the retreat from Geneva? The Government said that sanctions had failed and were to be lifted, but that left the Abyssinian situation unsettled. Abyssinia stood as a ghastly

monument to the treachery of great nations which had sworn to stand by it. (Opposition cheers.) There was one effective weapon by which the rule of law could be vindicated. Unionist members: "War ! ") SIR W. DAVISON (Kensington, S., U.) .-What do the Labour Party propose ?

This interruption drew loud cries of Order " from the Labour benches. voice of the hon, member, who persisted in his question, and those of other Unionists who appeared to be putting similar questions, were drowned by protests of the Labour Party.

The CHAIRMAN intervened to ask members floor of the House must not be interrupted. Mr. GREENWOOD said it was not the Opposition but the Government who were in

the dock COMMANDER BOWER (Cleveland, U.) -It is not you who will do the fighting but 115

(Ministerial cheers.) This remark opened another roar of protest rom the Labour benches, and when comparative quiet had been restored. Mr. EDF (South Shields, Lab.) was heard to retort, " You will

# SURRENDER TO FASCISM

AGGRESSION CONDONED

Mr. GREENWOOD said that the real reason British Government, (Opposition cheers.) He all. did not believe that war was the only thing financial sanctions. Properly applied they would bring any nation to its knees, however powerful it was. If the Government hauled down the flag of sanctions now they would courage of their convictions. The Government were leading the League where they wanted to lead it. It was not that the League had failed. nor that sanctions had failed ; it was that the courage of the right hon, gentleman and his

friends had failed. (Opposition cheers.) The step which the Government proposed was a complete surrender to Fascism and all that Fascism meant. It was an admission that successful aggression, not unsuccessful aggression, was to be condoned. It was an abject British Government would let him do it. Mr. Alan Herbert had been inspired to verse in The League verdict that Italy was the aggressor in Abyssinia would really meet the case. They might have that next Tuesday. The poem

was : ---Let us be realist and face the facts. For peace, at any prior is the For peace, at any price, is more than pacts. The house is broke: the burglar keeps the cruct; Why not be wise, and say he didn't do it? I may be awkward to condone a crime. But not if it was lawful all the time. But not if it was lawful all the time. If humble pic be what the nations wish. Let them have plenty, let them lick the dish, Singing. "The meck tailan left his home." To drive the Abssinian brute from Rome." Wash to see do year the mountain tops Wash toosed by Englishmen desuised as Wors ? Laughter and Opposition theres.)

EARL WINTERTON .- Are you ready to fight the Wops ?

Mr. GREENWOOD, proceeding, asked

tion flippantly; he did not. There must be, in place of this trembling, vacillating, cowardly Government which was leading people backwards instead of forwards a Government which sincerely believed in the possibility of

an effective League of Nations, a Government which was prepared to put that principle to the test (Ministerial cries of " How ? and 'By war ? "), and a Government which was prepared to abandon what was the motive in the hearts of many hon, members, the motive of Imperialism and militarism, which animated people who would be prepared to fight for any cause but the League of Nations. (Loud

Opposition cheers and Ministerial cries of Who would you fight for ? "); people who treated with levity what had been the greatest adventure in the history of mankind, the foundation of the League of Nations. The Government now brought it to contempt ; but the League would flourish when these men's names had been forgotten. (Opposition cheers.)

### MR. LLOYD GEORGE THE ALTERNATIVE OF

#### ANARCHY Mr. LLOYD GEORGE (Caernarvon, Ind.

L.) .--- I feel that after the very powerful speech which we have heard from my right hon. to realize that the member who held the friend it is hardly necessary for me or for anyone else to restate the case, but I feel a

certain sense of personal responsibility, in the circumstances in which this debate has arisen, to say one word. I was one of those who were primarily responsible, as Prime Minister of this country and as head of the Delegation of the British Empire, in committing Britain and her Empire to the League -(Opposition cheers)-its Covenant, its obligations, its risks, its sanctions; and I have have been put from the other side of the Committee. (Cheers.) Unless it means that in the ultimate resort, the League will have no

authority, in my judgment I think that it will avert war all the more if this is known. by sanctions might have partially failed was Therefore. I have no hesitation. That cause of the half-hearted attitude of the challenge leaves me without any difficulty at

I agree with my right hon, friend that this left now. The most terrifying power in the is a very serious occasion. I cannot consider world to-day was the power of economic and a more serious debate than that which we are going through now. If the policy of the Government is to materialize, if they are going to Geneva to say "We are heaten, the League has failed, we do not propose any further have done so because they had never had the sanctions, we propose to abandon our position altogether," believe me, there is an end of the authority of the League of Nations. (Opposition cheers.) It is like a Government hat is confronted with gunmen, with organizations to defy the law. They make every effort to re-establish law, order, and authority, and they say, "We are very sorry, we have

got to give it up.' NATIONS AND THE LEAGUE

Believe me, there is nothing but anarchy as

given heart to Mussolini, who could stride in will be international anarchy the moment it his jack-boots across Europe, and a supine is known and recognized. It is no use saying, as the Foreign Secretary did, that he is going Times by a telegram in a daily paper, which to reconstitute and reform the League : not the said : - " It is hinted that only a reversal of the slightest use. The League is sufficiently loose in its constitution to adapt itself to every contingency. That is the object of it. It is not an elaborate, written constitution. There is nothing that you need alter in the League of Nations. You can pursue any policy you like under the conditions of the Covenant. What is needed is that once you have undertaken a line of action you should stand by it. (Opposition cheers.) The fundamentals are not that you should have a League of Nations which meets there like a debating society, Ministers flying over there and delivering great speeches and coming back feeling that the thing is done.

We have had that for years over disarmament. You must have some sort con uthority there.

tace to-day, did the Prime Minister think that [(Ministerial cries of "How?" and "By | very able Paris correspondent, and I think The British Government going to impose an em-Times had a similar communication. It said : ---

19 jun 1936

The position of the French Government on sanctions may be defined as follows: -- The Cabinet and M. Blum, the Prime Minister, had informed the British Foreign Office-is that so ?-

more than once that France would be ready to Britain in every step she was prepared to tal Britain in every step she was prepared to take to enforce the League Govenant. Is that true? (Hon. Members .--- " Answer.") think the House ought to know. The right

#### hon, gentleman professed to give a frank and full statement to the House. THE FRENCH ATTITUDE

Is not that a very vital fact, that the new French Government have more than once intimated their readiness to back us up in any step we take to enforce the Covenant?

Mr. EDEN .- If the right hon. gentleman challenges me I am perfectly willing to reply. On more than one occasion I have approached the new French Government to endeavour to learn their attitude with respect to sanctions. They have told me that they are not prepared to take the initiative in raising sanctions. They have told me of their anxiety to work with his Majesty's Government.

They have never given me the least indication on the contrary that they either desire to maintain present sanctions or would support the imposition of any fresh sanctions. (Ministerial cheers.)

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE .- That in substance-I ask the right hon, gentleman whether I am misinterpreting his answer-is what the Daily Telegraph said. (Cries of No.") This is very important. The French Government are prepared to back Britain in the action which it is taking. That is what I understand. They have not gone back upon that. Then this statement stands. (Cries of No.") Does anyone mean to tell me that he believes in his heart that the attitude of the no hesitation in answering the questions which French Government to-day is the same as the attitude of the French Government before the elections ? Of course it is not. They take a totally different point of view.

#### "RUNNING AWAY"

Spain has altered its Government and its attitude is different. So that from the point

of view of war we have got the Mediterranean Pact, which you have had since sanctions. You have Spain and France infinitely more any particular aim. They go forward, then favourable than they were then. You have the whole of the Mediterranean Powers except Italy prepared to support you. And yet you are running away. (Opposition cheers.) Why? | laughter and cheers.) The German menace ? There was a hint from the Prime Minister in his famous phrase about U.).-Rather like the old Coalition. sealed lips that there was some impending disaster. As a matter of fact, when sanctions were imposed Germany had already challenged Europe. She had carried conscription, she was doubling her air force, she was building a terms with her to sanction that-including submarines. (Opposition cheers.) There, at any rate, was something you might say was the menace of impending war-the building of a great new army and an air force which was going to be equal to the greatest Power in Europe. But we knew that when we undertook sanctions. There is nothing new there. Three months ago there was the Rhineland occupation. At the moment it looked as if there were some peril there and there was a good deal of apprehension in Europe. Nobody believes now the French Government are going to war over the occupation of the Rhineland. I am not minimizing the peril of war in Europe.

All I say is that the dangers are less now than when you undertook sanctions. I am trying to find out your reasons for changing your mind. Well, Austria is always with us, Austria always full of trouble, and there is one thing the people of this country have made up their minds definitely about. Whatever Government is in power they will never go to war again for an Austrian quarrel. (Interruptions.) I am just telling you what my conviction is about the feeling of the country and there is not one of you can deny it.

# "FAILURE AND FUNK"

**TWO QUESTIONS** Dealing with further interruptions, Mr. it has taken the lead under which it has can

(Cries of bargo argo on their passage? (Cries of Answer!'') Perhaps the Prime Minister will answer that quesion. 11 is a very practical question

Mr. EDEN .- If the right hon, gentleman keeps asking me questions I must answer. If such an occasion should arise, of course, we would consider the demand. There is no such

situation facing us at the moment. Mr. LLOYD GEORGE .- That means that the Government have not really considered it. The fact of the matter is. I am sorry to say, that there is no evidence that the Government ever really meant business over sanctions. Proceeding, the right hon, gentleman said that sanctions were adopted immediately after the Government had decided to have an election. During the election the Government never suggested any doubts at all. There were then some very striking quotations. The Prime Minister had said in a great message to the Peace Society, talking about this dispute :--

Let your aim be resolute and your footsteps firm and certain.

Here (continued Mr. Lloyd George) is the resolute aim ; here is the certain footstenrunning away. (Opposition laughter and cheers **l** The right hon, gentleman states that his speech, which was derivered on the eve of the election, was delivered to assure the world that we stand by our pledges. Only a few weeks after the election was over they were negotiating treachery. (Opposition cheers.) Mr. MACQUISTEN (Argyil, U.) .-- Well

behind it. (Ministerial laughter.) Mr. LLOYD GEORGE .- They said, " Here the British Prime Minister, with the greatest Empire in the world, marching ; we will range ourselves behind him." The Abyssinians believed it; the vast majority of the people of this country believed it. The Government had successful there would be people who would not been in for more than a few weeks before that torch was dimmed. (Opposition cheers.) To-night it is guenched-floud Opposition cheers)-with a hiss; a hiss that will be reechoed throughout the whole world.

#### VACILLATION AND DAWDLING

HOW THE GOVERNMENT LED The Government have led. How ? There has been no stability, there has been no steadfastness, there has been no resolute pursuit of they go backward; they go sometimes to the left, sometimes to the right. (Opposition

Mr. HANNAH (Wolverhampton, Bilston, (Ministerial laughter.)

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE,-Let me tell the hon, gentleman that that Coalition brought us right through to victory. (Opposition cheers.) new Navy. The present Government came to 1t does not lie in the mouths of hon, gentlemen on the other side of the House to taunt me. (Opposition cheers.) It did not, within six or seven months after it had started to vindicate international right, run away from it. We had many faults and many defects, but cowardice was not one of them. (Loud Opposition cheers.)

The Government have led There have never been so many vacillations in the course of a few months in the conduct of foreign policy. (Opposition cheers.) Mr. Eden has boasted to-day, and he boasted in the last speech of his that I heard in the House, that we led the nations. That increased our responsibility. We led in the imposition of sanctions : we led also in the denunciation of the aggressor. We led, too, in proposing, I think, oil sanctions, in principle ; and we led also in selling oil in practice. (Opposition laughter and cheers.) What were we doing ? We were leading. (Opposition laughter.) We dawdled for weeks before taking any action at all after everybody knew what Mussolini was after. He never concealed it; he has been perfectly straightfor rd-and we dawdle or weeks. W'hy were leading. position laughter

We put an embargo on arms for Abyssinia when we knew she was going to be attacked against him ? LLOYD GEORGE said :-- I am dealing now and when the Italians were massing armies and with an action of this Government in which piling up arms such as have never been landed

made and hold ourselves up to the shame (trained to act together under one lea of our children and their children's who may be separated from each of children. great distances. Therefore you come this point, that the forces of the Le

To-night we have had the cowardly surrender and there are the cowards. (Loud Opposition cheers.)

> MR. BALDWIN'S DEFENCE

### COLLECTIVE SECURITY

Mr. BALDWIN .--- It is a long time since we have had a debate which seems to have

stirred more feeling and more excitement, because after all what we are discussing is the all that I would say upon that matter I will I want the House to be realistic when functioning of the League of Nations. deal first with the speech of the right hon. about collective security and to know gentleman who spoke for the Opposition. The most serious part of the charge that he made against us was an accusation that we had misled the country, and that we had recently committed a complete volte face. That point of misleading the country was also taken up in that extraordinarily briliant speech of the right hon, gentleman the member for Caernaryon Boroughs (Mr. Lloyd George), which showed me that he has not lost the least atom of the vigour which I remember in this House nearly 30 years ago, and 1 congratulate him on a very remarkable performance. (Hear, hear.)

If there was one thing before and during the General Election that I took special pains to impress on every audience that I addressed, and which I also think I stressed in the broadcast it was the tentative nature of sanctions

and collective security. They were being used for the first time. I would follow them as far as anyone else would go. I did not know if they would be successful, but if they were not say, " That is the end of the League.' I explained that I never took that view. I said if they were not successful it was up to our troops refusing to take part in the League then at its next meeting to con- with Austria.

sider where it had failed and whether collective Mr. LLOYD GEORGE .--- I was security was still possible. Collective security about the British people when I sai is really inherent in this whole question and whatever happened I was absolutely must lie at the foundation of our policy for that no Government could get this some time to come. I do not think there is again to enter into a war in an A any matter in this country on which clearer quarrel Mr. BALDWIN .- I am obliged to th

thinking is more essential or on which in the meantime it is more difficult to decide what you ought to do.

POINTS FOR THE LEAGUE I am still convinced that when the League is a point that all members of the Com meets in the autumn it has to consider most ought to consider. We often talk, stat seriously this whole question of collective who go to Geneva and many of us he Collective security, in my view, security. whatever the reasons may be, has failed, and we have to get the nations of Europe together here at Geneva to see that, if possible, it shall not fail again. There is immense difficulty in stopping a war before it has begun. That is with their peculiar and unsettled condi far more important than stopping it after it has once begun. After war begins the diffi- people of Europe in many countries culty is immeasurably greater. The danger and the damage to Europe may spread far more widely and be more dangerous. I think ledge of what it may mean, that I som these are the points that we have to consider with regard to collective security, and indeed they illustrate some of the very difficulties that we have been in, and that have led, in my view, to the failure of collective action during the winter and the last few months. When the idea of collective security was originally embraced in the Covenant of the

eague it was expected and visualized hat there would be a more or less disarmed Europe, that is to say certain Powers had at that time been disarmed and there was every hope that disarmament might proceed among all the nations of Europe. Had

that happened then indeed not only would security of that nature have been easy, but then you might really have had what some members of the House have advocated with such sincerity and energy in the past-a system of an international police force, which, in my view as at present I understand it, could only function in a disarmed or nearly disarmed Europe but which is quite impracticable in the Europe as we know it to-day. Ordinary financial and economic sanctions act as a rule slowly. When you put on further sanctions and they become more stringent it is of course quite simple nature and human instinct, and on the to see that the danger of war increases, but, as

OVERCOMING THE

a matter of fact, will the aggressor wait for

frontiers were in danger. I do not know answer to that question, but I often ask the question, and I wonder-and whe begin to wonder on these points your w ings may travel a long way. (An MEMBER .-... To the frontier on the Rhi PROBLEMS FOR THE LEAGUE RESTRAINING THE AGGRESSOR If you are to have collective security

any given time must be on such a

as will ensure a certain and in

superiority against the aggressor.

be not secured, though you may

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States, if you have not the power t

once in the event of war, then you

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nearly exposed to the weight of the agi

force will never hold their line and

find that your collective security may

means. That is the security which we

desire and the security which we belie

always have believed we should aim a

experience of these last months has

sively proved to me and to the Gove

that collective security in anything appr

that form does not yet exist. (At

have said in speeches in this House at

where, that the League and Europe v

to make up their minds to answer is,

prepared to put their forces into such

dition that they can rally immediately

port of the League States against any ag or any combination of aggressors th

There is one other question that

is worthy of consideration by the Ho caught a phrase which Mr. Lloyd Georg

but I was not quite sure of the cont

I do not want to quote him unfairly

spoke at one time of, and I think he

hon, gentleman. I thought that that wa

he said, and that really confirms a very :

doubt I had in my mind which I shou

to put to the Committee. I think th

to what the League should do and w

should not do and statesmen go and I s

in certain circumstances they would

their people to fight. I feel this about

and I leave out Germany and Italy

I feel convinced that among the co

our own and in France there is such a k

of war as such, not from fear but from a

wonder if they would march on any occasion than if they believed their

CASE OF AUSTRIA

The question

MEMBER: "Why ? ")

put to it.

turn up ?

if there be any truth in what my instinct me about men's hearts in Europe, then, in one of the problems before the Leag Nations is to educate the peoples of E that they may be ready to fight to restra aggressor, and I doubt if to-day they Those are the great problems to me. are the most difficult problems of to those questions much may depend. often said in this House that we make a sanctions when collective security is invoked mistake in these days in believing that people in Europe is animated by the feelings towards peace and war that we I believe that this country

ted the biggest act of political treachery in the history of this country. (Labour

While the ears of the people were nging with these words about peace vernment were preparing their big reent programme, on an unexampled against an undisclosed enemy, and then began to wonder whether these te words were the sincere expression of tional Government's opinion.

S. HOARE "SACRIFICED' ce Christmas, within two months of the Election, there were the Hoare-Laval ils, which were destroyed by a torrent lic indignation which amazed the ment, and which amazed even the c Prime Minister. Sir S. Hoare, in a urageous speech from a back bench, his guns and was sacrificed from the Secretaryship to save the faces of the Minister and his colleagues. (Opposi-ers.) That ought to have been a lesson Government that the people of the stood by the statement of foreign made by the Government at the

seem, after the collapse of the Hoareroposals, that there was some return on the part of the Government. In only seven weeks ago, the present Secretary said at Geneva :--

Secretary Sale at Geneva:— Every Government must shoulder its re-Every Government must shoulder its re-bar as the Matsiny role of the presence in So far as the Matsiny role of the should be sanctions which have already been put into in addition, the Majsty's Government are composited to found the timosition of any composition to found the timosition of any composition of the sublement of that may be estimated by the sublement of the found of the sublement of the found to the estimated by the sublement of the found sublement of the sublement of the found sublement of the sublement of the found sublement of the sublement of the found to the sublement of the sub as in April. A great change had taken nce then. One event of some sigwas that within a few months Sir S as back in the Cabinet as First Lord imiralty. Had the First Lord changed since last December ? Had he influ-e Government in changing its de Had he been a silent and impotent of the Cabinet since his return ? Was ne relationship between the return of First Lord and the new policy of the ent ? Sir S. Hoare's return so soon lismissal to the Government which he rly destroyed was an insult to the of people in the country who raised es and made him go.

# ULATED INDISCRETION "

#### CHAMBERLAIN AT THE 1900 CLUB

ey had the statement of the Chan-

the Exchequer. The first part Foreign Secretary's speech was 1 of "His Master's Voice." зn ed that the Foreign Secretary had to the views of the Chancellor of quer. Was the speech to the 1900 alculated indiscretion ? Did the of the Exchequer take it upon his iders to make a tremendous pront without the knowledge of the ster and his other fellow-Ministers Chancellor of the Exchequer ought sitting on the Government Front pposition cheers.)

Opposition were suspicious was it ow doubted the had, in the view of the Opposition, as going to break his long silence affairs

as out the strength of those promises meant by "revising the League." Did lighter.) What a silly laugh that is. (Opposi-te National Government climbed back mean seeking, as the Chancellor of the Ex-ter; and within nine months they had chequer said, a limitation of its powers, or did the decay the vacant mind. (Opposition cheers.) it mean that under the umbrella of the League we were to revert to regional pacts ? A League of Nations which allowed itself to be dominated by the mailed fist of an aggressor was a mockery.

A STRENGTHENED LEAGUE The great lesson to be drawn from the tragic events of the last eight or nine months was not

hat the League should be emasculated, but that it should be strengthened. The time was ripe not for limiting but for enlarging the powers of the League, so as to enable it to set its face relentlessly against aggression from wherever it might come.

HON. MEMBERS .- What powers ? Mr. GREENWOOD .-- I am not under ex-

amination. The Government are in the dock and I want to keep them in the dock. It was a very bitter experience for a very large number of citizens of this country (the right hon; gentleman proceeded) to find this Government prepared to be the first great nation in the League to throw a stone at it. (Ministerial cries of "No," and Opposition cheers.) The limitation of its powers meant the strangling of the League, and that appeared to be the policy of the Government.

The Government were running away from terrific responsibilities. The only hope of tive security. There was no other way. This was a shuffling and cringing retreat (Opposi-

tion cheers) on the part of a Government which had always prided itself on consisting of strong men-some of them silent, with sealed lips (laughter), but strong nevertheless. It was shameful to think of them now turning tail to huge problems which they had a hand in creating by their own weakness and vacillation

#### NEW APPROACH TO PEACE NEEDED

We did not need now to haul down the flag. What we needed in the light of the dreadful experiences of recent months was a new and determined approach to peace. He did not Secretary. What was the Government's policy for keeping the peace ? Was it their policy to reduce the League of Nations to the level of a Pleasant Sunday Afternoon meeting: was it their policy to rely on partial pacts to keep the peace? Was it their policy, to use the words of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to limit

the danger zones and to mark out beforehand your potential enemy? Was that the peace policy of the Government, or was it their policy to arm to the teeth in desperation because they knew no other way out (Opposition cheers.)

As surely as night followed day, war must follow these suicidal policies. (Opposition cheers.) The fate of mankind to-day hung in the balance. There were two paths to cheers.) He (Mr. Greenwood) tread. Were we going to tread the path along which lay the bodies of hundreds of thousands le more emphatic as to whether he of our fellow-citizens-(Ministerial cries of No! ")-or were we prepared to scale the heights for a rule of law that meant somement this afternoon.

A DISHONOURED GOVERNMENT If the Government treated its most solemn

statements, made in the atmosphere of a General Election, before, and since, as "scraps of paper" it was unworthy of public in view of the shifts and wriggles confidence. Having misled the people of this vernment, that a large number of country, it ought to have the courage to go Government's out of office, dishonoured, with all its sins The Prime Minister and his on its shoulders-(Opposition cheers)-and had, in the view of the Opposition, make way for incose who were prepared to be respect of all thinking people, put their principles to the test-COpposition at member.—" No [1]. The Prime make way for those who were prepared to which scores of millions of people in this and For six months, during other lands now swore : to vindicate the rule national affairs had been a matter of law-(Ministerial cries of "How ? liscussion, the Prime Minister's lips establish a League of Nations which should he fine, high sentiments to which heavy and high responsibility it ought to make ues had given expression and to way for people who were prepared to stand bimself had signed his name with by what they had said on thousands of platsimples had signed his name with by what they had sand on moustains of par-ilies of scuttle? In view of the forms-mot by one parity but by members of expressed by the Ministers of his all parties-to stand by the League of Nations

I am asking which of the nations in Geneva which voted for sanctions has withdrawn. The Foreign Secretary referred this afternoon to the well-ordered ranks of the League." They have not broken away, and he is going there

now to break them, (Loud Opposition cheers.)' He is going to Geneva to smash the League of Nations. (Renewed Opposition cheers.) I wish he had left it to somebody else, honestly I do.

The right hon, gentleman was hailed everywhere as the champion of the League. I have heard of great meetings in support of the Covenant, cheering him to the echo, and

placing great confidence in him. I am sorry that I am one of those who were taken in. His predecessor, when his policy was thrown over, had the decency to resign. (Opposition cheers.) It is true that he had a reassurance that he would be brought back after a period of quarantine-(laughter)-and when he comes back he finds the wind tempered to the bleating lamb. (Laughter.)

# "BRITAIN BEATEN"

But the right hon, gentleman, with all the

authority he had acquired, with all the hold he has upon millions of men who believed in him, is going to Geneva to smash the League. settled peace was a strong League and collec- If you go there and go back upon the challenge you made to an aggressor, backed by 50 nations, and say you cannot bring him to heel, there is an end of the authority of the League of Nations. (Opposition cheers.) This is a unique occasion. I have been in this House very nearly half a century and I cannot recall an occasion quite like this. I have never before heard a British Minister speaking on

behalf of the Government, holding the most important position in that Government next to the Prime Minister at the present moment, come down to the House of Commons and say that Britain was beaten-Britain and her Empire beaten-and that we must abandon

the enterprise we had taken in hand. I cannot understand that of an Empire that faced one of the greatest emergencies that believe that we should get it from the Foreign any Empire was ever confronted with, while thoroughly unprepared, and for 41 years fought her way through. That is not the Empire which I thought would ever, through its spokesmen in the House of Commons, say that, after six months, with no loss of life, with only £7.000.000 of trade loss. "We are beaten, we cannot go on." It is a unique occasion and may God never repeat it in this Empire. (Opposition cheers.) Why have we done it ? I have got my views and I am not going back on them. There is no intolerable burden of sacrifice. £7,000,000 ! Very important, but only two-thirds of what the Empire paid in a

single day in fighting for the vindication of international right and to redress the wrong of a little nation. (Cheers.)

#### DANGER OF WAR LESS

The danger of war is less now than when we entered into sanctions. I knew the kind of thing that was then being said-that our Navy thing in the world? (Opposition cheers) was unprepared; that it had insufficient That was not the declaration of the Govern- ammunition; that it was ill-equipped---under ammunition; that it was ill-equipped-under

this patriotic Government, (Ironical Opposition cheers' and Ministerial protests.) It is incredible to me that we went through the things stage by stage and step by step when it was broadly said that this great Navy of Britain could not face the Italian Navy. (Interruptions.) Oh, yes. it was talked about quite broadly all over Europe. Now the Navy is fully and well equipped, perfectly ready for any emergency, and there is less danger of war, What more ? There has been a complete change, of the most vital importance, in the attitude of the two greatest Mediterranean Powers. Not a word was said about that. The Laval Administration was hostile, and therefore it was very reluctant. It was only dragged unwillingly into sanctions because i was afraid to quarrel with Britain. They were rootedly hostile and did their best, with all the ingenuity of that very subtle Southerner, M. Laval, to thwart, to delay, and to destroy action. Now there iovernment of a

different charac

the aggressor.

The Government say, "We have failed, and, therefore, we have funked." May I invite the attention of the Committee for a moment to one or two questions bearing on this failure Where is the failure ? You impose economic sanctions. We, on this side of the House, said that they were inadequate; what was the answer of the Foreign Secretary ? He said, "They will take time." He gave that answer

to me. Oil sanctions would have been immediate, but economic sanctions, he said,

would probably take time. We have not given them time. The foreign trade of Italy has dwindled to more than half. Why do you say it has failed ? You say, "Addis Ababa has been reached and Abyssinia is conquered, what is the good of going on ? " (Ministerial cheers.) Abyssinia has not been conquered. What is Addis Ababa ? When we went to war with Abyssinia, Magdala was the capital. We captured it, and, being fairly wise people in those days, we went back. Addis Ababa is not even traditionally the centre of Abyssinia. It is not, even now, the herve centre of Abyssinia. It was one of the difficulties experienced by the Emperor when he organized the forces of the country. It is

a tribal organization, exceedingly loose. If you kept it up for another year you would find that you would be able to make would find that you would be able to make terms with Mussolini. You may say, "You will never restore the thing as it was." Prob-You ably not, but you would restore freedom and independence, in the form of some better organization which would be an infinitely better thing for both Italy and Abyssinia.

FUTURE SUPPLY OF ARMS

It is a fatal error to deprive yourselves of he means of bringing the necessary pressure. which would enable you in the end to establish a very much better peace than you could do now by running away. But there you are ; Italy knows; the Viceroy has already given up his job. I am asking the Prime Minister what the attitude is going to be, with the withdrawal of sanctions, towards those men who are still in possession of two-thirds of Abyssinia and are organizing the only fighting which they can understand, guerrilla fighting ? Are we going to close our frontiers and surround the country on two sides out of three Are we going to prevent their getting arms through our territory? I am told that the one advantage of private enterprise in arms is and certainly not by a Minister which did not that arms can go through without the Government accepting the responsibility. Are you going to try it on now You imposed an embargo on Abyssinia

You absolutely forbade her to sell concessions of property which were her own when she wanted to raise money to buy arms. You accepted the responsibility of defending her by those two acts. (Opposition cheers.) They are unheard of. Now I ask: "What are you going to do now ? Are you going to stop the whole trade in arms of Abyssinia by closing the frontiers ? Have you thought it out Probably not.

Mr. EDEN .-- If the right hon, gentleman challenges me in that way perhaps I might be allowed to say that we have, of course, done our best to get in touch with the situation in Western Abyssinia, which is what I suppose the right hon, gentleman refers to. That is the area where the Italians are not in occupation. Our information is-I think we are the only country in touch with that part of the worldthat the independent guerrilla tribes there are strongly hostile to the Emperor's administration. I must say that in order that the House may know the true position.

#### GUERRILLA WARFARF

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE .- The right hon. gentleman has not answered my question. If the Abyssinians take a different view with regard to that, and they are of opinion that they can get arms through, provided they get them through the frontier, are the Government going to put an embargo upon them ? I understand that they are not. That is definite. Mr. EDEN .-- I am sorry to interrupt the right hon, gentleman again, but this point is rather important. My point is that there is no Abyssinian authority in Western Abyssinia. None, Mr. LLOYD GEORGE .-- I again ask: If

those who are organizing guerrilla warfare in two-thirds of Abyssinia are able to buy arms invernment and the complete volte- and all that the League of Nations meant graph of Monday a communication from its and to get them through the frontier, are the

showing how an aggressor, a well-equipped aggressor, could be effectively dealt with.

(Opposition laughter.) We tried to compound a felony. We said, "This is a crime-robbing a nation of its liberty. It is a crime ; we condemn it." And then we entered into negotiations to give the burglar half the goods. (Opposition laughter and cheers.)

#### "AFRAID OF MUSSOLINI"

What were the Government doing ? They were just leading the nations. They were just leading civilization in the right way to deal with crime. They were driven back by an outraged opinion. They were afraid of Mussolini. They dared not retreat very much farther, so they skulked for three months in the communication trenches. (Opposition laughter and cheers.) What were they doing ? They were showing the National Government's ideas of leadership. (Opposition laughter and cheers.) And now they are running away, swords-(Opposition brandishing their laughter and cheers)-still leading. (Loud laughter.) The right hon. gentleman said so.

' I am going to Geneva," he said, " to lead." They are running away on the battlefield. I remember Sir Wilfrid Lawson in this House very many years ago telling us a story of a soldier who was found 20 or 30 miles behind the battle line. He was asked, " What are you doing here ? " And he replied, " The Colonel asked us at the beginning of the battle to strike for home and country, and I struck for home." (Loud laughter.) The Government have struck for home. (Laughter.) There they are. Are they at the end of their activities? They have jumped about for the last six months so much that they remind me of that aeroplane we have heard so much about in the last few weeks, the "Flying Flea." (Loud laughter.)

I see the President of the Board of Trade here. He made a speech the other day. His one great objection to a Labour Government was that it was not stable. (Opposition laughter.) Among the many gifts that my right hon, friend has inherited in this life a sense of humour is certainly not one. (Laughter.) few months ago there was not a speech lelivered by a National candidate or member include the old phrase, " The prestige of this country has never been higher." (An Hon. MEMBER: "Hear, hear !") My friend over there is still articulate, but he is isolated. You dare not say these things now. Some have been abroad and some have met foreigners from other lands and there is one story that they all tell-that the prestige of this country has never been lower. (SIR F. FREMANTLE (St. Albans, U.).—" It is not true.")

#### "A COWARDLY SURRENDER

Fifty nations trusted us (An Hon. Member -" So they do now."). They will not when they see the British Empire saying they cannot go on. They will never trust this crowd, (Opposition cheers.) I began my politics when you had very great names-Disraeli, Gladstone, Balfour, Joseph Chamberlain. There was a name that had only just passed awayhe had not passed away when I was born-Lord Palmerston. You might agree with their policies or not, but no one doubted that they were men of dauntless courage. (Opposition cheers.) They pursued their policies without flinching and without fear. Now as their successors you have this exhibition of poltroonery. (Opposition cheers.) The speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer has been quoted

I am going to do myself the honour of reading a part of it again. The right hon, gentleman is heir to the throne, and recently he has been trying the crown on to see how it fits. (Opposition laughter.) I hope for his own sake that it does not. He has not merely tried the crown on. He has wielded the sceptre-and therefore he is very importantwhich is just the sort of thing that heirs do when they are weak monarchs. (Opposition laughter.) The right hon, gentleman said at the last election : --

" The choice be is is whether we sh make a last effort a. Geneva for peace and security or whether by a cowardly surrender we shall break all the promises we have

#### AGGRESSOR

An aggressor may always prefer to fight, if he is ready. If the State or States which aggress are strong, and are prepared to fight. t is essential for collective security that the opposing combination shall be in the position to overcome the aggressor quickly. l think every one will agree with that. I beg the House to attend to these few short propositions, because they really are extraordinarily important. That postulates a real military preponderance on the side of the States which are trying to get collective security-that is to say, on behalf of the League States against the potential aggressor or aggressors.

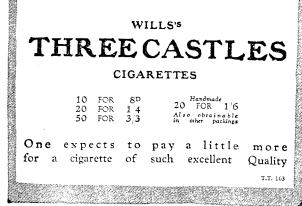
It is most important to realize that military preponderance does not necessarily depend on the mere numbers available theoretically. An aggressor, or a group of aggressors, who have a high state of organization in their territory, who have ample means of military communi cation, who have ample supplies, who speak the same language, and who have unity of command may well be stronger than much larger forces that belong to different nations, who speak different languages, who have no unity of command, who have never been

r believe that this country it ever threatened by anyone or by any combination of Powers in a way that they could understand to be a threat would spring to arms as one man; (Ministerial cheers.) I have never had any doubt about that, but I think that they may yet want a good deal of education before they ill freely consent to take upon themselves all the obligations that might come upon them in fulfilling the Covenant in all circumstances. hope they may educate them. I hope that the League of Nations will be able to make collective security a reality, but there are real difficulties about it. The Committee may remember that I said both in my broadcast and in many speeches that with the experience I have learnt I would not be responsible for sanctions again until this country had given us authority to strengthen our arms. The right hon, gentleman may call that cowardice. Frankly, I do not. I think that it is what one owes as trustee for the people, but if there be war with this country, I mean war nearer than the Mediterranean, they will pay for it on

the first night with their lives. That is why the Government, and I believe this House, as a whole, believe-nothing will make me believe that in their hearts hon. members opposite see any less than I do-in the necessity for protecting our shores against



"There's no sweeter Tobacco comes from Virginia and no better brand than the ' Three Castles.'" -THE VIRGINIANS



Times  $HG/\pi m / 736$ world behind it to enforce sanctions against We were leading the nations in the way of We were leading the nations in the way of

## Parliament Continued from page 8

air attack. Nothing will make me helieve that. That is where the first blow may come some day if sourcions are applied against an aggressor. The man who puts sanctions on or allows this country to do so, unless he has done all in his power to see that his neople can be defended at home, is not fit to carry the responsibility of governing his country. (Ministeria cheres.)

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## GERMANY AND FRANCE

#### SECURITY IN EUROPE

SECURITY IN EUROPE I come back to what I said a few months age, I cannot see exactly now when or how the next opportunity may come, but as the foreign Secretary said, we are hoping to bring the french, the Germans, and ourselves into conference for the better security for the peace of furope. The part that Germany can play for good or for evil in Europe is immense and is do what we can to use it for a point. The we believe the opportunity is presented let us do what we can to use it for good. I do commence and private members. There will have believe the opportunities on Tuesday of the having these matters. I would only say that this afterfunct component, and that we believe the Government, and thim we believe that our method is a we believe that to allow statistic to component, would be a far harder to be for the league to sumount than to lace. The may prove that we are wrong. People my say that we are noting from cowardies to take and necessarily a mark of cowardies to take and necessarily a mark of cowardies to take and necessarily a mark of cowardies to take the wise of the two courses, and the league to sumount that to failow the to represent the first to part to the source of the top to take ato the sections of our people. We have the league to sumount that to failow the dense of the league to sumount that to failow the dense of the league to sumount that to failow the source that have are defined for cowardies to take ato necessarily a mark of cowardies to take ato move that we have wait be reputed. We be the source that have head we then wait of the source of the two takes the two of the two courses, and the large sections of the two courses, and the large sections of the two courses, and the single two of the two courses, and t

## A MOTION OF CENSURE

#### MR. ATTLEE'S CRITICISM

MR. ATTLEE'S CRITICISM Mr. ATTLEE's id it had been suggested that the House of Commons was becomine like a Pleasant Sunday Afternoon meeting with an address by the vicar. Thet was what they had had from the Prime Minister—a dissertation about strategy, a few airy nothings about peace, and no attempt to answer for the position in which his Government had placed this country. The Prime Minister had been challenged, but had made no reply, and the Opposition pro-posed to put on the Order Paper a vole of censure on the Government for the whole converse of their foreign policy. (Opposition cheers.) What was the good of the Prime Minister telling them of a number of considera-tions that ought to have been in the minds of the Government before they went on this adventure? It was an experiment that had blackened the name of this country in every part of the world. The Princip Sceretary and the Prime Minister had nothing to olfer the world that was asking for peace. Peace was not obtained by tunning away, by staking like a jelly at every dictator who shock his fist. The right hon, gentlemen had killed the League and collective security. The country knew now that it could not trust a National Government to stand by the League. The Government, to stand by the League. The Government, to stand by the League. The Government to stand by the League. The Government to stand by the League.

person in every democratic country. He did not know how the Foreign Secretary dared to come to the House and make such a speech. At 7.30 p.m. progress was reported and the House resumed

#### WATERLOO BRIDGE L.C.C. AND BORROWING POWERS

The House considered the London County Council (Money) Bill,

SIR W. DAVISON moved an Instruction to the Committee on Unopposed Bills to omit that part of the Bill which authorizes the London County Council to borrow in respect of the expenditure incurred in pulling down Waterloo Bridge and creeting a new bridge. He said that no figure was given this year of the total expenditure involved, but in the state-ment which was circulated last year the esti-

The total expenditure involved, but in the state-ment which was circulated last year the esti-mated figure was given as approximately £1,295,000. Were Parliament to approve of the London County Council borrowing the sums set out in the schedule to the Bill, amounting in all to £305,000 for the two half-years ended September, 1937, they would be morally bound to give their approval to the larger sum mentioned or any sum in excess of that which might be required. The application which the L.C.C. now made was exactly the same as they made to Parlia-ment a year ago and which was refused. There would appear to be no reason why Parliament should te everse its decision. The House then decided that it was not desirable that the bridge should be pulled down, but rather that it should be reconfilioned and widened. Nor-withstanding that decision the L.C.C., on the advice of Mr. Herbert Morrison, decided to defy Parliament and proceeded to denoilsh the bridge. The question now was whether Parliament was to accuise on the Bouling of its authority and grant borrowing powers for something which it decided should not be done. Parliament had on three previous occasions

done. Parliament had on three previous occasions decided against that particular proposal, and it was not possible for them to go back on their previous decisions. They were not con-sidering any question of merits as to whether Waterloo Bridge should or should not have been pulled down, but the very important point whether Parliament should, contrary to its statutory duty, now allow the borrowing of money for purposes of which on three previous occasions it had disapproved. COI ONEL GRETTON (Burton, U.) COLONEL GRETTON (Burton, U.)

nded

seconded. Mr. G. STRAUSS (Lambeth, N., Lab.) said that Parliament had entrusted the cross-river facilities in London to the London County Council, and the Council must remain respon-sible for those facilities. If, therefore, the Council for any reason did some-thing which it knew to be wrong, to be en-dangering life, and to be against the interests of London as a whole, the County Council would rightly be blaned by members of Parlia-ment and by the people of London.

#### GOVERNMENT ATTITUDE

**GOVERNMENT ATTITUDE** Mr. 110RE-BELISHA, Minister of Transport (Plymouth, Devonport, L.Nat.), said that normally speaking a bridge would be paid for out of borrowed money. The attitude of this Government on the matter was precisely the same as stated last year when he invited the House to consider the question purely on its werits. He asked the House now to consider the Bill on its sole unprejudiced issue and follow normal procedure apart from polities and to fing this almost. "hardy annual" to an end.

follow normal procedure after from politics and to bring this almost "hardy annual" to an end. FREMANTLE said that it was not fair to the ordinary ratepayer that the bridge should have to be paid for out of revenue, and he urged the House to oppose the Instruction. SIR R. TASKER (Holborn, U.) said that the London County Council were not to blane for pulling down the bridge, and it should have been done years ago by men of his own pol-tical faith, Parliament should do an act of common justice to the ratepayers of London and relieve them of some part of the hurden which they were now called upon to bear. Mr. PETHERICK (Penryn and Falmouth, U.) said that this had become purely and simply a constitutional question. The London County Council wanted to do something which Parliament had lold them not to do. Mr. LANSBURY said that this was a new Parliament. Parliament existed to remove grievances and when a grievance was not removed by one Parliament it was often removed by one Parliament it was often removed by another. It was a nonsensical argument to say that Parliament could be allowed to borrow money for a great piece of capital expenditure. If this Instruction was carried many of the present members for London would never sit again. Mr. CROOM-JOIINSON (Bridgwater, U.) said that the House had considered and decided this matter more than once and there really was no case for rescinding that decision. SIR H. JACKSON (Wandsworth, C., U.) son that he would vole—for the fifth time—

Teally was no case for rescinding that decision. SIR H. JACKSON (Wandsworth, C., U.) sid that he would vote—for the fifth time— against the Instruction. In 1926 the House rejected a similar instruction and approved the demolition of Waterloo Bridge. The long and melancholy history since 1926 did not reflect credit on a large number of people. He looked forward with great hopes to the great advantages which this new Waterloo Bridge would give to the problem of relieving London transport. Its immediate effect would be to relieve the congestion in the Strand, and if better approaches were provided in the future the bridge might become one of fundamental and vital importance. The House should sweep aside trivial questions and take the big view, Mr. II. MORRISON (Hackney, S., Lab.)

view. Mr. 11. MORRISON (Hackney, S., Lab.) said that the House of Commons was a new House, and he asked it to do the big thing and to give the L.C.C. the borrowing power which they were seeking. The motion for the Instruction was negatived by 96 yotes to 186—majority 90.

# FUTURE OF THE LEAGUE

## LABOUR PROTEST

## "DISASTROUS" BRITISH POLICY

From Our Parliamentary Correspondent Under the title of " The Great Betrayal " the Parliamentary Labour Party issued the following manifesto to the nation last night :

following manifesto to the nation last night :— The League of Nations, to which this country is in honour and by deep conviction pletiged, is now in grave danger. The whole luture of the League and the peace of the world are at stake. The British Government has scrapped the solern pledges given to the people before, during, and after the last General Election. In its election manifesto the Government declared that " the League of Nations will remain as heretofore the keystone of British foreign policy. Our atitude to the League is dictated by the conviction that collective security can alone save us from a return to the old system which resulted in the Great War." In spile of this emphatic statement, the Government, having first by their weak and ambiguous policy at Stress and Geneva failed to prevent Signor Mussolini's aggression, and then made his military success possible by the continued supply of oil and other necessaries of war, is preparing not only to condone aggression and to permit Signor Mussolini to the peak of the world. The Government is advocating the delimita-tion of the functions of the League and the which there is no sure foundation for the genes of the uncolons of the League and the withdrawal of Britain from all responsibility for the maintenance of peace outside certain narrow areas in which, it says, this country has special interests. The adoption of such a disastrous policy will be to encourage the breaking of treatise and new acts of aggression, to set free hav-less forces, and to revert to the discredited policy of the balance of power. The League of Nations will be reduced to an empty sham, and the hope of the peoples of the world for a new and secure international order and a reign of peace will be shamelessly hetrayed. Millions will be reduced to death, and civiliza-tion to utter and final destruction. " A NEW APPROACH TO PEACE" The defit to war must be stopped. If the rule of haw is to prevail aggression cannot be

A NEW APPROACH TO PEACE<sup>21</sup> The drift to war must be stopped. If the rule of law is to prevail aggression cannot be tolerated. This grave crisis should be courageously used as a great opportunity to reliabilitate the League and to make a new and determined approach to peace.

It is not yet too late for the people of this country to prevent the impending catastrophe as they successfully prevented only a few months ago the consummation of the disgraceful Hoare-Laval proposals.

months ago the consummation of the disgrace-ful Hoart-Laval proposals. We earnestly appeal in this critical hour to all men and women of goodwill through their churches, bootherhoods, and sisterhoods, societies, clubs, guilds, and other organiza-tions to rally in their millions to the defence of collective security, peace, and justice through the League of Nations. Let them in the next few days, before the fateful meetings of the Council and Assembly of the League, make their voices clearly and unmistakably heard through public demonstrations, resolu-tions, and letters to the Press, to the Prime Minister, and to Members of Parliament. In particular, we urgently call upon the whole Labour movement throughout the contry to make the strongest public protests, without a usen of high of the selemen pledges on the strength of which it was returned to power and against the threatened surrender of its responsi-bilities for preserving and sorening pence-Action must be immediate! Action must be success-ful if our hopes of workl peace are not to be dashed for ever to the ground.

#### A NATIONAL LABOUR VIEW

its current issue the following chiorial in comment:— Mr. Chamberlain's "personal and pro-visional" thoughts on sanctions have fluttered a good many dovecotes. It is interesting, and even flattering, to note that he followed much the same lines as we did ourselves in a recent issue, which within our own domestic circle provoked a similar restiveness. The broblem which confronts the Government, and, indeed, is so difficult and so serious that it is all to the Governments of all members of the League, is so difficult and so serious that it is all to the good that the public should be as well-informed as possible on each of the various courses open and their probable consequences. Is the League at this twelfth hour to intensify sations at the risk of war ? It is searcely is the should be as whell influence the final terms of settlement, and will they lave helmd economic scars which may to some extent deter a flutre aggression? As to that only those in the closest touch with the situation can know the answer. Tinally, and most important of all, what should those nations who still look to the League as the best hope of future peace do with regard to the fourer? What kind of protective from against aggression can now be constructed ? We must, as the Lord President said at Cardiff on Monday, "stand by the League." for a world without it would by the sume."

# LIBERAL PARTY CONVENTION

#### A NEW CAMPAIGN

The Liberal Party Convention opened The Liberal Party Convention opened yesterday at Kingsway Hall, under the chairmanship of Lord M-ston, who pre-sided over the Liberal Reorganization Commission and is president-elect of the Liberal Party organization. The greater part of the day was occupied in discussing the proposed new constitution of the party drawn up by the commission.

drawn up by the commission. Six AACUIBALD SINCLAR, in his address to the delegates, said that even in Britain they had seen ominous encroachments in recent years upon economic and civil liberties. They must attack Fascism and Marxian Socialism before they got strong. They must attack them in their strongholds—they must destroy the conditions which gave them strength. Political freedom was the great achievement of nincteenti-century Liberalism. They must complete that achievement in two ways. They must secure such an alteration in the system of election to Parliament that the danger of a majority elected to Parliament with a revolu-tionary programme but on a minority of the votes in the country might be averted and every vote might have the same value in every part of the country. Secondry, they must secure for the Socitish and Welsh people a greater measure of control over their national affairs. THE MAIN TASK

#### THE MAIN TASK

But their main task in the twentieth century must be to secure economic freedom for the masses, Liberals condemned equally the masses. Liberals condemned equally the Government's schemes of control and restric-tion, the taxation of the food of the people. and the erection of monopolies, and also the Socialist conception of an all embracing monopoly under the control of the State on the other hand. They, opposed to both the Liberal ideal of using the power of the State to liberate the energies of man, to encourage production, to free the exchange of goods and wealth between nation and nation, to curb the power of trusts, combines, and monopolies, to safeguard the rights and opportunities of the small trader, industrialist, and farmer, to protect the workman against arbitrary dis-missal, and to raise the status and improve the prospects of the farm labourer. Apart from radical treatment of the unem-ployment problem, there were two things which ought to be done at once to help the victims. The first was the production of the new Unem-ployment assistance Regulations. The Govern-ment promised them in the spring. They remained wrapped in mystery. The failure of the Government to grapple with this problem was one of the press the Government to introduce them and drastically to reform the means test. The second thing was to enlarge the facilities for training men and for restoring their skill to men who had long been out of work. TWIN POLICIES But these were mere paliatives. What masses. Government's schemes of control and restric-

#### TWIN POLICIES

out of work. TWIN POLICIES But these were mere palliaives. What Liberals demanded was a constructive, vigor-ous, and radical attack upon the causes of unemployment. The first cause was that the Government were neglecting to do the work, of national reconstruction which lay to hand : work like the abolition of the slums, the provision of houses and of water supplies in rural areas, electrification, land drainage, and redamation, and an increase in the number of small-holders. The second and most funda-mental cause of unemployment was the de-struction of our oversa trade by economic anionalism and by the Government's policy of projection and quotas. To secure peace and revive trade an employment they must get the world out of its stratijacket of economic nationalism and restore the free movement of men, capital, and goods over the surface of the globe. The Liberal Party alone of the three great partie in this country was studied in suppo-of these twin policies, and in this crisis in the relations between our country and the Leagu of Nations it was their duty to do al in the power. to unbilize public optimin it supp-of the Lengue, and to stand by the obligation to which we were pledged under its Govenan SEVEN CONDITIONS

#### SEVEN CONDITIONS

to which we were pledged under its Covenan: SEVEN CONDITIONS LORD MESTON, moving the adoption of the report of the Reorganization Commission said that the Liberal Party were not ready it sink into the position of being a colourle-middle party in Parliament. They had r-ambition to be a negligible group, user perhaps at times, holding the balance betwee " diehard " and Communist. Their ambiti-was to be once more a cleansing force and lighting power, a party which would interve-to save the country from dictatorship on t' one hand and Socialist tyranny on the other Up and down the country three was a me of thinking men and women who were Liber; in spirit and in outlook. All they wanted w a courageous lead and an endigitured faith bring them in to their historic party. If the lead were not forthcoming those hesilant a unwilling millions would rapidly drift in other political camps. There were seven cc difficus that must be fulfilled if they were enter this new campaign with hope and cc fidence. They must put a fervent and fectious missionary zeal into the campaig-they must cease to live in the-past and the must work for the future; present a uni-front as a party and sink their minor diff ences; devise an effective battle-ury; owner trate on the education of the electorate, w the help of capable candidates and, where possible, of trained organizers; they must do parts; and they must pay heir way. The convention proceeded to the discuss of amendments to the proposed new consi-tion, and adjourned until to-day.

POLITICAL NOTES

# A MOTION OF CENSURE

#### MR. ATTLEE'S CRITICISM

Mr. ATTLEE said it had been suggested that the House of Commons was becoming like a Pleasant Sunday Afternoon meeting with 

#### FUTILITY OF "SANCTIONS"

VISCOUNT WOLMER (Aldershot, U.) said that it was with a feeling of the greatest humiliation that many of them who supported the policy announced in the speech last September of Sir S. Hoare had listened to the speeches in this debate. The major criticism from the Liberal and Labour speeches

the speeches in this debate. The major criticism from the Liberal and Labour speeches was viilated by this all-inportant fact, that they had arraigned the Government for having allowed the triumph of the gangster, but they had consistently denied the policeman his truncheon. This country had cut a sorry and pitiable spectacle during the last few months. The fundamental cause was that we had not arraments sufficient to enable us to play that role in Europe which the Government of this country elected to play. (Cheers) The Foreign Secretary had said that one of the reasons for the failure of sanctions was that the fundament of the military experts had prophesic. That meant that those who were imposing the policy of sanctions were not really looking to sanctions to defeat the gangster, they were to oking to the Advissing and the weather so to prolong the war that utimately sanctions would hegin to operate. What an admission of the futility and weakness of economic sanctions. The lesson to be drawn surely was that if the League decided on act against individual antons, it must come to an act of war, (Ministerial cheers). There must be the employment of the policeman's truncheon painsi the gangster. Thai was the only way in which the authority of the League of Nations could be carefused.

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#### REARMAMENT ESSENTIAL

The Government had led this country into the present position because they had too long delayed the rearming of Britain.

The League of Nations had been weakened

The League of Nations had been weakened and the prestige of this country lowered simply because we did not grasp time by the forelock in the matter of rearmament and because we had neglected the old doctrine that if you wanted peace you must prepare for war. Mr. PRICE (Forest of Dean, Lab.) said that there had been no more terrible disgrace to this country since the defeat at Yorktown, when under George III and Lord North we lost the 13 American Colonies. He fored that the Lord Norths of the twentieth century were sitting on the Government front herein At the time when sanctions had made there-selves felt and when the economic situation of lady was at a most critical stage the Govern-nent were running away like rabbis to their holes. They had led the nation to a disastrous Yorktown which must horrify every progressive

and y say that we are acting from cowardice.
but it is not necessarily a mark of cowardice.
Stiftelsen to targe sections of our people. We take it because in the present state of Europe that has been our called upon to bear.
but it is the wiser of the two courses, and the one most conducive to peace. It is the present state of Europe that has been our daily and the this had become purely and imply a constitutional question. The London nipitaly care and anxiety all these many months.
c A MOTION OL CONSTRUCT

simply a constitutional question. The London County Council vanted to do something which Parliament had told them not to do. Mr. I.ANSURY said that this was a new Parliament. Parliament existed to remove grievances and when a grievance was not removed by another. It was a nonsensical argument to say that Parliament could not change its mind. They ought to be asking for a grant towards this bridge, but they were not doing that. They ought to be asking for a grant towards this bridge, but they were ind doing that. They were simply asking that the ratepayers of London should be allowed to borrow money for a great piece of capital expenditure. If this Instruction was carried many of the present members for London would never sit again. Mr. CROOM-JOHNSON (Bridgwater, U.) said that the House had considered and decided this matter more than once and there really was no case for rescinding that decision. SIR II. JACKSON (Wandsworth, C., U.) said that be mould over—for the fifth time-against the Instruction. In 1926 the House rejected a similar instruction and approved the demolition of Waterloo Bridge. The long and melancholy history since 1926 did not reflect redit on a large number of people. He looked forward with great hopes to the great advantages which this new Waterloo Bridge would give to the problem of relieving London transport. Its immediate effective to big the to the problem of relieving to and advantages which this new Stard, and if better approaches were provided in the future the bridge might become one of fundamental and viat protatore. The House should were pastide trivial questions and take the big view. Mr. 11. MORRISON (Hackney, S., Lab.) said that the House of Commons was a new

view, Mr. II. MORRISON (Hackney, S., Lab.) said that the House of Commons was a new House, and he asked it to do the big thing and to give the L.C.C. the borrowing power which they were seeking. The metion for the Instruction was negatived by 96 votes to 186—majority 90. The House adjourned at 7 minutes past 11 o'clock.

PARLIAMENTARY NOTICES

HOUSE OF COMMONS AT 13 Supply : Committee : Colonial Office Vote ; debate on Palestine.

#### TITHE BILL

## COMMITTEE STAGE ENDED

At the request of the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Walter Elliot, the Standing Committee of the House of Commons to which the Tithe Bill was referred expedited its proceedings yesterday and completed consideration of the Bill. The Committee met in the morning, in the afternoon, and again after dinner.

again after dinner. During these three sittings the remaining 27 clauses and eight schedules were dealt with, and some new clauses were added. A large number of amendments have been made, but none of these substantially alters the scheme of the Bill as submitted to the House of Commons during the second reading debate. The Minister had previously explained to the Committee that the magnitude of the administrative task to be undertaken to permit of the extinguishment of all tithe rent-charge on October 1 makes it necessary to get the Bill passed unickly. necessary to get the Bill passed quickly.

### THE BY-ELECTIONS

Polling took place yesterday in the Lewes by-election, in which Rear-Admiral T. P. H. Beamish (Nat. Con.) and Mr. Alban Gordon (Lab.) are contesting the seat formerly held by Captain Loder (now Lord Wakehurst). The result will be declared about midday to-day at the County Hall, Lewes.

Major A. G. Church, formerly Labour M.P. for Leyton East and Wandsworth Central, was selected last night as National Government candidate for Derby in opposition to Mr. Noel Baker (Labour).

Balham and Tooling Labour Party last night chose Captain W. J. Miller, a London barrister, as their candidate in the

Minister, and to Members of Parliament. In particular, we urgently call upon the whole Labour movement throughout the country to make the strongest public protests, without a moment's delay, and by every method which lies to their hands, against the Government's wanton violation of the solemus pledges on the strength of which if was returned to power and against the threatened surrender of jis responsi-bilities for preserving and organizing pence. Action must be immediate! Action must be vigorous! Above all, action must be success-ful if our hopes of world pence are not to be dashed for ever to the ground.

### A NATIONAL LABOUR VIEW

The News Letter, the official organ of the National Labour Group, contains in its current issue the following editorial

the National Labour Group. contains in its current issue the following editorial comment: — Mr. Chamberlain's "personal and pro-visional" thoughts on sanctions have fluttered a good many dovecoles. It is interesting, and the same lines as we did ourselves in a recent issue, which within our own domestic circle provoked a similar restiveness. The problem which confronts the Government, and, indeed, the Governments of all members of the League, is so difficult and so serious that it is all to the good that the public should be as well-informed as possible on each of the various courses open and their probable consequences. Is the League at this twelfth hour to intensify sanctions at the risk of war 7. It is scarcely likely to agree now upon a course from which domestic end when all was still to be won. Can sanctious, even if they have failed to prevent successful aggression, still influence the final terms of settlement, and will they leave behind economic scars which may to some extent deter a future aggressor 7. As to that only those in the closest touch with the situation can know the answer. Finally, and most important of all, what should those nations who still look to the becague as the best hope of future peace do with regard to the future ? What kind of protective front against aggression can now be constructed 7. We must, as the Lord president suid at Cardiff on Monday, "stand by the League." for a world without it would be "a nightmare of uncertainty." Clearly, however, as he also stated, we need methodically to re-examine Article XVI, and to consider under what condition a sanctions clause can work more effectively than it has done on this occasion. Thursday's debate, which takes place after we go to press, will doubtless give an indication as to how the Government proposes to handle the very difficult situation which confronts it. We are facing a perilous future, and Government and public must know each other's minds it they are to face it with confidence.

#### CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF THE H.A.C.

#### THE KING AND AN ANCIENT TITLE

The King, who assumed the title of Captain-General and Colonel of the Honourable Artillery Company shortly after his accession, has signified his intention of reverting to old custom and being

tion of reverting to old custom and being known simply as Captain-General. The Company's first Captain-General was James. Duke of York, afterwards James II, and the rank was subsequently borne by Kings and other members of the Royal Family until the time of William IV. The Duke of Sussex, who succeeded King William in the rank, was already Colonel of the II.A.C., and conse-quently became known as Captain-General and Colonel, as were his successors, including King George V. The only other Captain-General in the British Empire is the Governor of Jamaica.

### 300-TON DOCK GATE LAUNCHED

300-TON DOCK GATE LAUNCHED The construction of the dock at Dover for the train-ferry service between that port and Dunkirk advanced another stage yesterday when one of the two dock gates was launched. The gates have been built on Clårence Quay. the work being carried out as near as possible to the dock entrance. At high tide yesterday the gate nearest the water was slowly lifted by a crane to a slipway. It slid gently down, its progress being checked by the crane, until it was released and took the water with a big splash. Two tugs then took charge, and the gate was manoeuvred into the Wellington Dock, where it will probably remain until the other gate is ready in about a fortnight. The gate weighs about 300 tons and measures approximately 79ft, by Soft, by 7ft, 3in.

employment they must get the world out of stratijacket of economic nationalism an restore the free movement of men, capital, a-goods over the surface of the globe. T Liberal Party alone of the three great parts in this country was solidly united in suppr of these twin policies, and in this crisis in t relations between our country and the Leag-of Nations it was their duty to do .11 in the power to mobilize public opinion it's supp-of the League, and to stand by the obligation to which we were pledged under its Covenai SEVEN CONDITIONS SEVEN CONDITIONS

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# POLITICAL NOTES

#### SIR THOMAS INSKIP AND INDUSTRY

The Midland Group of Members wi support the National Government di cussed rearmament on Wednesday nigl and some complaint was made the Sir Thomas Inskip, Minister for the Ce ordination of Defence, was not coll-borating sufficiently with manufacturer Members reported that as a result of conversations with manufacturers they har reached the conclusion that Sir Thom: laskip was not taking industry sufficient into his confidence, and that, if he did s he would receive all the help he require in carrying out the Government's pro-gramme. The Group decided to write the the Minister

Lord Askwith has given notice of the following question in the House of

following question in the House of the following question in the House of Lords:— To inquire whether the heavy duties in posed by the Customs authorities on stork-ergs and storks recently imported for scien-tific experiments regarding migration (r described in *The Times* of June 8) are to accordance with the law; if so, whether Do-parimental instructions could not be issue or regulations made under the appropriate Ac by which such duties could in future be relaxe or abolished in the case of scientific invest-gations carried out by or under the contra-of a responsible organization; or, if the Ac does not provide any latitude for remissio-or exemption, would the Government conside appropriate action in the direction abov indicated 7

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald will be the principal guest of the Edinburgh Univer-sity Club of London at their dinner a the May Fair Hotel to-night, when Lor-Amulree will be in the chair. On Monda he will open the British Chemical Plan Exhibition at the Central Hall, West minster minster.

The Joseph Chamberlain Centenar Committee report that over £7,000 ha been received towards the educationa campaign which will be launched at : meeting at the Albert Hall on July 8, the anniversary of his birthday.

The Times 19 juin 1936