

Side 16

The Times 19. June 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 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.

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?

Mr. BALDWIN.—Yes, Sir, they are adequate, but, of course, we are anxious to proceed 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?

Mr. BALDWIN.—I am quite convinced, and I made many speeches on the subject during the election, that it may be necessary to increase armaments in order to play our part in collective security. (Ministerial cheers and Opposition laughter.)

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 confidence?

Mr. BALDWIN.—I can certainly undertake to do that.

Later, when the business for next week was announced, Mr. LANSBURY asked whether on Tuesday the House might have a discussion on the question he had raised. He did not want to raise it to-day in view of the particular discussion which was taking place.

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

DOMINIONS AND "SANCTIONS"

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

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 announce any decisions that may be come by Dominion Governments. They will make their announcements to their own Parliaments or at Geneva.

THE QUEEN MARY

EXPECTATIONS JUSTIFIED

Mr. J. HENDERSON (Manchester, Ardwick, Lab.) asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, in view of public misgiving regarding the economic prospects of the Queen Mary and the public money involved, he would make a statement on the financial workings of the liner based on the experience of the first trip.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN (Birmingham, Edgbaston, U.).—I am not aware of any public misgiving such as is alleged by the hon.

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

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 Government 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.

It is impossible to have it both ways. (Ministerial cheers.) You cannot both complain 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. (Opposition 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 else has given it. (Ministerial cheers.) Many 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 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 Italy, 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 Conference was abortive, but no one who at that time or now looks up its proceedings will maintain that our own Government did not do the utmost 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 speech 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 50 nations of the League had decided for the first time in history that they would take, again it was this Government which took the lead both in proposing and in organizing the work of those committees.

"SERIOUS MISCALCULATIONS"

Those are facts which cannot be challenged, which must be admitted by anyone who chooses with any attempt at impartiality to review the events of the past few months. Now that the League is perplexed it is the view of the Government that it is their duty to take the lead again. No doubt it would be quite easy for us not to do so, and to leave it to someone else and to follow after someone else's lead, but I do not believe that that is the right attitude for this country to take. (Cheers.) I am quite convinced that so far from this lead which we are going to take embarrassing others it will be welcomed in many quarters. (Hon. Members: "In Rome!") What in the view of the Government should the League do? Whatever view we take of the course of action which the League should follow, there is one fact upon which we must all be agreed. We have to admit that the purpose for which sanctions were imposed has not been realized. It is not necessary to give a detailed account of the reasons for that failure; they are many.

No doubt there were serious miscalculations. One of them was a miscalculation by military opinion in most countries that the conflict would last very much longer than it has

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 continuance 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 Government, certainly not this Government, is prepared to take such military action. (Cheers.)

In my view sanctions can be maintained only for some clearly defined and specific purpose. The only such purpose conceivable is the restoration in Abyssinia of the position which has been destroyed. Since that restoration cannot be effected except by military action, I suggest that that purpose does not in fact exist—(cheers)—and to maintain sanctions without any clearly defined purpose—which many people, I know, would wish to do—would have only this result: It would result in the crumbling of the sanctions front, so that in a few weeks' time the League would be confronted with a state of affairs still more derogatory than that which we have to face to-day. (Cries of "How do you know?") If further maintenance of sanctions would serve no useful purpose there is a danger that to 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 find that amusing, but I do not believe it is in the interest of the League itself that the sanctions front should crumble into confusion. I think it is right that the League should admit that sanctions have not realized their purpose and should face that fact.

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 which is to be taken is a League 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.

At this point there was considerable excitement on the Labour benches, and there were cries 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 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 interference, 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 in the circumstances to raise a point of order on this question is quite unnecessary. I hope that a little forbearance all round will enable the Committee to do what I am sure is the intention—to raise the level of the debate and to hear the statement from the Government of their policy.

"SEATS ASSIGNED"

Mr. ATTLEE.—As you have said, we are all desirous that this important debate should be conducted in the best possible way, and, as you said, it is difficult sometimes when feeling runs high. But I put it to you that for that purpose it has been Mr. Speaker's rule to consult with the leaders of

cerned they would Obviously, these assure to operate only so long Government they rem

of the world. It is because I believe profoundly that the policy which I have outlined to you 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 trucking to a dictator. (Opposition cheers.) Millions of people in our 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 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 ground. The speech made by Sir Horace 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 the mere shadow of the biggest and strongest Powers. The Chancellor went on:—"The choice before us is whether we 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 these 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 manifesto said:—

"The League of Nations will remain, as heretofore, the keystone of British foreign policy. We shall continue to do all in our power to uphold the Covenant and to maintain and increase the efficiency of the League. In the present of the present unhappy dispute between Italy and Abyssinia there will be no wavering in the policy we have hitherto pursued. (Opposition cheers.) We shall endeavour to further any discussion which may offer

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"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. The voice of the hon. member who presided 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 to realize that the member who held the 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 us. (Ministerial cheers.)

This remark opened another roar of protest from the Labour benches, and when comparative quiet had been restored, Mr. EDE (South Shields, Lab.) was heard to retort, "You will get a job on the staff all right!"

SURRENDER TO FASCISM

AGGRESSION CONDONED

Mr. GREENWOOD said that the real reason why sanctions might have partially failed was that they were half-hearted. The attitude of the British Government, (Opposition cheers.) He did not believe that war was the only thing left now. The most terrifying power in the world to-day was the power of economic and 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 have done so because they had never had the courage to stand by them. 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 the rule of the world. It was an abject capitulation of reason and the rule of law to wanton lawlessness and gangsterdom. It had given heart to Mussolini, who could stride in his jack-boots across Europe, and a supine British Government would let him do it. Mr. Alan Herbert had been inspired to verse in *The Times* by a telegram in a daily paper, which said:—"It is hinted that only a reversal of 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 price, is more than facts.
The house is broke; the burglar keeps the street;
To drive the burglar in, we must be real.
It may be awkward to condone a crime.
But not if it is lawful all the time.
To punish the lawless, we must be real.
Let them have plenty, let them lack the dish,
Sing, "The meek Italian left his home."
To drive the Abyssinian brute from Rome,
Maybe that mustard on the mountain top
Has loosened Englishmen, released as Wops?
(Laughter and Opposition cheers.)

EARL WINTERTON—Are you ready to fight the Wops?

Mr. GREENWOOD, proceeding, asked where the Government and the League now stood in regard to Article 10. What advice was the Foreign Secretary to take to the League when he went back? The Foreign Secretary was studiously vague in what he said about the future of the League, but the Chancellor of

(Ministerial cries of "How?" and "By war?") Hon. members could treat this question 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 the principle of 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 were 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. 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 no hesitation in answering the questions which 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. Therefore, I have no hesitation. That challenge leaves me without any difficulty at all.

I agree with my right hon. friend that this is a very serious occasion. I cannot consider 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 beaten, the League has failed, we do not propose any further 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 German general in conflict with gunners, who says, "I cannot defy the law. They make very 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 an alternative. That is anarchy, and there will be international anarchy the moment it is known and recognized. It is no use saying, as the Foreign Secretary did, that he is going to reconstitute and reform the League; not 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 of authority there, and the nations must stand by it.

Y. of the nations must stand by it and stand by it. (Opposition cheers and cries of "Answer.") Which of the nations has failed to stand by sanctions? I put that question to the Prime Minister. Not once. (A Mini-

very able Paris correspondent, and I think *The Times* had a similar communication. It said:—

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 back Britain in every step she was prepared to take to enforce the League Covenant.

is that true? (Hon. Members.—"Answer.") I 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 intimidated their readiness to back us up in any step we take to enforce the Covenant?

Mr. EDE.—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 it is taking. That is what I understand. They have not come 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 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 to back than you had before. You have the whole of the Mediterranean Powers except Italy prepared to support you. And yet you are running away. (Opposition cheers.) Why? The German menace? There was a hint from the Prime Minister in his famous phrase about sealed lips that there was some impending disaster. As a matter of fact, when sanctions were imposed Germany had already challenged the League. She said, "I am not going to double-doubt her air force, she was building a new Navy. The present Government came to 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. Austria? Well, Austria is always with us, always full of our sympathies, and there is one thing that 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 one of you can deny it.

"FAILURE AND FUNK"

TWO QUESTIONS

Dealing with further interruptions, Mr. LLOYD GEORGE said:—I am dealing now with an action of this Government in which it has taken the lead, under which it has con-

British Government going to impose an embargo on their passage? (Cries of "Answer!") Perhaps the Prime Minister will answer that question. It is a very practical question.

Mr. EDE.—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 footstep—running away. (Opposition laughter and cheers.) The right hon. gentleman states that this speech, which was delivered 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 (Argyll, U.)—Well behind it. (Ministerial laughter.)

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE.—They said, "Here is the British Prime Minister, with the greatest Empire in the world, marching: we will range ourselves behind him." The Abyssinians believed it; that vast majority of the people of this country believed it. They were not deceived. The torch was not dimmed. (Opposition cheers.) To-night it is quenched—(loud Opposition cheers)—with a hiss; a hiss that will be re-echoed throughout the whole world.

VACILLATION AND DAUWLING

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 any particular aim. They go forward, then they go backward; they go sometimes to the left, sometimes to the right. (Opposition laughter and cheers.)

Mr. HANNAH (Wolverhampton, Bliston, U.)—Rather like the old Coalition. (Ministerial laughter.)

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE.—Let me tell the hon. gentleman that that Coalition brought us right through to victory. (Opposition cheers.) It 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 straightforward—and we dawdle for weeks. Why?—

We put an embargo on arms for Abyssinia when we knew she was going to be attacked and when the Italians were massing armies and piling up arms such as have never been landed by an invader on the coast of Africa.

made and hold ourselves up to the shame of our children and their children's children."

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 functioning of the League of Nations. I will deal first with the speech of the right hon. 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 of misleading the country was also taken up in that extraordinarily brilliant speech of the right hon. gentleman the member for Caernarvon 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 I 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 successful they would be people who would 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 the League then at its next meeting to consider where it had failed and whether collective security was still possible. Collective security is really inherent in this whole question and must lie at the foundation of our policy for some time to come. I do not think there is any matter in this country on which clearer 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 meets in the autumn it has to consider most seriously this whole question of collective security. Collective security, in my view, whatever the reasons may be, has failed, and we have to get the nations of Europe together there 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 far more important than stopping it after it has once begun. After war begins the difficulty is to secure disarmament. The danger and the damage to Europe may spread far more widely and be more dangerous. I think 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 League it was expected and visualized that there would be a more or less disarmed Europe. That is what I 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 to see that the danger of war increases, but, as a matter of fact, will the aggressor wait for sanctions when collective security is invoked against him?

trained to act together under one leader who may be separated from each of great distances. Therefore you come to this point, that the forces of the League given time must be on such a scale as will ensure a certain and in superiority against the aggressor. It is not secured, though you may see your collective security as a large army of States, if you have not the power to once in the event of war, then you find that the States that are weaker and a nearly exposed to the weight of the aggressor will never hold their line and find that your collective security may put to it.

I wanted just to put those points, and all that I would say upon that matter. I want the House to be realistic when about collective security and to know means. That is the security which we desire, and the security which we believe always have believed we should have experience of these last months has simply proved to me and to the Govt that collective security in anything apart that form does not yet exist. (A MEMBER: "Why?") The question have said in speeches in this House at where, that the League and Europe was to make up their minds to answer is, prepared to put their forces into such direction that they can rally immediately port of the League States against any aggressor or any combination of aggressors that turn up?

CASE OF AUSTRIA

There is one other question that is worthy of consideration by the House. I thought a phrase which Mr. Lloyd George said was not quite fair. I do not want to quote him unfairly, spoke at one time of, and I think he our troops refusing to take part in with Austria.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE.—I was about the British people when I said whatever happened I was absolutely that no Government could get this again to enter into a war in an A quarrel.

Mr. BALDWIN.—I am obliged to the hon. gentleman. I thought that that he said, and that really confirms a very doubt I had in my mind which should to me by the Committee. I think that is a point that all members of the Committee ought to consider. We often talk, stand who go to Geneva and many of us have to what the League should do and we should not do and statesmen go and I sit in certain circumstances they would c their people to fight. I feel this about I and I leave out Germany and Italy with their peculiar and unsettled conditions. I feel convinced that among the people of Europe in many countries a of our own and in France there is such a lo of war as such, not from fear but from a ledge of what it may mean, that I some wonder if they would march on any occasion than if they believed their frontiers were in danger. I do not know answer to that question, but I often ask the question, and I wonder—and when begins to wonder on these points you are in my view a long way. (A MEMBER.—"To the frontier on the Rhine")

PROBLEMS FOR THE LEAGUE

RESTRAINING THE AGGRESSOR

If you are to have collective security, if there are any truth in what my instincts me about men's hearts in Europe, then, in one of the problems before the League Nations is to educate the peoples of Europe that they may be ready to fight to restrain an aggressor, and I doubt if to-day they are. Those are the great problems to me. They are the most difficult problems of human nature and human instinct, and on the answer to those questions much may depend. I often said in this House that believing that mistake in these days in believing that people of Europe are animated by the feelings towards peace and war that we believe that this country is now the

OVERCOMING THE

St. HOARE'S SACRIFICED

As on the strength of those promises the National Government climbed back over; and within nine months they had made the biggest act of political treachery in the history of this country. (Labour) While the ears of the people were ringing with these words about peace agreement, on an unexamined and against an undisclosed enemy, and then began to wonder whether these words were the sincere expression of National Government's opinion.

S. HOARE'S SACRIFICED

For Christmas, within two months of the Election, there were the Hoare-Laurels, which were destroyed by a torrent of indignation which amazed the public, and which amazed even the Prime Minister. Sir S. Hoare, in a courageous speech from a back bench, his guns and was sacrificed from the Secretaryship to save the faces of the Minister and his colleagues. (Opposition) That ought to have been a lesson to Government that the people of the stood by the statement of Foreign made by the Government at the

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

"A solemn hour. We are faced with a great crisis. Every Government must shoulder its responsibility and clearly state the policy it is prepared to follow. So far as His Majesty's Government are concerned, we propose to continue those economic and financial sanctions which have already been put into effect. In addition, His Majesty's Government are prepared to consider the imposition of any further economic and financial sanctions that may be deemed effective for the settlement of the dispute."

was in April. A great change had taken place then. One event of some significance was that within a few months Sir S. Hoare had been back in the Cabinet as First Lord of Admiralty. Had the First Lord changed since last December? Had the influence of Government in changing its policy? Had he been a silent and impotent member of the Cabinet since his return? Was the relationship between the return of the First Lord and the new policy of the Government? Sir S. Hoare's return so soon after the destruction of the League of Nations was an insult to the people of this country who raised their voices and made him go.

RELATED INDISCRETION

CHAMBERLAIN AT THE 1900 CLUB

They had the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The first part of the Foreign Secretary's speech was that of "His Master's Voice" (in cheers.) He (Mr. Greenwood) said that the Foreign Secretary had made more emphatic as to whether he was to the views of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Was the speech to the 1900 calculated indiscretion? Did the Chancellor of the Exchequer take it upon himself to make a tremendous pronouncement without the knowledge of the Prime Minister and his other fellow-Ministers? The Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to be sitting on the Government Front (Opposition cheers.)

Opposition were suspicious of it in view of the shifts and wriggles of Government, that a large number of now doubted the Government's word. The Prime Minister and his colleagues had, in the view of the Opposition, no respect of all thinking people. "No!" "No!" "No!" The Prime Minister as going to break his long silence affairs. For six months, during national affairs had been a matter of discussion, the Prime Minister's lips were sealed. Were they now to be unsealed? Would he explain how he could be fine, high sentiments to the people who had given expression and to whom he had signed his name with a flourish of scuttlery? In view of the expressed by the Ministers of his Government and the complete volte-

A STRENGTHENED LEAGUE

The great lesson to be drawn from the tragic events of the last eight or nine months was that 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 resolutely against aggression from wherever it might come.

HON. MEMBERS: "What powers?"

Mr. GREENWOOD:—I am not under examination. 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 their responsibilities. The only hope of settled peace was a strong League and collective security. There was no other way. This was a shuffling and cringing retreat (Opposition 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 created 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 believe that we should get it from the Foreign 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 before us 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 tread. Were we going to tread the path along which lay the bodies of hundreds of thousands of our fellow-citizens—(Ministerial cries of "No!"—or were we prepared to scale the heights for a rule of law that meant something in the world? (Opposition cheers.) That was not the declaration of the Government 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 confidence. Having misled the people of this country, it ought to have the courage to go out of office, dishonoured, with all its sins on its shoulders—(Opposition cheers)—and make way for those who were prepared to put their principles to the test—(Opposition cheers and Ministerial laughter)—principles which scores of millions of people in this and other lands now swore: to vindicate the rule of law—(Ministerial cries of "How?")—to establish a League of Nations which should be effective. (Ministerial cries of "How?") If the Government would not fulfil its heavy and high responsibility it ought to make way for people who were prepared to stand by what they had said on thousands of platforms—not by one party but by members of all parties—to stand by the League of Nations and all that the League of Nations meant.

"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, brandishing their swords—(Opposition 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 we 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.)

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FUTURE SUPPLY OF ARMS

It is a fatal error to deprive ourselves of the 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 end 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 that arms coming 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.

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 was unprepared; that it had insufficient 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 it 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.

GUERRILLA WARFARE

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 and to get them through the frontier, are the

but on an embargo. What were we doing? We were leading the nations in the way of showing how an aggressor, 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.)

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"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 away—he 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 important—which is just the sort of thing that heirs do when they are weak monarchs. (Opposition laughter.) The right hon. gentleman said "the last election:—"

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, it is essential for collective security that the opposing combination shall be in the position to overcome the aggressor quickly. I 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 communication, 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

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

—THE VIRGINIANS

WILLS'S

THREE CASTLES

CIGARETTES

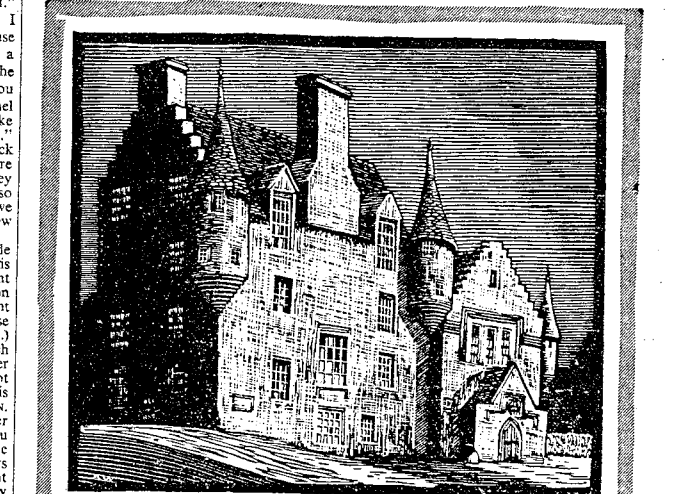
10 FOR 8D	20 Handmade FOR 1/6
20 FOR 1/4	Also obtainable in other packings
50 FOR 3/3	

One expects to pay a little more for a cigarette of such excellent Quality

T.T. 163

I believe that this country is 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 will freely consent to take upon themselves all the obligations that might come upon them in fulfilling the Covenant in all circumstances. I 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



Lauriston Castle, Midlothian

Parliament

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air attack. Nothing will make me believe that. That is where the first blow may come some day. 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 people can be defended at home, is not fit to carry the responsibility of governing his country. (Ministerial cheers.)

SIR A. SINCLAIR (Caithness and Sutherland, L.).—Did the Government demand these precautions to which the right hon. gentleman refers when they did impose sanctions in September?

GERMANY AND FRANCE

MR. BALDWIN.—I said in the light of my experience. I wish to say a word or two about the totalitarian States in Europe because I regard it as of the first importance in Europe that Germany and France and ourselves should work for peace throughout all Europe side by side, as the Foreign Secretary said earlier. (An Hon. Member: "What about Russia?") I want just to point this out to the Committee. I know perfectly well how many hon. members opposite feel about the Nazi régime. I know that there are many members in this Committee who regard with some disavour a régime which lies farther east. But let us look for a moment at what is the cause of this régime in Germany, and let us in passing draw a lesson from it ourselves. Germany lost the War and she paid a great price in the peace treaties and she was left with very considerable armaments. We all hoped that disarmament was coming in Europe.

I need not here go into the various reasons that made those conferences fail and how the countries of Europe lagged, but we do know that during those unhappy years which that country went through after the War she was very near to a state of revolution. The German is naturally a law-abiding man, and he had a glimpse into the abyss when Communism in Germany raised its head, and Communism was a creed of violence and force.

MR. GALLACHER (Fife, W., Comm.).—Not Communism. (Laughter.)

MR. BALDWIN.—Wait a minute. It was beaten ultimately by another creed of violence and force and you have that great people who during many years have seen the régime that would, and the régime that did found itself on force, and what wonder that the idea of force, not an alien idea to the Teuton, should seem to dominate very much that mentality to-day? Yet Herr Hitler has told us that he wishes for peace, and if a man tells me that, as I have said in this House before, I wish to try it out.

SECURITY IN EUROPE

I come back to what I said a few months ago. 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 Europe. The part that Germany can play for good or for evil in Europe is immense and if we believe the opportunity is presented let us do what we can to use it for good. I do not wish to stand much longer between the Committee and private members. There will be further opportunities on Tuesday of debating these matters. I would only say that the view represented by the Foreign Secretary this afternoon commands the unanimous support of the Government, and I believe that our method is not a method that will kill the League. We believe that to allow sanctions to go on, and ultimately, as we imagine, to peter out, would be a far harder task for the League to surmount than to face up boldly to failure.

Time may prove that we are wrong. People may say that we are acting from cowardice, but it is not necessarily a mark of cowardice to take action which we know will be repugnant to large sections of our people. We take it because in the present state of Europe we honestly believe and are firmly convinced that it is the wiser of the two courses, and the one most conducive to peace. It is the peace of Europe that has been our daily and nightly care and anxiety all these many months, and will continue to be so. (Ministerial cheers.)

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 an address by the vicar. That 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 proposed to put on the Order Paper a vote of censure on the Government for the whole course of their foreign policy. (Opposition cheers.) What was the govt. of the Prime Minister telling them of a number of considerations 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 Foreign Secretary and the Prime Minister had nothing to offer the world that was asking for peace. Peace was not obtained by running away, by shaking like a jelly at every dictator who shook 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 so-called, a Conservative Government, to stand by the League. The Government was lending this country back to the tragedy of 1914, in a way that was unworthy of this country. (Opposition cheers.)

UTILITY OF "SANCTIONS"

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 erecting a new bridge. He said that no figure was given this year of the total expenditure involved, but in the statement which was circulated last year the estimated figure was given as approximately £1,295,000. Were Parliament to approve of the London County Council borrowing the sum 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 Parliament a year ago when the schedule to the Bill would appear to be no reason why Parliament should reverse its decision. The House then decided that it was not desirable that the bridge should be pulled down, but rather that it should be reconditioned and widened. Notwithstanding that decision the L.C.C., on the advice of Mr. Herbert Morrison, refused to defy Parliament and proceeded to demolish the bridge. The question now was whether Parliament was to acquiesce in the flouting of its authority and grant borrowing powers for something which it decided should not be 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 considering 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.

COLONEL GRETON (Burton, U.) seconded.

MR. G. STRAUSS (Lambeth, N., Lab.) said that Parliament had entrusted the case-rider facilities in London to the London County Council, and the Council must remain responsible for those facilities. If, therefore, the County Council for any reason did something which it knew to be wrong, to be endangering life, and to be against the interests of London as a whole, the County Council would rightly be blamed by members of Parliament and by the people of London.

GOVERNMENT ATTITUDE

MR. HOARE-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 was the matter was precisely the same as stated last year when he invited the House to consider the question purely on its merits. He asked the House now to consider the Bill on its sole unprejudiced issue and follow normal procedure apart from politics and to bring this almost "hardy annual" to an end.

SIR F. 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 blame for pulling down the bridge, and it should have been done years ago by men of his own political faith. Parliament should do an act of common justice to the ratepayers of London and relieve them of some part of the burden which they were now called upon to bear.

MR. PIETTERICK (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 told 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 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 were simply asking that the ratepayers of London should be allowed to borrow money for a piece of capital expenditure. If this Instruction was carried many of the present members for London would never sit again.

MR. CROOM-JOINSON (Bridgewater, 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.) said 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. H. 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 votes 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:—

The League of Nations, to which this country is in honour and by deep conviction pledged, is now in grave danger. The whole future of the League and the peace of the world are at stake. The British Government has scrapped the solemn 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 attitude 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 spite of this emphatic statement, the Government, having first by their weak and ambiguous policy at Stresa and Geneva failed to prevent Signor Mussolini's aggression, and then made it possible by their continued supply of oil and other necessities of war, is preparing not only to condone aggression and to permit Signor Mussolini to profit by it, but to abandon the whole system of collective security through the League, without which there is no sure foundation for the peace of the world.

The Government is advocating the delimitation of the functions 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 treaties and new acts of aggression, to set free lawless 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 betrayed. Millions will be doomed to death, and civilization to utter and final destruction.

"A NEW APPROACH TO PEACE"

The drift of 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 rehabilitate 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.

We earnestly appeal in this critical hour to all men and women of goodwill through their churches, brotherhoods, and sisterhoods, societies, clubs, guilds, and other organizations 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, resolutions, 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 country to make the strongest public protests, without momentary delay, and by every method which lies to their hands, against the Government's wanton violation of the solemn pledges on the strength of which it was returned to power and against the threatened surrender of its responsibilities for preserving and organizing peace. Action must be immediate! Action must be vigorous! Above all, action must be successful if our hopes of world peace 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 comment:—

Mr. Chamberlain's "personal and provisional" thoughts on sanctions have fluttered a good many doves. 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 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 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? It is scarcely likely to agree now upon a course from which it shrank when all was still to be won. Can sanctions, 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? 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 League as the best hope of future peace do with regard to the future? What kind of protective front against aggression can be constructed? We must, as the Lord President said at Cardiff on Monday, "stand by the League" for a world without it would

LIBERAL PARTY CONVENTION

A NEW CAMPAIGN

The Liberal Party Convention opened yesterday at Kingsway Hall, under the chairmanship of Lord Meston, who presided 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.

SIR ARCHIBALD SINCLAIR, 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 nineteenth-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 revolutionary 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. Secondly, they must secure for Scotland and Wales people a greater measure of control over their national affairs.

THE MAIN TASK

But their main task in the twentieth century must be to secure economic freedom for the masses. Liberals condemned equally the Government's schemes of control and restriction, 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 dismissal, and to raise the status and improve the prospects of the farm labourer.

Apart from radical treatment of the unemployment problem, there were two things which ought to be done at once to help the victims. The first was the production of the new Unemployment Assistance Regulations. The Government promised them in the spring, but they remained wrapped in mystery. The failure of the Government to grapple with this problem was one of the most glaring instances of their paralysis in the face of great issues. They would continue to press the Government to introduce them and drastically to reform the means test. The second thing was to encourage the facilities for training men and for restoring their skills to men who had long been out of work.

TWIN POLICIES

But these were mere palliatives. What Liberals demanded was a constructive, vigorous, 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, work for reclamation, land drainage, and reclamation, and an increase in the number of small-holders. The second and most fundamental cause of unemployment was the destruction of our overseas trade by economic nationalism and by the Government's policy of protection and quotas.

To secure peace and revive trade an employment they must get the world out of a straitjacket 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 parties in this country was solidly united in support of these twin policies, and in this crisis in the relations between our country and the League of Nations it was their duty to do all in their power to mobilize public opinion in support of the League, and to stand by the obligation to which we were pledged under its Covenant.

SEVEN CONDITIONS

LORD MESTON, moving the adoption of the report of the Reorganization Commission, said that the Liberal Party were not ready to sink into the position of being a colourless middle party in Parliament. They had ambition to be a negligible group, useful perhaps at times, holding the balance between "dictators" and "Communists." Their ambition was to be once more a cleansing force and fighting power, a party which would intervene to save the country from dictatorship on the one hand and Socialist tyranny on the other.

Up and down the country there was a mass of thinking men and women who were Liberal in spirit and in outlook. All they wanted was a courageous lead and an enlightened faith bringing them in to their historic party. If that were not forthcoming, those hesitant, unwilling millions would rapidly drift into other political camps. There were seven conditions that must be fulfilled if they were to enter this new campaign with hope and confidence. They must put a fervent and infectious missionary zeal into the campaign; they must be foremost in the past and the future; they must work for the future; present a united front as a party and sink their minor differences; devise an effective battle-cry; concentrate on the education of the electorate, with the help of capable candidates and, where possible, of trained organizers; they must discuss; and they must pay their way.

The convention proceeded to the discussion of amendments to the proposed new constitution, and adjourned until to-day.

POLITICAL NOTES

Stiftelsen norsk Okkupasjonshistorie, 20

MR. ATTLEE'S CRITICISM

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The Foreign Secretary and the Prime Minister had nothing to offer the world that was asking for peace. Peace was not obtained by running away, by shaking like a jelly at every dictator who shook 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 so-called, a Conservative Government, to stand by the League. The Government was leading this country back to the tragedy of 1914, in a way that was unworthy of this country. (Opposition cheers.)

VISCOUNT WOLMER (Aldershot, U.)

This country had cut a sorry and pitiable spectacle during the last few months. The fundamental cause was that we had not armaments sufficient to enable us to play that role in Europe which the Government of this country had played in the past (cheers.) The Foreign Secretary had said that one of the reasons for the failure of sanctions was that the Italians won the war a great deal quicker than all the military experts had prophesied. That meant that those who were imposing the policy of sanctions were not really looking to sanctions to defeat the gangster, they were looking to the Abyssinians and the weather so that the League of Nations might be able to begin to operate. What was the admission of the futility and weakness of economic sanctions. The lesson to be drawn surely was that if the League decided to act against individual nations, it must come to an act of war. (Ministerial cheers.) There must be the employment of the policeman's truncheon against the gangster, that was the only way in which the authority of the League of Nations could be exercised.

he Government had led this country

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. 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 told them not to do.

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.

Mr. H. 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.

by : Committee : Colonial Office. Matru : da

Abstract

At the request of the Minister of Agri-

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 its 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 mill title rent-charge on October 1 makes it necessary to get the Bill passed quickly.

A forest plot titled 'Forest plot of the comparison: No treatment versus Treatment'. The plot shows the pooled effect size for this comparison. The x-axis represents the effect size, ranging from -0.10 to 0.10. The y-axis lists the studies included in the meta-analysis: 'No treatment' and 'Treatment'. The plot shows a single point estimate for the pooled effect size, which is approximately 0.05, with a 95% confidence interval of approximately 0.02 to 0.08. The plot is labeled 'Pooled effect size' and '95% CI'.

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). Bulham and Tooting Labour Party last night chose Captain W. J. Miller, a London barrister, as their candidate in the by-election.

Labour movement throughout the country to make the strongest public protest, without a moment's delay, and by every means which lies to their hands, against the Government's wanton violation of the solemn pledges on the strength of which it was returned to power and against the threatened surrender of its responsibilities for preserving and organizing peace. Action must be immediate! Action must be vigorous! Above all, action must be successful if our hopes of world peace are not to be dashed for ever to the ground.

The *News Letter*, the official organ of

Finally, 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 future? What kind of protective front 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 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 in this occasion. Thursday's debate, in which takes place the vote 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 if they are to face it with confidence.

[illegible]

The King, who assumed the title of

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 H.A.C., and consequently 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.

The construction of the dock at Dover for

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 Clarence 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. The other gate took charge, and the launching was manoeuvred with precision until the 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 50ft. by 7ft. 3in.

SEVEN CONDITIONS

MESTON, moving the adoption of the Resolutions of the

Up and down the country there was a mass of thinking men and women who were Liberal in spirit and in outlook. All they wanted was a courageous lead and an enlightened faith to bring them in to their historic party. If the lead were not forthcoming those hesitant at first would be quickly and rapidly drifting to other political camps. There were conditions that must be fulfilled if they were to enter this new campaign with hope and confidence. They must put a fervent and infectious missionary zeal into the campaign; they must cease to live in the past and they must work for the future; present a united front as a party and sink their minor differences; give up their exclusive battle-cry; concentrate on the education of the electorate, with the help of capable candidates and wherever possible, of trained organizers; they must drop party prejudices; and they must pay their way.

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The Midland Group of Members w

To inquire whether the heavy duties imposed by the Customs authorities on stork-eggs and storks recently imported for scientific experiments regarding migration (as described in *The Times* of June 8) are in accordance with the law; if so, whether the Government are unable to relax the duties or regulations made under the Act, by which such duties could in future be relaxed or abolished in the case of scientific investigations carried out by or under the control of a responsible organization; or, if the Act does not provide any latitude for remission or exemption, would the Government consider appropriate action in the direction above indicated?

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

The Times 19 Jan 1936

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