

**THE PACT**

See pages 44, 45 and 52

**A VITAL QUESTION**

See page 50

# HEADWAY

10 MAR 1935  
BRITISH LIBRARY  
OF POLITICAL &  
ECONOMIC SCIENCES  
S 1083

**A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS**

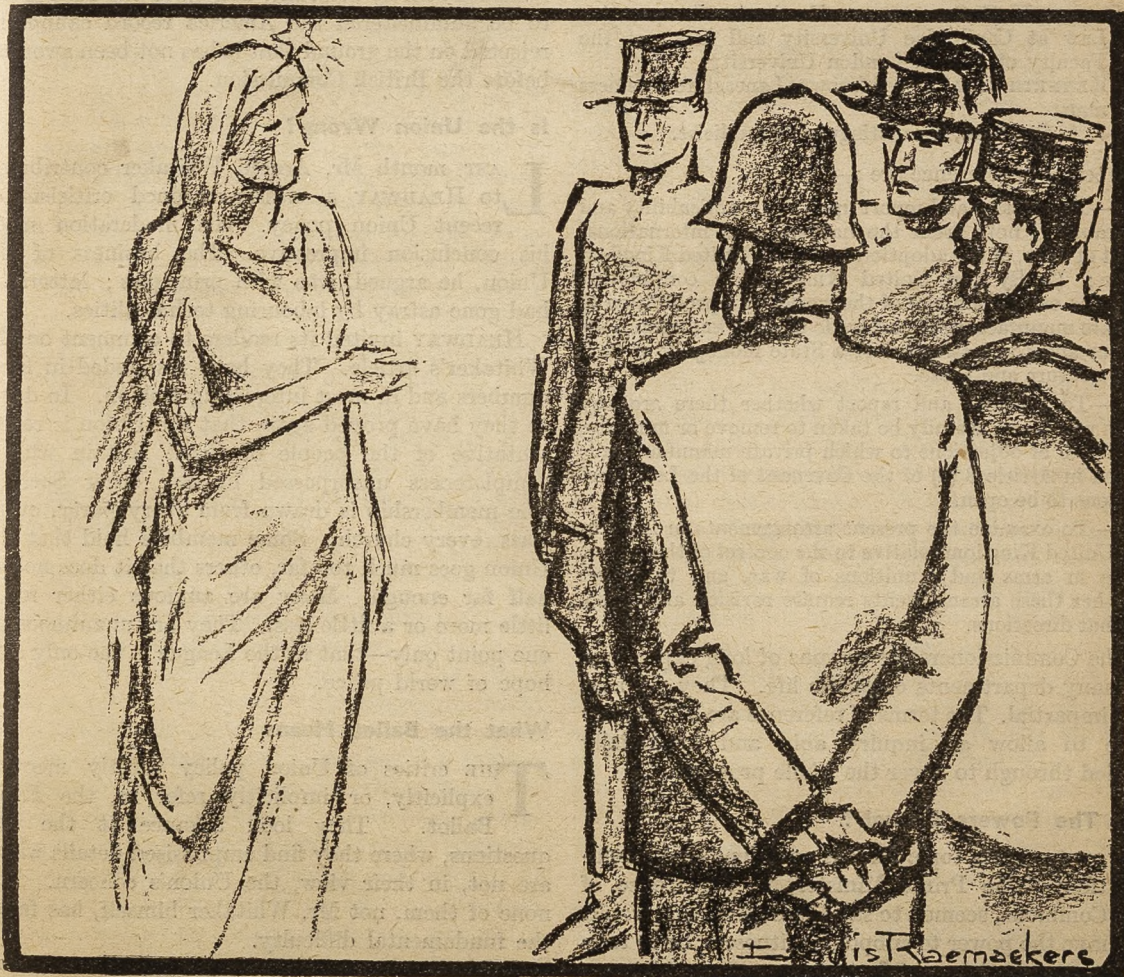
*Contributions to HEADWAY are invited from writers with special knowledge of world affairs. The opinions expressed in contributed articles are not necessarily endorsed by the paper.*

Vol. XVII. No. 3 [The Journal of the League of Nations Union]

**MARCH, 1935**

[Registered with the G.P.O. for transmission by the Canadian Magazine Post] Price 3d.

## THE WESTERN AIR PACT



The League (to Britain, France, Italy, Belgium): "There are four of you to-day. I hope there will be more to-morrow."



## CONTENTS

|  | Page |  | Page |
|--|------|--|------|
| News and Comment ... ..  | 42   | Are We Too Technical? A Symposium on a Vital Question ... .. | 50   |
| The Promise of London (Editorial) ... ..                       | 44   | Musings on the Air Pact. By Air-Commodore Fellowes ... ..    | 52   |
| London, Locarno and The League. By Stuart Munro ... ..         | 45   | Antidote ... ..  | 53   |
| I.L.O. Governing Body Membership ... ..                        | 46   | Book Notices ... ..  | 54   |
| Britain's Overseas Links with America. By an Australian ... .. | 47   | Readers' Views ... ..  | 56   |
| The U.S.A. and the World Court. By Prof. Davies... ..          | 48   | Here and There ... ..  | 58   |
| A New Plan for Europe ... ..                                   | 49   | The Rule of the Road ... ..                                  | 60   |

## NEWS AND COMMENT

## Arms Traffic Enquiry

THE Royal Commission on the traffic in arms has been appointed and the terms of reference have been announced. The Commissioners are:—

SIR JOHN ELDON BANKES, ex-Lord Justice of Appeal, Chairman.

SIR THOMAS ALLEN, who has long been associated with the Co-operative movement.

DAME RACHEL CROWDY, who has done great service at Geneva as an official representative at the League of Nations.

SIR PHILIP GIBBS, who has a unique knowledge of the Continental situation.

PROFESSOR H. C. GUTTERIDGE, Reader in Comparative Law at Cambridge University and Dean of the Faculty of Law in London University.

SIR KENNETH LEE, a well-known Lancashire business man.

MR. J. A. SPENDER, the distinguished publicist.

The terms of reference are:—

1.—To consider and report upon the practicability and desirability, both from the national and international point of view, of the adoption (a) by the United Kingdom alone; (b) By the United Kingdom in conjunction with the other countries of the world, of a prohibition of private manufacture of and trade in arms and munitions of war and the institution of a State monopoly of such manufacture and trade.

2.—To consider and report whether there are any steps which can usefully be taken to remove or minimise the kinds of objections to which private manufacture is stated in Article 8 (5) of the Covenant of the League of Nations to be open.

3.—To examine the present arrangements in force in the United Kingdom relative to the control of the export trade in arms and munitions of war, and to report whether these arrangements require revision and, if so, in what directions.

The Commissioners are persons of long experience in many departments of public life. They are able and impartial. The terms of reference are sufficiently wide to allow an inquiry ably and impartially carried through to cover the whole problem.

## Are The Powers Enough?

POWERS are a topic for less confident congratulation. The Prime Minister, in the House of Commons, seemed to say the Commission would not have the power to subpoena witnesses, or to take evidence on oath, or, at first at any rate, to insist on the disclosure of documents by Government departments or private firms.

The contrast with the Committee of Inquiry of the

United States Senate is striking. The Senate resolved that:—

... The Committee is authorised to hold hearings, to sit and act at such times and places during the sessions and recesses of the Congress until the final report is submitted, to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers and documents, to administer such oaths, to take such testimony, and to make such expenditures as it deems advisable.

Perhaps in one respect the seeming handicap on the British inquiry will be a help in practice. The terms of reference make the American evidence strictly relevant, and since the oath is not to be administered the America record cannot be rejected on the ground that it has not been sworn to before the British Commission.

## Is the Union Wrong?

LAST month Mr. Arnold Whitaker contributed to HEADWAY a closely-reasoned criticism of recent Union policy. His moderation made his conclusion impressive. The business of the Union, he argued, was with principles; latterly it had gone astray by labouring technicalities.

HEADWAY invited its readers to comment on Mr. Whitaker's article. They have responded in large numbers and in most interesting fashion. In doing so they have proved again that the Union is representative of the people of Great Britain with a completeness unsurpassed in any other Society. The membership is drawn from every party, every class, every church. Some members hold that the Union goes much too far, others that it does not go half far enough. Many are anxious either for a little more or a little less. They are unanimous on one point only—that in the League is the only sure hope of world peace.

## What the Ballot Means

THE critics of Union policy mostly mention explicitly, or implicitly refer to, the Peace Ballot. They look askance at the five questions, where they find emphasised details which are not, in their view, the Union's concern. But none of them, not Mr. Whitaker himself, has faced the fundamental difficulty.

Question 1 is the purpose for which the Union exists. So much is admitted. The other questions, however, do not add anything novel. They simply state in plain words some of the consequences.

They are all in the Covenant. Even Question 3, on the abolition of military and naval aircraft, is covered by the pledge of League members to reduce and limit their armaments. In effect, what the ballot asks is: Do you support the League? If you support it, do you mean the real and active League of the full Covenant, or some vague, eviscerated shadow of pious intentions but no practical utility?

## Thirty Questions

IMITATION is the sincerest form of flattery. There are occasions when the stalest commonplace is not only excusable but inescapable. The omnibus ballot launched upon the public by the *Morning Post* is such an occasion.

That excellent newspaper's readers up and down the country have long been explaining, always with earnestness, sometimes with anger, that the five questions of the National Peace Ballot on the League and Armaments are much too complicated to be answered with a plain "yes" or "no," and much too difficult for uninstructed persons to answer at all. Now they are confronted by their own oracle with a catechism of thirty questions distributed in six chapters. For example, are they in favour of: a return to the party system; Lord Lloyd as Prime Minister; an Economic Council under which industries shall have some measures of statutory authority; a return to the gold standard (a) on principle, (b) when practicable; a compulsory retiring age with pensions for all; the Government of India Bill in its present form; Lord Rothermere's air policy; sterilisation of mental defectives; broadcasting remaining under its present system of control? These are only some of the plums picked at random out of the pudding.

The richness of the mixture must make the mouth of any expert examinee water with delight. But the puzzled ordinary elector will be in different case. He will stand amazed in the presence of such bewildering plenty.

## And Three Prizes

THE *Morning Post* itself is not quite comfortable with its own questionnaire. It betrays itself by the offer of prizes. The Peace Ballot, so often and fervently denounced, is being carried through by the devoted service of an army of volunteers. More than a quarter of a million men and women have responded to the call for help and have proved their sense of the immense public value of the Ballot by spending many laborious hours in the distribution, collection and counting of the forms. The *Morning Post* offers a hundred guineas, seventy-five guineas, and fifty guineas to three readers who collect and send in the largest number of signed votes. It does this in order to make the experiment "a really constructive contribution to national problems" and "to obtain a cross-section of responsible and representative

opinion on outstanding problems of the day for the guidance of all concerned."

That such a catechism can help to realise such an object will seem credible only to the simplest minds or the most confused. One unintended good result, however, the Test Vote may have. Perhaps the experience will show the *Morning Post* and its readers that the Peace Ballot is right in its method, plain and understandable in its questions, and authoritative in its verdict.

## Planning Can Succeed

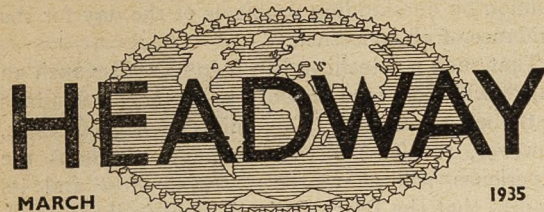
PLANNING is one of the major interests of the day. The annual conference organised by the Industrial Advisory Committee of the League of Nations Union, held at the London School of Economics on February 19, 20, and 21, was wisely devoted to half a dozen aspects of the problem. A strong list of distinguished speakers was a powerful attraction, but the intentness with which large audiences followed their addresses and the subsequent discussion showed that their subject and not their personalities was the draw. A revolution in thought has been completed during the past decade. To-day there is a virtually unanimous agreement that the community can, if it will, control its economic life to attain deliberately chosen objects for the benefit of its members. Differences on methods are many, and different estimates of the time required. But scarcely anyone denies that the community has the power.

## Question 5b

DURING February, the answers counted in the Peace Ballot were approximately a quarter of a million a week. This figure shows how greatly the pace has accelerated. February alone has doubled the total obtained during November, December and January. The speed increases. That is highly gratifying, for it gives an assurance of complete final success. Not less gratifying is the absence of the least hint that the nation is changing its mind. What the electorate said in the first weeks of the Ballot, it is still saying.

No. 5b, asking for approval of collective measures of military restraint upon a peace-breaking nation, is widely disliked. Though the adverse vote is large, however, there is no ground for discouragement. Roughly 70 per cent. of the answers to 5b support military sanctions in case of necessity, and the eager controversy which has raged over the matter is a guarantee that the men and women who make up the affirmative two-thirds, have thought out the problem for themselves as carefully as the negative one-third have done. The Ballot figures reveal the people of Great Britain facing up to the need for collective security. To-day very many more of them are ready to shoulder the unwelcome burden for the sake of the immense gain who hesitated five, two or even one year ago.





EDITORIAL OFFICE:—15, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.  
Telephone: Sloane 6161.

## THE PROMISE OF LONDON

WHAT is the object of all the nations of the world? Security, within which their people will have freedom to live active, healthy, prosperous, happy lives. Yes, but how whole-hearted is their desire for such security? Is it qualified by a willingness, when a tempting opportunity offers, to risk peace, or a weakening of the foundations of peace, for the sake of some large and quick apparent gain?

Here is a question whose bare statement conveys the reason for such failures as the League has incurred. The League machinery is adequate to keep the peace between nations and to deal out even-handed justice, if it be honestly and vigorously used. But every now and again a difficult moment is apt to arrive when some Great Power—the small nations are constrained to be good—says to itself and betrays to the outer world: "Yes, I am in favour of playing the game and keeping the rules. On this exceptional occasion, however, I want the prize so desperately that the rules ought to be stretched just a little, or as far as is necessary to allow me to obtain it." Success for the League depends upon all its members, Great Powers and small nations alike, remembering always that peace is the greatest common interest. French and British Ministers in their London talks did not forget it.

Mr. Maiski, the Russian Ambassador in London, in his address to the League of Nations Union's Conference on Social and Economic Planning, rightly insisted upon the unity of the problem. Security and disarmament, he pointed out, are linked inseparably. Peace cannot be assured in one part of the world while it is threatened in another. The adequate defence of the Great Powers entails the defence also of the small nations. He reminded his hearers that the world war began in the Balkans. His official position imposes upon an ambassador the duty of being concerned first for the interests of his own country. But, although he spoke primarily as a Russian official, Mr. Maiski none the less uttered sound world-sense. The Russian Note to France and Britain does the same. The success or failure of the London plan will be decided by the candour with which the Governments yield to the weight of the facts.

Germany is eager to enter into mutual pledges, with France, Belgium, Great Britain and Italy, of a collective air defence against an air aggressor, securing thereby a legalisation of her air rearmament. She does not commit herself to a return to the League; she markedly refrains from moderating in any way her previously emphasised hostility to an Eastern Locarno. Perhaps, however, she is only going cautiously. She may be making sure of her ground before

she ventures on a further step. Because she indicates clearly which step she prefers to be the first, she is not necessarily declining to follow it in due course with all the others. But all the steps must follow. That is essential.

None of the things discussed in London are supremely important in themselves. What gives them their vital significance is the contribution they can make together to the establishment and defence of a peaceful world order. They are parts of a whole. They can be attempted in several different sequences. If one particular sequence helps Germany to co-operate with her neighbours, then there is a strong case for adopting that sequence. But only the attainment of the whole can make the parts worth while. The whole fits naturally into the League system. Collective air defence in Western Europe, Germany restored to her place in Geneva, Germany's equal rights to arms acknowledged, a General Convention for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments, an Eastern Locarno, a Central European understanding in which all interested nations are invited to participate—such provisions, one buttressing another, will translate League principles into local instruments strong enough to prevent conflicts in the chief danger spots of Europe.

The Covenant promises to any member who observes the Covenant and keeps the peace the help in time of need of all League members. But a hundred causes may prevent a particular member's acting decisively in a particular case. How can Ecuador defend Lithuania? Or New Zealand safeguard Portugal? Help for any nation can come most easily, and most effectually because most quickly, from its neighbours.

The practical way to make collective defence a reality is to supplement the general, common obligation of all League members with special local obligations. The same method of restraining evildoers has been employed in every age and in every part of the world by all the communities who have had eminent success in enforcing respect for public order. Its use has permitted them to substitute modest police forces for the private armies of an anarchic world.

Peace in Western Europe is immediately and most urgently the business of the Western European nations. Peace in the South, in the Centre, and in the East is the business of other local groups. That is the Locarno principle. Logic requires the extension of Locarno elsewhere, and experience drives home the demand. The League reinforcement due to Locarno was dissipated by the League weakness in Eastern Asia, due to the absence of a local group of Powers ready to act within the League system in the common defence against an aggressor. Every regional pact needs external support to strengthen its internal soundness. There is always a fringe, and the nations on the fringe look outwards as well as inwards, anxious for their security. Safe on one flank, they rightly ask for security on the other flank also.

The London plan repeats the Locarno model. It spreads regional pacts across Europe. In due course the Pacific and the surrounding continents must also be covered. The task is tremendous. But a brave beginning is being made. Provided the essential truth is never forgotten, that only the whole, completed or in sure prospect, can give worth and permanence to the parts, the London promise of February 3 may be fulfilled in Geneva before the end of 1935.

## London, Locarno and The League

By STUART MUNRO

THE League system is inclusive, not exclusive. It has room for any international agreement which is not against one nation but for all nations. The League is designed to prevent war; its method is the restraint of the peace-breakers by the peace-keepers. This is the point of view from which supporters of the League must judge every proposal for collective defence. It is the League point of view and the British point of view. The suggested agreements outlined by French and British Ministers in their London conversations of January 31-February 1 will be a world gain if their terms, as finally hammered out, bring them within the League system. It will be a world disaster if, under no matter what disguise of reassuring words, they restore the old anarchy of rival alliances. The only kind of security, since it is the only kind that can fulfil its promise in the world of to-day, is the security of co-operation, not the security of opposition.

When the French Foreign Minister, M. Barthou, came to London last summer and consulted the British Government on his suggested Eastern Locarno, the reply he received was that Great Britain emphatically disapproved anything in the nature of a military alliance directed outwards against a neighbouring country, but approved not less strongly a security pact directed inwards towards a common defence based on mutual guarantees of assistance. Sir John Simon, speaking in the House of Commons at the time, said:—

"... the new arrangement if it comes about is in the truest and most complete sense reciprocal. It cannot by any possibility be represented as being a select combination between certain powers joining forces, or, at any rate, joining forces hypothetically, against the possibility of having to resist another. The thing is completely mutual in its structure, and the poison of suspicion which undoubtedly might be produced by such a suggestion in other circumstances is completely eradicated and removed by the fact that it is a genuinely mutual proposal."

Locarno comes at once into the argument. The major Locarno Treaty was a triumph of constructive statesmanship because it passed the test and fitted into the League system. It is often attacked, but its critics are distinguished for their fervour rather than for their knowledge. Some of them persist in alleging that it is something quite apart from the League, a substitution for the Covenant, even a betrayal. They seem unaware that no fewer than eight of the ten Articles which make up the chief instrument, whose official title is "A Treaty of Mutual Guarantee between Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain and Italy," contain one or more references to the League. Article 7, for example, reads:—

"The present treaty, which is designed to ensure the maintenance of peace and is in conformity with the Covenant of the League of Nations, shall not be interpreted as restricting the duty of the League to take whatever action may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of the world."

Elsewhere, equally explicit passages bind the signatories to conform, in their proceedings under the Treaty, to the findings and proposals of the League.

Locarno brought Germany into the League ready to co-operate loyally in the maintenance of world peace with France, Italy, Great Britain and other Powers, who themselves sincerely intended to make the Covenant the corner-stone of their foreign policy. Those were great days at Geneva. They were days of hope, effort, and success for the builders of peace. Briand, Strese-

mann and Chamberlain had confidence in one another. Their mutual trust produced the confidence between nations which alone is able to conjure with the threat of war.

The League has since passed through difficult times. But none of the damage it has suffered has been an effect of Locarno. The Locarno spirit and Locarno measures can still restore more than all its lost strength. If the statesmen of Europe understand them and apply them, the comprehensive agreements, roughed out by French and British Ministers in their London conversations, deserve acceptance. But the condition is absolute. The agreements must be developed on the Locarno model and fitted into the League system with the Locarno completeness.

In some quarters, just as Locarno is disliked for its supposititious neglect of the League, so the new agreements are attacked as unfaithful to both the League and Locarno Treaties. Nothing is known which justifies the charge. When Sir John Simon broadcast an explanation on the evening of February 3, immediately after he and M. Laval had concluded their talks, he made direct mention of Locarno in his reference to the proposed Pact for Collective Air Defence. He said:—

"The only cases in which Great Britain might be called upon to take a part were cases in which she was already committed by the Locarno Treaty. But the difference would be that, whereas the existing undertaking was one which was not precisely defined, this scheme would provide that, in the case of the other party being attacked by air, she would go to that party's assistance immediately and with her air force."

These words of his did not put the Locarno position correctly; section 3 of Article 4 of the Treaty provides, in the case of a flagrant violation or breach by one of the High Contracting Parties, that,

"Each of the other Contracting Parties shall immediately come to the help of the Party against whom such violation or breach has been directed, as soon as the said Power has been able to satisfy itself that this violation constitutes an unprovoked act of aggression, and that by reason either of the crossing of the frontier or of the outbreak of hostilities, or of the assembly of armed forces in the demilitarised zone, immediate action is necessary."

But though, in the pressure and hurry of the moment, Sir John did less than justice to Locarno, he showed that both French and British Ministers had kept Locarno continuously in mind.

An air pact inevitably raises in the most challenging forms questions little more than mooted at Locarno. Air defence must be as sudden as air attack. There is no time to take the judgment of Geneva. Consequently, an automatic identification of the aggressor is necessary. Happily air aggression is identifiable with unique certainty. Air power is uniquely mobile. Therefore, the surprise intervention of external factors being easy, strictly localised air defence pacts are less effectual than pacts concerned with land or sea armaments.

Completeness is all. The London scheme is half a dozen proposals, each important in itself, but none capable of standing alone. The time-table can perhaps be varied. The programme must be accepted and applied as a whole. For any individual Power to pick and choose, saying, "I will come in here, there I will stand out," would be to wreck it. The Western Air Pact is a mutual guarantee against the most deadly of all threats to national security; the return of



Germany to the League is essential if the Air Pact is to be, not a cloak for old-fashioned military alliances, but a genuine measure of collective defence; the relief of Germany from the discriminatory disarmament clauses of the Versailles Treaty is a condition of her return to the League, and cannot be accorded without her return; a general convention, limiting and restricting armaments, is similarly linked with the other objects, none of which can be pursued safely without it; an Eastern Locarno is required if regional security in the West is not to be unbalanced and made liable to sudden destruction by rivalries and quarrels in the

East; finally, the plan for Central European reconciliation, foreshadowed by the meetings of French and Italian Ministers in Rome, must receive general assent, or conflict on the Danube may destroy all the advantages secured elsewhere.

The London Agreement is a system. It presents many urgent, difficult problems in correct perspective and vital relation one with another. Therefore, the process of embodying it in Treaties and obtaining the consent of all the interested Powers will be long and delicate. But goodwill can find even the necessary automatic test of aggression.

## I.L.O. GOVERNING BODY MEMBERSHIP

(From a Correspondent)

THE negotiations which were carried on in order to give the United States and Russia seats on the Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation have had serious and unexpected repercussions.

In well-informed quarters in Geneva, there is a strong feeling that the turn which these negotiations took directly influenced the U.S. Senate in its refusal to vote for American membership of the Permanent Court.

While such a view may be an exaggeration, there can be no doubt that what went on before, and during, the recent meeting of the Governing Body has materially affected the outlook of the American authorities on co-operation with the League of Nations and its organs.

It will be recalled that the question arose of determining the eight States of the greatest industrial importance; these eight States, members of the I.L.O., were, until the recent changes, Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Germany, Canada, India and Belgium.

When, however, the United States and Russia joined the I.L.O., they were obviously entitled to rank among the eight. Which States should be dropped? In passing, it may be remarked that the alternative of revising the constitution of the I.L.O. to provide for membership of the Governing Body by the ten most important States was rejected, principally on the ground that it takes upwards of two years to secure the necessary ratifications by States members of any such change. Two States must resign. The two States least importance holding permanent membership of the Governing Body were, it was declared, Belgium and Canada. Belgium offered no opposition, but Canada challenged the legality of the proposal to deprive her of her seat.

Canada supported her challenge with highly technical legal considerations. In addition, as soon became known, a particular fact lent weight to her complaint. Standards by which the industrial importance of States was determined had been altered; and this alteration had brought Canada to the bottom of the list, a position which, it is generally stated, would otherwise have been held by Italy.

The I.L.O. was unwilling that Italy should leave the Governing Body. Accordingly, it is alleged, figures were devised which permitted Italy's much greater population to be taken into account. A secondary consequence was the placing of India above Canada. This change also, runs the charge, was desired on political considerations.

The new tests used by the I.L.O. to assess industrial

importance were value of foreign trade, contributions to the League of Nations (which are based on national income), the relative importance of industrial activity (based on figures supplied by the Institut für Konjunkturforschung of Berlin), and "occupied" population, including population engaged in agriculture.

Attempts were made to keep the results of the calculations secret—which gave added impetus to rumours that political influence was being brought to bear. Eventually the following order was produced: The United States first with 4,693 points; Great Britain second with 2,432; and Germany third with 2,134; France fourth with 1,589; India fifth with 1,299; Russia sixth with 1,246; Italy seventh with 894; and Japan eighth with 885. Canada was ninth on the list with 656.

A glance at these figures is enough to show how the scale has been tipped by the inclusion of populations in the test.

Further complications arose to make the position of American delegates difficult. In addition to Government members, the Governing Body is composed of delegates elected by the Workers' and Employers' Groups. These delegates are chosen by the groups and from the groups, and may or may not represent States of the greatest industrial importance.

When the United States joined the I.L.O. last summer employers and workers in the United States believed that their representatives would automatically be given seats on the Governing Body. Later they discovered that this was not the fact; happily it proved possible to give the employers' delegate a seat in the regular manner, but the workers' representative was only temporarily seated, in place of the Spanish workers' delegate, who is unable for political reasons to leave Spain.

A bad impression was made on the American authorities. Worse followed in the announcement that Canada might appeal to the Council of the League against her eviction from the Governing Body.

This disturbed American opinion because it had been given to understand that in practice the League and I.L.O. were separate. Had this not been generally believed in the United States, it is doubtful whether the strong anti-League element would have permitted the U.S. to join the I.L.O.

At the moment of disillusion the advocates of U.S. membership of the World Court were pointing out that the Court had nothing to do with the League: it was only too easy for the anti-World Court forces in the Senate to say; "That's what we were told about the I.L.O.," and the damage was done.

## BRITAIN'S OVERSEAS LINKS WITH AMERICA

By  
AN AUSTRALIAN

GENERAL SMUTS wields a world influence unequalled by that of any other statesman. He stands high above the tumult of Europe, America and Asia. He sees clear and far. During the past sixteen years many of his words have had the quality of historic acts. His speeches, delivered at the right moment, have powerfully served the cause of world peace. None of them has had greater value than his recently repeated insistence that the British Commonwealth and the United States, with the same ideals and the same interests, must co-operate in common defence of peace and freedom. "Co-operation between the United States and the British Commonwealth," he has said again, "is necessary for the peace of the world. The Dominions have a fundamental sympathy with the United States and desire nothing more than close collaboration with her in world affairs."

At home, in Britain, there are many persons, some with authority in public affairs, who stand in urgent need of General Smuts' warning. If they neglect the lesson he has to teach, the country and the Empire may be called upon to pay a tragic price for their unwisdom.

Their obliviousness to plain facts is dangerous, and astonishing. The word "Empire" is often on their lips, but of the thing they would seem to know little. They talk about the problems of the Far East, for example, as though Britain had complete liberty to choose her course. Often they go so far as to suggest, not obscurely, that if relations become strained between the United States, attempting to preserve the independence of China and the Open Door, and Japan, striving to assert a military overlordship throughout Eastern Asia, Great Britain can incline towards the Japanese side. Loyalty to the League of Nations forbids her contemplating such a course. And had she no League ties, she still could not follow it. It would disrupt the British World Commonwealth.

The great, self-governing Overseas Dominions are proud of their British connection; they set a high value on their membership of the British polity; nothing is further from their minds than to renounce their partnership with the Mother Country. But that does not imply indifference to the United States—much less distrust or dislike. Indeed, everything American fascinates them. They watch American affairs with eager eyes. In many ways the United States is much closer to them than is Great Britain. They are aware of a similarity which they think flattering, which is, at least, stimulating and instructive.

Great Britain is an old country, thickly peopled, rich in memories, dominated by tradition. They are new

countries, sparsely inhabited, with vast, scarcely tapped natural wealth. America is the same. The United States has only just emerged from the pioneering stage, with which the British Dominions are still struggling. In all the Dominions there are increasing numbers of loyal citizens, the sons and daughters of Colonial-born parents, even of Colonial-born grandparents, who have never seen the Mother Country. Their homes, their towns, their clothes, their work and their play, the whole round of their daily lives is shaped to the American model.

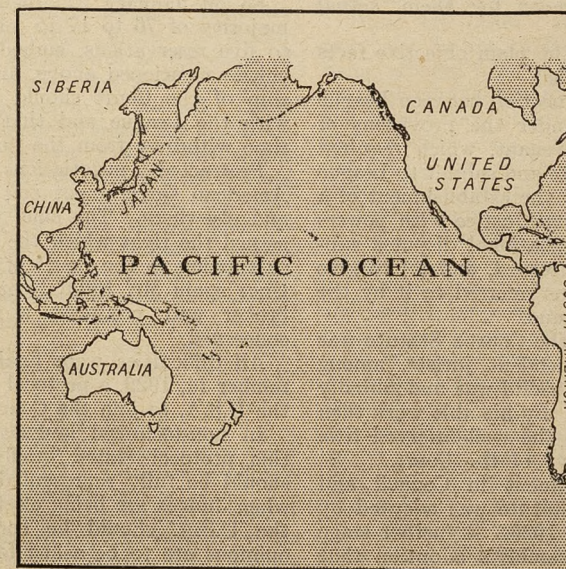
Anyone who has ever sat in a Sydney cinema and seen and heard a Hollywood talkie must be dull if he has not perceived a hundred striking evidences of the material and moral kinship between Australia and America. On Canada the American stamp is even more deeply impressed.

To the people of the Dominions the understanding of America is easy. To them, any suggestion that they should be on other than the most friendly terms with the United States is foolishness. A hint that the British Commonwealth might align itself on the side of an Asiatic nation in a conflict with America would horrify them. The Dominions have no quarrel with Japan; they have no thought of hostility; they see no reason why their lively and admiring interest in America should stand in the way of sincere Japanese friendship. Yet if they were forced to choose they could not hesitate for a moment. They would say that they and the United States row in the same galley and must always do so, whereas Japan belong to another crew.

The many ties between the United States and Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand are natural. America did not deliberately create them. She does not try to strengthen them or maintain them. She is still, seemingly, unaware of their existence. Her manufactures find a ready sale in Dominion markets, because they serve the local needs; her innumerable educational institutions attract a steady stream of Dominion students, because they find there an intellectual temper which is

congenial to them, and are offered the training of which they are in search. Without intent, like draws like into always closer contacts. Such instinctive alliance is only the more healthy for the absence of a deliberate plan. If in days to come, it is subjected to a desperate strain it will be firmer knit and better able to support every burden. It cannot be severed, because, not only history, but also geography imposes it.

The Dominions are, all of them, nearer to the United States than they are to Great Britain. Canada is a next-door neighbour. From South Africa the journey is much shorter to New Orleans than to London. For



Our Dominions and the Pacific.



Australians and New Zealanders a visit to California, measured in time is an adventure only half as formidable as a visit to Britain. As a consequence, though the Mother Country is still "Home," the United States is becoming the more familiar, not only through an essential similarity, but by direct contact.

The Dominions are not merely nearer to the United States than they are to Britain. Like the United States, they look out upon or towards the Pacific Ocean. What happens there is their vital concern. The motive of self-preservation strengthens the geographic tie. Great Britain might conceivably disinterest herself in the fate of the East Indies, of China, and Siberia. The Dominions cannot do so. Unification of the peoples of further Asia in a vast Military Empire must cause them deep alarm. The creation of an armed power, ambitious

of conquest, hostile to the West, and to all for which Western Civilisation stands, must make South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, not less anxious than the United States. In such conditions the Dominions must entertain the gravest fears for their survival. They could have no guarantee of their independence except in close and active partnership with the United States, whose origin, and tasks, and ideals so closely resemble their own.

Japan and China in the League, actively co-operating with the other member nations to work the collective system for the benefit of all the world, that is the first choice of the British Overseas Dominions. Their second choice is to line up with the United States. No third choice is possible for them. It is a fact everyone in Britain ought to know.

## The U.S.A. and the World Court

By PROFESSOR ARTHUR DAVIES

It is a matter for widespread regret that the American Senate failed to procure a two-thirds majority in favour of the proposal that the U.S.A. should adhere to the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and that the proposal has, therefore, for the time being fallen through.

It is no use, however, crying over spilt milk or even, on this side of the Atlantic at least, inquiring too closely how, when all the prospects seemed peculiarly favourable, the milk-can was at the last moment upset.

It is sufficient to realise the dread always lurking in the background of the American mind of being "entangled in the web of European politics."

From its very beginning the League of Nations has been suspect; and formal connection with it or its satellites in any way that might rob the U.S.A. of independent judgment and right of action has been consistently avoided. The broad reason, then, for the recent failure is to be found simply in fears, justified or not, that joining the Court would in any case bring the American people into closer relationship with the League than was desirable, and that ultimately it might, and probably would, mean for them actual League membership.

It is worth while examining the plain objective facts on which these fears are founded.

First there is the historic connection between League and Court. It was created under the provisions of Article 14 of the League's Covenant, which required the League's Council to formulate and submit to League members for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice with powers (a) to hear and determine international disputes submitted to it by the parties concerned, and (b) to give advisory opinions upon questions referred to it by the Council or Assembly of the League.

The actual work of drafting the Court's Statute was entrusted to a body of independent jurists, among whom the most prominent and useful was undoubtedly the American, Mr. Elihu Root. By his able work then and since Mr. Root has earned the well-deserved title of "Chief Consulting Architect" of the Court.

After discussion and amendment in Council and Assembly, a finally approved Statute was adopted by the Assembly on December 13, 1920. A further stage remained. It was not the Assembly's adoption that finally gave force to the Statute. Such effect was

produced by a protocol of signature, *i.e.*, by an independent treaty, that was signed by individual States, and only became binding on them in consequence of their individual signatures and ratifications. By September, 1921, 28 States had ratified, and the Court came into being.

The real difficulties, however, do not lie in the historical origin of the Court, but in certain provisions in its constitution which link it closely with the League.

Taking these in ascending order of importance, the first connection is to be found in the fact that the costs of the Court are borne on the League's budget. This could be easily got over by the U.S.A. agreeing to pay its fair share as determined by Congress. As all other States agree to this, this difficulty needs no further thought.

Far more serious considerations to America arise from the facts (a) that the Judges of the Court are elected by the League's Council and Assembly, and (b) that the Council or Assembly may request the Court to give an advisory opinion on some matter in which the U.S.A. is interested.

So on January 27, 1926, the Senate agreed by a majority of 76 to 17 to join the World Court subject to five reservations, embodying solutions to the difficulties mentioned above, and provisions that membership of the Court should not involve legal relations with the League and that the U.S.A. might at any time withdraw from the Court.

Protracted negotiations followed between the American Government and the authorities at Geneva and elsewhere. The chief obstacle to agreement concerned the right which the U.S.A. claimed to veto the submission to the Court of cases for advisory opinion. Once again Mr. Elihu Root played the part of honest broker and produced a formula that satisfied all concerned.

All difficulties were finally overcome, and on September 14, 1929, a protocol specially designed to enable the U.S.A. to join the Court was opened for signature.

In non-technical language the chief provisions of this protocol stated briefly are (a) that the U.S.A. should be fully represented on Council and Assembly when Judges are being elected for the Court; (b) that the U.S.A. should be consulted whenever advisory opinions are to be asked for, and if the objections, if any, that she raises are not dealt with to her satisfac-

tion, she may withdraw from the Court without any imputation of ill-will against her.

By the end of last year all States, except the U.S.A. itself and a few smaller nations, mostly in South America, had ratified this protocol.

President Hoover signed the protocol, but the further

step of ratification could not be taken without approval by a two-thirds majority on the Senate.

After years of anxious waiting, due to unrest in the world and in America itself, the question has at last been put to the Senate—with the tragic negative result recorded above.

## A NEW PLAN FOR EUROPE

*At no time during the life of the League of Nations Union has the need been greater or the moment more opportune for an appeal to its supporters to rally round the standard, in order to garner the fullest possible advantage from recent achievements.*

*With this object in view, a letter has been circulated, over the signatures of Viscount Cecil (President), Professor Gilbert Murray (Chairman), Lord Queenborough (Treasurer), Sir Austen Chamberlain and Sir Norman Angell (Members of the Executive Committee) to the following effect:—*

We ask you to read the enclosed paper. It explains, as briefly as possible, the present opportunity for a general settlement between Germany and the other Powers, and how the new plan for Europe may restore confidence in the peace machinery of the League of Nations.

The League of Nations Union urgently needs your help if this opportunity is not to be missed.

We believe that you appreciate the value of the Union's work, including the lead given by the Union to similar societies in forty other countries; Dr. Nansen once said that the League of Nations looks upon these societies, and especially upon the League of Nations Union, as essential to its continued progress and ultimate success.

Although the sum now required by the Union is a big one, and cannot be raised without real sacrifice, we would remind you that it is far less costly to prepare for peace than to prepare for war; and we assure you that your money will be spent with the utmost care. We are confident that you will want to give as much as you are able to afford.

However small your gift may have to be, please do not hesitate to send it.

The accompanying paper reads as follows:—

Fifteen years ago the League of Nations—"the greatest gain of the battlefields," as Mr. Eden has called it—began amid the high hopes of a few enthusiasts and the blank indifference of the mass of mankind. For ten years hopes were realised, public interest increased, and prospects brightened. Then came a severe setback. Financial crises in the West; "war in all but name" in the Far East; rearmament instead of disarmament in Europe, and the withdrawal of Germany from Geneva; efforts towards economic self-sufficiency on the part of many States, and the consequent fall in the value of world trade by more than two-thirds; unemployment, hardship and distress—all these linked causes combined to multiply fears of war. It seemed, six months ago, that the World War might have to be fought all over again, on a larger scale, with more destructive weapons and more disastrous consequences.

In the last six months, hope has revived:

In August, the United States joined the League's International Labour Organisation and has continued to co-operate closely with the League in almost every branch of its activity.

In September, Soviet Russia entered the League in order to increase her security against aggression from the East and from the West; by so doing she paid a high compliment to, and at the same time increased, the League's power to prevent war.

In December, the danger of war between Jugo-Slavia and Hungary was averted by the League's Council following a British lead.

In January, the Saar Plebiscite, which a few months earlier had seemed to menace the peace of Europe, was conducted by the League with complete success and without disturbance, thanks to the security provided by the collective action of British, Italian, Swedish and Dutch troops.

In February, British and French Ministers, profiting by the success of the Saar experiment in organised security, agreed upon far-reaching proposals for "the restoration of confidence and the prospects of peace among nations" by means of "a general settlement freely negotiated between Germany and the other Powers. This general settlement," said the official account, "would make provision for the organisation of security in Europe. . . . Simultaneously . . . this settlement would establish agreements regarding armaments. . . . It would also be part of the general settlement that Germany should resume her place in the League of Nations with a view to active membership."

Will these hopes be realised? That depends upon other countries besides our own. So far as Britain is concerned, it mainly depends upon whether sufficient support is forthcoming from public opinion. "Governments," said the late Lord Grey, "cannot go ahead of public opinion"; and, according to Sir Austen Chamberlain, "Governments in these days are the servants of their peoples in regard to foreign policy." Peace is more a psychological than a political question.

Here the British share of responsibility, for "the restoration of confidence and the prospects of peace" shifts from His Majesty's Government to "those" (in the Prime Minister's words) "of this League of Nations Union who, in accordance with its Royal Charter, prepare dull or doubting opinions for each progressive step."

Some of these "dull or doubting opinions" belong to people who are anxious to avoid war but hesitate to pay the price of peace. They need to be convinced that the only way to keep out of war is to share in guaranteeing peace.

There are other "dull or doubting" minds that can only be got to face the realities of to-day after being aroused from their dream of an earlier England; an England able to pursue her independent way through the surrounding anarchy of international relations; a little world ending with the white cliffs of Dover and cut off by the sea from unwelcome contacts with the Continent; a country protected by a navy so strong as to defy competition because it was based upon the nation's unrivalled power in finance and industry. Wide-awake eyes to-day see a different picture. They see Britain, no longer as a little world apart, but as the leading member of an almost world-wide society of nations whose purpose is to protect each other's territory and trade routes from aggression and eventually to establish the reign of law over all the earth and sea and sky.

If the League of Nations Union, in accordance with its Royal Charter, is to create wide-awake, up-to-date, and well-informed public opinion, prepared to support "each progressive step" towards the restoration of confidence and the preservation of peace, the Union must have adequate funds for the purpose. A sum of £10,000 is needed immediately.



## A Vital Question

## ARE WE TOO TECHNICAL?

THE League of Nations Union is a democratic society existing to serve a clearly-defined purpose. Its objects are set out in its Charter; the policy by which it seeks to attain those objects is laid down from time to time by the General Council. The General Council represents the members.

Therefore, the members determine policy. But is the trend of policy such as the members desire? They may sanction the separate chapters but hesitate to approve the whole. In HEADWAY, for February, Mr. Arnold Whitaker complained that the Union was turning away from its proper task. Instead of insisting on principles it was involving itself in technicalities.

Responding to an invitation, a great number of members have written to comment on his article, some supporting his argument, an equal number opposing it. The Editor thanks them for the interest they have shown. Their letters prove that the Union is very much alive. A selection follows:—

## YES

## Peace Ballot The Last Straw

SIR,—Mr. Arnold Whitaker has expressed what others are thinking. I, too, am uncomfortable in the L.N.U. My year as Chairman of our local Branch expires next month and I shall then retire from the Committee. Between now and then I shall have to decide whether I can remain a private member. I am thoroughly unhappy about the whole business.

With me, the so-called "Peace Ballot" (a misnomer) is "the last straw." It is, in my view, improper to represent this vote as deciding the question of Peace or War. Perhaps the directors of Union policy do not mean to imply this; yet wherever I go I see that phrase as the heading of the familiar poster. The only question which seems to me unobjectionable is the first. Some of the questions, by introducing the phrase, "by international agreement" simply evade the issue, which is precisely the difficulty of obtaining international agreement. The remaining questions, being mainly technical, invite the non-expert voter to record an opinion of very little value, because it must be based on sentiment and not on the necessary information.

My friends here who disagree with me (and most of them disagree with me) tell me that I can vote for Question 1, and leave the rest alone. So I could and so I would if this question stood alone. I do not intend to answer any of the questions, because participation in the Ballot appears to me to imply approval of the policy behind it.

Further, I frankly do not know what to make of a proceeding which accompanies the Ballot Paper with coloured papers setting forth reasons for voting in one sense and also reasons for voting in the contrary sense. Very impartial, of course, but how ludicrous!

(Rev.) R. MARTIN HARVEY,  
Chairman, Acock's Green Branch, L.N.U.  
20, Botteville Road, Acock's Green, Birmingham.

## Increasingly Uncomfortable

SIR,—I am pleased that you were inviting similar criticisms of the policy of the L.N.U. I agree with all that Mr. Whitaker says. Like him I am a local secretary who has "felt increasingly uncomfortable" in that position. I should have resigned years ago if anybody could be found to take my place. In addition to the criticisms in this article, I feel that the L.N.U. should stand up to its original object—the abolition of war. To my mind, it is tampering with principles to conceive of an armed League, or to advocate so urgently the promises of collective military action—which is war. How can nations disarm if they must be ready to send forces wherever the League may command? How do we know that the League may not, at some future time, become an instrument of tyranny if it is itself armed?

I should like the L.N.U. to get back to its peace idea. The League

itself may be obliged to employ force for the present. But the Union is concerned, not with expedients, but with principles. We may have to wait years for their fulfilment, but let us keep the perfect ideal before us.

MILDRED PERRIN.

Hon. Sec., Hayward's Heath Branch, L.N.U.

Sirnico, Cuckfield.

## Leave Details to Experts

SIR,—The Union should confine itself to principles and objects at which to aim, and should avoid discussion of the technical means by which they are to be achieved.

This is the precise point to which I was constrained to refer at a public meeting in Shrewsbury last week in support of the national canvass. For instance, I agree that it is very desirable that we should have an international air force at the disposal of the League. A distinguished admiral in the audience asked questions based on his experience in the international force in China during the Boxer troubles. In conversation with him the next day, I found he was by no means hostile to our general aims, but I agree with him in doubting the practicability of devising a working scheme. In reply to him at the meeting, I urged that we should try to obtain an expression of public opinion as to our aims and leave it to the experts to work out the details.

May I take this opportunity of referring to another point in Mr. Whitaker's article? He writes as if all Conservatives are hostile to the L.N.U., or at least to the "Peace Ballot." I fancy our experience in Shropshire is fairly typical. The official Conservative agency in Shrewsbury is unfriendly, but the President of the L.N.U. and the Chairman of the Executive Committee are Conservatives, and are working actively for the Ballot. Many of the workers in the villages are staunch Conservatives, and report that they expect a 90 to 97 per cent. vote of "Yes." The official Conservative attitude, I believe, quite misrepresents the party.

Yours faithfully,

E. R. KENYON (Major-General),  
Chairman of L.N.U. Executive Committee  
for Shropshire.

Beech House, Sutton Road,  
Shrewsbury.

## Air Pact Query

SIR,—I entirely agree with Mr. Arnold Whitaker. I think it is futile to expect an opinion worth any serious consideration from a largely ignorant electorate—such as that to which the Ballot is addressed—on such questions as the private manufacture of armaments and the abolition of military aircraft.

Incidentally, it would seem that the L.N.U. Council, who favour a "Yes" answer to all the questions, must damn the latest move in the direction of the limitation of armaments plus security—the proposed "Air Pact." To others, it is the most hopeful move that has yet been made.—Yours, etc.,

H. L. STAFFORD (Colonel, late R.E.).

Holmhurst, Orchard Road, Malvern.

## Church Parallel

SIR,—I have read Mr. Whitaker's article with great interest and observe that readers' views are invited. It expresses a point of view which I and several other members tried to get considered some years ago. May I draw what I think is a true historical parallel? Taking the Churches of the latter half of last century at their own valuation for this purpose, they stood (inter alia) for the improvement of social and national life by the application of certain ethical principles. In some cases the consideration of those principles by those who accepted them led to a nearly unanimous agreement on details, and the Churches adopted those details as a part of their platform, but there were other cases where those who accepted the principles were not in agreement as to how best they could be applied, and in those cases the wiser elements claimed that the Churches should not as Churches go into the manner of applying the principles but should stand firm on the necessity of applying those principles in some way (most of these cases came under the heading of party politics), but in neither set of cases did the Churches claim to settle technicalities such as the

## MEMBERS OF THE UNION

discuss the charge against recent policy

## Face Facts: Do Not Quarrel

SIR,—I read Mr. Whitaker's article "Are We Too Technical?" with deep interest and finished with the impression that there are relevant to this article and *exclusive one of the other* two sets of opinion on technical matters relating to the League—that of the League of Nations Union and that of the experts. But surely this is not quite accurate. Have not experts themselves played, and are they not still playing, a great part in moulding Union opinion? Do they not write for us in our Magazine and speak to us from our platforms? Do they not write and speak elsewhere so that more and more the public is becoming the possessor of "Expert Opinion"? In especial, do I submit that at no time has our Executive formulated a policy on technicalities without consulting expert opinion. So much for the implication in Mr. Whitaker's article that the Union speaks without the knowledge or authority of the expert to give weight to its utterance.

Using Mr. Whitaker's analogy of the motor car, may I suggest that while it is true that the public could not create the car it does not follow that the car having been created they can neither understand it, criticise it, nor suggest improvements? Indeed, progressive manufacturers invite criticism and suggestions. In the same way the public, though unable to arrive, unaided, at expert opinion, can, having been presented with it, understand, criticise, and suggest improvements. To me the vital function of the Union now seems to be to procure expert opinion, to hand it on to its members and to invite their opinion upon it. Mr. Baldwin stated lately in Glasgow

"that, of course, everyone wanted peace" and that if the object of the Peace Ballot was to elicit this fact then the effort seemed to him superfluous. In other words, he admitted that where the League was concerned we had got beyond "principles." Further than that, cautiously aware of the breakers ahead, he would not go. But neither he nor the Union dares stop there. As a speaker I know that audiences are no longer content with principles. They demand practical suggestions. The time has come when the broad technicalities of Internationalism must be discussed just as in politics the broad technicalities of policy are placed before the electorate.

I do not see how difference of opinion can fail to arise and it is

the vision of a split within the Union that so disturbs Mr. Whitaker, but I think that the solution is to be found not in his suggested retreat to general principles but in the resolution of the General Council as voiced by Mr. Clift, of Manchester, who pleaded "not for a weak refusal to decide, but for the wise delay which might avert disaster. The Branches must have adequate time to consider and discuss . . ." But consideration and discussion must be encouraged.

I would like to ask Mr. Whitaker a question. If a dangerous germ were loose in his hospital, and two possible remedies had been suggested, yet the committee felt that the doctors were exerting themselves unduly neither to consider the remedies nor themselves to discover one, would not the committee be justified in pressing the claims of the suggested remedies? That to me is the position of armaments, the question of control or nationalisation, the experts and the Union.

I agree with Mr. Whitaker that the Union must make friends, but a friendship based on "things not to be discussed" is never so deep and strong as one where it is "agreed to differ but remain open to persuasion." Let us have the courage both to face facts and not to quarrel.

JEAN BARCLAY LOW.

2, Belhaven Terrace,  
Glasgow, W.2.

exact provisions of any Act of Parliament which was necessary to carry out the change desired. Those were technicalities best left to the Treasury and Parliament, who were better qualified to deal with them.

Now the position of the Union is somewhat similar. It stands (inter alia) for the improvement of international life by the application of certain ethical principles, and I submit it would do well to consider seriously the practice of the Churches on this point, seeing that the Churches as an institution in this country had centuries of practical experience behind them. Where those who accept the application of the principles for which we stand are nearly unanimous, as, for instance, on Question No. 1 of the Ballot, the Union is justified in accepting that as part of its platform, but on a point such as National Control versus Nationalisation of Armament Factories, where there is not the same unanimity, the Union should be content with insisting that one or the other course must be adopted.

Perhaps I should add that, being a Conservative in politics, I am naturally Radical in other things and should vote for Nationalisation of those factories.—Yours,

E. MARTIN GOVER,

Beddington, Wallington, etc., Branch.  
5, Monument Street, London Bridge, E.C.3.

## NO

## Advocate Practical Measures

SIR,—In his article "Are We Too Technical?" Mr. Whitaker states that the League of Nations Union is becoming too much concerned with technical matters, and his long experience gives weight to this opinion. He invites confusion, however, when he says: "Concentration on technicalities distracts attention from principles; and these are the real business of the Union." Strict limitation to consideration of principles would, in fact, debar us from any active measure; even the public statement of our views is a practical step towards their adoption.

The truth is surely that the principles behind the activities of the League of Nations Union are so generally recognised as being at the roots of civilised society that they can be accepted without hesitation as a basis for action, in which case Mr. Whitaker's criticism amounts to a statement of opinion that some of the practical steps taken by the Union encroach on the province of the specialist.

Whether or not Mr. Whitaker is correct in his opinion depends on the knowledge concerning the issues involved possessed by those who direct the Union's activities. While this is not a quantity to be measured, neither is it a question to awaken misgiving. Even of the rank and file many feel themselves on firm ground in advocating, for example:—

- Prohibition of the manufacture of armaments for private profit; or
- Establishment of an international air police force.

Those who advocate such ends as these are closely in touch with basic principles and far from meddling with the many and difficult technical questions which will face the experts in the realisation of these ends.—Yours,

C. CAIGER SMITH.

Hillcrest,  
Green Street Green, Farnborough, Kent.

## THE CHARTER.

. . . the main objects of the said Society are as follows:—

- To secure the wholehearted acceptance by the British people of the League of Nations as the guardian of international right, the organ of international co-operation, the final arbiter in international differences, and the supreme instrument for removing injustices which may threaten the peace of the world.
- To foster mutual understanding, goodwill and habits of co-operation and fair dealing between the peoples of different countries.
- To advocate the full development of the League of Nations so as to bring about such a world organisation as will guarantee the freedom of nations, act as trustee and guardian of backward races, and undeveloped territories, maintain international order, and finally liberate mankind from war and the effects of war.



# MUSINGS ON THE AIR PACT

By Air-Commadore P. F. M. FELLOWES, R.A.F. (Retired).

THE geography of the five nations contemplating the Air Pact, outlined by French and British Ministers in the London talks of January 31 to February 3, composes an interesting situation. Consider them as a sandwich. France and Belgium are the meat, and Germany, Italy and Great Britain the bread. If France or Belgium were to be guilty of an offensive, they themselves would be laid open to reprisal from the rear by the other members of the pact. Germany, Italy and Great Britain do not suffer from this disadvantage; they can only be attacked frontally, whether they are the defenders or offenders. Moreover, Italy and Great Britain, being at either end of the area included, are most favourably situated from a national point of view. Germany's position, although central, is more favourable in the geographical sense than that of France or Belgium.

The types of aircraft which will be used in future wars in air operations as distinct from combined operations can broadly be reduced to two, the bomber and the fighter—respectively the offensive and defensive types. The bomber will be used in fulfilment of international obligations. The fighter will almost certainly be mainly restricted to national duties. But once a contest in destruction has been joined the urgency of home defence must become paramount to all nations.

To ensure against war the two most important needs in the air are equality in bombing power for the home force, as opposed to oversea forces, amongst first-class Powers; and secondarily, as low a limitation in numbers as can be obtained internationally.

Strength in fighters is comparatively unimportant from an international standpoint. These aircraft are primarily defensive in air operations. Of course, they can be used as escorts for offensive bombers, but even there they are defensive in motive. They can also be used for light bombing. But used in this way they can have little effect in a major conflict. Large numbers of these aircraft will not, as might well happen in the case of bombers, prove an irresistible temptation to declare war.

To see how much air power has altered the international situation, let us consider for a moment a proposal for a pact for mutual defence between Germany, France, Italy, Belgium and ourselves made before the general understanding of what air power means in war. Nobody disputes that it would have carried implications widely different to those of the pact now being discussed; as a nation, for instance, we would have viewed the whole affair in a most detached spirit.

Three vital factors for right judgment and action in the conduct of a defence pact have now been so altered as to vitiate any parallel between the old situation and the new from any nation's point of view. They are, first and second, the condensation, comparatively the elimination, of both time and space; and thirdly, the unknown effect of an intensive air offensive on national endurance and the nature of national reaction to heavy air punishment.

The constriction of time has changed the problem in several ways. It has emphasised the need for preparation and has shortened the time for planning of the counter-measures after each blow and the time between each successive blow. The war-planning machine will be affected in all its parts, from the war cabinet down through every ramification. The constriction of space has put the directing heads into the war area. What

influence this will have only the future can show. It should be healthy.

It is not over-painting the picture to suggest that between the declaration of war and the first blow, possibly the decisive one, only minutes will elapse. Therefore, if a defensive pact is to be a reality, the most complete and intimate staff arrangements between nations must be created during peace time, to ensure, as far as humanly possible, against a sudden blow. On full examination of the problems involved, this may prove impossible. Even so, a really close pre-organisation must have an ameliorative effect. Something short of a completely preventive effect will still be most valuable.

The lessons of the last war are entirely misleading. They should be discounted in appraising the pact position. In the last war, it is not exaggerating to say, air power was minimised, misunderstood, and largely misused. Its direction lay in the hands of the un-air-experienced. This will not happen in the future. Present tendencies forbid.

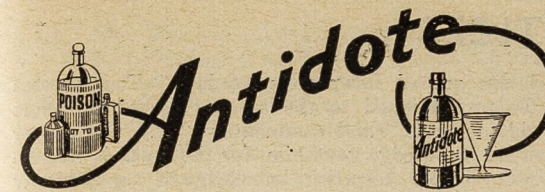
Take the case of a discontented nation which decides that to use air power is the only way to rectify the injustices which it considers it is suffering. What will it do? It will assemble a sufficient mass of bombers and prepare its continuous offensive measures so that if possible the nation it attacks will not be worth succouring. Only a very faithful ally would go to the assistance of a nation which was already knocked out and so draw down on its own people all the fury of attack from an outlaw nation.

Here is a terrible conception. But such events are not impossible even at the actual stage of air technique, and there are many developments already begun which may increase the power of destruction from the air to an extent to-day quite unforeseen. The conclusion is plain. Unless air bomber strength is limited throughout the world, and this should include potential air bombers, the risk of a sudden war stroke will become greater and greater until the temptation to a discontented nation to use an apparently decisive method of attaining its aims will become irresistible.

A consoling thought is that the need for a close liaison between nations linked in an air pact may go far to secure peace. To achieve any preparative measures of value must mean many personal contacts between not only members of the staff but also between members of actual offensive units. In time there may follow combined aerial manoeuvres with all the opportunities they would offer for friendly understanding. Further, each nation in the pact will obtain an intimate acquaintance with the fighting technique and equipment of the other members, a valuable factor in safeguarding against sudden attacks.

Arrangements would have to extend to allocation of areas, targets, time programmes in attack, and even perhaps aerodrome supply and housing arrangements.

In the last war aircraft were numbered by their thousands; in the next they will be numbered in their ten thousands. Great Britain, in 1918, had nearly thirty thousand aircraft of all sorts. Their potentiality for destruction is continually increasing. Their speed is on the upgrade. For the price of one super-battleship seven hundred heavy bombers can be built. Most vital of all considerations, "time" for remedying mistakes or lack of proper preparations has gone for ever.



## POISON :

"When nations are at war they will get arms from somewhere. If we say to our people, 'you are not allowed to make arms for these belligerents,' it simply means that someone else will. I have evidence that one firm in this country has said that because they were stopped exporting arms to China and Japan they had to throw 3,000 men out of work in one year. And another thing—these private companies do not spend all their time making arms. During some periods they make razor-blades or plough-shares."—Mr. W. P. CRAWFORD-GREENE, addressing the Deerpark Lodge of the N.C.L. at Worcester.

## ANTIDOTE :

If the firm in question only makes arms as a sort of side-line, as suggested, it seems a pity that the 3,000 men were not kept in employment and set to work on razor blades and ploughshares.

\* \* \*

## POISON :

"The *Daily Express* alone among national newspapers raises its voice against the pestilent and sinister compact by which the British Government binds us more closely, more strongly and more inescapably to the feuds and the wars of Europe. . . . Once again this newspaper stands alone. . . . Readers of this newspaper can utter its solemn, solitary warning . . . this Covenant with Death . . . etc., etc."—*Daily Express*.

## ANTIDOTE :

As Lord Beaverbrook seems to lean towards slogans such as "The Ballot of Blood" or "The Covenant with Death," an appropriate antidote would be a warning against his eagerness for The Imbecility of Isolation, which, as our italics show, he carries to extremes.

\* \* \*

## POISON :

"Britain's membership of the League of Nations has led to our assuming the thankless and dangerous role of mediator in such disputes as that between Hungary and Yugo-Slavia. It has involved the drafting of British troops to police the Saar. . . . Let us hope that this week's talks will truly mark a change in British foreign policy—that the Government will make clear beyond all misunderstanding its refusal to accept international obligations. . . ."—LEADING ARTICLE in the *Daily Express*.

## ANTIDOTE :

Lord Beaverbrook seems to be expressing his hope that no more European disturbances shall be adjusted before they can develop into lurid war headlines for the *Daily Express*.

\* \* \*

## POISON :

"What will happen three weeks after war breaks out and our Army has been sent abroad?"—LORD AMPHILL, in the House of Lords, urging the Government to reconstitute the Militia.

## ANTIDOTE :

Far more important is what would happen three minutes after war breaks out, when civilians (as well as the Militia) would be bombed out of existence.



## LANGUAGE PROBLEM SOLVED AT LAST

### How to Learn a Foreign Language in Half the Usual Time

THE problem of learning a Foreign Language in half the usual time has at last been solved.

A new method has been devised which is enabling thousands of men and women to learn French, German, Italian and Spanish without any of the usual drudgery.

Even those who "couldn't get on with languages" at school can by this method learn any one of these four languages with the greatest ease.

There are no complicated rules to master. There is no dreary desert of grammar to be traversed. There are no vocabularies to be memorised mechanically. There are no prose passages to be translated from one language into another.

All these obstacles to the acquirement of a Foreign Language have been swept entirely away. The new method takes you to the language itself, and it does this from the very start. You learn from the fountain head. You learn French in French, German in German, Spanish in Spanish and Italian in Italian. It is a direct method. English is not used at all. Yet the method is so simple that even a child can follow it, and so enjoyable that everyone who starts to learn a language in this way goes on until the language has been thoroughly mastered.

Here is the experience of one student who took the German Course:—

*After studying it for three months he went to Silesia and stayed with some Germans. He found he could talk with them very well, that he could understand them, and they him. Everyone was surprised at his good pronunciation. When he went shopping the shop assistants were surprised when he told them he was English, and said they hadn't the least idea he was a foreigner.*

*Since his return he has received many letters from his German friends, and can read them all without the least difficulty.*

*He found the Course most enjoyable. And in three months it enabled him, without any previous knowledge of German, to stay five weeks in a part of Germany where English is seldom spoken. As he says, this "speaks for itself."*

Many similar statements could be quoted. Almost every day readers write to the Pelman Institute to say that they have learnt French, German, Italian or Spanish in from one-half to one-third the usual time by this new method. And all of them agree that the Pelman method of learning languages is simple, thorough and interesting, and presents no difficulties of any sort to anyone who adopts it. As another student writes:—

"The Pelman method has changed the study of languages from a drudgery to a delight."

The Pelman method of learning French, German, Spanish and Italian is explained in a little book entitled "The Gift of Tongues."

There are four editions of this book, one for each language—

**FRENCH, GERMAN, SPANISH, ITALIAN:** You can have a copy of any one of these by writing for it to-day to the



Also Courses in Afrikaans and Urdu.

Pelman Institute,  
114, Languages House, Bloomsbury Street,  
London, W.C.1.

STATE WHICH OF THE FOUR BOOKS YOU WANT, and a copy will be sent to you by return, free and post free. Write or call to-day.

PELMAN (OVERSEAS) INSTITUTES: PARIS, 80 Boulevard Haussmann. NEW YORK, 271 North Avenue, New Rochelle. MELBOURNE, 396 Flinders Lane. DURBAN, Natal Bank Chambers. CALCUTTA, 102 Clive Street. DELHI, 10 Alipore Road. AMSTERDAM, Damrak 68. JAVA, Kromhoutweg 8, Bandoeng.



## BOOK NOTICES

**Great Contemporaries.** Essays by various hands. (Cassell & Co. 8s. 6d. net.)

Nowadays no one supposes that history is the life stories of great men. We are much too scientific for that. Yet there never has been a time when biographies were more eagerly read. Or for that matter, when the average biography was better written. And however humble their place in the serious study of history, they certainly make helpful, as well as pleasant interludes in any attempt to gain a clear understanding of our own age.

"Great Contemporaries," in some 450 pages, depicts 37 notable or notorious figures. The list is a little peculiar. It contains only men; and amongst those men some are great, some are busy in great affairs, some are greatly talked about, and some provoke a great surprise that they should appear in such company. But, since it takes all sorts to make a world, perhaps the judgment was sound which decided that it must take all sorts to make a volume of potted biographies faithfully representing the present-day world of endless hurry and scurry.

The thirty-seven writers perform their tasks in strikingly different ways, as well as at markedly different levels of accomplishment. Several draw individual pen pictures unrelated to a social background. Even when they are sharp in outline and vivid in colouring, reinforced with adroitly chosen detail, these are the least valuable. What a man looks like is less important, if he be important, than are what he thinks and does and how he strengthens or deflects or thwarts the great tide of world development.

Is it significant that the dictators in "Great Contemporaries" do not come well out of the comparison with thinkers and artists and idealists? They have a thin and theatrical appearance. Admiring biographers do their best. Yet each pretence that some chain of master events was initiated and guided by a politician who was obviously in the grip of his own local and temporary needs makes both the man and the tale small and paltry. Even the politicians unadorned and unshamed, Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, contrast favourably with Hitler and Mussolini and Stalin. An enemy describes one, a detached and dubious one-time friend the other; neither is stifled in adulation. They are allowed to make mistakes and to be themselves. They are not dressed compulsorily by their adherents in clothes that are much too large for them.

The public men who have devoted their lives to some great impersonal cause are much more attractive. They are alive; and the business with which they are concerned is seen to be vital, possessing a wider sweep and a longer continuance than mere personal issues. The dictators are described as historic. That is just what they are not; it is just what the others are who have lived for causes and not careers.

Among the thirty-seven brief lives, the most illuminating are Albert Einstein, by J. W. M. Sullivan; Lawrence of Arabia, by Captain Liddell Hart (in

which are quoted Lawrence's words: "Your success will be proportioned to the amount of mental effort you devote to it," and comments: "... the deeper power his knowledge gave him, for the truth is that he was more deeply steeped in knowledge of war than any of the generals of the last war"); Dr. Albert Schweitzer, by Maude Royden; Marshal Lyautey, by André Maurois; Lord Rutherford, by J. G. Crowther; Pablo Picasso, by Herbert Read; Havelock Ellis, by Lancelot Hogben (who says: "We shall not harmonise the public needs of a progressive society with the private needs of an individual human nature till we have a science of man's behaviour"); his Holiness Pius XIth, by C. C. Martindale; and Viscount Cecil, by Alan Thomas.

**National Public Works.** (League of Nations: Organisation for Communications and Transit. 281 pp. Geneva, 1934.)

The Communications and Transit Organisation has published a compilation of the replies of twenty-nine Governments (including the British, the United States, the French, the Dutch, the Swiss and the Italian) to a questionnaire on Public Works, issued with the approval of the Council, which considered that it would be in the interests of all governments to know the experience acquired in different countries, particularly as regards the effects of public works, according to their category, on economic activity and employment. The replies generally contain a description of the main public works, an explanation of the administrative and financial machinery, and an estimate of the results. The reply of the British Government is short and

reiterates the point of view put forward by Mr. Runciman at the London Conference.

**Mongols of Manchuria.** By Owen Lattimore. (Allen & Unwin. 8s. 6d.)

Mr. Lattimore wields an unrivalled authority in all matters relating to the history and the politics of Manchuria and Mongolia. He has studied the northern borderlands of China on the spot, long and thoroughly, and he possesses remarkable gifts of exposition. He is not an adherent of any party, and does not preach the doctrines of any school. Therefore, what he has to say is often listened to with marked reserve. His most confident, best founded pronouncements are liable to receive the coldest of hearings. The reader in honest search of light, however, must be grateful to him for those qualities of independence and knowledge which prevent his becoming a loudly acclaimed propagandist. Frequently he fails to convince; from time to time he is not even persuasive; but he is always illuminating.

Mr. Lattimore's latest book shows once again how deep going is the division between Mongolia and Manchuria, on one side, and China proper, on the other, how contrasted their peoples and their ways of life. Mongolia, Manchuria and China have never been unified, though they have been linked through the

1935 Edition

The  
**LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION  
YEAR BOOK**

Every member should obtain a  
copy of this useful manual of the  
Union's work.

**PRICE 6d.**

at the

**UNION'S BOOK SHOP**

## The Great Demand for Short Stories

By a Well-Known Novelist and  
Short-Story Writer

The scope for the fiction writer in this country is enormous. Payment varies between one guinea and five guineas a thousand words (short stories are from 2,000 to 7,000 words long), all types of story are wanted, and the work of the unknown writer is carefully considered.

Editors are always on the look-out for new authors with talent, and spare no trouble to encourage them. The supply of suitable short stories does not keep pace with the demand.

Story-writing demands an ability to write, imagination and a knowledge of the rules of construction. And a great number of people who do not write have the ability to do so (their entertaining letters are witness to that), and the imagination which, if used correctly, could seize on the myriads of ideas that everyday life provides and make plots of them.

*If you have literary aptitude you can be trained to work ideas into plots and make stories of them which editors would be glad to buy.*

As a spare-time occupation story-writing is the most delightful of all hobbies, and it is probably the most profitable. A trained writer can turn out a 3,000-4,000 word story (the most popular length) in six hours or so, and be paid anything from three to twenty guineas for it.

\* \* \* \* \*

There is a short-cut to successful story writing—the Regent way. In a fascinating Course of ten lessons, conducted by correspondence, the literary aspirant is shown what a short story really is, how to get plots (the Regent Plot Finder, an inimitable production, taps dozens of sources of material for story-writers), how to construct them, how to write dialogue, how to characterise and gain atmosphere, how to prepare MSS. for the market and HOW TO SELL THEM for the best prices.

The tuition is conducted on individual lines by well-known authors (one of the tutors has himself sold 300 stories to a wide variety of publications). Many students start selling their work after a few lessons.

Send to-day for a free copy of the Institute's prospectus, "How to Succeed as a Writer." It contains much striking information of interest to literary aspirants and describes the Regent postal courses.

*Cut out this coupon and post it in an unscaled envelope (3d. stamp), or write a simple request for the booklet, addressed to The Regent Institute (Dept. 219D), Regent House, Palace Gate, London, W.8.*

### THE REGENT INSTITUTE

(Dept. 219D), Regent House, Palace Gate, London, W.8

Without any obligation on my part, please send me a copy of "How to Succeed as a Writer"—free and post free.

Name .....

(BLOCK LETTERS)

Address .....

centuries. The Mongols, of whom the Manchurians are a branch, have played an historic role in China. Traditionally, they are conquerors and rulers. What the future holds for them is hidden. They are few in numbers, but they are not degenerate. They have not lost their old pride and courage.

Mr. Lattimore entertains a clear-eyed affection for them. He does not dislike Japan's adventure in Manchukuo, because he hopes it will liberate the Mongols. Manchukuo, he argues in effect, will give them the opportunity to develop their still unexplored possibilities. Much can be said on the other side. But here is a case, urged with special knowledge, which deserves serious consideration. At moments Mr. Lattimore's ardour carries him into amusing extremes. He is inclined to look upon China and the Chinese as no more than the raw material for the exercise of Mongol talents. The great periods of Chinese history he sees as the years of Mongol weakness. Indeed, for him, the splendid Ming age is only the interval separating two periods of Mongol power. But he must be allowed his excesses. They are candid; and they are only a small price to pay for his excellencies. R. F.

**Essential Facts About the League of Nations.** (Fourth Edition, Revised. Geneva Information Section. 1s.)

Among the many publications of the League, none appeals more directly to a wide public than the little blue book which contrives in less than 300 pages to describe all that the League is and all that the League does. It is compiled with a truly astonishing skill. In it can be found the answers to nearly all imaginable questions upon the Covenant and its outgrowths and its working. Occasionally the ardent believer in the League reads the particulars with a wry smile. They make obvious the difficulty of translating good intentions and high-flown eloquence into workaday practice. To secure the initialing of an international convention, difficult as it is, is an easy matter compared with the inducement of enough ratifications to allow it to enter into force. Still, the League's constructive achievements are most impressive in their mass and variety. It is well that they should be thrust upon the notice of the world, which benefits by them and would seem to conspire to ignore them.

#### Official League Publications

**Inquiry on National Public Works.** (Ser. L.o.N. P. 1934. VIII. 8.) 281 pages. Price 12s.

In September, 1933, the Council of the League of Nations came to the conclusion that a continuous international study of general questions relating to public works, including big programmes of work financed out of national resources, would be of great value as permitting of a comparison of the experience acquired in the different countries in regard to the effects of the execution of public works on the resumption of economic activity and on unemployment. The Council was, therefore, of opinion that the collection of the necessary preparatory information should be at once proceeded with. The report adopted by the Assembly in 1933 expresses similar views. In the period of distress through which the world is now passing, this question cannot fail to be of particular interest to public opinion and Governments in most countries.

In compliance with the wishes of the Council and Assembly, the Secretary-General has asked the Governments to send him the information required. With the exception of some minor details, these replies are reproduced in full. It is hoped that they will enable Governments to decide whether it will be possible for them to co-ordinate the policies which they are severally pursuing in this matter.

All publications reviewed in "Headway" (and many others) can be obtained from the Union's Book Shop at 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London.



## READERS' VIEWS

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

### FRONTIER POLICE

SIR,—I was much interested in Air-Commodore Chamier's suggestion in the December HEADWAY of an unarmed International Frontier Police. In principle, it seems an excellent idea. Its psychological value alone—as a symbol of international responsibility—would surely be immense; much dangerous friction could be prevented by this means.

The organisation of such a force ought not to be difficult—international police already exist in the Saar and Shanghai. The main problem would be to get their services accepted where they would be most useful, and to win consent to necessary changes in territorial sovereign rights.

The first point might be met by introducing these police on the less difficult frontiers, to begin with. As nations grew accustomed to the idea, and its advantages were demonstrated, they would be induced to extend it to other places where the danger of tension was greater.

The second difficulty is serious. But neutral zones are not unknown, and it would surely be possible to persuade some nations to agree to establish such zones along their frontiers, within which the police would operate. Again, proof of the practical advantage of this method in experimental areas would be the best inducement to extend it.

May I suggest that L.N.U. branches consider this proposal carefully? It must be clearly distinguished from the question of an International Air Police, whose functions would be quite different. Whilst the whole subject of International Policing is to the fore, I do hope this particular idea will get some attention.

ALBERT F. BAYLY.

Whitley Bay.

### ARMS MAY BE NECESSARY

SIR,—You obviously cannot give me space to argue with one of your correspondents about the details (however important) of a hypothetical set of circumstances. But may I just assure Mr. Scott Blair, lest he is thinking I do not respect his opinions, that I have not the least difficulty in respecting them; my difficulty is to understand them? That is because I regard "armed resistance" as but a part of a kind of "attitude of resistance" which one assumes the pacifist to reject, whereas he seems to think of it as a sort of tool, independent of anything else, to be taken up on occasion and then laid aside with as little consequence to the conduct of life as the taking up of a screwdriver or some other tool.

New Southgate.

HUMPHREY S. MOORE.

### THE WELSH CHILDREN'S WORLD WIRELESS MESSAGE

SIR,—In the month of March, year after year, you have kindly allowed me to call attention in your columns to the annual broadcast of the Welsh Children's Message to the children of all countries.

The annual message is first submitted to the children themselves in the schools of Wales, and on "Goodwill Day," May 18, it will be broadcast by the principal broadcast stations throughout the world for the fourteenth year in succession, and on a wider scale than ever. Amongst the new developments is the inclusion of the Welsh Children's Message by the B.B.C. in the

News Bulletins broadcast in the various programmes from its Empire station on May 18.

Replies to the Messages of previous years have been received from over seventy countries; the new contacts of last year including Soviet Russia, Peru and Nigeria.

The following is the English text of the 1935 Message:—

"From our playgrounds, schools and homes we, boys and girls of Wales, greet the boys and girls of all the world.

"Springtime has come once more to our little country; springtime with all its loveliness in trees and flowers. And we children are of the spring, too; for through us the world becomes young again! Shall we then, on this Goodwill Day, all join hands in a living chain of comradeship encircling the whole earth?

"To-day we would also remember with gratitude those, in all countries, who have renewed life and enriched it by conquering disease and who, by their labours, have brought health and happiness to mankind.

"Science has made us neighbours: let Goodwill keep us friends."

A copy of a 16-page illustrated booklet with the 1935 Message printed in several languages will be sent on application.

GWILYM DAVIES.

L.N.U. (Welsh National Council),  
10, Museum Place, Cardiff.

### GERMAN COLONIES

SIR,—Lord Lothian, in an article in the *Times* dated February 1, advocated a greater spirit of friendliness towards Germany.

Major Frankland Pemberton, in February News Sheet, says that we should "aid in the recovery of Germany so that she may regain and preserve her self-respect and enjoy her just share in that prosperity to which every nation looks forward."

How better can we do our duty in these respects than by restoring to Germany her fair share of overseas possessions?

Of a number of people to whom I have mentioned the subject, only one did not wholeheartedly support the idea, and that one only half-heartedly opposed it.

Has not the time come to give wider publicity to the proposal?

It would come so much better from us than from Germany, and the result would, I think, be surprising.

H. W. KELSALL,  
Lieut.-Col. (late R.E.),  
Chairman, Wareham Branch.

Campside, Wareham, Dorset.

### A BETTER LEAGUE?

SIR,—May I crave a small space to pursue two interesting points raised in your review of my book, "A Better League of Nations"?

The reviewer says that young men who are looking for a development of the League's economic and functional machinery will not find much guidance in this book. But how are the young men going to secure the establishment of economic machinery that will be really effective for such purposes as they probably have in mind? Have they any hope of getting it by the present method of struggling after unanimous agreement at world conferences? My plan would enable them to seek it through legislation in a universal League having power to make and unmake enforceable laws in economic as well as other matters by a reasonable majority. That seems to me a more practical and hopeful way.

He further comments that the book has little to say as

to how a "better" League is to be brought about. I think the best way is to appeal to the enlightened self-interest of nations, and the first thing to do is to set the world thinking in what amended form the League would constitute a good bargain for every country to obtain. That is the aim of my book. I would like to see the League of Nations Union and the Federation of League of Nations Societies follow up the idea. Then there is the British Government. We have yet to learn what would be the possibilities of success for a British Government if it set itself with conviction and energy to the task of persuading the world to unite in a universal League with effective means for securing peace, justice, and economic progress among all nations.

F. N. KEEN.

### ORGANISING PUBLIC OPINION

SIR,—The following passage, which is taken from an essay on the Pacification of Europe, by C. K. Webster, and refers to the movement for the abolition of slave-trade at the beginning of the nineteenth century, might well be applied to the Peace Ballot now in progress:—

But though a cynical construction was put upon the agitation by statesmen at the time . . . it cannot be doubted that it was as sincere as it was ultimately effectual, and that, without the sustained and eager insistence of an organised public opinion in this country, the responsible statesmen would have allowed the iniquitous traffic to continue under the pretext that it was impossible to do otherwise.

It was by this "sustained and eager insistence of an organised public opinion" that England led the way in a movement which, at one time condemned as impracticable and even undesirable, has now become one of the principles of common humanity. The abolition of the slave-trade was achieved primarily by the accumulation of efforts similar to the Peace Ballot.

Kingswood.

PETER L. RYDE.

### PEACE BALLOT PRIDE

SIR,—Captain Fellowes is ungrateful. The Peace Ballot has perhaps disturbed the slumbers of many excellent persons. It suggests that the Covenant should be worked. So comfortable slumbers are broken and a strident incursion is made upon dignified repose. But that is the inevitable penalty inflicted by life and growth. Sedate and childless uncles and aunts must bear it as best they can. They may pluck up courage, however. The infant will do them great credit in the near future. It is showing high promise already, and has even begun to earn the family an increase of reputation.

A few months ago, to abuse the Ballot was fashionable. In some quarters not a good word was ever said for it. Now opposition is old-fashioned. The *Morning Post* has paid it the compliment of imitation by producing a Test Vote. Up and down the country, platforms, political and other, resound with eager explanations that no one ever really disliked it. The attitude of hostility was only a cautious way of making friends with the little stranger.

Let Captain Fellowes have a little patience. Before the year is out he will be boasting that he attended the christening.

ROGER FORTUNE.

Hyde Park Gate, S.W.7.

**CADBURYS**  
MILK 2<sup>oz.</sup> 2<sup>d.</sup>  
CHOCOLATE

## NEW COMMONWEALTH PUBLICATIONS

### The Menace of Aerial Gas Bombardment.

A description and examination of the efforts being made by European countries to provide defence against aerial gas attack. By Lieut. Col. Norman G. Thwaites, O.B.E., M.V.O. 3d.

### Why a World Police is Inevitable.

A convincing argument for the necessity of international order in the Twentieth Century. By J. J. van der Leeuw, LL.D.

### Force and the Future.

By Lord Davies. Reprinted from *Force*. (Benn, 21/-) 1/-.

### Why War?

An exchange of open letters between Professor Einstein and Dr. Sigmund Freud. Reprinted by permission of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. 3d.

A discount of 25 per cent. will be granted on all purchases of 50 copies or over.

Copies obtainable from the General Secretary, Thorney House, Smith Square, Westminster, S.W.1.

## GOOD NEWS FROM ABROAD

### (5) THE SCRIPTURES IN CHINA

In recent years we have not had much good news from China. Wars and rumours of war, famine and flood, banditry and unrest—these have figured largely in newspaper reports from that vast Empire, and we have all longed and prayed that happier days might dawn for the Chinese people.

But there is another, and a brighter, side to the picture. The Bible Society began its work in China in 1812 with a large grant of money toward the expenses incurred by Robert Morrison in translating and printing the New Testament in Chinese, and, in 1814, 2,000 copies of this New Testament were issued.

Last year nearly four million copies of Holy Writ were circulated in China by the Bible Society, largely through the activities of the 400 colporteurs employed in its service, and from reports received from the field there is abundant evidence that this dissemination of the Scriptures is yielding a rich spiritual harvest.

Will you help in the task of bringing the knowledge of Christ to the Chinese people?

**BRITISH & FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY**  
146, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C.4.



## HERE AND THERE

**SPECIAL MENTION.**—The Editor of "News Sheet" regrets that no Branch has forwarded during the past month any details of activities which seemed to him to merit Special Mention. The explanation probably lies in the fact that most Branches are fully engaged in the National Declaration, which is, of course, as it should be. Obviously, it is better to insist upon a high standard of activity for Special Mention, rather than make inclusion in this feature merely a matter of comparison, and it is hoped that many claims for inclusion will come to hand during the ensuing months.

As a result of a well-attended meeting in the Trinity Methodist Schoolroom, a promising new Branch was inaugurated at **Kinver**.

An interesting debate took place at **Exeter** recently, when the Junior Imperial League, as guests of the L.N.U. Youth Group at Toe H Headquarters moved: "That an adequate Imperial defence of the British Empire is necessary as a safeguard of our own interests, and will continue to be the best possible assurance of Peace among nations." Mr. R. M. Taylor, for the Union, urged that Collective Security alone could ensure the Peace of the World and adequately safeguard the interests of the Empire. The motion was lost by a 10 per cent. minority.

It was announced at the Annual Meeting of the **Halesowen** Branch that the membership had been doubled during 1934. An enthusiastic Junior Branch has been formed in addition.

**Visit to the United States of America.**—Arrangements have been made provisionally for this Group to sail from Southampton by R.M.S. "Majestic," on April 24. The party will spend 15 days in the United States and the American League of Nations Association is co-operating with the Union in arranging a tour of great interest, including visits to New York, Philadelphia and Washington. More information about the visit is contained in a printed leaflet which may be obtained from Headquarters.

**Whitsuntide in Geneva.**—The first Geneva party of 1935 will leave London on Saturday, June 8. This visit will make a special appeal to those who are interested in international labour legislation, and members of the group will have the opportunity of seeing the International Labour Conference in session, and of taking part in a programme of lectures and discussions on its work. Those who are able to take an early holiday may like to be reminded that June is one of the most delightful months for a visit to Switzerland. A printed leaflet is now ready giving full particulars of the arrangements for this visit.

Other forthcoming arrangements include the Junior Summer School for boys and girls, Geneva, August 1—11; the Geneva Institute of International Relations, Geneva, August 18—24; a Conference on Training for World Citizenship and a Youth Groups Conference, in conjunction with the Geneva Institute, and visits to the League Assembly in September.

## OVERSEAS NOTES

The Executive Committee and the four Standing Committees of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies will be meeting in **Geneva** on March 1, 2 and 3. Among the questions to be discussed will be the preparations for the proposed World Youth Congress in 1936. Other matters under consideration will include the question of Minorities, the Reform of the League of Nations, the Statute of Tangier, the Problem of International Responsibility in the Light of the Marseilles Crime, Hours of Work, and the Age of Admission into Employment.

## BELGIUM.

**An Inquiry into the Arms Traffic in Belgium?**—The Comité d'Action contre le Trafic des Armements has issued a statement in *Jeune Europe* advocating that a Commission of Inquiry should be set up to inquire into the arms traffic in Belgium. The Comité d'Action, whose secretariat is at 36 Boulevard Emile Jacquain, includes, up to the present, the following societies: Anciens Combattants Flamands; Ligue Internationale Socialiste Anti-Guerre; Action pour la Paix des Jeunes Catholiques; Action pour la Paix des Jeunes Flamands; Centrale de la Jeunesse Ouvrière Socialiste; Association Anti-Guerre de Diplomés d'Universités Flamands. The proposed Commission of Inquiry should be able to deal, among others, with the following questions:—

- (a) With regard to industry and commerce:—
- 1.—What is the connection between the Belgian metal industry and foreign enterprise, particularly the Comité des Forges of France?
  - 2.—What is the connection between the Belgian chemical industry and foreign enterprise, particularly the I.G. Farben-Kuhlman and Imperial Chemicals Industry?

3.—What is the connection between the Belgian Bank and the Comité des Forges and the foreign metal and chemical trusts?

(b) With regard to the Press:—

- 4.—Which are the newspapers controlled by the industrial and financial groups interested in the manufacture of armaments?
- 5.—Do not certain alarmist campaigns, spreading rumours of war and the necessity of fortifying the frontier, originate from these same groups?

## INDIA.

**Obituary.**—It is with great regret that we announce the death of Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, formerly Indian member of the Information Section of the League of Nations Secretariat and more recently a member of the Political Section.

Mr. Chatterjee, who met his death in a train accident in Calcutta, was visiting India on leave and was also taking stock of and encouraging the activities of the Indian League of Nations Union. His loss will be very keenly felt by his many friends and collaborators in the League of Nations movement. In particular, the progress of the movement in India will suffer by his going.

**Welcome!**—The Bombay Presidency League of Nations Union is to be congratulated on the publication of a monthly magazine, *Swords and Ploughshares*, the first number of which appeared this February. This magazine tells of work done in India and other countries to promote interest in the League of Nations and the I.L.O.; its aim is to educate public opinion in India in the work done at Geneva. To quote from its own title-page: "It is an Indian review of man's struggle to outlaw war." The British League of Nations Union wishes *Swords and Ploughshares* every success.

## U.S.A. On Defeat of the Court

Here is what some of America's outstanding peace advocates told the World Peace Foundation within a few hours after the United States entrance into the World Court was defeated under the two-thirds rule in the Senate.

**Mr. Elihu Root**, former Secretary of State:

I think the majority of the Senate which has been defeated under the two-thirds rule on the World Court issue truly represents, with the President, the sober judgment and the sincere conviction of the American people, who hate war, and wish their country to do its share towards promoting peace with justice in the world. I do not for a moment doubt that this great American majority will yet cause their will to be made effective by their government.

**Mr. Newton D. Baker**, War-time Secretary of War:

The forces of peace have suffered a defeat at the end of eleven disappointing years of waiting at the hands of the Senate. The cause of peace differs from war in this. You can lose a war, but you can never lose peace. This means that we must continue the campaign of education until we have secured seven more votes or taken away from one-third of the Senate the power to block the peace movement.

(This statement was also signed by Mr. A. Lawrence Lowell, former President, Harvard University.)

**Mr. Henry L. Stimson**, former Secretary of State:

The cause of peace cannot permanently be set aside by the decision, which is not in accord with the true interest or methods of this country.

In due time the United States will take its part in adhering to the World Court and replacing war by judicial methods.

Messages or statements were also received from Mr. James P. Pope, Senator, Idaho; Mr. Robert M. Hutchins, President, University of Chicago; Mr. Wilbur L. Cross, Governor of Connecticut; Mr. Harry E. Fosdick, Pastor, Riverside Church, N.Y.; Monsignor John A. Ryan, Catholic University of America; Mr. Chester Rowell, Editor, *San Francisco Chronicle*; Mr. Manley O. Hudson, Bemis Professor of International Law, Harvard Law School; Miss Jane Adams; Miss Mary Woolley, President, Mount Holyoke College, Massachusetts; Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Hon. President, National Council Cause and Cure of War; and Mr. Peter Molyneux, Editor, *Texas Weekly*.

## SPECIAL BROADCASTING NOTICE

Our readers will be specially interested to note that the speakers in the discussion on the National Declaration, which will be broadcast on Monday, March 4, will be Viscount Cecil and the Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery. It is certain that if it were possible to ascertain the number of listeners to tune in for any particular broadcasts, this debate would rank extremely high in the list.

## WELSH NOTES

The Welsh Council's campaign of Demonstrations and Public Meetings continues with unabated vigour. Mr. E. H. Jones, M.A., President of the Welsh Council, has addressed a large number of meetings. Lord Davies, Chairman of the Council's Executive Committee, addressed crowded audiences in **North and South Wales** again during February, and numerous other speakers have given their assistance in the campaign. Sir Norman Angell visited a large number of centres in South Wales. Lord Davies presided over a county rally at **Newtown**, at which the speakers were Mr. Clement Davies, K.C., M.P., and Mr. Robert Richards, M.A.

The examination under the Welsh Council's 1935 Geneva Scholarships Scheme (Secondary Schools with Junior Branches) was held on Saturday, January 26, and the Examination under the Council's National Essay Competition Scheme (Central and Elementary Schools) on Monday, January 21.

## Council's Vote

The following Branches have completed their Council's Vote payments for 1934:—

Arundel, Abingdon, Angmering, Barlaston, Bishop Auckland, Blaby, Bloxham, Backworth, Bletchley, Burnside, Brasted, Badminton School, Bamber Bridge, Betchworth, Bruton, Cottenham, Coseley, Chester, St. John, Chelmsford, Coventry District, Dunmow, Downley, Dedham, Egham, Fleet, Flore, Felixstowe, Frodsham, Forest Row, Fernhurst, Great Bardfield, Gainsborough, Hasbury, Heyford, Horley, Hull, Hathern, Hereford, Kegworth, Lancing, Lutterworth, Leamington, Milford-on-Sea, Meopham, Northampton, Newcastle, St. James, Oxhey, Plumpton, Pitsford, Peppard, Paignton, Princes Risborough, Penn and Tylers' Green, Rugby, Ross, Ryde, Rushden, Rainham, Rayleigh, Sandwich, Shawbury, Sandown, Stonehouse, Staveley, South Petherton, St. Nicholas, Stebbing, Shoreham, Stocksfield, Sevenoaks, Soham, Skipton, Stockton Brook, Scunthorpe, South Portsmouth, Silverdale (Lanes.), Shanklin, Stanford-le-Hope, Totnes, Topsham, Teignmouth, Wylam, Weston-super-Mare, Whitechurch, Welwyn, Weston Rhyn, Wollaston, Whitstable.

For 1935:—  
West Cranmore.

## UNION MEMBERSHIP

## Terms of Subscriptions

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

*Foundation Membership is the financial backbone of the Union. All who are able and willing are besought to become Foundation Members; any subscription above the absolute minimum helps both local and national funds more than is generally realised.*

Corporate Membership (for Churches, Societies, Guilds, Clubs and Industrial Organisations) costs £1 a year, in return for which a nominee is entitled to receive, for the use of the Organisation, *HEADWAY* and such other publications as are supplied to Foundation Members. (Corporate Membership does not apply to Wales or Monmouthshire.)

In many households several persons are members of the Union. Where one copy of each Union publication is sufficient for the family the Head Office will be glad to receive an intimation.

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

**Foundation Members:** £1 a year (minimum). (To include *HEADWAY*, the journal of the Union, monthly, by post, and specimen copies of the pamphlets and similar literature issued by the Union.)

**Registered Members:** 5s. or more a year. (To include *HEADWAY*, or, if preferred, one of the subsidiary journals of the Union, by post, and occasional important notices.)  
\* 3s. 6d. or more a year. (To include *HEADWAY*, or, if preferred, one of the subsidiary journals of the Union, by post.)

**Ordinary Members:** 1s. a year minimum.

**Life Members:** £25.

\* In Wales and Monmouthshire the minimum subscription for Registered Members is 5s. Particulars of the work can be had from *The Secretary, Welsh National Council, League of Nations Union, 10, Museum Place, Cardiff.*



**Mr. F.** Hallo, Sir! Had some good news? You're looking very happy.

**Mr. J.** Yes, my boy; and I'm feeling very happy. I've just converted my Life Assurance Policy into a Pension for Life—and now I'm going to retire.

**Mr. F.** But what do you mean? I didn't know you could do that with Insurance.

**Mr. J.** Oh, yes, you can—at least, I can, thanks to the guarantees given to me with my Sun Life of Canada comprehensive Family Protection Plan. My main reason for insuring was my family. I was 35, and had very little money saved. This plan, which I easily afforded out of my income, guaranteed my wife, if I died, £400 immediate cash, £20 a month income until the children had grown up, and then a final guaranteed cash sum of £2,682, which would be increased by bonus additions.

**Mr. F.** Well, but you haven't died, and you say you are now going to get a pension.

**Mr. J.** Yes, now that I am 60 I have the option of receiving back the total of all my savings, or taking a pension of £200 a year for the rest of my life, and as the children are now self-supporting, and my wife's financial position is secure, too, I am taking the pension.

**Mr. F.** That's great. Can one get an equally good arrangement to-day?

**Mr. J.** Go and see the Sun Life of Canada yourself, my boy; or write to the General Manager. And, by the way, remember that all these years I have been saving Income Tax—which has made it still more profitable. And I forgot to tell you: you can arrange that if you die as the result of an accident, the money available for your family will be doubled.

**If you let us know your age, exact figures for the Plan referred to will be provided without obligation. The Plan applies to any age and for any amount. Write to H. O. Leach (General Manager), Sun Life Assurance Co. of Canada (Incorporated in Canada in 1865 as a limited company), 99, Sun of Canada House, Cockspur Street, London, S.W.1.**



# RULE OF THE ROAD

In the slow, old world, traffic controls were not needed — and nations went their way without much risk.

To-day the crowded nations, like the high-speed traffic, need control to avoid a smash.

To provide such control and push the world along to better things is the task of the

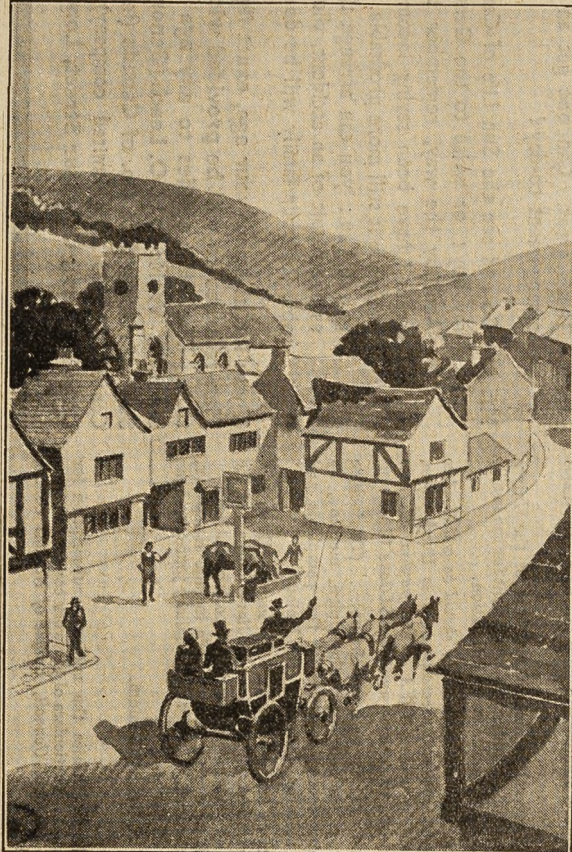
## LEAGUE OF NATIONS

In order to support the  
**LEAGUE OF NATIONS**

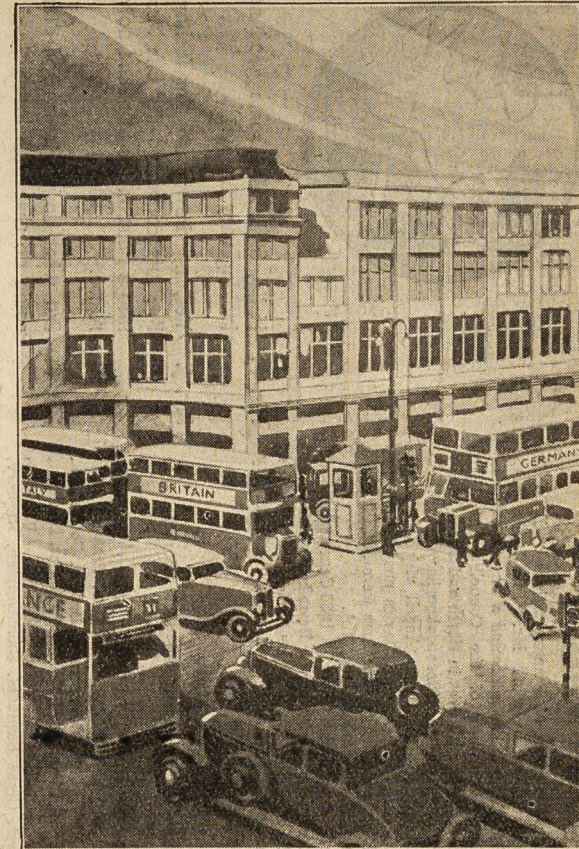
join the

**LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION**

Head Office: 15 Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1



1835



1935

Published by the LEAGUE OF NATIONS UNION, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1, and printed in Great Britain by THE AVENUE PRESS (L. TROTTER GIRD & SON, LTD.), 58-59, Druce Lane, W.C.2. Applications for Advertisement space to FREDK. E. POTTER, LTD., Aldwych House, Aldwych, London, W.C.2.