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HEADWAY

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Matters of Moment

SINCE the article on the Chinese situation on a later page was written developments of importance took place both at Shanghai and Geneva. On February 16 the League Council, sitting without its Chinese and Japanese members, drafted a much stronger Note to Japan than any so far sent. The fact that it was addressed to Japan alone and not to China was in itself significant. The fact that it referred specifically to Article X of the Covenant and to the pledge given by League members to "respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of every other League member" was more significant still. The Note appears to have had a bad reception at Tokyo, but by coincidence, or otherwise, the day after its despatch a Conference between the Japanese and Chinese commanders at Shanghai was arranged. The conference broke down almost before it had begun, the Chinese rejecting the terms proposed. Later developments will, of course, be known to readers of HEADWAY through the daily press before this issue can appear. It is satisfactory that the League Council should have stiffened its tone in some degree, though an infinite amount of trouble and danger would have been saved if it had adopted the new tone earlier.

The League and Forced Seizure

THERE are signs that opinion in Great Britain is steadily hardening against Japan, whose responsibility for the Shanghai situation has been abundantly demonstrated by the two reports drawn up for the League of Nations by the Committee of Consuls in Shanghai appointed at the Council's request. But firm action, in which the British

Government must take a lead, may be needed still, and nothing is more important than to mobilise a strong public opinion on which the Government can rely. It is well, moreover, in concentrating opinion on Shanghai not to forget Manchuria altogether, for there are clear signs that Japan may be prepared to make concessions at Shanghai provided she is given a free hand in Manchuria. The kind of free hand she wants and the way in which she is threatening to use it are quite inconsistent with the various treaties Japan has signed, from the Covenant onwards. The United States has made it perfectly clear in regard to Manchuria that no acquisitions made by Japan by means contrary to international treaties will be recognised. The League Council said much the same thing in its Note of February 16, and it must be assumed that it meant its statement to apply to Manchuria equally with Shanghai, particularly since neither region is mentioned by name in the Note, its application must, therefore, be joint. But no doubt or uncertainty can be allowed to exist on this point. It is bad enough to have one country attacking another in defiance of treaties. It would be far worse if the aggressor were allowed to reap permanent advantage from its aggression.

Lord Cecil and the Conference

DELEGATES at the Disarmament Conference found it very difficult to imagine a British Delegation that did not include Lord Cecil. It is difficult, but in some ways it would be even more difficult for the present British Delegation to include him. There is no mystery about the position. Lord Cecil was invited to join the delegation. But that raised a

fundamental question. He has never concealed his views about what a disarmament programme ought to be—a general 25 per cent. cut in expenditure, and the prohibition all round of the aggressive weapons already forbidden to Germany. The British Government's programme was not that, as Sir John Simon's speech at Geneva has since shown. It was obviously wiser, as well as more honest, for Lord Cecil to keep himself free to advocate what he believes in than to join the delegation and put his convictions in his pocket. Replying to a question by Mr. Mander in the House of Commons, the Foreign Secretary said his relations with Lord Cecil were most cordial and Lord Cecil was rendering a most valuable service by remaining in control of the League of Nations Union.

Subscriptions and Favours

IT is difficult to suppose that it is really Lord Lovat's serious conviction that because Great Britain pays a certain sum—larger, indeed, than any other nation's contribution—to the League of Nations, some British firm ought, as a matter of right, to have obtained a contract in connection with the erection of the League's new buildings. Yet that is what his questions in the House of Lords a week or two ago definitely implied. Lord Hailsham, replying for the Government, had no difficulty in disposing of the idea decisively, remarking with force that this country joined the League of Nations for quite other reasons than that; while Lord Cecil, who also spoke (not, of course, for the Government), observed that geographical proximity and familiarity with local conditions no doubt accounted for the fact that most of the contracts had gone to French and Swiss firms. The League is bound, on grounds of economy, to accept the lowest tender in the absence of good reasons to the contrary.

Faith in the Future

THERE has, indeed, been some question of postponing part of the building scheme, namely, the Assembly Hall, altogether, for financial reasons. It seems inevitable that the original estimate will be to some extent exceeded, though not very seriously, and it happens that, while the new Secretariat and the Rockefeller Library are well advanced, work on the Assembly Hall is only just beginning. But the Hall forms the centre of the whole block; the Rockefeller Library was presented not as an isolated institution, but as part of a group of buildings; and the Swiss authorities had given all sorts of undertakings in regard to the site, the sinking of an adjacent railway into a cutting and so forth, on the assumption that the whole scheme, and not two detached parts of it, would be carried through. When the question came before the Council there was an all but universal feeling, expressed strongly by the British and French representatives in particular, that it would be a fatal mistake to draw back now from a project so long considered. Conditions may be difficult at the moment, but faith in the future must be maintained.

The Churches' Challenge

SOME account is given in another column of the remarkable gathering that assembled in the Albert Hall on the day the Disarmament Conference opened to hear what the leaders of the Churches had to say on the issue of the moment. The arresting exposition of Christian statesmanship embodied in the sermon preached two days before at St. Peter's Cathedral at Geneva was in everyone's mind, and the Archbishop himself was back in London in time to add to

his previous statement some plain words on the situation at Shanghai. High as the level of Dr. Temple's address and those of other speakers was, it was the spirit and temper of the gathering that made the meeting historic and inspired the hope that it denoted not the end but the beginning of effort, on the part particularly of the younger men and women who crowded the hall. That cannot be reproduced through the medium of ink and paper, but it is satisfactory to know that both the Archbishop of York's Geneva sermon and a full account of the Albert Hall meeting are being published in pamphlet form by the League of Nations Union. (See p. 48.)

Debts and Reconciliation

A NUMBER of Bishops and other clergy of the Church of England and representative leaders of the Free Churches have signed on behalf of the Council of Christian Ministers a manifesto calling for the complete obliteration of reparations and war debts as a measure of reconciliation. While quoting the opinions of financiers and economists in favour of such a course, and recognising that the reparation question may be settled once for all by the collapse of Germany, the signatories appeal that "while there is yet time for an act of grace, those who believe in Christ should make their voices heard in the demand for a cancellation by forgiveness of all reparations and international war debts, in the name of Jesus, the Prince of Peace." The Church is sometimes reproached with its silence on questions of international moment. This manifesto and the Albert Hall meeting just referred to go far to repel that charge.

The Next Generation

NOTHING could be more admirable than the message on the Disarmament Conference issued by Sir Donald Maclean, President of the Board of Education, to the schools of England. Read throughout the country on the day the Conference opened, the message emphasised the importance of the events at Geneva, and ended with some pieces of sound practical advice. "However young you are," wrote Sir Donald, "you can help by taking an interest in the work of the League of Nations and getting to know all about it—its aims, its methods and the people who attend its meetings." To the older pupils it is suggested that "by the study of international problems and by the maintenance of right relations with your neighbours abroad, you should achieve an attitude of mind which will be proof against the assaults of prejudice." That, it may be observed, is the best of all protections against the influence of the insular and super-nationalist sections of the Press.

Argentina's Intentions

THE absence of the Argentine Republic from League of Nations Assemblies has greatly weakened the hold of the League on Latin America, particularly since the withdrawal of Brazil in 1926. The Argentine has in fact been half in and half out of the League, for it never ratified the Covenant, though it was one of the neutral States mentioned in the annex to that document as original members. Now there is the prospect of a definite change. Argentina has had a bloodless revolution; the Irigoyenists, who were implacable enemies of the League, have been hopelessly defeated; and M. Bosch, the Argentine delegate at the Disarmament Conference, has stated at Geneva that he fully hoped the Chamber (which was to meet towards the end of February) would take an early decision, and that an

Argentine delegation would be found in its place at the Assembly of next September. There are sufficiently close ties between Great Britain and the Argentine to make such a development particularly welcome here.

Egypt and the I.L.O.

THE visit Mr. Harold Butler, Deputy Director of the International Labour Office, is at present paying to Cairo brings a State non-member of the League into a closer touch with Geneva. This is not, of course, the first contact of Egypt with Geneva. Both the opium and the traffic in women and children problems have brought that country well into the picture. But the invitation to the I.L.O. to assist the Egyptian Government in the establishment of a Labour Department goes a good deal further. Mr. Butler's function will be to advise what provisions in the various international conventions negotiated through the International Labour Organisation are suitable for adoption in Egypt at the present stage, and to give information and counsel regarding labour legislation generally. Egypt, incidentally, is bearing the expense of the visit.

Sorting out Populations

THE League of Nations Council at its last meeting wound up finally a particularly interesting piece of work, half political, half social, carried on under its auspices since 1919. When the various peace treaties were being negotiated in that year it was obvious that trouble was likely to be caused owing to the hopelessly mixed populations inhabiting the parts of Greece nearest Bulgaria and the parts of Bulgaria nearest Greece. Consequently, a voluntary emigration convention was signed between the two countries, with a view to helping Greeks in Bulgaria to come back and settle in Greece and vice versa. One obvious feature of the arrangement was that the farms vacated by the migrating Greeks should be handed over to the returning Bulgarians—and again vice versa. All this needed a great deal of financial adjustment in each individual case, and there have altogether been 150,000 individual cases. The work has been handled by a committee of one Greek and one Bulgarian and two nominees of the League, Col. Corfe, a New Zealander, and Col. de Regnier, a Swiss. They have done a job that has brought considerable stability to an unstable region, and well deserved the Council's warm congratulations.

New Laws on Opium

AS HEADWAY has already stated, the Opium Conference held at Geneva last year resulted in the general signature in July of a Convention providing for the limitation by every country of its manufacture of drugs to the amount needed for its own legitimate consumption and for any legitimate orders placed with it from abroad. These orders have to be guaranteed as genuine by the Governments of the countries from which they come. The object of such restrictions is to ensure that there is no superfluous morphia, heroin and cocaine produced to get into the hands of illicit traders. To sign a Convention of this sort is only the first step. It is necessary after that to pass new laws in each country applying the restrictions that have been agreed on. Great Britain is now engaged on that task, and a measure called "The Dangerous Drugs Bill" was introduced in the House of Lords by the Earl of Lucan on February 17 to give effect to the Geneva Convention.

It was unopposed in the Lords and is not likely to meet with opposition in the Commons.

The League as Debt Collector

THE little affair of the Finnish ships drags on before the League Council. Finland, it will be remembered, is arraigning Great Britain before the League Council for declining to pay damages for the loss of various ships requisitioned during the war and placed under British control. Great Britain has a very complete answer to the charge, the main point being that the ships were requisitioned not by the British Government but by the Tsarist Government, when Finland was still part of Russia. But Lord Cecil at the last Council meeting raised the interesting general point that the Council was never meant to be a mere debt-collecting agency, observing that a trifling question like this could not be raised under Article XI as "a circumstance which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends," or under Articles XII or XV as "a dispute likely to lead to a rupture." That only leaves Article XIII, dealing with matters which both parties agree to be suitable for arbitration or judicial settlement, which Great Britain in this case does not. The question has been once more adjourned.

Youth and the War

THE generation now in its early twenties should feel flattered at the attention the Disarmament Conference has been paying it. When Mr. Henderson, as President of the Conference, received a deputation from the International Conference of Disabled and Ex-Service men from France, Germany and nine other countries he made the point that the testimony of such men, who had known what war was, and bore, many of them, its marks on their bodies as well as its indelible memories in their minds, was the more valuable in that a generation was already growing up to which the war was only a matter of history. Only a day before that Mr. James Green, an American student, had made an impressive appeal to the Conference in plenary session to relieve the men and women of his age from the fate to which they would be condemned if another war broke out, and the day after Sir John Simon, referring back to the students' plea, had urged, like Mr. Henderson, that action should be taken against war there and then before the memories of the inferno of war had passed completely.

The Succession to Sir Eric

THE prospect of Sir Eric Drummond's resignation of his post as Secretary-General of the League of Nations is discussed on another page. It has, of course, inevitably given rise to all sorts of speculations as to his possible successor. In the first instance the search will no doubt be made (it has not yet begun) outside the ranks of the Great Powers, for the selection of another Englishman is unlikely, and national jealousies might militate against a Frenchman, or a German or an Italian. Among the names mentioned in casual Geneva talk are Senator de Brouckère of Belgium, Señor de Madariaga of Spain, M. Colban of Norway, M. Procope of Finland, and in the possible event of the Council being driven back on an Englishman, Sir Arthur Salter, Lord Lothian and Mr. Alexander Cadogan of the Foreign Office. It is a fairly safe prediction that no one in this list will in fact be chosen. Some, no doubt, could not accept if they were.

Disarmament Pessimism Giving Place to Hope

THE Disarmament Conference, so long awaited by the world, duly opened at Geneva on the appointed date, February 2, in circumstances as unpromising as could well be imagined. Reparations controversies had created a new strain between Germany and France, the economic depression was pre-occupying the attention of the whole world, and, above all, the increasingly critical developments in the Far East appeared to demonstrate that the League was incapable of defending one of its members or securing the observance of the Covenant or the Kellogg Pact.

Under such conditions the Conference made a surprisingly successful start. There were fifty-seven

of the Conference was devoted to formalities. It was the second which showed how the land lay and what the prospects were, for it was in that week that all the Great Powers stated their case. The net result was completely satisfactory—far more so than anyone familiar with the difficulties of the situation had ventured to hope. What was expected was a series of eloquent speeches, all of them dwelling on the importance of disarmament but none of them indicating how the speaker's own country proposed to disarm. What actually happened was that speaker after speaker went to the tribune to insist, it is true, on the necessity of disarmament, but to unfold after that the pro-



The Conference in Session: At right-hand end of front desk marked 8—Dr. Brüning (Germany); behind him M. Hymans (Belgium); behind him Sir John Simon.

delegations in the hall (three more arrived later) when Mr. Arthur Henderson, in poor health, but, fortunately, quite able to carry out his task, delivered his Presidential Address. It was a guarded declaration, designed to put the disarmament problem clearly before the Conference in language that could offend no one. Such caution was necessary, for very diverse views were represented in the hall, as the presence of a German, a Russian, an American, a French and an Italian delegation showed—to say nothing of a Japanese and Chinese. It may be added that other non-members of the League, apart from the Americans and the Russians, included Afghanistan, Egypt, Brazil, the Nejd and Hedjaz, the last-named represented on the opening day by a sheikh in flowing white head-dress and robes.

Apart from Mr. Henderson's opening address and one other event of the first importance, the first week

programme his own country was ready at that stage to accept. The words "at that stage" must be emphasised, because though none of the delegates admitted, or could be expected to admit, that they would consent under pressure to go even further than they had suggested, it is a recognised principle that at a conference at which bargaining is to be the order of the day no one puts quite all his cards on the table at the outset.

Economy of space makes conciseness necessary, and the simplest way to indicate what was achieved in this earliest phase of the Conference is to summarise the definite proposals put forward in order by each of the chief delegations. But one word must be said first of the remarkable demonstration—remarkable, among other things, in the impression it made on delegates—witnessed on the day when petitions were presented to the Conference at a public session by a

few selected organisations. The women with their bundles of signatures, representing a total of over eight million, made the most striking show; Lord Cecil, appearing not as a delegate, but as President of the International Federation of League of Nations Associations, gave the Conference the opportunity to offer him an ovation as he advocated the Buda-Pesth programme of the abolition of all distinctively aggressive weapons; the students, particularly a young American, Mr. James Green, who insisted that "we are literally fighting for our lives" because, in the event of another war, "it is the men and women of my generation who will be called on to commit suicide," profoundly moved delegates; and the appeal of the workers, through M. Vandervelde and M. Léon Jouhaux, profoundly stirred them. What might have been a kind of circus remains in memory as a historic episode.

Now for the Conference's real work. I referred earlier to one event of the first importance falling in the first week of the Conference. That was, of course,



M. Andre Tardieu

the deposit of the memorandum embodying the French proposals. They were produced unexpectedly enough to cause something of a sensation. M. Tardieu, the French Minister of War, went to the platform at the end of an unimportant formal sitting of the Conference and announced that, in accordance with the President's invitation to delegations to put forward any new suggestions, he was depositing certain French proposals with the bureau of the Conference.

The proposals were made public a couple of hours later. They were based on the principle, from which the French never waver, that if they are to reduce their armaments the League must be strong enough to give them protection. That was the basis of the whole French memorandum, and it was only on that assumption that France was prepared to carry out the reductions she offered. Her whole purpose, it must be recognised, was to strengthen the League sufficiently to make any attack by one State on another impossible. The French proposals fall under five heads:—

1. **Air.**
 - (a) All heavy bombing planes to be handed over unconditionally to the League of Nations.
 - (b) Machines of medium strength to be retained by each State on condition they are held at the League's disposal if it needs them.
2. **Aggressive Weapons.**

Heavy land artillery, capital ships (over 10,000 tons) and large submarines only to be retained by those nations ready to put them at the disposal of the League if required for use under Article XVI of the Covenant.
3. **International Forces.**

Creation of

 - (a) An International Police Force to prevent war,
 - (b) An International Punitive Force to repress war, both to be made up of small units held always available by States members of the League.
4. **Protection of Civilian Population**

by special agreements against chemical and bacteriological warfare and the bombardment of non-military areas by land artillery or from the sea or air.

5. **Agreement on Certain Political Steps,**

such as compulsory arbitration, definition of the aggressor and guarantees of rapid common action against a Covenant-breaker.

So much for the proposals on paper. M. Tardieu, in his Conference speech a day or two later, declared definitely that he based himself on the Covenant and asked for no new agreements. All he was concerned with was to assure the prompt execution of the Covenant. He said his plan would make a reduction of French armaments possible, but he gave no figures regarding that. No delegate from any country, indeed, has yet mentioned figures, for the stage for that has not yet been reached.

Now to the Conference speeches proper. The order of the principal speakers was Sir John Simon (Great Britain), M. Tardieu (France), Mr. Hugh Gibson (United States), Dr. Brüning (Germany), Signor Grandi (Italy), Mr. Matsudaira (Japan), and M. Litvinoff (Soviet Russia). The British proposals as stated by Sir John Simon consisted first and foremost of an acceptance of the Draft Convention framed by the Preparatory Commission as a basis for the Conference's labours and of all its main provisions. (The British representative on the Commission had already voted for the Convention and the provisions in question, but he was representing a former Government, not the present one.) The new proposals Sir John Simon made consisted of the abolition of the submarine and suggested reductions in the size of ships, naval guns, and land artillery. No indication was given as to what the reductions should be. The submarine proposal had been put forward by the British delegations at the Washington Naval Conference of 1921 and the London Naval Conference of 1930, but had not gained general acceptance in either case.

Then came the American proposals, which were distinctly more definite than had been expected. Mr. Hugh Gibson, the principal delegate, gave his whole-hearted support to the Conference, accepted the general outlines of the Draft Convention, accepted also, as the United States had never done before, the method of budgetary limitation as applied to material, and proposed in addition—

- (a) the extension of the Washington and London Naval agreements. (This means a further holiday from the construction of capital ships.)
- (b) a reduction in naval tonnage conditionally on France and Italy accepting the London Treaty,
- (c) abolition of the submarine,
- (d) special restrictions on tanks and heavy land guns,
- (e) limitation of the armed forces of each country to those required for the maintenance of
 - (i) internal order, (ii) defence,



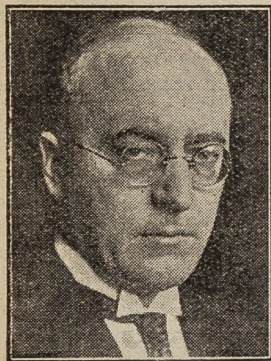
Sir John Simon



Mr. Hugh Gibson

(f) prohibition of chemical and bacteriological warfare and protection of civil populations against bombing from the air.

The next speaker, Dr. Brüning, of Germany, stood, of course, in a special position. Germany's armaments are limited by the Treaty of Versailles and will remain so. That holds good even if Germany does not sign a new Disarmament Treaty at the end of the Conference.



Dr. Brüning

The point is of importance, for Dr. Brüning stated that he could not accept various points in the Draft Convention as it stood. He, naturally, had no proposals to make regarding the disarmament of his own country, since she is already disarmed, but he demanded, as he could not fail to demand, equality of rights and duties as between all nations represented at the Conference. He indicated, however, that Germany would propose later (as she did) the prohibition for all nations of the aggressive weapons which she herself is forbidden to maintain.

From Italy came the most sweeping proposal the Conference had so far had before it. Italy has always taken the line that she does not mind how far she reduces her armed forces so long as no other European nation (other than Britain) has a higher figure, and it was expected that the Italian Foreign Minister would say no more than that. He did, in fact, say very much more than that, for he proposed definitely, with the full weight of his Government behind him, the total abolition of—



Signor Dino Grandi

- (a) military air-craft; with which he combined, like M. Tardieu, the internationalisation of civil aviation,
- (b) air-craft carriers,
- (c) capital ships and submarines simultaneously (i.e., neither to be abolished unless both are),
- (d) heavy land guns and tanks.

Signor Grandi's speech was more striking in that the Italian Minister for Air, General Balbo, was sitting as a member of the Italian delegation while his colleague proposed from the platform the total abolition of the arm for which General Balbo is responsible.

The intervention of Japan was naturally anticipated with some interest, for delegates were curious to know what disarmament a country which was at that moment bombarding Shanghai would propose. It did not, in fact, propose very much. Mr. Matsudaira, the chief Japanese delegate, merely referred in passing to what he called "a disturbed condition in the Far East," and then proceeded to advocate, not the abolition of the submarine, but the adoption of rules governing its use, together with a reduction in the size of ships and guns and the possible abolition of aeroplane-carriers. Japan agreed with the views expressed by other delegates regarding the prohibition of aerial bombardment and the use of poison gases or bacteria.

The seventh Great Power at the Conference was Soviet Russia, and its spokesman was its Commissar, M. Maxime Litvinoff. He was expected to make the

kind of speech he has more than once made in the Preparatory Commission, proposing total disarmament here and now, and he could at least have made a good debating point by declaring that once war as an instrument of national policy had been renounced, the weapons with which war is waged ought logically to be renounced too. M. Litvinoff did, indeed, still hold to his thesis that the only sound outcome of a Disarmament Conference was the abolition of war, but his argument was throughout temperate and reasonable. He brought some acute criticisms to bear on the French proposals, and ended his speech encouragingly by saying that if Russia could not get all she wanted, i.e., total disarmament, she would be thankful for any little that the Conference might achieve, and would continue to co-operate in its labours to the end.



M. Litvinoff

So-called Humanisation

The world, of course, is not made up of Great Powers, though the disarmament question does depend largely on the action the Great Powers may take. The speeches from delegates of the lesser nations cannot be treated in any detail here. It is enough to say that none of them sounded any kind of discordant note. Count Apponyi, the veteran Hungarian statesman, made an eloquent plea for equality of rights as Dr. Brüning had done, for Hungary is, of course, disarmed like Germany. Señor Zulueta, the Foreign Minister of Spain, very wisely observed that attempts at the so-called humanisation of warfare were all of doubtful value, for though rules might be made, no nation would observe them in war time, except when it suited its convenience. The only way was to abolish the instruments of inhuman warfare altogether.

Almost every speaker, indeed, took that line, and it would be true to say that the outstanding feature of this earlier phase of the Conference was the extent of the agreement accorded from all sides to this highly important principle. The change that came over the spirits of the delegates in the Conference's second week (the first week was devoted almost wholly to formalities) was remarkable. It was voiced most strikingly by Count Apponyi, who observed that he had never been in a greater state of pessimism than he was when he reached Geneva. By the end of the second week, when he delivered his own speech, the whole of that, he declared, had fallen from him, and he could proclaim himself a thorough optimist regarding the outcome of the Conference's deliberations.

Later developments must be left to future issues of HEADWAY, and there can be no question that among them will be included many deadlocks and many crises, for the attainment of an early measure of general agreement cannot justify the conclusion that the rest of the journey will be uniformly smooth. It is when various proposals which sound similar get into committee and are discovered to be quite different, and when one nation obstinately clings to some point the others cannot accept, that the real difficulties begin. But, at any rate, a good start is better than a bad start, and the start of the Disarmament Conference of 1932 has been distinctly good.

H. W. H.

The Secretary-General

What Sir Eric Drummond Has Done for the League

By WARREN POSTBRIDGE

EVERYBODY who has heard of the League of Nations has heard of Sir Eric Drummond, but not very many people know the man. Sir Eric never thrusts himself forward. He very rarely makes public speeches, even at Geneva. He has probably been more talked about now he is leaving the League than in all the thirteen years he has served it.



Sir Eric Drummond

How thirteen years, it may be asked, when the League was only born in 1920? The answer is that the League Covenant, appointing "The Hon. Sir James Eric Drummond, K.C.M.G., C.B.," as first Secretary-General, was approved by the Peace Conference in April, 1919, and from that moment Sir Eric's mind was concentrated on the task of building up the great organisation whose destinies he has ever since directed.

Servant of the League

That organisation is the League Secretariat. Sir Eric Drummond does not direct the League of Nations itself. He is its servant, not its master, and one of the best tributes to the discretion and tact with which he has discharged his task is that no one has ever accused him of trying to rush in and initiate where his business is to execute. That does not mean at all that the Secretary-General is a mere lay figure. Nothing could be further from the fact. Half the projects the League has engaged in have taken the shape they did take because members of the Council, or members of the Assembly, talked them over individually with Sir Eric in advance and recognised the soundness of his views. Members of the League of Nations Secretariat are sometimes accused of wire-pulling. Some of them perhaps do. But it would be fantastic to associate the idea with Sir Eric Drummond. Apart from anything else he rarely has need to press his opinions on delegates because the delegates always come and ask for them.

The Perfect Secretary

It was a doubtful experiment taking this professional civil servant, this private secretary par excellence (he had served Mr. Balfour and Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Asquith in that capacity) and setting him to construct an organisation such as the world had never seen, for civil servants are generally supposed to be creatures of routine rather than creatures of imagination. But whoever was responsible for the choice made no mistake. Sir Eric visualised the possibilities and set to work to make them realities. He began by selecting his first helpers. The world was his field, and there was rather more to guide him than might be supposed, for some scores of the best administrators in all the Allied countries had been brought into contact with one another, and into a certain individual prominence, through the various Inter-Allied bodies, like the Supreme Economic

Council, the Inter-Allied Maritime Council and the rest, set up one by one as the war progressed. From these the new Secretary-General could take his pick. Finding men from neutral countries was not so simple, but M. Colban, of Norway, M. Rappard, of Switzerland, and others proved themselves of the same quality as their Allied colleagues. Never has the League been quite so ably staffed, never have efficiency and enthusiasm been quite as fruitfully combined, as when it was run by those first pioneers whom Sir Eric gathered round him.

Festina Lente

What are the Secretary-General's chief characteristics? Hard work, a hard head, and, of course, wide knowledge. It would be difficult not to be well informed on international problems after sitting through over sixty Council meetings, thirteen Assemblies of the League, preparing their agenda beforehand, and discussing the affairs of the world daily with visitors from every country in the world. As for hard work, the men who work under the S.G. know best the sort of hours he keeps and the steady outflow of energy from that room at the end of the first-floor corridor in the League Secretariat. It is said sometimes that there is too much caution in Sir Eric's make-up. It may be so. There have often been cases when the impatient urged him to show more courage. Much, it is true, may be lost by going too slowly, and more still, in the early days of an untried institution, by trying to go too fast. Very likely the Secretary-General has erred from time to time in one direction or the other. Is there any human being who could be counted on not to? But one thing Sir Eric has quite certainly never done. Never has he sought to use his position to serve his own country's special interests. He has taken the international position first, last and all the time.

Out of Office Hours

All of which may well sound a little as though Sir Eric Drummond were a kind of diplomatic robot, exuding efficiency and devoid of humanity. On the contrary, he is completely human. He plays tennis, he plays golf, he plays bridge, he relaxes his mind diligently with detective stories, and his family life forms one of the happiest of Geneva memories to any who have been fortunate enough to get glimpses of it in the villa now acquired as the Secretary-General's official residence on the hillside beyond the new League buildings.

Can He Be Kept?

The *raison d'être* of this article is Sir Eric's announcement that he will lay down his office a year hence. But that decision cannot be accepted without a world-wide—literally a world-wide—endeavour to alter it. The League is passing through the most difficult moments of its history. Never was a skilled and experienced hand at the wheel more indispensable. Of course Sir Eric can be replaced. Someone will be found to succeed him. But a change at this juncture would shake confidence at a moment when a reinforcement of confidence is needed before all things. Inclination might take the Secretary-General from Geneva. But a sense of duty and public service may keep him there still.

Liberia The Danger of Dissolution

By JOHN H. HARRIS

CAN the League save Liberia? If Liberia is to be saved from dissolution, only the League can do it, and if the League succeeds it will be little short of a miracle, for no State Member of the League is in such a deplorable plight as this Negro Republic of Africa. The inception of Liberia was a noble ideal, namely, to return to their African home slaves liberated from their bondage in the cotton plantations of America, so that they could carry to the Dark Continent the privileges of their new-found liberty. Hence the Liberian State motto, "The love of Liberty brought us here."

The Liberian Republic was commenced with the first settlement in Liberia 110 years ago, but it was not until 1847 that the Republic was constituted a free and independent State. Great Britain was the first State to recognise its sovereignty. The Republic is about four times the size of Belgium and is populated by some 2,000,000 Mendi, Kroo, and Grebo natives of West Africa. These natives are governed—more correctly, misgoverned—by about 15,000 descendants of the freed slaves and a certain number of mixed bloods from French and British territory, who exploit the natives for their personal ends.

Abortive Schemes

Lord Leverhulme once contemplated attempting the salvation of Liberia. An amusing and characteristic story is told of the reason why this great Victorian industrialist promptly dropped the idea. Sir Harry Johnston then launched an enterprise on a vast scale, but he, like certain other well-wishers, soon found it impossible to carry on a successful "venture." Within recent times, Mr. Firestone, the American rubber tyre magnate, undeterred by the unhappy experiences of his predecessors, has spent some £2,000,000 in an endeavour to give economic stability to Liberia.

The Liberian Government, in the name of freedom, has enslaved the natives, in the name of liberty has oppressed and massacred the people, and in the name of peace has spread war and desolation wherever opportunity gave the pretext. In point of fact, there have been more wars made on the natives of the hinterland of Liberia than in any other African territory—eight wars in seventy years! The Liberian Administration has collected revenue from the miserable inhabitants, and it is said that more than 25 per cent. a year has failed to reach the Treasury. The Government has borrowed nearly £500,000, and there is to-day nothing to show for the money—not a mile of road or rail, and neither a telegraph nor telephone service; moreover, the interest on the loans has not been paid for some time.

Enter the League

In the 1929 Assembly charges of slavery and forced labour were vigorously denied by the representative of the Liberian Republic, but the known facts were too well established, and the Liberian Government thought it wise to accept the suggestion of an international inquiry composed of three persons appointed respectively by the League, the United States of America and Liberia. This Commission, known as the Christy Commission, reported in 1930. The Christy Commission confirmed the charges made of Slave-owning, Slave-trading, Forced Labour for private profit, Corruption by Officials, and atrocities committed by the "Frontier Force" upon the natives.

The Christy Commission was followed by another under M. Brunot. The report of the Christy Commission has been published; that of M. Brunot has not yet been released, but sufficient is known of its contents to say that in certain respects its disclosures are even more serious than those of the Christy report.

Liberia needs two things—Money and Administrators. But the League cannot hope to obtain a public loan for Liberia unless "services" for the loan are forthcoming. Unfortunately, most of the revenues of the country are already mortgaged up to the hilt. This is not all; the natives are now refusing to pay taxes upon the quite reasonable plea that they are receiving nothing in return. They point out that they have no voice in governing the country, no educational facilities provided, no judicial systems in which they have the slightest confidence, and no medical service. Thus, in its disorganised state, the country is unable to provide even the interest on a loan. It is understood that Mr. Firestone has made the generous intimation to the League that he is prepared to provide in some way a modest measure of financial assistance, subject to the government of the country being put in order and the proposals made by the Commission of inquiry adopted. This means white Administrators.

A Stiff Proposition

The Americo-Liberians do not welcome the idea of white advisers; they regard any such proposal as an invasion of their sovereign rights—all they want is the money!

The League has now submitted to the Liberian Government a suggestion that some twenty-one white men be sent out; seven of these are to be experienced Administrators, the remainder doctors and scientists. The task of this body will be to co-ordinate administrative activities, including the administration of the native areas, evolve an educational system which will give economic stability to the native agriculturists, build up an efficient medical service, and watch over any efforts made to abolish slavery and forced labour.

The Council of the League is hampered by its own obligation of non-interference with the domestic affairs of any other Member State, and thus can only act within the strict boundaries of "advice" to the Liberian oligarchy, and any attempt to put pressure upon the Liberian Government is deeply resented by its spokesmen. It must also be recognised that certain other State Members of the League are by no means backward in supporting the Liberians whenever they invoke the sacred phrase "sovereign rights." The League Council cannot hope to obtain the all-important financial assistance until its "authority" produces practical results—and the fruits of its labours are yet a long way off. Thus the League Council has in the Liberian dilemma one of the most difficult tasks yet submitted to Geneva.

L.N.U. PUBLICATIONS

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316. SERMON BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK AT GENEVA. 1d.
317. THE CHURCHES' CALL.

The League and China Developments at Shanghai and Geneva

SINCE the last issue of HEADWAY went to press the situation in China has been radically altered by the action of Japan at Shanghai. Manchuria seems for the moment almost outside the picture, though, in fact, the Japanese have methodically completed their occupation and, in particular, have occupied the important railway junction of Harbin, on the Chinese Eastern Railway. This might have involved, and may still involve, complications with Soviet Russia, but so far the train service has not been interfered with, and no special strain between Tokyo and Moscow is reported. Signs are increasing of the creation of some independent Manchurian Government, maintained, no doubt, by Japanese favour, and disposed to work harmoniously with the Japanese authorities.

The Shanghai development dates from January 18 so far as actual incidents go, but it is a very definite outcome of the situation in Manchuria. As a result

How the Trouble Began

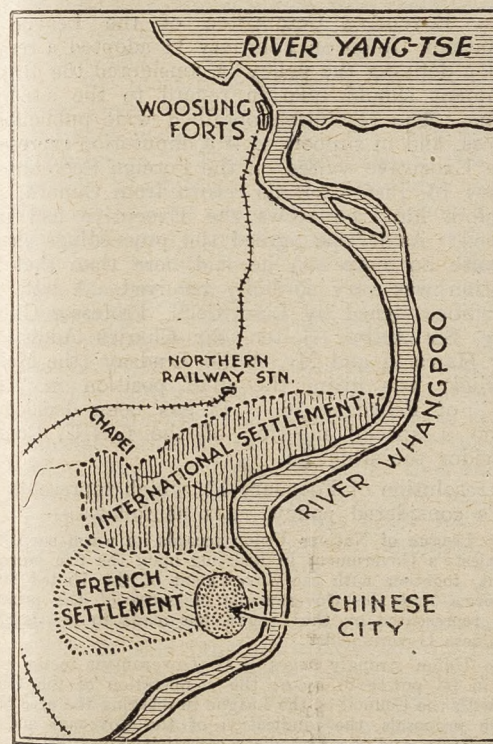
The beginnings of the Shanghai trouble are described in the impartial statement drawn up by a committee of the Consuls of Great Britain, America and other Powers appointed by the League of Nations Council under circumstances described hereafter. On January 18, according to this account, five Japanese were attacked in the suburb of Chapei by Chinese, who probably belonged to one of the anti-Japanese boycott associations lately formed. Chinese police came up, and there was a general fracas. One of the Japanese originally attacked (a Buddhist monk) subsequently died. Two days later fifty Japanese went to the same locality for purposes of reprisals, set fire to a factory and had a fight with the local police. The same day the same party had a clash with International Settlement police.

As a result of these events the Japanese Consul demanded from the (Chinese) Mayor of greater Shanghai a formal apology, the arrest of any guilty persons and the immediate dissolution of all anti-Japanese organisations. This was followed on the 21st by an ultimatum from the Admiral in command of the Japanese ships in the river. On the 24th Japanese naval reinforcements arrived. The Chinese Mayor was meanwhile endeavouring to comply with the Japanese demands, and on January 28 he sent a reply accepting them fully. The same afternoon the Japanese Consul informed his Consular colleagues that the Chinese reply was entirely satisfactory. That evening, however, the Japanese Admiral decided to send troops to Chapei, and called on the Chinese to withdraw their own forces. (Chapei is outside the International Settlement and on purely Chinese territory.) As the Japanese troops advanced they met with resistance, and fighting on a considerable scale developed.

Attacks and Excesses

On the 29th the Japanese bombarded and bombed the railway station. Fighting continued on January 29, when a kind of truce was arranged. For the next few days not much fighting took place, and when it did each side accused the other of having started it. On February 3 the Japanese demanded that the Chinese should withdraw from Chapei, and decided to take possession of the Woosung forts, which stand at the junction of the Whangpoo with the Yang-tse. Since February 3, the Consuls' report states, a state of war has existed, the onus of blame resting entirely on Japan, whose avowed object was to capture Woosung and drive the Chinese to a distance from Shanghai. Many excesses took place, and some of them were admitted with regret by the Japanese Consul.

That is as far as the report from the Committee of Consuls carries the story. During the first fortnight of February the fighting became increasingly intense, and the 19th Chinese Army, composed of Cantonese troops, was remarkably successful in holding up the Japanese advance. As a consequence, Japan brought up a steady stream of reinforcements, and continued to use its part of the International Settlement as base for its attacks on the Chinese, a proceeding which called forth repeated protests not only from the Chinese themselves but from the foreign Consuls in Shanghai. It obviously exposes the Settlement to the danger of legitimate counter-attack by the Chinese. One incident which caused bitter indig-



of that situation an anti-Japanese boycott has been instituted by the Chinese in most parts of China, and particularly in Shanghai. The situation there needs explaining, for it is quite unique. Some few miles up the Whang-poo River, which flows into the Yang-tse-Kiang a short distance above that great river's mouth, lies the city of Shanghai, divided into the International Settlement, the old Chinese city, and a vast mass of suburbs inhabited mainly by Chinese, but with a considerable Japanese element in one region, Chapei. The International Settlement stands on land granted by the Chinese for that purpose. It is governed by its own Municipal Council. Fourteen nations have rights in it, the chief of them being the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan. The French, indeed, have a concession of their own, which adjoins the International Settlement but is technically distinct from it. There is a large Chinese population in the Settlement.

nation was the bombing by Japanese of a Flood Refugee Camp at Chapei, organised under the direction of Sir John Hope Simpson (who was appointed to that post by China on the recommendation of the League of Nations). Fifty of the inmates of the Camp were killed and many more wounded.

The Geneva End

What, it must now be asked, was the League of Nations doing while all this was taking place? Its Council was in session, and had been occupied down to almost the end of January with the situation in Manchuria. The Lytton Commission, appointed as long ago as December 10, left Havre for New York on February 3, and on reaching New York set off immediately for San Francisco en route for Japan, where it was expected to arrive about February 23.

At Geneva the new phase of the Far Eastern operations was marked by a fresh appeal by Dr. Yen, the Chinese delegate (Dr. Yen, who is the Chinese Ambassador at Washington, has replaced Dr. Sze, who conducted the Chinese case in Paris in November and December), who raised the whole issue on January 29 under Article XV of the Covenant, in addition to Article XI, under which the Council has so far been acting. The only real effect of that was to enable the Council in due time to issue a report without the concurrence of the two parties concerned, but Japan for some reason took violent objection to this proposal. Under Article XV the Secretary-General is required to take what steps are necessary to make a full investigation into the dispute. Sir Eric Drummond, therefore, proposed the next day that any Council States who had representatives (either Consuls or Ministers) at Shanghai should be asked to form them into a Committee, which would send the League an impartial report on past events and the existing situation. This was done in spite of the protests of the Japanese delegate, M. Sato. M. Sato took the opportunity of stating that Japan had no territorial designs.

Britain's Strong Words

While the Committee of Consuls was framing its report matters stood still at Geneva, but on February 2 a meeting of the League Council was convened at the instance of the British Government, at which Mr. J. H. Thomas (who this time sat as British representative) declared that the British Government considered it "impossible that the present situation should continue." "Members of the League," he added, "could not remain indifferent to a state of affairs which if it went on would destroy all confidence in the Paris Pact and the Nine-Power Treaty." He then read the text of a request presented at Tokyo and Nanking by the British and American Governments, asking for the withdrawal of Japanese troops and the creation of a neutral zone, the end of all acts of violence and warlike preparations, and negotiations to settle the dispute in the spirit of the Paris Pact and the League Council resolution of December 10. The French, Italian and German delegates all approved these requests, and agreed to support them at Tokyo and Nanking.

China immediately acceded to all points in the request, but Japan made objections to the second and third. There was then another interval pending the receipt of the first section of the report of the Consuls' Committee at Shanghai. That arrived on February 8, and a Council meeting was held the next day. Dr. Yen made an impressive statement, mentioning that though Mr. Thomas a week earlier had described the situation as one that could not be allowed to continue, one which constituted "war in all but name," the situation had, in fact, got steadily worse. There were, he said, 75,000 Japanese troops

in Manchuria (the Japanese delegate disputed this number), and 25,000 round Shanghai. Twenty-seven Japanese warships had left home for Chinese waters, and two Japanese divisions were on their way, one for Shanghai and another for an unknown destination. M. Sato, the Japanese delegate, observed, amid laughter which the President immediately suppressed, that Japan had no intention of continuing hostilities. Sir John Simon dwelt on the gravity of the situation and expressed the hope that negotiations then in progress might result in something. The Council once more adjourned, leaving Dr. Yen to decide whether he would take the responsibility of referring the whole question to the Assembly. He had to do this by February 12, for such a step must be taken within fourteen days of the date on which Article XV is first invoked, and at the eleventh hour he did, in fact, make the necessary application, intimating that he would prefer that the Council should itself summon the Assembly, but that if it preferred not to he would press his application, which it is not open to the Council to refuse.

The L.N.U.'s Action

THE Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union on February 11 adopted a resolution defining the policy it considered the British Government should take in regard to the situation in China. The resolution obtained wide publicity in the Press, and in support of it a deputation representing the Executive waited on the Foreign Secretary on February 16, just after his return from Geneva, and laid before him the views the Executive had thus expressed. As it was agreed the proceedings should be private no more can be said here than that the deputation was very cordially received. A letter on similar lines signed by Lord Cecil, Professor Gilbert Murray, Sir Arthur Salter, Sir Charles Addis, Sir Arthur Haworth and Mr. A. D. Lindsay (the Master of Balliol) was given the chief position in "The Times" of February 18. It has been decided to summon a special meeting of the L.N.U. Council to consider the situation.

The resolution of February 11, which represents the Union's considered policy, runs as follows:—

"The League of Nations Union records its warm support of His Majesty's Government in insisting upon the five proposals which it, together with the Government of the United States of America and the Governments of some of the principal Powers represented on the League, has made to the Japanese and Chinese Governments.

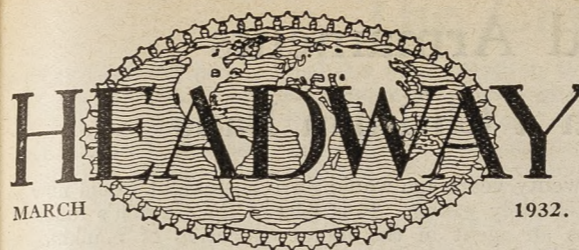
"The Union strongly urges H.M. Government to use every means in its power to secure the co-operation of the United States with the Council of the League in insuring the acceptance of these proposals, the vindication of the Covenant and the Pact of Paris, and the immediate cessation of hostilities.

"The Union urges that, if either party to the present dispute continues to reject these proposals, H.M. Government should take steps to convene a special meeting of the Assembly, and, in concert with the Government of the United States and Members of the League, should apply (on the lines of Article XVI of the Covenant), whatever pressure of a diplomatic and economic character might be necessary to re-establish peace."

"In the meantime, the Union trusts that States Members of the League will send a Note to the Chinese and Japanese Governments referring to the last paragraph of Mr. Stimson's Note of January 7 and declaring that they will in no circumstances recognise any situation or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the Covenant and other treaty obligations to which they, as well as both Japan and China, are parties."

* NOTE.—Such measures might include:

1. An embargo on the export of arms.
2. The exclusion from the world's ports of the goods of whichever party continues to reject the five proposals.
3. The refusal of financial facilities.
4. The withdrawal of diplomatic representatives.



Tandem or Pair?

IN the memorandum it presented to the Disarmament Conference the French Government reiterated the traditional French thesis that disarmament must depend on security, or that at least, as the New Zealand delegate put it later, the two must be driven side by side, not tandem. Regarding that the memorandum uses challenging language. "There must," it says, "be a change of method. In future we must seek in common action that security which each nation has hitherto endeavoured to obtain from its own force alone. This is the very spirit of the Covenant. We must give vitality to its stipulations, which, ever since we began to discuss their application, have been constantly interpreted along the line of least resistance." Broadly speaking, this is true. The Covenant is something of a compromise between two ideas, the idea of common united action against a violator of the peace just because he is a violator of the peace, not because he happens to be attacking some particular country, and the idea that even in such a case each individual State must be left free to decide whether, in fact, it will or will not join in the common action. As it has been put more than once in these columns, the Covenant constitutes a pledge with a loophole, and it is possible to lay the main emphasis either on the pledge part or the loophole part. France is entitled to claim that she has always laid emphasis on the pledge. She would be doing no grave injustice to some other nations if she suggested that they tended to emphasise the loophole.

But it did not need any memorandum by France to illuminate the connection between disarmament and security at this juncture. Everyone in Geneva last month, and pretty nearly everyone out of it, realised all too acutely how futile it would be to try to carry the disarmament discussions through if the inability of the League of Nations to secure protection for a member of the League, attacked as China has been, were to be finally demonstrated to the world. Many details of the Sino-Japanese conflict are still matter for investigation, and the League has made provision for investigating them. That Japan has received considerable provocation no serious student of the situation will deny. But that Japan has of deliberate premeditation resorted to the use of armed force as an instrument of national policy is equally undeniable by anyone with the smallest claim to sanity. She has resorted to armed force, and she has developed and increased the use of armed force in the face of repeated offers by China to submit the matters in dispute to arbitration, and, what is more important, in the face of repeated appeals by the League Council and by the Governments of individual nations, particularly Great Britain and the United States. The security provisions of the Covenant are

undergoing their fiercest test. It may be that by the time these words appear they will either have been vindicated or else have proved their impotence in the present quarrel. At the present moment the issue is still open. The failure of the League in regard to Shanghai would not, of course, be its deathblow. If its writ does not run at the other end of Asia that is no proof that its writ does not run in Europe. But even in Europe its power would be gravely shaken, and the success of the Disarmament Conference would be hopelessly compromised. The doctrine that the collective authority, and, if need be, the collective force, of the world has now been put behind a reign of order and law was proclaimed thirteen years ago, and there were those who dared to hope that a new chapter in human history was being opened. It might have been opened. If it has not been the fault lies, not, as is so commonly suggested, with the League, which for this purpose is no more than a piece of mechanism, but with the States members of the League which have declined to set the mechanism in movement. If the League Council has failed in the past four months, it is because the principal members of it, Great Britain and France, Germany and Italy, have not initiated or supported measures which would have made it succeed. Those measures may yet be taken at the eleventh hour, but it is fair to recognise that in this particular dispute, with its almost unique complications and difficulties, the active collaboration of the United States of America with the League of Nations is virtually indispensable. There have been moments when the American Government was prepared to go further than the British, and failed to get in Whitehall the support it might reasonably expect. The situation at the present moment is not entirely clear, and it may have to be confessed that reluctance on the part of Washington has prevented the League Council from doing what it would desire to do. The Council could not even then be justified unless it proclaimed in unequivocal language that, though prevented by circumstances from taking the active steps it would desire, it refused absolutely to acknowledge the legitimacy of Japan's actions or her right to retain any acquisitions she might thereby secure.

The Far Eastern issue, reduced to its simplest terms, means this for the League of Nations, that if a member of the League cannot count on the protection plainly and definitely promised in such parts of the Covenant as Articles X and XVI, then it will not, and cannot be reasonably expected to, abandon the armaments on which it has depended for protection hitherto. The details of the French plan with its proposals for an international police force, an international punitive force and the rest call for prolonged discussion, and will, no doubt, get it. But fundamentally France is right. The new order the League was meant to introduce and to fortify means a general agreement to live in peace, combined with a general agreement to restrain a nation that declines to live in peace. If that agreement is not honoured, the whole structure crashes to the ground. That essential truth has never been more decisively or more disturbingly emphasised than by the developments now in progress at Shanghai. This country is more alarmed about them than about what happened in Manchuria because its own interests are more directly affected. It has yet to appreciate the fact that war anywhere is something we cannot in our own interests allow to happen. If the Japanese had been stopped in Manchuria they would never have gone to Shanghai at all.

The Church and Armaments

A Society of States on a Christian Basis

THE Archbishop of York delivered in the Cathedral of St. Peter, at Geneva, on the Sunday before the opening of the Disarmament Conference, one of the most impressive sermons on the League of Nations ever heard from any pulpit. Dr. Temple



The Archbishop of York.

revealed himself, for by no means the first time, as a remarkable combination of the Christian Minister and the constructive statesman, and his sermon was at once an exposition, an exhortation and a challenge. If space permitted it would be printed here in full. As it is, its general tenor must be gathered from the selected passages which follow. The Archbishop's text was: "We are members one of another."

"The formation of the League of Nations and establishment of its permanent and constantly active organisations marks an altogether new phase in the history of civilisation."

"The establishment of the League of Nations and of the Permanent Court of International Justice, or the signature of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, ought not to be regarded as tentative adventures in the satisfaction of idealistic aspirations, but rather as a belated adjustment of the world's political machinery to the realities of the political situation."

"Not least of the spiritual evils of war is its tendency to set the citizens of all the belligerent nations pharisaically exclaiming: 'We are righteous; but our enemies are wicked.' The sincerity of such protestations only makes them worse, for it shows how deeply the poison has penetrated."

"Eminent Christian divines, even in the latter part of the nineteenth century, were content to describe war as the 'litigation of nations'—a litigation in which each party was at once prosecutor and defendant, and each aspired to be both jury, judge and executioner!"

"I am one of those who believed, and still believe, that in 1914 it was my country's duty to take up arms; but I was then convinced, and am now still more convinced, that it is a yet more urgent duty to prevent the recurrence of a situation in which such a course could be obligatory or even permissible."

"The duty of an individual towards another who assaults him or his family is quite different in a barbarous region where there are no law-courts and no police from the duty of the citizen in a civilised community towards a criminal fellow-citizen. The establishment of the League of Nations and of the Permanent Court of International Justice has altered the duty of nations, and a course of action which

twenty years ago would have been right would now be definitely wrong. It is part of the Church's function, as an agent in the moral education of mankind, to insist upon this truth until it is accepted for the truism that it is."

"Armaments are the chief expression of the life of nations as conducted in mutual suspicion and antagonism."

"The essence of the civilised State is to be the fountain and sustainer of Law; it is endowed with force in order to uphold Law, and to secure that force is used always and only in conformity with Law. Therefore when the State in independence of Law pursues its ends by force, it is false to its own nature; when it binds itself, as in the Pact of Paris, to renounce war as an instrument of national policy, and to seek the settlement of all disputes by pacific means, it is fulfilling its own nature."

"If we now assert in practice the principle that the armaments of the nations are to be controlled by international agreement, then indeed we are passing from the stage of development at which nations regard each other primarily as potential enemies to the stage where they regard each other primarily as partners in the common enterprise of civilisation."

"That the nations should agree to allow their means of injuring each other to be subject to mutual agreement is the first stage in the abolition of all armaments except for international police work."

"Fear must be banished by the guarantee of security, and it is reasonable to suppose that such mutual guarantee, in whatever form is found in fact to be effective, must accompany any serious agreement to reduce the armaments which fear produces for its own appeasement. Christianity unites with practical wisdom in the insistence that this must especially be borne in mind by nations which are, or believe themselves to be, comparatively secure already. Those who possess security must see that others obtain it."

"If the Christian conscience calls for revision of existing Treaties, it must first of all demand that no Treaty shall be revised except by the authority recognised in international law as competent to revise it. When once agreement has been made, it must be regarded as binding, unless it be altered under the same sanctions that have established and maintained it."

"One clause there is in the existing treaties which offends in principle the Christian conscience and for the deletion of which by proper authority the voice of Christendom must be raised. This is the clause which affixes to one group of belligerents in the great war the whole moral guilt for its occurrence."

"If the spirit that guides us is to be the spirit of the Gospel, the war-guilt clause must go—struck out by those who framed it."

The Church's Call

TEN thousand people filled the Albert Hall on the day the Disarmament Conference opened, when the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and other speakers addressed an audience such as the Albert Hall had never seen before—men and women, old and young, representatives of every Christian denomination in England, differing in many ways but united in their belief that it was contrary to the spirit of their religion that nations "should develop against each other the instruments of death."

Dr. Temple, just back from his Cathedral sermon at Geneva, referring to the situation in the Far East, pointed out that Shanghai afforded a most cogent object lesson of the need for bringing the Disarmament Conference to a successful conclusion. Disarmament meant keeping aggressive military forces within bounds, and recent events in Shanghai showed aggressive military power at its worst. He disclaimed any knowledge to say whether it would be right for Great Britain to disarm further at this time, "But those who think that we have already disarmed to the limit of safety for the Empire must not imagine that, in that case, there is nothing left for us to do. We must be ready to pledge our resources, whatever they are, for the security of our neighbours."

The same note was struck by the other speakers. The Rev. W. Charter Piggott, Chairman of the Congregational Union, deplored the ease with which enmity between the nations could be fostered, partly because we were so ignorant of one another; and the Rev. Leslie Weatherhead, of the Brunswick Wesleyan Chapel, Leeds, speaking especially to the large number

of young people present, also stressed the interdependence of nations. In a rapidly shrinking world, he said, we needed a deeper ethic of international life.

The speech of Father Bede Jarrett, the Dominican Provincial, will live long in the memory of many of his hearers. An ascetic-looking figure in his white robe, he immediately gripped the audience. He began by recalling the letter that Pope Benedict addressed to the belligerent Powers on August 1, 1917, in which he called for "a simultaneous and reciprocal diminution of armaments." But armaments are a symptom and not the disease. The disease is selfishness, unrestrained desire to possess. "It is to be found not merely in nations, but in persons, not only at Geneva or Shanghai, but in each of us." "There would be no need to-day to have this meeting if we ministers of Christ had properly done our work."

No account of the meeting can convey any idea of the remarkable spirit which animated the audience. They were more than enthusiastic; they were deeply moved. The silent prayer with which the meeting began and ended was profoundly impressive. Everyone present must have felt the force of the Archbishop of Canterbury's words: "Nothing can save civilisation but a new obedience to the laws of Christ's Kingdom. Let the whole of Christendom unite through these months in constant prayer, in order that the Divine Spirit may move the hearts of the assembled statesmen, so that they will not part until they bring the world a step nearer the day when the nations will cease to forge against each other instruments of death and destruction, and will walk together as one body in the ways of justice, reason and peace."

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In Occupied Manchuria

By PETER FLEMING

ON September 27, 1931, I got out of the Trans-Siberian Express at Manchuli, which is on the Chinese frontier N.W. of Tsitsihar. I wanted a bath and some news. I had had neither since leaving Moscow. I got no bath, and bad news. England had gone off the gold standard. The Japanese had occupied Mukden. There was fighting further down the line.

Our train was held up for a day at Manchuli (but that was its own fault, for being late). I walked savagely round the outskirts of the mongrel little town, bounding over a number of inconsequent fissures in the ground, which clearly represented measures of either sanitation or defence, and, no less clearly, were inadequate as either. A keen wind blew. A Chinese soldier, aged, at a guess, fourteen, showed off the paces of his shaggy, pig-eyed pony to two of his relatives in the lee of a rubbish heap. Several of his comrades in arms sheltered behind walls and blew bugles, a thing Chinese soldiers are very fond of doing. Bleak dun-coloured plains rolled away to unbelievably distant horizons. Manchuria looked to me hardly worth fighting over.

Japan in Possession

By the afternoon of the next day I had begun to realise why my opinion was not shared locally. We had pulled out of Manchuli between the fixed bayonets of shivering, abstracted little guards (smartly officered, for once) into a country which grew steadily more fertile. Soon the train was running between rain-swept fields almost as densely cultivated, almost as meticulously subdivided, as the teeming lands of Kiangsu and Anwhei. The most prominent, and I think probably the staple crops was kiao-lang, one of the most versatile of cereals, for it provides food for man and beast, fuel, building material, wine, and (at its full height of ten feet) shelter for the criminal classes. At dusk we reached Chanchun—the only place where the Japanese *coup* cost them at all heavily in casualties. The station was full of Japanese troops, most of them asleep on benches. They were noticeably smarter and more efficient than their opponents, and they looked—may one say paradoxically?—much more innocent.

We got into Mukden late that night. In the clear sunlight of the following morning the town wore an air of almost exaggerated calm. There were, it is true, sentries and sandbags and barbed wire; thieves and philosophers thronging the streets inside the walls of the Chinese city made way without demur for the jingling equipage of a Japanese battery; in the South Manchuria Railway's admirable hotel American war-correspondents argued amicably over the spelling of *casus belli*. But on the whole the life of Mukden, where history has been so violently made ten days ago, presented a surprisingly unbroken facade of normality. Only in the railway station, behind the bemused fatalism of the crowds of refugees, you caught a hint of panic.

Risks of the Rail

Trains on the Peiping-Mukden Railway were at that time liable to derailment by those bandits who have played so conspicuous and so dastardly a part in the Japanese version of subsequent events. Also there was a tendency on the part of the Japanese air force to traverse with their machine guns the crowded and slowly-moving roofs of the carriages. I had to continue my journey to Shanghai by sea. I got a

boat at Dairen, a Japanese boat. On the way down the coast we called at Tsingtao, a town to which Teutonic architecture has given an anomalous air of prim solidity. As we left the harbour we overhauled a sleepy little freighter flying the Chinese flag. A coolie came out of the fo'c'sle, ran aft along the deck, and hauled down the flag; we passed without the usual exchange of courtesies. It was my first glimpse of the state of Chinese feeling.

Hate Under Control

But not my last. My subsequent travels in China pursued an erratic course with Peiping as its Northern and Canton as its Southern limits. While they lasted I came to accept anti-Japanese posters as one accepts dead leaves in autumn. From the Nanking Road (which is the Piccadilly of Shanghai) to the stinking, crooked streets of tiny villages in Kwantung, they confronted you everywhere. Save that in the South a savage humour had sometimes inspired the crude drawings which accompanied them, their message and their spirit appeared everywhere to be the same. One got the impression that the Chinese were ready haters, and that their hatred was being very well organised. It was also being very well controlled. Japanese nationals in China lived in fear; but they lived. Japanese trade was strangled undemonstratively.

But a nation does not wear its heart upon its boardings. I met few Chinese—even in Peiping, where anti-Japanese feeling, because it was more deeply tinged with fear, ran highest—whose own attitude remotely reproduced the inflammatory tone of their patriotic propaganda. Their courtesy and their sense of proportion saved them from blind fury or blind panic. It was curious how, almost always, when they discussed the situation with a foreigner, they went direct to the implications behind it. They were oppressed by something greater than the wrongs of the moment. They were conscious of a wider tragedy, and without very much hope they looked to the West to avert it.

Readers' Comments

A NUMBER of letters have been received from readers of HEADWAY on the action of the League Council in regard to Manchuria. As the critical point is now not Manchuria but Shanghai, and in view of the space the letters would occupy, it is impossible to print them in full, but some of the points of chief interest are appended.

Doubts and Hesitations

"The events which have been and still are taking place in Manchuria have resulted in many people reconsidering their attitude towards the League of Nations, and I find from personal experience that many who have in the past been supporters of the League are assailed by doubts as to whether the League has done all that it might have done to prevent acts of violence in Manchuria, and there are some who believe that the League Council has failed to function properly. If this attitude continues to be adopted by the general public, as it very largely is at the present time, many L.N.U. members will not renew their subscriptions and it will be extremely difficult to obtain new members.

"This situation in Union affairs is, to my mind, the result of the length of time which has elapsed

before the League Council, China and Japan could reach agreement; the fact that the discussions have resulted in no apparent withdrawal of Japan from her original position; the delay in the appointment and despatch of the Commission of Enquiry; the further penetration of Japan into Manchuria; the seizure of Chinchow and other towns on the borders of China proper; and the failure of the League to take any decisive action which would have prevented the continuance of this state of affairs." ALEX. CLEGG.
8, Grimshaw Street, Burnley.

Manchuria and Nanking

"In Manchuria there are certain aspects of the case which make a first step towards solution very hard to find. To mention one only—what is the ultimate authority for Chinese action, civil or military, in Manchuria? During the twenty-one years I have been in China that Province has declared its independence several times, first during the revolution of 1910—a step alleged to have been taken in order to secure the Three Eastern Provinces for the Emperor, being, as they were, the original home of the Dynasty. The last declaration of "independence" was, I think, in September last year. Even when Manchuria was professedly "an integral part of China" were her troops—the best equipped in all the Republic—ever under the control of the National Government in Nanking?"
A CHINESE MISSIONARY.

Establish Neutral Zones

"How deal with the War Peril when one of the parties concerned is, like China, full of anarchy? I think myself that members of the League should have stepped in here and there and have maintained neutral zones before ever Japan had the chance of coming into conflict. Neither Japan itself, nor yet China, would have dared think about dislodging the Armed World if it were there in its representatives to hold the peace. Even as things are, I think that the League Nations, with America, might seize upon one or other strategic point and then forbid warlike operations in the neighbourhood. But to try and enforce League sanctions against Japan unless you can persuade or coerce the Chinese to set up a responsible Government with which Japan could come to a stable agreement seems a futile task."

RICHARD DE BARY.

Horton Vicarage,
Wimborne, Dorset.

The Security Aspect

"France has often been regarded as something of a stumbling block to disarmament. But France would be quite willing to disarm if she could have security. But when the League Council neglected to resist Japan when Japan attacked China in violation of the Covenant, the Kellogg Pact and the Washington Treaty, can we wonder if nations are chary of relying on international guarantees and prefer to trust to their own arms?"
GLADYS E. LEE.

31, Rydal Road,
Streatham, S.W.16.

Broken Pledges

"Japan, however just her cause may be, acted contrary to her engagements in the very beginning by resorting to arms, before laying her complaint before the League. Whatever her reasons for ignoring the provisions in Articles XI and XV, she has surely broken her pledges and constituted herself aggressor in this quarrel. I should have thought there could be no question about this, however sadly complicated and involved the causes of the dispute are."

E. J. LINDLEY.

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The Macedonian Turmoil

Where War is Always Ready to Break Out

By J. WALTER COLLINS

FOR some years past the Balkans have been unusually quiet, but that is not to say that the Peninsula, which has so often been the cause of European wars, is really pacified. There is still at least one outstanding problem which will have, sooner or later, to be solved. This is the so-called Macedonian question. The writer has been in the Near East continuously since 1919, knows many of the Macedonians, and has had exceptional opportunities of studying the question.

There is, of course, no Macedonia proper; the term applies to a large piece of territory north and north-west of Salonika, with Uskub as the approximate centre. Before 1912 practically all this territory belonged to the Ottoman Empire; to-day the major part belongs to Yugoslavia and Greece, with a thousand or so square miles in Bulgaria. This partition was made under the terms of the Treaty of Neuilly, and it has aroused bitter racial feelings which have often led to bloodshed.

The Turkish Yoke and After

When Macedonia belonged to Turkey, many injustices and cruelties were committed, so much so that the Macedonians several times revolted against the Sultan. But the Turkish yoke had at least one advantage in that the Balkan States had less to intrigue about between themselves than they have at present. The Neuilly Treaty placed several hundred thousand Macedonians of Bulgarian extraction under Yugoslav and Greek rule. Many of these Macedonians were old soldiers, while nearly all came of a hardy and warlike stock. This resulted in friction between Bulgaria and Greece, and between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

The Greeks, although they did not always respect the right of Macedonians of Bulgarian extraction to worship in their own churches and be educated in their own schools, did grant a certain measure of liberty to their Minorities. The same cannot be said of Yugoslavia. To begin with, the Yugoslavs refused to recognise the name of Macedonia; they referred to it as Southern Serbia, and their civil and military authorities adopted very harsh measures towards the Macedonians. Churches and schools were shut, heavy taxation was imposed, and many acts of terrorism were carried out. A great number of the Macedonians took refuge in Bulgaria, while those that remained either grouped themselves under the banner of the S.M.R.O. (the Supreme Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation) or sided openly with the Yugoslavs. Such a situation was fraught with great danger, and for many years hostilities between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria were threatened.

A War of Assassination

The S.M.R.O. was founded about forty years ago, and after the signature of the Treaty of Neuilly it established its headquarters in Bulgarian Macedonia. It was nominally controlled by a committee of three, but a certain Todor Alexandroff was its real leader. Under Alexandroff the S.M.R.O. waged a relentless campaign of guerilla warfare against the Yugoslavs, while its agents carried on propaganda in Western Europe. Those who incurred its enmity usually paid the penalty with their lives, and the Organisation has

had its political adversaries assassinated in Milan, Vienna, Prague and other cities.

The Yugoslavs retaliated by enlisting the support of the Federalist Macedonians (people who are ready to accept a sort of Federal State in Yugoslavia). In addition, after the death of Stamboulisky, the Bulgarian Peasant Premier, many of his supporters, who had fled into Yugoslavia, combated the S.M.R.O.

So the struggle went on, but the S.M.R.O., which demanded the autonomy of Macedonia, suffered a heavy loss by the murder of Alexandroff. Some say that he was killed by Soviet agents, as the Moscow Government had taken a hand in the game, their object being to establish a Bolshevik Republic in Bulgaria, and Alexandroff was strongly anti-Communist. After Alexandroff's death, the Organisation lost much of its power and prestige, as his successors were always quarrelling and killing each other. At the same time a large section of Bulgarian public opinion, which had hitherto sympathised with the aspirations of the S.M.R.O., grew tired of their violent methods and brought pressure to bear on the Sofia Government to break up the Organisation.

The League as Fire Brigade

Meanwhile, in Belgrade there were also signs of a more favourable feeling towards Bulgaria. The recent and startling rapprochement between Turkey and Greece has made both Yugoslavs and Bulgarians wonder whether they cannot also settle their differences in a peaceable manner. An idea which has often been discussed is that Yugoslavia and Bulgaria might be merged into one, and thus become the strongest power in the Near East. There are many obstacles in the way of such a plan, not the least of which is the dynastic question, and it is unlikely to be realised for a very long time.

The Macedonians have laid their grievances before the League of Nations on several occasions, but it is not easy for Geneva to take action until Belgrade and Sofia have reached some understanding. The writer is of the opinion that although a settlement can be reached if all parties—that is to say, the Yugoslavs, Bulgarians and Macedonians—make concessions, it is unlikely that the time is yet ripe. The most that can be hoped for at present, therefore, is that every time trouble starts brewing in Macedonia, the Great European Powers, Germany included, should take common action in Belgrade and Sofia, pointing out that at all costs any conflagration in the Near East must be avoided. When Bulgaria and Greece nearly went to war in the winter of 1925, the prompt action taken by the Council of the League of Nations averted a disaster, and the Council, or the Great Powers, may again have to intervene in Balkan affairs.

Ourselves and the Community. E. E. Reynolds.
(Cambridge University Press. 5s.)

A very useful and opportune handbook on the duties of good citizenship, one duty consisting of a knowledge of the rules under which the community lives, educational rules, health rules, road rules, police rules and so forth. The section of the League of Nations is fairly adequate, but with two or three inaccuracies which need correcting.

What is the League?

THE question is prompted by the treatment of the Chinese conflict in the British Press. There are various organs whose attitude towards the League is such that no serious comprehension of it is to be looked for from them. Their comments may be disregarded. But what is to be said of this, in a leading article in a paper no less authoritative than "The Times."

The events of the last few days have proved the urgent need of more rapid international action than could be set in motion by the League of Nations, and it is a good omen that the British response to the American appeal for co-operation has been followed by a cordial assurance from Paris that French diplomacy will assist the English-speaking Powers in the urgent task of restoring peace and protecting international interests. . . . The larger question of the general relations between China and Japan must ultimately be a matter for the League of Nations, to which they both belong; but there is no reason why, if international interests at Shanghai can be relieved from their present danger, the Governments most interested in Far Eastern peace should not add their joint efforts to those of the League.

The final observation in this passage has been italicised here for sufficient reasons. Is Great Britain a member of the League of Nations or not? The League machinery, it is alleged, is too slow for an emergency such as the Chinese crisis. Consequently Britain and America, and with them France, must undertake the task of restoring peace and protecting international interests. The position of the United States is familiar to everyone. But do Britain and France take off their League labels the moment they move at Shanghai or Tokyo? Are they one thing there and another at Geneva?

Inside or Out?

That, perhaps, is a small point. But it is not such a small point when a responsible writer in the British Press suggests that in the ultimate settlement the general relations between China and Japan "the Governments most interested in Far Eastern peace" might very well "add their joint efforts to those of the League." There can be no sort of question as to whether the British is or is not among the Governments most interested in Far Eastern peace. It is.

So we are presented with the picture of the League trying to solve the Sino-Japanese problem and Great Britain approaching from some indeterminate region outside to second its efforts. To bring it down to something a little more definite, when Sir John Simon is sitting on the Council and attempting a settlement, some other embodiment of British diplomacy, perhaps the Prime Minister, will be good enough, as an outsider, to add his efforts to those of the League.

This point is worth labouring—it demands to be laboured—for the confusion of thought conspicuous in the article quoted is incredibly prevalent. What, once more, is the League of Nations? There is only one answer to that. It consists of Great Britain and fifty-four other States, or, if anyone prefers it that way, France and fifty-four other States, or Germany, or Italy, or China, or Canada, and fifty-four other States. Apart from them it can neither act nor speak nor pass resolutions. A country cannot be both inside the League and outside it. And, it may be added, a self-respecting country cannot sign an international treaty and ignore it. Nothing is more essential in these days of tension than to drive home to everyone and on every occasion the fact that the Covenant is a treaty, not a statement of ideals.

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Critics of the League Where the Real Fault Lies

By MAJOR ANTHONY BUXTON

IN the light of what has occurred in the Far East no one will blame Mrs. Zimmern for adopting a highly critical tone in her book, "Must the League Fail?"* but in her laudable desire to make people ask at once the question "What is wrong?" she seems to me to have missed the main point, in an attack on her special bugbears, Big Powers, Foreign Offices, Diplomats, and the directing members of the Secretariat. She does not concentrate on the vital element—the Governments, on which must ultimately depend all League action, all League failures and all League successes.

A Word on Foreign Ministers

She believes that Foreign Offices and diplomats, together with the connivance of leading members of the Secretariat, have made a deliberate and successful attempt to collar the League machinery for their own purposes. Those who remember the futility and fluffiness of the League Council in the first three years of its existence, when there was lack of connection and even antagonism between the Foreign Office and the League representative, will not regret the change that occurred when Foreign Ministers and Foreign Offices began to take the League seriously as an organ through which much of their work could be done. It was a natural and essential evolution, not a deliberate plot. The League has often worked badly with them, but it simply did not work at all without them.

Mrs. Zimmern hits the nail, however, bang on the head when she says that of the qualities needed for good work on the League, "the chief is moral courage." To anyone who knows Geneva, Mrs. Zimmern's scorn for "vague general statement and other flowers from the dialect of propaganda" is thoroughly justified. The more criticism, and the more ragging, of delegates and members of the Secretariat on that point the better.

In Defence of the Secretariat

It does not seem to me that Mrs. Zimmern really knows the Secretariat. Perhaps I know it too well to be an impartial witness, but she is hardly fair on those members who hold the most responsible posts. There are glaring exceptions—people who cannot get it into their heads that they are there to serve the League, and not the Governments of the countries from which they come—but the majority of them have one main idea, to get a job of League work well done. That is the object of the visits of the Secretary-General and his subordinates to the various Governments before a Council meeting; they go to put the international side of a question, and to see what is the best solution that has a chance of acceptance. Mrs. Zimmern's remark about that bulwark of rectitude and impartiality, M. Sugimura, the head of the Political Section, is an unfortunate blunder. There has never been a more honest and trusted international servant. The idea that members of the Secretariat are always speculating on what a Government thinks of them is really nonsense; if they have time to speculate at all, it is on how they can extract a decent solution out of the Council or the Committee they serve; moreover, administration is an essential part of their work.

A startling proposal is made that the technical work of the League should be controlled by the Supervisory

Committee instead of by the Council. Does Mrs. Zimmern really think that the Financial Committee schemes for the financial reconstruction of Austria, or the establishment of the Greek refugees, could ever have been carried out without the backing of the Governments through the Council? No such body as the Supervisory Committee, excellent as they have been at their job, could ever possess sufficient authority. They, like the Financial Committee, can advise, but they cannot act.

Mrs. Zimmern wishes to eliminate, not only the Foreign Offices, but Foreign Ministers from the League machine, and to put Prime Ministers in the place of the latter. That strikes me as an unnatural, and in any case an unworkable, plan. Prime Ministers can hardly leave their countries for some six weeks of the year. What is really needed is better Governments, acting up to their signature of the Covenant and sending better representatives, for, as Mrs. Zimmern has realised, the individual is almost everything, and a really big man can generally carry his Government on his back. Alas, Geneva has been the temporary home of many "rabbits," not all diplomats, not all Foreign Ministers, not all representatives of Big Powers, for their lesser brethren have been equally prolific and sadly lacking in moral courage.

The Target to Aim At

Mrs. Zimmern believes in the League, and she believes in criticising it. So do I. Criticism in the Press, criticism by individuals, and the more of it the better, but let it be directed in the main at the fountain-head—the Governments. When they get going in the right direction, as they do occasionally, the rest of the League machinery will work.

There are a good many people who will be the better for reading this book, not least those who imagine that the League is a collection of benevolent old gentlemen, with their eyes turned to Heaven, sweating international co-operation from every pore.

Books Worth Reading

ARMS AND THE FACTS

Disarmament and Security. By J. W. Wheeler-Bennett. (Allen & Unwin, 12s. 6d.)

Disarmament is likely to be under discussion at Geneva for several months yet, and no one who wants to follow what is happening there intelligently can do that quite adequately without Mr. Wheeler-Bennett's help. His book contains little original matter, but it presents in admirably lucid and compact form all the facts that matter about anything that has happened anywhere in connection with disarmament or security from 1925 till last year. Indeed, though the starting point is theoretically Locarno, there are frequent references to events before that, such, for example, as the Washington Naval Conference. A closing chapter puts forcibly the choice that faces Europe to-day between disarmament and moral bankruptcy. Mr. Wheeler-Bennett has for many years rendered invaluable service to society by thus putting in society's hands the facts it ought to have. If his book costs rather more than every casual student of disarmament can afford, at any rate, every study group on the subject ought to have a copy available for consultation.

THE SPIRITUAL SIDE

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

DEAR SIR,—We are being exhorted to do all we can to help forward the work of the League of Nations' Union. Christian people, however, ought to require very little exhortation along this line, as they should recognise in the efforts of the League of Nations the beginnings of the practical fruits of nineteen centuries of Christian teaching. But it is difficult sometimes to realise exactly where we stand in the matter.

When we plead for some recognition of God at the local meetings of the League of Nations' Union, we are frequently told that it is a political and not a religious movement. It is, of course, easy to understand that it is "political" in the wider sense of the term as it has to do with the affairs of nations, but it is emphatically not political in the narrower party sense. The claim for its spiritual character can hardly be questioned. Even if some of those who support its aims do not profess to believe in any particular creed, they will at least acknowledge that Peace and Goodwill amongst men of all nations coincide with the highest objectives of religious people and of Christians in particular.

I can't think that anyone could be offended, whatever his religious convictions might be, if a short prayer was said at the beginning of the meeting. Or perhaps it might be more universally acceptable if the chairman were merely to ask those present to stand in silence for a minute or so. I am sure that some such recognition of the Spiritual Force behind the movement would produce a helpful atmosphere at these meetings and result in their being better attended and greater enthusiasm being shown in the cause of Peace and Disarmament.—Yours faithfully,

S. H. WINGFIELD DIGBY.

WALES AND THE WORLD

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Once again on "Goodwill Day"—May 18—for the eleventh year in succession the Message of the youth of Wales is to be broadcast by the principal broadcast stations throughout the world.

The tenth greeting—the Nansen Message of 1931—brought a record number of replies from no less than sixty-three countries. It is expected that the eleventh annual greeting will reach still larger numbers.

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"Now the air carries music from many lands and voices in every language, and through our radio services nations may be closer friends.

"Let us then, boys and girls, in thought, word and deed, strive with all our might that the messages sent from our own countries shall always be messages of friendliness and of goodwill."

Copies of a 16-page illustrated pamphlet on the Message of 1932 may be obtained on application to the Welsh National Council of the League of Nations Union, 10, Museum Place, Cardiff, Great Britain.—I am, etc.,

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* "Must the League Fail," by L. A. Zimmern. Hopkinson, 2/6.

THE FRENCH POINT OF VIEW

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—With many points of French policy I have strongly disagreed, but in relation to security, the position the French take, I feel, has inescapable logic on its side. If nations are to disarm, they must have a guarantee that they can rely on some force other than their national armies and navies to uphold their rights as recognised by international law and the League. The French solution is that each nation should contribute to the support of an armed force under the supreme authority of the League, powerful enough to subdue any possible aggressor. Aggression would be defined as refusal to accept settlement by arbitration or conciliation. That was the principle of the Geneva Protocol of 1924, which the British Government of 1925 rejected.

Disarmament by itself does not solve the problem of peace. One recalcitrant nation refusing to disarm could perpetuate the rule of aggression and injustice though all the rest were bent on peace. The alternative to placing force in the hands of the League is not no force. It is the status quo—that is, a system under which each nation maintains its own monstrous armaments in order to wage war on its own private account.

The fear is expressed by sincere peace supporters that to accept the French solution is to stereotype unjust treaties which need revision. It is not revision, however, which would be ruled out, but only revision by force. Surely treaty alterations are likely to be more permanent and satisfactory when conducted in an atmosphere where confidence in peace and security is established. The French proposals, so far from representing barriers to solving the problems of revision and minorities, in reality offer a momentous opportunity to further their satisfactory settlement. Let Britain make acceptance of security obligations conditional on the establishment of international laws laying down minority rights and providing for their enforcement and for the revision of unsatisfactory treaties. The right course is not to reject the French thesis, but to develop and link it with positive provisions for removing grievances likely to endanger peace. There is risk, it is true. But which is the greater risk—to create an armed police, or to let every man go on carrying his own revolver?—Yours truly,

H. BREWER.

31, Mundon Road, Maldon.

EUROPE AND AGGRESSION

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—As there can be no doubt as to the exact meaning of the Locarno Treaty where the obligations of each nation are clearly defined, it seems an anomaly that though Britain and Italy have promised to come to the help of France and Belgium against Germany, or of Germany against France, in the event of aggression, yet they have no practical guarantee of the same nature. Surely all nations of the Pact should be treated alike, so that there should be nothing that is vague in the Treaty when the time may come for action, and oftentimes prompt action—vagueness leads to war, if it did not tend to lead to the late great war, which suddenly broke on the world like a thunderbolt. Naturally, the League of Nations is more or less in a nebulous state, and must remain so for some time, till they have solved the difficult problem of evolving definite practical executive control of an international force to make good their guarantees. According to Article 15, the armies and fleets have been placed at the disposal of the League, and the principle of the Treaty might be applied to other groups of nations,

which would ensure an overwhelming force against an aggressor and peace imperative in each group. Under these conditions and the arbitration clauses there would be a much greater feeling of security when the further limitation of armaments is being discussed.

A. H. SMITH DORRIEN, Rear-Admiral,
Berkhamsted.

DO YOUR OWN BIT

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I should like strongly to support Admiral Allen's plea for our personal missionary obligations, which has double force from a speaker who has won so many members for the Union. Meetings and committees are machinery for spreading our conviction, not the conviction itself. So long as members look to the machinery of our organisation rather than themselves to carry on the work of the Union we shall not touch the "unconverted," who do not, as a rule, attend our meetings. Most members plead their lack of political knowledge, but a little trouble on their part could supply the deficiency. I was shocked once to hear at a L.N.U. Council that a certain committee was not in the habit of reading HEADWAY! But some well-informed people are also to blame, because they have somehow convinced a number of members that they cannot become missionaries; and this impression is increased by their expressed scorn for arguments and appeals with which they are anxious to be dissociated. I doubt whether they themselves often make converts. We need all the knowledge they can give, but until people become active members they don't realise this necessity.

The person who first aroused my interest in the League was a level-headed business man, who talked quietly to a group of us, and knew little about world politics or history; but his earnestness arrested me. The brief from which he argued consisted of a few basic facts, and he referred to me afterwards as a relentless critic! The incident which has encouraged me most during recent years was the request of a West-End dressmaker in charge of a workroom. She asked me for one or two simple booklets, so that she might the better convince her girls of the value of the League of Nations. After all, it is people like her, up and down the country, who see clearly the function of the League in the present crisis, and are unblinded by the sophistries which impair the vision of others. But, alas! they appear only to form a minority.

DOROTHEA PRICE HUGHES

(Hon. Secretary of Holborn Branch).

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League of Nations Union News

SUPPLEMENT
TO HEADWAY

March, 1932

Disarmament—and the Far East

THE Disarmament Conference has made a better start than seemed possible, though the big guns of Japan were booming at Shanghai, and Chapei was reverberating with the crashes of bursting bombs. But it is perhaps because of the serious aspect of the Far Eastern Crisis that the speeches of the delegates of the principal Powers to the Disarmament Conference contained so many elements of agreement with the resolutions of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies passed at Budapest last summer. Shanghai forms the most cogent object lesson to show the world that the Disarmament Conference is urgently needed. Japanese action both in Manchuria and in Shanghai shows aggressive military power at its worst. Disarmament means keeping aggressive military force within bounds. No one can justify the bombing of crowded populations and refugee camps.

★ ★ ★ ★

The time is critical for the League of Nations and for the maintenance of peace based upon the Covenant, the Pact of Paris and other collective treaties. If, in the first case of a really serious issue between two Great Powers, this system does, in fact, fail, the peace of the world will be imperilled, and all belief in the validity of collective treaties will have been undermined.

There are, of course, special difficulties in the Far Eastern dispute. But there are also special opportunities. The present instance is particularly favourable for American co-operation; a rare opportunity unlikely to recur if we have trouble in Europe. The American people will seldom have such strong reason for joining in collective pressure upon a country which seems to be breaking collective engagements.

As regards our own country, it is sometimes said, as an excuse for our inaction, that no British interest is involved. On the contrary, apart from the general truth that the greatest of British interests is peace, there are special reasons for saying that in this case there are issues vitally important for the British Empire. If Japanese policy cannot be checked or modified by the disapproval of the world, it is clear that other countries with interests in the East must expect to hold them in future at the mercy of the one

dominant Power. The destruction of the collective peace in the East and submission to the military dictatorship of Japan must have disastrous repercussions in India and would cause the gravest anxieties in Australia and Canada. Moreover, if we do not now do all in our power to secure joint action with other countries in honouring our common engagements and employing the system of pooled security—the defence of each by the strength of all—at a time when we may have the co-operation of practically the whole world to restrain Japanese aggression, we must not hope to benefit from this system in a case where British Imperial interests were directly threatened; for example, if Japan demanded a free entry for Japanese colonists into Australia.

The dominant purpose of British policy in regard to the Far East should be to secure world action, including both America and the States Members of the League, in defence of the collective system and the sanctity of treaties. There is certainly no escape from danger by neglect of our honour and duty.

Thus there is a close connection between our interests and our duty. But no British Government will go beyond what it believes that the British public will support. In adopting a strong line of action in the Far East, how much support could it command? The Union has a membership of nearly a million. These are pledged to support any Government in a policy of vindication of the Covenant and of the maintenance of peace based upon collective treaties: the system of pooled security. A million is not enough.

There must be far more informed and educated organised opinion than that. If the League fails to grapple with the situation, it is no use blaming the League, nor the Governments who make up the League. We must blame ourselves for not working harder to see that what we believe right becomes the policy of the country. Everybody can play their part by increasing the Union's membership. Persuade your friends, and your friends' friends, to join.

In December you probably resolved, in response to our Presidents' appeal, either to double your subscription or to raise it to a sovereign or a crown, as well as to get a friend to join the Union. Don't forget your good intention now in this time of crisis!

COME TO THE ROYAL ALBERT HALL ON MONDAY, MARCH 7th,
and hear Lord Grey and others on our Honour and Duty to the League and the Empire.

The League, the Union and the Services

A statement drawn up by a Services Sub-Committee and adopted by the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union, on February 4th, 1932. The members of the Committee were:—Lieut.-General Sir Hugh Jeudwine, K.C.B., K.B.E. (Chairman), Admiral Mark Kerr, C.B., M.V.O., Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond, K.C.B., Vice-Admiral S. R. Drury-Lowe, C.M.G., Lieut.-General Sir William Furse, K.C.B., D.S.O., Major-General Sir Reginald Hoskins, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice, K.C.M.G., C.B., Lieut.-Colonel G. R. Crosfield, C.B.E., D.S.O., T.D., Air Vice-Marshal C. Longcroft, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., A.F.C.

THE term "the Services" in the above heading is used in its colloquial sense as implying the fighting forces, or Defence Forces, as they are variously called, of Great Britain, the Dominions and Dependencies and India.

Our object is to call attention to the relationship between the League of Nations, the League of Nations Union and the Services. The character of that relationship requires a brief explanation, because it is so generally misunderstood.

Firstly, the League of Nations. The purpose of the League as stated in its Covenant, which came into operation on January 10, 1920, is "to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security." The Members of the League agree that, if there arises between them "a dispute likely to lead to a rupture," they will never go to war without first submitting the matter "either to arbitration or judicial settlement or inquiry by the Council" (Article XII); and also that "any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any Member of the League or not, is a matter of concern to the whole League, which will take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace." (Article XI.)

Furthermore, they "recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations." (Article VIII.)

Secondly, the League of Nations Union. The main purposes of the Union as stated in its Royal Charter dated October 27, 1925, are "to secure the whole-hearted acceptance by the British people of the League of Nations as the guardian of international right," "to foster mutual understanding, goodwill and habits of co-operation and fair dealing between the peoples of different countries," and to "advocate the full development of the League of Nations so as to . . . liberate mankind from war and the effects of war."

The Purpose of the Services

Thirdly, the Services. Their functions are four-fold:—

- (a) Maintaining peace within the Empire and policing its borders and certain seas;
- (b) Safeguarding the interests of British nationals abroad;
- (c) The defence of the Empire; and
- (d) The enforcement by common action of international obligations.*

As to (a), the maintenance of internal order within the Empire (and our mandated territories), and the policing of its borders and certain seas in time of actual peace, are amongst the most important of the functions of the Services. Approximately one-half of the Regular Army and a considerable part of the Navy and Air Force are maintained beyond our shores and outside our home waters for that purpose, while the other half of the Army exists in order to furnish reliefs. Within recent times the regular forces have been employed in the restoration of order in Cyprus, Kashmir, Burma and Iraq, while long experience has shown that in parts of the Empire where the inhabitants are divided by acute religious differences, for example, in parts of India, and in Palestine where differences between Jews and Arabs necessitated intervention, the presence of a neutral force has been essential to the preservation of peace and order.

The policing of the borders of the Empire, and the prevention of raids by uncivilised and semi-civilised tribesmen also make

* Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

continuous demands upon the Services. The Army and Air Force are constantly employed on this work upon the North-West Frontier of India, the Navy in the Persian Gulf, the Air Force in Iraq and Aden, while both Army and Air Force are so engaged upon the frontiers of the Sudan and of Kenya.

British Nationals Abroad

As to (b), the safeguarding of the interests of British nationals abroad must normally be left to the country in which they happen to be. But there may be exceptional cases in which the safeguarding of these interests, which are very widespread, makes sudden calls upon the Services; and this fact must be considered in deciding upon the peace strength and distribution of the Services throughout the Empire. The mobility of the Navy and Air Force make them specially valuable for this purpose; and, for some years past, the disturbed condition of China has necessitated not only the intervention of the Navy on the rivers and coasts, but also that of the Army. Such an instance occurred in 1927 at Shanghai and was immediately reported by the British Government to the Council of the League of Nations.

As to (c), the functions of the Services in the defence of the Empire are obvious. There are also certain regions, not within the borders of the Empire, where our special position imposes upon us obligations of defence which have been accepted by H.M. Government.

As to (d), under the Covenant of the League of Nations we are pledged to take our part in upholding the agreements which the articles of that Covenant define should any State resort to war in disregard of it. Under the Locarno Pact we have given pledges to France and to Germany to come to the help of either if it is attacked by the other. Clearly the value of these pledges, and the sense of security which they give, depend upon our power to implement them. To do this would require the expansion of the Army, since (as indicated above) its establishment is only sufficient to find over-sea garrisons and the reliefs for them. This expansion is made possible by the existence of the Territorial Army, for the embodiment of which the concurrence of Parliament is needed, and which requires time for mobilisation and training. The Territorial Army, therefore, menaces no one with aggression, but does provide a visible indication of our intention to fulfil our international obligations if we are required to do so.

Thus the Services are an essential part, both of the Imperial machinery for the preservation of law and order within the Empire and of the League's machinery for organising peace throughout the world.

Common Aims

It is obvious that the interests and aims of the League, the Union and the Services, are interlocked, and that the policy they stand for should be a united policy and generally acceptable to all.

Generally acceptable as a policy it probably is, but in the methods by which it is to be upheld there is room for acute differences of opinion, and these differences have been most marked in the attitude of some of the members of the League of Nations Union and of the Services to each other.

A common misunderstanding is that the League of Nations Union stands for the disarmament of Great Britain independently of other countries. In fact, however, the Union simply stands, as bound by its Charter, for the fulfilment of Article VIII of the Covenant of the League of Nations which requires "the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations." The Union does not, and never did, stand for complete disarmament, or for one-sided disarmament by Great Britain, or for British disarmament "by example"—proposals which, whatever their merits or demerits, would not fulfil the obligations of the Covenant.

Notes and News

The Union and the Far East

Almost to the exclusion of every other matter the discussions of the Executive Committee of the Union during the past few weeks have turned on the state of affairs in the Far East.

At the beginning of February a message was sent to the Government and to Lord Cecil, who was acting as this country's delegate at the League Council. The message said that the Union would back up the Government in "vigorous action" to restore peace in the Far East. It suggested that, if necessary, a special meeting of the Assembly should be called, since the Executive was convinced that no Great Power should take the law into its own hands in contravention of treaty obligations.

Another part of the resolution went on to say that the Executive had every confidence in the Lytton Commission, as a just and lasting settlement could only be achieved on the basis of its report. As a matter of policy the Executive determined to use every means in its power to awaken public opinion to the crucial character of the Far Eastern issues for the future of the League, and resolved during the coming months to give equal prominence to Manchuria and to Disarmament.

Demand for Strong Action

As the situation became graver and graver, a special meeting of the Executive Committee was summoned for February 12. At it was passed a resolution, printed in full elsewhere, far-reaching in its implications. It went beyond the request for a special meeting of the Assembly. For the first time in the history of the Union there is now a demand that the sanctions provided under Article 16 of the Covenant should be put into force.

In addition to the resolution a statement was prepared by a small Committee consisting of Professor Gilbert Murray (the Chairman of the Executive), the Rt. Hon. J. W. Hills (its Vice-Chairman), Lord Cecil and Sir Arthur Salter. In plain language it sets out why it is foolish to maintain that the interests of the British Empire are not jeopardised if Japan is allowed to get her way by force of arms.

The Union's Library

Nearly a thousand new readers made use of the Union's Library during 1931. The issues of books, it is interesting to note, are now rather more than those in a minor University. This fact, together with the demands made by the Public Libraries, bears witness that the general public is showing an increasing interest in international affairs. Curiously enough, the maximum interest occurs in October and November, and there is another peak period during January and February and again in June, probably due to people wanting literature to take with them on their holidays.

Hornchurch Acts

The Hornchurch Branch of the League of Nations Union was not content to remain passive under the onslaughts of the Beaverbrook Press. It passed a resolution deploring the misguided attitude adopted towards the League of Nations in the *Daily Express*, and those who were present pledged themselves to refrain from purchasing that newspaper or any other presenting similar misguided criticism until that attitude should be amended—and a copy of the resolution was sent to Fetter Lane.

Union Travel Schemes

In addition to the Cambridge Easter School, the Union is arranging to take a party to the International Labour Conference. It will leave London on April 15 and arrive back on the 24th. There is also a scheme afoot for a special Whitsuntide trip to Ireland. Full details of all of these can be had from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

"Disarm!"

Coinciding with the first week of the Disarmament Conference, in the church of St. Anne's, Soho, was performed a new religious tableau-drama "Disarm!" The play, which was written by Mrs. Henzie Martin Browne, is worthy of the highest praise. Not only is it real drama, it is also deeply religious, and Mrs. Martin Browne has succeeded in keeping the thought and action on a high spiritual plane from start to finish. It deserves—and indeed it will be surprising if it does not—a very wide circulation not only in this country, but in other

EASTER AT CAMBRIDGE!

March 24th—29th

With international trade diminishing daily . . .
With international finance tottering . . .
With 14 millions unemployed in Western Europe . . .
With fighting in the Far East . . .
With £900,000,000 a year being spent on armaments . . .
With apathy and open hostility to the League existing . . .
Is it too late through the League to save civilisation?

At no time since 1919
has there been a greater need for hard thinking.

For 3½ guineas you can spend five days at Homerton College, Cambridge, discussing these matters with the 1932 School for the Study of Contemporary International Affairs.

ENROL AT ONCE

Full particulars from 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

countries as well. There is no other play that shows more clearly the effects of fear and the need of Christian charity between the nations of the world. It could be performed in almost any church and should produce lasting effects on all who see it. Both in London and Brighton, where it has so far been performed, the play has received glowing commendation from the critics.

A New Film

It is from Germany that are mostly coming the films with a strong League moral. We hear that, starting early in March, the Academy Cinema, in Oxford Street, London, is to show the latest Pabst production, *Kameradschaft*. The plot is based on the Courrières colliery disaster of 1906, when 1,400 French miners lost their lives. In the film German miners go to their rescue—human suffering overcoming political barriers and differences of nationality. The end is a tragic example of human folly; the political barriers are set up again. Though the dialogue is in French and German, the story is so plain that ignorance of the languages makes little difference to one's appreciation of the film.

The Walthamstow Effort

In one week by intensive organisation the Borough of Walthamstow managed to obtain 45,057 signatures to a Town's Disarmament petition. But this is not all; there were special speakers in 24 schools, and between seven and eight thousand children competed in an essay competition for which the prizes were distributed on the last night of the special week's campaign. The 10 public meetings that were held during the week may not seem a great number, but it will be realised what a success they were when it is mentioned that 20,000 people attended them, and more would have come had there been seating accommodation. The most remarkable feat, apart from the grand finale, to which a special contingent of police had to be summoned to deal with the crowds and to direct them to the overflow, was the Sportsmen's Rally. Colonel Mallinson, the chairman of the Organising Committee, used all his influence to get together leading representatives of the nation's sport. And very well he succeeded. On the platform were members of the Arsenal football team, Captain Barnard, the flying ace, Bombardier Wells, Miss Cecil Leitch, W. W. Wakefield, the Rugby footballer, Mr. H. Temme, the Channel swimmer, and representatives of cricket, lawn tennis, dirt-track racing, etc. The result was that thousands of men who had never before heard of the League of Nations, and who would never have attended an ordinary meeting, flocked to the hall, which could have been filled many times over. If other boroughs would undertake a similar enterprise, any opposition that still exists to the cause of disarmament would quickly vanish. We congratulate Walthamstow, and hope that theirs is but the first example of many like efforts.

Welsh Notes

At a special meeting of the Executive Committee of the Welsh National Council, held at Shrewsbury in January, under the chairmanship of Mr. David Davies, the serious situation in Manchuria and the action of the Council of the League were considered fully. Important resolutions were adopted defining the attitude of the Executive Committee, and urging that a special meeting of the League Assembly should be convened.

The annual Conference of the Welsh Council is to be held at Bangor this year, on Tuesday and Wednesday in Whit-week (May 17 and 18).

Forthcoming Broadcasts

2.5 p.m., Thursdays: "Tracing History Backwards."
7.5 p.m., Fridays: "Problems of World Currency."
7.30 p.m., Thursdays: Sir Arthur Salter on "The Problem of World Government."
9.20 p.m., Thursdays: Mr. Vernon Bartlett on "The Way of the World."

Council's Vote

The following branches have completed their Council's Vote for 1931:—

Amersham, Ambleside, Brighton, Beddolph Moor, Birchington, Broadstairs, Bideford, Badminton School, Barnham, Bexhill, Bridlington, Buckingham, Bicester, Braintree, Barton-on-Humber, Berwick-on-Tweed, Beaminster, Chippenham, Cradley Heath, Chandlers Ford, Cockermouth, Clevedon, Cobham, Coombe, Crosshills, Droitwich, Drighlington, Dursley, East Cowes, Ewhurst, Falmouth, Farringdon, Goole, Heath Hayes, Henleaze, Hexham, Harlestone, Haddenham, Herne Bay, Horncastle, Jordans, Kirby Muxloe, Kington, Knaresborough, Ludlow, Lymington, Landrake, Maidstone, Mundesley, Middlesbrough, Newbury, Needham Market, Northam, Oswaldtwistle, Oadby, Penrith, Penn Fields, Radlett, Sheffield Endcliffe Fellowship, St. Margarets-at-Cliffe, Swindon, Stonehouse, S. Petherton, Shipham, Selsey, Silverstone, Stourport, Shoreham, Sussex, Sedgely, Totnes, Theydon Bois, Wooldale, Withernsea, West Wright, Whitley Bay.

And the following for 1932:—

Brierley Hill, Cambridge Town, St. Anne's-on-Sea, Wooton.

MEMBERSHIP

This month instead of printing a column of figures showing how many people have ever subscribed to the Union, we are publishing the following letter showing how three members of one family are maintaining their subscriptions in these difficult times.

Dear Sir

I send my subs- for 1932 five shil

for ^{Mr} Annie [redacted]

3:6 for Eric [redacted]

1:0 - Mr [redacted]

1:0 - for Miss [redacted]

10:6

As a family we promise ten shilling a quarter, whilst we are able. address Mr [redacted] + family there are six of us times are bad but we are going to put two pence a week by. you shall have the full amount there is ten shilling up to the 25 Dec 1931
Yours the [redacted]'s

RATES OF ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION.

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Registered Members	... 3s. 6d. or 5s.* or more.
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Foundation Members receive HEADWAY, the journal of the Union, monthly by post and as much as they desire of the pamphlets and similar literature issued by the Union.

Registered Members receive HEADWAY monthly by post.

All members are entitled to the free use of the Union's lending library.

*NOTE.—Registered Members are urged, if they can, to subscribe at least 5s. a year. A 5s. subscription contributes 1s. 3d. a year directly for national work, as against only 1½d. from a 3s. 6d. subscription.

Those who are able and willing to help the Funds of the Union are begged, if possible, to become Foundation Members.

Corporate Membership, for churches, societies, guilds, clubs, and industrial organisations, HEADWAY and pamphlets, £1 (not applicable to Wales and Monmouthshire).

Applications for membership should be made to a Local Secretary, or to Head Office, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. Telegrams: Freenat, Knights, London. Telephone: Sloane 6161.

Particulars of the work in Wales and Monmouthshire may be obtained from the Secretary, Welsh National Council, League of Nations Union, 10, Museum Place, Cardiff.

Cheques should be made payable to the "League of Nations Union," and crossed "Midland Bank."