

NOT TO BE TAKEN AWAY
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Matters of Moment

THE next two months promise to be of profound moment to the immediate future of the world, and they are likely to centre round the shores of the Lake of Geneva, not entirely in the city of Geneva itself, for one of the great international conferences will be held some forty miles up the Lake at Lausanne, near enough, however, for many delegates to move from Disarmament and the Far East (if the Far East is still under discussion at Geneva) to Reparations at Lausanne, and *vice versa*. The League of Nations has a curious kind of negative interest in the Lausanne Conference, because reparations has always been one of the major international problems which had to be settled away from Geneva, since it involved only a handful of League States and could not reasonably be fitted into the ordinary League framework. But the various reparations discussions have to some extent diverted attention from Geneva, just as the existence and activity of the Conference of Ambassadors used to do. It would be of some advantage to the League to have this rival attraction, or, rather, distraction, out of the way, and quite apart from that, of course, a world no longer labouring under the strain of reparations tension will be a world in which the League can do its appointed work a good deal more effectively than at present.

Germany and War-Guilt

IN an article in another column Dr. Temperley discusses a question of the first importance—whether the Archbishop of York was right in adopting in his Geneva sermon three months ago the commonly accepted interpretation of Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles as fastening on Germany the moral guilt of causing the War. Dr. Temple will no doubt deal with Dr. Temperley's weighty arguments himself. Meanwhile one observation may be made here. Dr. Temperley contends that the words in the Treaty referring to the damage caused to the Allies "as a consequence of the war imposed on them by the aggression of Germany and her Allies" simply reproduce the earlier pre-Armistice undertaking (accepted by Germany) to pay compensation for damage to Allied civilian persons and property "by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea, and from the air." It is an important point, but are the two things in fact the same? Is the word "aggression" used in the same sense in each case? The normal reading of the Treaty clause would seem to be that the whole war was imposed on the Allies by Germany's original attack. That goes some way beyond the idea of mere compensation for damage done by German guns and aeroplanes, similar to the damage done by Allied guns and aeroplanes. But no one

who has studied the authorities Dr. Temperley quotes can fail to be deeply impressed by their conclusions.

France at the Polls

THE French elections, which take place on May 1 with a second ballot on May 8, are of much more than national importance. That is generally the case when a Great Power is in question and it happens that France's decision falls just when international decisions of the highest moment have to be taken in two or three different fields. That is true particularly of disarmament and reparations, and in regard to both those questions hopes have been entertained that a change of Government in France might result in a modification of French policy that would make international agreement more likely. It would be unwise to count too much on that. In the first place, it is quite uncertain whether the French electors will choose M. Herriot instead of M. Tardieu, and equally uncertain how much France's foreign policy will be affected if they do. M. Briand no longer lives, and the Herriot policy is not so completely different from the Tardieu policy over either reparations or disarmament as to suggest that difficulties at Geneva and Lausanne will be suddenly removed. A move to the left would, no doubt, ease the situation a little. More than that it would not be safe to say.

Great Britain and Sanctions

BRITISH official declarations on the subject of sanctions are so comparatively rare that it is well to make the most of those that do come along. The following passage occurred in Sir John Simon's speech in the House of Commons on March 22nd. The words in italics deserve note, but it would not be fair to wrench them from their context. The qualifying words which precede and follow them must be given full weight: "Yet that is the class of case in which sanctions would be most likely to be applied, and while, therefore, *Britain will stand most firmly by its obligations under every Article of the Covenant*—and nothing that I have said in the least degree suggests the opposite—I suggest to all who study this subject that it is best to keep the coercive and the mediatory functions of the League distinct, and that this has been proved to be a case in which the effective action of the League is best applied by mediatory and conciliatory action." The Foreign Secretary's words show that, at any rate, it would be quite untrue to suggest that under no circumstances would Great Britain ever have recourse to any sanctions.

Women and the League

THE Council for the Representation of Women in the League of Nations has presented a memorandum to the British Government on a resolution of the last League Assembly regarding

the possibility of women's co-operating more fully in the work of the League. The memorandum recognises very wisely that "the crux of the situation lies in the attitude towards women taken by the Governments of the respective countries included within the membership of the League." The Council's prime concern, therefore, is with the British Government, and it asks that women shall have more share in the determination of British policy, that there shall be more women in the delegations and among the technical advisers sent to Geneva, and that Government Departments should make a special effort to inform themselves of women's opinion on various subjects. But is there so definite a "women's opinion," as distinct from men's opinion, on most political questions? It is an accepted principle of the League that there shall in no department of its work be any discrimination against women as such, but it is not quite clear why any special treatment should be sought for them as such. There is ample scope for the co-operation, both official and unofficial, of men and women in the work of the League simply as human beings.

Armaments Profits

AT the annual meeting of Vickers, Ltd., early last month, a substantial reduction in the Company's profits was attributed in part to the slackness of the armaments side of the business, on which the subsidiary company of Vickers-Armstrong was said largely to depend for its existence. The chairman complained of the fact that the export credits scheme in this country cannot be used to facilitate the export of armaments, and it is observed that the *Times* City Editor regards such a complaint as fully justified. Those who hold, with Article VIII of the Covenant of the League of Nations, that "the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections," will take a different view. It is admittedly hard that armaments manufacturers in this country should have to see their competitors in France, Italy and elsewhere securing orders, partly, at any rate, as the result of the exercise of political influence on their behalf. Even so, it is clearly undesirable that the private trade in arms should be assisted through the export credits scheme or any other form of Government co-operation.

Mandates and Trusteeship

THE British Empire League has sent the Prime Minister a set of resolutions regarding British mandates. It is anxious that the League of Nations should be urged to revise mandates held by Great Britain and the Dominions in such a way as to enable these territories to give preferences to the goods from certain British countries. The whole purpose of the mandate system from the first has been to maintain in the mandate areas

(except "C" mandates) a completely open door which will enable all countries to trade in these territories on equal terms. The idea that the holder of a mandate should gain some financial benefit from its trusteeship has always been rigorously discountenanced by British delegates at Geneva as much as by anyone. It is, therefore, safe to predict that the Prime Minister will make no response to the suggestions put before him.

A Baedeker Settlement

SINCE HEADWAY in its April issue (basing itself on a *Times* report) touched on the interesting part played by the Belgian League of Nations Union in persuading Herr Baedeker, the publisher of the famous guide-books, to revise a passage in his latest Belgian guide, a word should be added to embody explanations Herr Baedeker himself gives in a subsequent letter to the "*Times*" from Leipzig. The Belgian League of Nations Union did approach Herr Baedeker, taking exception to remarks in his Belgian guide regarding the alleged activities of civilian sharpshooters at Dinant and Aerschot during the war, and Herr Baedeker agreed, as a consequence, to add in future editions a statement that regarding this "the German and Belgian accounts disagree." The offending passage is, however, not to be deleted and it is not to be assumed that Herr Baedeker accepts with the Belgian League of Nations Union's views regarding the original facts. The Union's intervention and Herr Baedeker's response make a satisfactory episode, none the less.

A Victim to League Duty

THE death of Colonel de Reynier, President of the League of Nations Commission concerned in delimiting the Syro-Iraqi frontier, adds one more name to the fortunately short list of those who have died on League of Nations service. Earlier victims were Dr. Lothian and two companions whose car fell over a precipice in Syria while they were working for the League Malaria Commission and Dr. Pardo who died fighting typhus in Poland. Colonel de Reynier was a Swiss and had been working for the League in one capacity or another for over ten years, first as President of the Danzig Harbour Board, later as Commissioner of the Saar archives and then as a member of the Greco-Bulgarian Emigration Commission. He was the sole passenger in a French air line machine which crashed in a sand storm on a journey from Damascus to Baghdad.

Turkey and the League

THERE seems some substantial reason to hope that Turkey may be on the point of joining the League of Nations. That, at any rate, is the conclusion that may naturally be drawn, and has, in fact, been generally drawn, at Geneva from a passage in a speech of the Turkish Foreign Minister,

Tewfik Rustu Bey, to the Disarmament Conference in which he observed that there appeared to be no clash whatever between Turkey's ideals and the League's, and suggested that a closer association between the two might be reasonably looked for. Hitherto Turkey has always taken the line that she would not join the League unless she were assured of a seat on the Council forthwith. That was not practical politics, and the Turkish Government was never encouraged to think it was. Now, however, normal and unconditional application for membership appears to be in prospect.

The Summer Time Muddle

MOST people in this country believe profoundly in summer time, but it can be a profound nuisance when adjacent countries turn it on at different moments. This year France began summer time on April 2nd, Great Britain on April 16th, while Holland does not start the new régime till May 22nd. This affects boat and train communications seriously, and people who made for a familiar Continental train at Victoria without realising that in the interval between April 2nd and 16th all the trains were an hour earlier were liable to meet with considerable disappointment. The League of Nations might well be charged with the minor task of trying to get summer time co-ordinated.

Whales in the Desert?

THERE is nothing like conscientiousness in the signature of League of Nations Conventions particularly in view of the laxity some nations display in that field. That being so the following official announcement deserves wider publicity than it might get without the aid of HEADWAY:—

"The Governor-General of the Sudan notified to the Secretariat on April 13th, 1932, the accession of the Sudan to the Convention for the regulation of whaling, concluded at Geneva on September 28th, 1931."

But the Sudan has in fact a port from which law-breaking whalers might conceivably start on their depredations, so there may be more in the signature than appears.

Who was the Criminal?

FROM "The Times" report of the annual meeting of the National Society of Non-Smokers:

"There were cries of 'Shame' when Mr. Cable read a passage from the report mentioning that a well-known British statesman attending the Disarmament Conference at Geneva had lit his pipe in spite of notices forbidding smoking, and had remarked that in so doing he was creating another precedent."

Why should the culprit's name not be advertised to his shame? As it is every delegate must remain under a potential stigma—except perhaps Mrs. Corbett-Ashby.

The Disarmers Resume

Rival Proposals and Probable Results

THE Disarmament discussions at Geneva crawl along. The Conference opened on February 2, its main purpose being to discuss the draft disarmament convention the Preparatory Commission had framed. In the third week of April, when this issue of HEADWAY went to press, it was still actively discussing Art. 1 of the convention. There are 60 articles in all.

That, of course, is not as bad as it looks. Art. 1, which reads as follows,

"The High Contracting Parties agree to limit, and so far as possible to reduce, their respective armaments as provided in the present convention," is the crux of the whole Conference, and the widest kind of general discussion was allowed on it. Once agreement on Art. 1, and the issues arising out of it is reached, there can be a good deal of speeding up.



M. André Tardieu (with Mr. Hugh Gibson on left)

When the Conference re-opened on April 11 after a three-weeks' Easter recess, its General Commission, which consists of one member of each delegation, and is therefore simply the Conference in little, settled down to four days of practical debate. Everyone was there: Sir John Simon, M. Tardieu, Signor Grandi, Mr. Hugh Gibson (U.S.A.), M. Litvinoff, Herr Nadolny (Germany) and, of course, Mr. Henderson in the chair. There was no beating about the bush this time. Mr. Gibson, of the United States, was the first speaker, by his own request, and the moment he rose he began foreshadowing proposals which, if they were adopted, would make reduction of armaments a reality. He spoke of land

arms only in the first instance, but indicated that he had other proposals ready for sea and air. The land proposals were **complete abolition of heavy mobile guns and tanks and the prohibition of the use of gas.** The principle underlying them was the condemnation of all aggressive weapons, developed most fully by Signor Grandi in his speech to the full Conference in February. All nations, ran Mr. Gibson's argument, suffered from a feeling of insecurity. The chief cause of it was the fear of invasion. If the aggressive weapons used for invasion were abolished, and the purely defensive weapons retained, invasion would be far more difficult and less tempting. The most aggressive land weapons were heavy guns, which blew defences to pieces, and tanks which crashed through them. Those weapons, therefore, should be abolished. (America has 800 tanks and 600 more building.)

Sir John Simon Agrees

That was a notable beginning, and when **Sir John Simon**, in the name of Great Britain, **accepted the American proposals** in full, apart from a reservation about smaller tanks not capable of breaking through trench defences, it was more notable still. The Foreign Secretary was not echoing Mr. Gibson. He had come out from London with Cabinet authority to make the same proposal himself, but Mr. Gibson had happened to speak first. **M. Motta**, for Switzerland, approved the Gibson proposals. So, naturally, did **Herr Nadolny**, for Germany, provided they were only part of a larger whole. But **M. Tardieu**, the Prime Minister of France, held different views. The whole of the French Disarmament plan rested on the internationalisation of aggressive weapons in the hands of the League. Abolition of weapons formed no part of it. Moreover, M. Tardieu was displeased that attention should be diverted from his comprehensive scheme to Mr. Gibson's more modest proposals. He therefore rose at once to ask that the French plan might be discussed simultaneously with the American and not after it. To that Mr. Henderson at once agreed.

Russia's Drastic Plan

So much for the first day. On the second **M. Litvinoff**, the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, made a very interesting speech. Russia, he said, wanted total disarmament and did not believe partial disarmament would prevent war. Still, something was better than nothing, and the only way was to start with the figures of existing forces and reduce from them by fixed percentages. Only there must in all cases (apart from the smallest armies) be definite reduction. Mere limitation at existing levels would not do at all. He proposed, therefore, that armies of different sizes should be reduced by varying percentages, those over 200,000 (which of course includes the Soviet army) by 50 per cent.

Then came **M. Tardieu** again. After a night to think it over he had a broadside of criticism of the American plan. He raked it fore and aft and riddled it through and through. So at least it seemed for a moment as one of the most skilful debaters ever heard at Geneva piled argument on argument. Aggressive weapons? But what were aggressive weapons? Could you really

define them? Heavy guns could as well keep an invader out as help one in. And if a State promised to destroy them could you be sure it really did it? Take tanks, moreover. You could make a tank easily enough out of a tractor, or at any rate in a tractor factory, if you wanted it suddenly in war time. The French method, of giving the League control of the powerful weapons so that no State would ever dare to defy it, was far better. That was the true organisation of peace, which was the real task the League had before it. In any case there must be international control of disarmament and penalties for any State attacking its neighbour. That was the Covenant, and on the Covenant he took his stand.

Grandi and Tardieu

M. Tardieu was too brilliant. He dazzled, but he failed to convince. And next morning **Signor Grandi** swung opinion well in the opposite direction. He stood by all his old programme of **the complete abolition of all aggressive weapons**—capital ships, aircraft carriers, submarines, big land guns and tanks, military aeroplanes, and the prohibition of gas, chemical and bacteriological warfare. As the Italian Foreign Minister developed his thesis he quickly knocked down M. Tardieu's arguments one by one. Impossible to define aggressive weapons? But the French memorandum itself had done it, and proposed to internationalise them. Possible to conceal some of such weapons instead of destroying them all?



Signor Dino Grandi (and the Editor of HEADWAY)

But surely in that case equally possible to keep some of them back instead of surrendering them all to the League. One concession, however, Signor Grandi did make. Since some States had jibbed at the idea of a sudden clean sweep of everything, he was willing that abolition should be spread in equal instalments over a period of years.

For and Against

Then came a series of speakers on one side or the other. Señor Soares, **Brazil**, was 100 per cent. for the

American proposal. Señor Cosío, **Uruguay**, preferred the French. M. Marinkovitch, **Jugoslavia**, was half and half. He would abolish capital ships and large submarines, but internationalise other aggressive weapons. And he insisted on international supervision and, where necessary, penalties. M. Sato, **Japan**, was very nearly, but not quite, about everything. He liked the American proposal and agreed with Signor Grandi that all aggressive arms, by land, sea and air, must be dealt with together, but he never entirely committed himself to anything. Tewfik Rustu Bey, **Turkey**, had an ambitious plan for reducing all armaments gradually to complete equality. Failing that he would support the Russian proposals and in any case he strongly supported those of America and Italy. M. Zaleski, **Poland**, was disposed to agree to the abolition of certain weapons if he could be sure that there would be an effective system of supervision, extending to war industries, and penalties for violation of the agreement. And Hussein Khan Ala, **Persia**, was all for the American plan but insisted on the internationalisation of armament factories. Two other speakers, Señor Madariaga, **Spain**, and Dr. Munch, **Denmark**, laid themselves out to try and reconcile the French and Italian theses. The Spanish delegate's idea was that a permanent international body should be charged not merely with supervising the abolition of certain weapons but with a constant survey of those that are maintained, with a view to getting them gradually reduced. Dr. Munch was in favour of abolition, but agreed with the French in advocating the creation of a League in force.

So the three-day debate ended. It covered much the same ground as the far longer one at the beginning of the Conference, but it had a much greater importance, for this time definite resolutions proposing specific measures of disarmament were handed in by a number of delegations. That brought a vote on the resolutions, and consequently definite decisions, in sight.

Clearing the Ground

But how to proceed next was not so easy to decide, for the Conference by this time had before it a mass of resolutions, some almost the same as others, some flatly opposite to others, some dealing with principles and some with perfectly definite proposals. As usual the resource of Dr. Benes was invoked, and he drew up a programme which began with certain necessary questions of principle as, for example, whether an attempt should be made (as the Russians desired) to carry disarmament through in one single stage or whether a succession of periodical conferences should be contemplated, and went on at once to the essence of the Italian and French proposals, namely, the complete prohibition of certain types of weapon, the internationalisation of certain types of weapon, the creation of an international force. It was on the basis of that programme that a new phase of the discussions was opening as this issue of HEADWAY went to press.

The Disarmament Conference is therefore now entering on the third stage of its work. The first consisted of a large number of general statements, which as a whole went considerably further than even optimists had expected. The second, which took place after the Easter adjournment, and is described above, was a more definite and precise recapitulation of the first, general ideas being replaced by formal resolutions on which the Conference would have to take decisions for or against. The third stage is devoted to the taking of the decisions. It is bound to be long, difficult and often critical. But the longer the delegates stay at Geneva the more reluctant they will be to go away with nothing done.

The War-Guilt Controversy

Peace Conference Historian and Dr. Temple

By DR. HAROLD TEMPERLEY (Editor of "The History of the Peace Conference")

"But one clause [of the Peace Treaty] there is in existence which offends in principle the Christian conscience and for the deletion of which by the proper authority the voice of Christendom must be raised. This is the clause which affixes to one group of belligerents in the Great War the whole moral guilt for its occurrence."—ARCHBISHOP TEMPLE, AT GENEVA, January 31, 1932.

HERE we have a great Christian teacher telling us that Article 231 of the Peace Treaty means that Germany is charged with the guilt of the War in it, and that the "universality of moral obligation demands that it shall be deleted." One consequence of deletion the Archbishop has forgotten or not perceived. Deletion as such is no atonement to Germany. If we have been wrong we must pay her back all the reparations we have received, for they were exacted on the ground that Germany and her Allies alone were guilty of the War. If that is false, then not only would it be wrong to exact reparations from her in future, but it is actually wrong to have exacted money in the past. Since 1924-5 we have received roughly £80,000,000 from Germany. Are we prepared to pay that—and a good deal more—back, and forgive her all debts for the future? If the Archbishop is right we have exacted money on grounds which we now admit to be false and refuse to return it. We are not only not good Christians but plain swindlers if we refuse to pay back money we have wrongfully taken.

What "Aggression" Means

"Wrongfully taken." But have we? Did we charge Germany with war guilt in Article 231? Treaties—like family wills—have a language of their own. And as no one can say what a clause in a will means without going to a lawyer, so an article in a diplomatic treaty is matter for an expert.

Here is Article 231:

"The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her Allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her Allies."

Now it is quite true that the words "aggression," etc., look to the unexpert as if this charged Germany with war guilt. But that only means that they do not understand the legal basis of the treaty. As a result of correspondence with President Wilson the Germans accepted a peace on the basis of the principles proclaimed in his speeches from January 8 to October, 1918. In these speeches Wilson declared that there should be "no contributions, no punitive damages" (February 11, 1918), and he interpreted this to mean there should be no indemnity. On the other hand, Germany agreed to pay "compensation . . . for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea and from the air."

Is it not quite clear that Article 231 is a mere reproduction of this? "Aggression" means attack by guns or aeroplanes as a result of war. It was not possible to claim the indemnities usual after a successful war because of Wilson's speeches. But it was possible to claim a making good of loss and damage and, to do

this, you had to bring in a technical plea of guilty to justify the exaction of damages. What is important, however, is that Article 231 merely reproduces the words of the pre-Armistice negotiation to which Germany had already agreed. Unless Germany had thus been found technically guilty (to which she had already agreed) no damages at all could have been exacted. Article 231 does not in any way mean, and never was intended to mean, that Germany had to pay loss and damages on the ground that she was morally guilty of originating the War.

How the League Grew

Why then has the legend about Article 231 being the war guilt clause arisen? For a very instructive reason. When the Germans arrived at Versailles they were not allowed to have any intercourse save in writing with the Allies. They, therefore, assumed (quite innocently, doubtless) that Article 231 did mean war guilt. They have gone on assuming this ever since. It has become a "grievance complex" and an article of faith with them. I have every sympathy with them, their misunderstanding is pardonable, but it is a misunderstanding.

It was a most regrettable breach of international usage and courtesy that the Allies gave the Germans no chance of verbal discussion. But the Allies ought to know what their own treaty meant. In the autumn of 1931 two learned Frenchmen (MM. Renouvin and Bloch) pointed out the meaning of Article 231 which I have given. They supported it with all sorts of references to the committees' reports in the preparation of the Peace Treaty and absolutely proved the case. There is, however, a much easier way of verifying this. If you consult the "Treaty of Peace—Germany, together with the Allied Reply," H.M. Stationery Office, 1920, 3s. 3d., page 277, you will see that the Allies declined to enter into a discussion on the principles underlying the reparation clauses (Article 237). They stated that Germany was under "a complete misapprehension" and referred to the pre-Armistice definition of loss and damage (which I have quoted) as containing their whole meaning.

The Mistake and the Remedy

On the other hand, and this is most important, while denying that Article 231 referred to war guilt, the Allies did say elsewhere that they thought Germany morally guilty of the War and justified Part VII—Articles 227-230. (Trying the Kaiser, etc.) (V. pp. 271-6) on these grounds.

But this is not said in the actual treaty, and some people would say, therefore, that there is no charge of war guilt in the treaty at all. This I should not say myself, but there can be no doubt that it is not where Archbishop Temple and the Germans say it is, in Article 231.

What is the remedy anyhow? Absolutely the simplest in the world. It has been given by that wise student of international affairs and ardent supporter of the League,

Lord Dickinson. He says that the signatories to the Versailles Treaty should make "a declaration that its Article 231 does not refer, and was not meant to refer, to the origin of the War."* Here is commonsense and Christianity and learning combined.

The moral is clear. Study your texts before making pronouncements on legal documents, and do not pronounce at all before taking expert advice. Above all, always hear both sides. You see what a gigantic penalty the Allies paid for not listening to the Germans properly. If the British and German public do not listen to Lord Dickinson (or even this modest plea) the penalty will be sent in an increase of international misunderstanding, bitterness and hate.

* "The Times," February 11, 1932.

Bibliographical Note

For Archbishop Temple see League of Nations Union pamphlet.

For text of German treaty Allied Reply and Lord Dickinson, see references in text.

"The Times" of February 9, 1932, contains an important pronouncement by H. Wickham Steed on the same lines as that of MM. Renouvin and Bloch whose "l'Article 231 du Traité de Versailles" is published by Costes, Paris.

A good deal of information will be found in Volume I, III, of my "History of the Peace Conference," Hodder and Stoughton, 1920, especially Vol. I, Chapter IX, Vol. II, Chapter I.

No personal views are meant to be expressed by me as to whether Germany was or was not guilty of the war. The views expressed about Article 231 are those accepted by the Allies at the Peace Conference, but they were confirmed by others quite detached from it, e.g., notably Sir Ernest Satow, a man of European reputation for his combination of theoretical and practical knowledge in diplomacy.

Palestine To-day

By WINIFRED PAYNTER

EVEN apart from its religious associations the small country of Palestine makes a strong appeal to the imagination. Forty languages are spoken within its boundaries, and representatives of as many races may be met in the suqs (bazaars) of Jerusalem. Of these the Arabs, Syrians and Jews are the most numerous, but the Samaritans, the only descendants of the ancient Israelites who have continuously occupied the country, are the most interesting. The few who have survived the many persecutions they have endured, live at Nablus, the old Shechem, where Abraham pitched his tent, and near which Joshua read the Law of Moses after crossing the Jordan. The Samaritans still offer sacrifices on Mount Gerizim, and accept the Pentateuch only of the Old Testament, a very ancient copy of which is preserved in their synagogue. A distinctive feature of their dress is a coloured turban twisted round the tarbush. The nomadic Arabs or Bedouins live in caves, or in tents made of black goat-skins. "The tents of Kedar" are to be seen in large numbers on the fertile plains. Other interesting races are the Circassians from the Caucasus, Magharbeh from North Africa, Jews from Bokhara, Khiva and Samarkand, Abyssinians, and the Druses of Lebanon, whose name denotes a religion as well as a nationality. Their religion is a mixture of Christianity and Islam. They regard both the Bible and the Koran as inspired, but interpret them in their own way.

The Old and the New

It is a natural step from the people to their holy places. Moslems venerate especially the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and Abraham's tomb in Hebron. The Dome has been built on the site of Solomon's Temple, and covers the rock from which Mohammed is said to have ascended into Heaven. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, with their wives, are buried in the cave of Machpelah in Hebron, and the spot is sacred to both Moslems and Jews, who, through Ishmael and Isaac respectively, claim descent from Abraham. Hebron is one of the oldest towns in the world. In the narrow vaulted bazaars men are to be seen at work on sheep-skin coats, while in the shoemakers' quarter old tyres are extensively used for soling shoes.

The most historic Christian shrine is the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, where almost every known form of Christian liturgy is celebrated, and which is shared by Orthodox Greeks, Roman Catholics, Armenians, Jacobites, Copts, and Abyssinians. The Abyssinians had at one time a certain amount of floor-space in the church, but this has been wrested from them,

and they now live on the roof of St. Helena's Chapel, which forms part of the basilica. It is a strange sight to see high above the city little huts which would be more in place in the wilds of Africa. Each monk has his own tiny, primitive dwelling, built by himself, and on feast days these black but holy men process round the dome of the cupola which rises in the middle of the roof. At Bethlehem, over the Grotto of the Nativity, is the oldest Christian Church, where service is still carried on. The low entrance is to prevent donkeys, camels and other animals from getting in.

The Woman at the Well

After the birthplace and tomb of Christ the scene of His early life is supremely interesting. The life of the people of Nazareth to-day is probably not so very different from what it was in the time of our Lord. The wife rises early and prepares her husband's breakfast of bread with olives, eggs or cheese. A great deal of bread is eaten, but it is always new. One of the duties of the wife is to take the corn to be ground, and to see that it is free from tares, which are apt to produce giddiness. She then makes the bread and takes it to the public bake-house. Then she is able to have some food herself before going to the well for water, the same well from which the Virgin Mary probably drew water daily nineteen hundred years ago. After gossiping with her neighbours, she balances the pitcher of water on her head and returns to prepare the mid-day meal. As the bazaars are unlighted, the shops close at sundown, when the men stroll about in the cool of the evening or drink coffee at an open-air café.

Palestine is a land of hills and valleys, and, if the valleys and plains are fertile, the high rocky hills are often devoid of vegetation, as in the desolate region between Jerusalem and Jericho. Jericho, 820 feet below sea-level, is the lowest town in the world. Mark Antony gave it as a present to Cleopatra, who sold it to Herod the Great. At the Orthodox Easter, pilgrims clothed in white go from here to the Jordan to bathe in the traditional spot where Christ was baptised. For those who know their history every place forms a link with the past. Jaffa, rising terrace-like above the sea, is said to be the spot where Andromeda was chained to the rock and Jonah swallowed by the whale. The cedar logs for Solomon's temple were floated down from Lebanon and landed here. Here St. Peter had his vision of the clean and unclean animals in the house of Simon the Tanner, and raised Tabitha from the dead. The town was captured at various times by Pompey, Cœur-de-Lion, and Napoleon.

Japan and China

Attempts to end the Shanghai Deadlock

WHEN the League of Nations Assembly Committee met to consider the conflict between Japan and China on April 16 the affair had been in cold storage, as it were, for just a month, for it was on March 17 that the Committee had adjourned for its Easter vacation. It was then supposed that all the armistice arrangements had been settled, for the attempt of Japan to get the boycott on Japanese goods called off first had been overruled by M. Hymans, Chairman of both the Assembly and its Committee, and nothing seemed necessary but to get the signatures affixed to the agreement.



Dr. W. W. Yen

But on April 16 they had still not been affixed. Little had actually happened in the interval. In Manchuria the new Government was carrying on, thanks to Japanese support in every sphere. The Lytton Commission was gradually moving in that direction, by way of Nanking and Peking, and some little feeling was caused by the announcement that the Manchukuo Government (Manchukuo is the new name given to Manchuria) would not allow Dr. Wellington Koo, who is attached to the Commission as Chinese representative, to enter the country. Lord Lytton promptly announced that in that case none of the Commission would go to Manchuria at all, whereupon the matter was arranged.

From Shanghai to Geneva

At Shanghai the armistice negotiations were being bandied to and fro between Chinese and Japanese representatives and a Committee consisting of the British, American, French and Italian Ministers. The Japanese were determined at all costs not to undertake to evacuate the territory they held by any definite date. Formula after formula was proposed, emended, and rejected by the Japanese. At last China broke off the negotiations altogether, and it was just after this that the League Assembly Committee met. It was convened because Dr. Yen, the Chinese representative, asked that it should be, but before arranging any public sitting its members met privately to consider what line to take. While the press and public were not admitted delegation officials and members of the League Secretariat were, so that plenty of versions of what actually happened were available.

The Date of Withdrawal

The main purpose of the meeting was to decide whether the armistice terms in their latest form were reasonable; whether, if they were, the Committee could persuade both sides to accept them; and whether, if not, some better terms could be devised at Geneva. The questions arising were pretty obvious. Should Japan be required to retire by a definite date or not? If there were to be no definite date, but merely an undertaking to withdraw, in the words of the latest Shanghai formula—"as soon as conditions return to

normal"—who was to decide when conditions might be regarded as having returned to normal—the Japanese, or some neutral body? And if a neutral body (such as the neutral Ministers at Shanghai) what power could it have to enforce its decision?

Occupation Without Time-Limit

These were the issues the Assembly Committee had to face. The simplest way was clearly to fix a definite date for the withdrawal. The Assembly, when it passed its resolution of March 4, manifestly expected and intended that the Japanese withdrawal should begin there and then. In fact, it had not begun on April 16. The Assembly Committee was by no means of one mind. Sir John Simon appeared to take the view that it was impossible to decide in advance when a Japanese withdrawal would be reasonable, for nothing could be more disastrous than that it should be followed by disorders of some kind, perhaps Communist, at Shanghai. But a good many members of the Committee remembered what had happened in Manchuria, and they were determined, particularly delegates from smaller States, that it should not be simply left to Japan to depart when she chose. The matter was argued up and down, Sir John Simon and others putting the point that it was laying a heavy responsibility on the neutral Ministers to require them to fix the date of the withdrawal. In the end, it was decided that the Chairman should talk to the Chinese and Japanese representatives and try to get them to agree to a formula requiring Japan to withdraw "as soon as possible," and asking the neutral Ministers to continue the discussions on the spot with both sides. The Japanese (naturally) were prepared to accept this, the Chinese (quite as naturally) were not.

A Rival Resolution

The Committee, therefore, met again and this time an alternative resolution, produced by Dr. Benes and others, was produced. This proposed that the neutral Ministers, with the Chinese and Japanese representatives on the spot, should decide, if necessary by a majority vote, by what date the withdrawal should be completed. Certain delegates of the Great Powers still objected to this, whereupon Mr. Lester, the Irish Free State delegate, observed very pertinently that the Assembly or its special Committee was the right body to fix the date for withdrawal, but that it should do that on the advice of the neutral Ministers. A new resolution on these lines was promptly drafted, and the position when this issue of HEADWAY went to press was that the resolution was approved by the Assembly Committee and apparently by the Chinese delegate, Dr. Yen, but apparently not by the Japanese representative, M. Nagaoka, for Japan has throughout been endeavouring at any cost to avoid having a definite date fixed.

Meanwhile, the situation was becoming increasingly threatening in the north, and rumours of impending trouble between the Soviet troops in Mongolia and the Japanese in northern Manchuria, which adjoins it, were filling the papers daily. It remains to be seen how far they were justified, but they added, in any case, one more to the many complications arising at Geneva in connection with the Japanese activities on the mainland.



THE JAPANESE ACROBATS AT GENEVA.

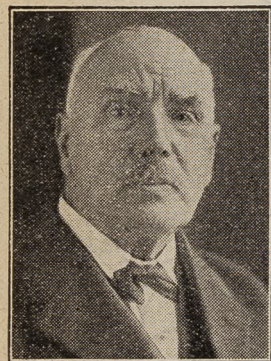
M. Sugimura
M. Yoshizawa
M. Matsudaira
General Matsui
M. Sato
Admiral Nagano
The Aga Khan
Signor Grandi
Dr. Yen
M. Hymans
Sir Eric Drummond
Sir John Simon
M. Motta
Señor Branco
M. Politis
M. Paul Boncour
M. Beelærts
Herr Weizsäcker
Dr. Benes
Señor Madariaga.

A Charge Against Britain

Why are we Cold-Shouldering the I.L.O.?

By the RT. HON. G. N. BARNES

WHAT is the considered attitude of the people of this country to the International Labour Organisation? As a practical embodiment of the ideal of international labour legislation, the organisation in question is a British product. I do not say that this



Mr. G. N. Barnes

country took a leading part in the many years of propaganda which preceded it. As a matter of fact, this country was rather in the rear, for, from the death of Robert Owen till the end of the century, Great Britain had nearly lost its soul. It was getting rich. But when the idea had to be put into practical shape it was a British scheme which emerged from the Paris Peace Conference deliberations in 1919 and which was welcomed by the British Government and by employers and employed alike in so far as their wishes could be ascertained at the time. All three co-operated heartily together at the first Conference. And, for some time, the British Government appeared to be disposed to take the International Labour Organisation seriously.

Why has it now been cold-shouldered? This question figures in the last report of M. Thomas, the Director, submitted to the Conference at Geneva during last month. M. Thomas is studiously fair, for he puts other countries in the pillory as well as Great Britain, and, so far as his criticism applies to this country, it takes the form of reluctant regret that we are not living up to our traditions. And, even so, he frankly recognises, and appreciates, the interest of the British Government in some minor conventions applying to British colonies. In regard, however, to the major conventions he is at a loss to understand the apathy of successive Governments, Conservative, Liberal, and Labour.

The Hours Convention Conflict

His bewilderment is understandable. There has been practically no opposition to the I.L.O. in this country, but it gets little support, especially where it has a right to expect it. True, the National Confederation of British Employers Organisations has voiced some misgivings in regard to the working out of the Washington Hours Convention, but these were all met and settled, with one exception, hereafter mentioned.

The non-ratification of that Convention has done more than all else to damp down interest in the International Labour Organisation. The Convention was drawn up with the utmost care and passed through the Conference at Washington with practical unanimity of Governments, employers and employed. It has stood the test of examination and re-examination ever since and, except for the non-particularising of trades which should be subject to special provisions for overtime, it stands to-day unassailable as a practical working instrument for an eight hours working day. And, as a matter of historical interest, it may here be said that a schedule of trades in question had been inserted in the original draft of the Convention, but had been deleted at Washington at the instance of the employers' repre-

sentatives. There is no reason now why it should not be re-inserted.

At all events this is the one and only outstanding objection of the Employers' Confederation, so far as objection has been made by that body. There were others, as, for instance, a clashing railway agreement, but these have been adjusted.

Why then has the Convention not been ratified? For several reasons. First and foremost because our successive Governments have got themselves entangled in negotiations with other Governments in regard, mainly, to possible failure of those other Governments to duly carry out their obligations in the event of simultaneous ratification. Naturally, on such a basis, the negotiations proved abortive.

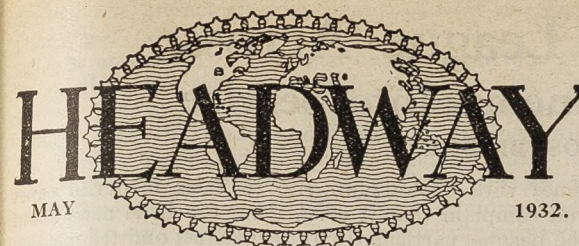
But why should we have discussed the matter with these Governments at all? We, in this country, had taken the lead in regard to a eight hours day. It had been a slogan among British workers for a century. Increased productive capacity had made it possible. And it had been promised by the Government during the War. What need then for negotiating with anyone outside our own shores? Besides, in regard to possible breach of faith on the part of a ratifying country, provision was made in the Convention itself for dealing with it on complaint being made by any other ratifying country. But, let it be repeated, the Convention was one for which we were mainly responsible. Why shelve, or share, our responsibility? I believe that the futile discussion with other Governments has been the main cause of the non-ratification. Each has waited on the other, and they are still waiting.

Labour's Indifference

But there is another reason for non-ratification in the attitude of British organised labour, which has taken but a languid interest in the matter. British labour leaders have been too busy with other things. If they had spent as much time and energy in promoting public opinion in favour of the ratification of the Washington Hours Convention as they have spent in backing Russian revolutionists during the last ten or twelve years, it would, I believe, have been ratified long ago. That is the second reason for neglect by the Government of the International Labour Organisation.

This country ought to have taken a lead after the Washington Conference and left other countries to follow—as they would. I said then in the House of Commons: "There is an obligation upon the Government to submit the Convention to the House and there is a moral obligation resting upon them to adopt it because we went to Washington and voted for it according to our instructions."

I repeat that here and now. There are but seven per cent. of industrial workers who are working now more than eight hours per day. But these are the lowest paid and most helpless. On their behalf I hope the present National Government will honour the bond of its predecessors. It would be a handsome reply to the admonitions of M. Thomas and would do more than anything else could do to revive interest in the International Labour Organisation. Never mind about what France or Germany or Italy may do. Let us do the right thing.



A Geneva Barometer

GENEVA has been working at high pressure for the past month, and if the efforts the League has been exerting in three or four different fields meet with no more than reasonable success a good deal will be done to put the world on its feet again. That is true of Disarmament. It is true of the Far Eastern dispute. It is true of the attempt to help the Danubian States. It may be added that it is true of Reparations, for though Reparations have not been discussed officially by the League, they have been discussed very earnestly by many statesmen who found themselves at Geneva last month for other purposes.

The importance of each of those questions is a good deal increased by the bearing it has on one or more of the others. If there is to be no settlement in the Far East, if one country attacked by another is to get no protection from the League, if, in other words, China has to conclude, as she is beginning to conclude, that her only hope is to arm herself to the teeth, then it is obvious that the prospect of the world generally accepting any substantial measure of disarmament is extremely small. If, to approach the question from another angle, European countries are reluctant to come to any conclusion on reparations (unwise though that attitude may be) till they know what America will do in the way of cancelling debts, then nothing is so necessary as to make the utmost possible success of the Disarmament Conference, for it is as true to-day as ever it was that the first question the average American asks if anyone talks to him about remitting European debts is "How much is Europe spending a year on armaments?"

Geneva is still engaged on its tasks. It has had the Far Eastern question before it since the middle of September. It has been preparing for the Disarmament Conference for five years and the Conference itself has been in session for three months. Does disarmament look any nearer than it did? The answer to that is definitely Yes. The discussions drag on. Patience wears thin. The signature of a binding Disarmament Treaty seems infinitely distant. But there is movement all the same. Even if the Conference broke up tomorrow the talk of the last three months would not go for nothing. Both the need and the practicability of disarmament have been demonstrated as never before and agitation for a new conference to succeed where the old one had failed would begin forthwith.

But the Conference has not failed. The encouragement generated by the remarkable series of speeches with which the sessions opened in February has not been dispelled. On the contrary, as in the past month those early expressions of opinion have been developed into definite and formal proposals the feeling has

grown steadily that the Conference is at grips with its problem at last. Committee work is dull and irritating, no doubt, but it has to be, and when the British Government proposes the total abolition of heavy tanks, a weapon this country prizes highly and in which it leads the world, there is evidence that the Geneva discussions amount to more than empty words. Serious difficulties, of course, still remain. There is no bridge yet across the gulf which separates the Italian proposal for the abolition of all aggressive weapons and the French plan for their internationalisation under the League. But there is this at least in common, that aggressive weapons are recognised in each case to call for special treatment, and it is far too soon to give up hope of reconciling the different ideas about how to treat them.

Of the Far Eastern affair it is by no means possible to speak so hopefully. The mere mention of Manchuria recalls the earliest discussions in September, when the Japanese delegate, now Foreign Minister of his country, gave confident assurances of the intention of Japan to withdraw her troops almost immediately to the railway zone where alone they are entitled to be. Since then the Japanese occupation has spread methodically. A puppet Government under Japanese influence has been established and maintained with Japanese support, and there is every prospect that the League's Manchurian Commission, under Lord Lytton, which is about to reach the contested province for the first time, will find itself faced with a *fait accompli* which it may be difficult to upset without creating greater chaos than ever. And what has happened in Manchuria looks very much like happening at Shanghai. At the end of February Sir John Simon was able to tell the League Council that, as a result of a conference held on board H.M.S. Kent, an armistice providing for the withdrawal of Japanese troops to the International Settlement and the roads immediately adjacent was on the point of being concluded. At the time of writing it has not been concluded yet, and Japan is tenaciously contesting every attempt to fix a date, even three or four months ahead, by which her withdrawal must be completed.

This is far more than a mere local or even a mere Chino-Japanese question. The whole of the Covenant and the League theory is involved in it, for dispassionate observers are being more and more driven to the conclusion that no matter what action Japan may take in the matter, or how resolutely she may resist the idea of complying with the requirements of the League, the League States will confine themselves to the adoption of resolutions at Geneva. The difficulties of the situation are great. No good purpose would be served by under-rating them. But there are two rival doctrines between which the world stands at present divided: the doctrine that force only can prevail and that a country's only defence lies in the development of its armaments to the utmost, and the doctrine that in a world in which States have agreed to live peaceably together, the State that breaks the peace must be held in check in case of need by the combined action of League members. The latter doctrine has broken down gravely so far as the Chino-Japanese conflict is concerned. If we are to be thrown back on the other, the conclusion, as already pointed out in this article, is obvious. Nations will lose their faith in the collective method and fling their energies once more into the business of arming themselves to the teeth. If that happens, the path of the world to destruction will be smooth and steep.

How to Put the League Across Calling Radio and Cinema Into Service

By WARREN POSTBRIDGE

SIR STEPHEN TALLENTS, who is secretary of the Empire Marketing Board, has just published an extremely interesting booklet* on what may be called advertising England, though Sir Stephen prefers to speak of it as "The Projection of England," meaning by that England's capacity to project itself into the vision and imagination of other nations. As to whether you should speak of England or Britain, that is his affair. He chooses quite definitely to say England, and he has clear ideas as to how England should be, in no cheap and vulgar sense, advertised.

His views about England will interest HEADWAY readers in so far as they throw light on another and

equally important question: how the League of Nations should be, in no cheap and vulgar sense, advertised. Regarding that one obvious point arises. It is only worth while advertising a soap, or a safety razor, or a country, or a League, if the subject of the advertisement honestly deserves advertising. In the case of the League of Nations we may have minds easy on that score. The League does deserve advertising. It can be advertised. And

it ought to be advertised more than it is. How can that be done?

So far as advertising England is concerned Sir Stephen Tallents speaks of various media. There is, of course, the written word—articles in the daily Press and magazines. There is the spoken word in three forms—ordinary personal conversation, addresses at public meetings, and talks on the wireless. There is the cinema. And, for advertising England, exhibitions, like those a couple of years ago at Barcelona and Seville.

That, no doubt, is not an exhaustive list. Travel, in the form of visits to Geneva to see the League at work, or to The Hague to see the Permanent Court at work, may be the best advertisement of all for the relatively few who can indulge in it. But they always will be relatively few, and what is in question here is the best means of reaching the many. About the written word there is not much to be said. So far as getting news of the day-to-day activities of the League into the papers is concerned that must be left to the papers themselves in the ordinary way of business, and an attempt to stimulate them from outside may often do more harm than good. Private individuals may some-

times with advantage write to their favourite paper and complain that it gives them too little news about the League, particularly if it has just omitted mention of some event of obvious importance. The League Information Section can send out communiqués to the Press, and its activity can often usefully be supplemented by less official announcements, or articles circulated by the League of Nations societies in different countries. But it may be doubted whether there is very much scope for development here.

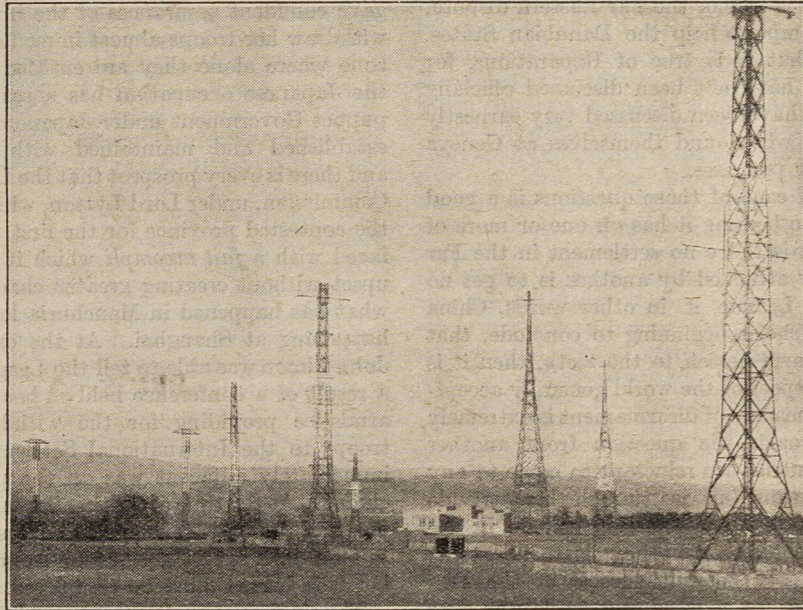
Nor is there much to be said about public meetings. No doubt more meetings, with better speakers and better audiences, and larger, are to be desired. But there is no

patent way of achieving that. The radio is the next thing. That has a double function. It serves to bring to the ears of all the world great speeches delivered at Geneva itself, or at some gathering like last year's Albert Hall Disarmament meeting, where the League gospel is being preached by outstanding personalities. Or it can project through the air in its ordinary programmes talks bearing directly or indirectly on the League's

work. Broadcasting is not the same thing in all countries. Sometimes, as in the United States, it is a purely commercial concern. Sometimes, as in Great Britain, it is a centralised monopoly under public control and semi-public management. In neither case is it any special part of the radio stations' business to advertise the League. So far as the League is doing public work of interest and importance, the radio, like the newspapers, will give attention to it. And to some extent demand by listeners may produce a larger supply of League news.

But it is doubtful whether the League itself, or societies supporting the League, can do a great deal to get the League across through the radio more effectively than it gets across already. There is, however, one very interesting possibility there. The League of Nations has recently acquired its own wireless station. Its construction is finished, its operation recently began. How is it going to be used? It came into being originally because the League had to be prepared to communicate officially with distant countries, particularly with countries represented on its Council, without a moment's delay in a moment of crisis.

But there the installation is, plainly available for all sorts of purposes in moments that are not moments



The League's Wireless Station

* "The Projection of England." Faber and Faber, 1s.

of crisis. At present an occasional broadcast message is arranged, but a great deal more than that might be attempted. A League half-hour on four or five evenings a week, in English one day, French another, German another, Italian another, Spanish another, might be made something that listeners all over Europe would switch on for regularly. But it would have to be something very different from a mere diffusion of news items. The League's Information Section, or even a programme director, specially engaged, would have to put a perfect concentration of brain and effort into it. But it could be done. During the early part of the Disarmament Conference, the two great radio circuits of America, the Columbia and the National, sent highly qualified representatives to Geneva to organise addresses to American listeners by Sir John Simon, M. Tardieu, Signor Grandi, and all the principal personalities then in Geneva. It is altogether encouraging to find commercial companies in the United States doing this purely as a matter of business. But no one was doing it for Europe. Why should the League itself not have done that? Why should the League not do it another time?

The Greatest Opportunity

Finally the cinema. Make the League the subject of a film that the ordinary cinema theatre will show as a matter of business and you bring the League before millions of people, literally millions, who knew nothing of it before. But can that be done? It never has been done yet. There are, it is true, two or three films about the League, very useful for certain purposes, but not much calculated to arrest the attention of persons not interested in the League to begin with. That is not the fault of the authors of the films. The League's film, depicting typical scenes at Geneva during an Assembly and Council meeting, and glimpses of everyday life at the Secretariat, shows something of what Geneva is like, but it gives no real idea of the League and its purpose. The League of Nations Union film "The World War and After" gets further in that direction, but not far enough.

Can anything like the ideal League film be produced at all? The difficulties, of course, are enormous. No frontal approach to the problem will serve. To show a picture of Tanganyika or Samoa gives no kind of idea of what the mandate system is. To depict Danzig or the Saar conveys no indication of what the League's responsibilities in regard to those areas are. Sir Stephen Tallents, thinking always of how to "project England," observes that there is no good reason why a film "Dawn in Africa," designed to exhibit England's civilising mission in that continent, should not be produced to match in quality the famous Soviet "Storm over Asia." The League's civilising and pacifying mission is capable of being dramatised by a great producer if a great producer would put his head into the work. Herr Pabst could do it. It was said truly of "Kameradschaft" in the last issue of HEADWAY that that great film had the power to make international ideals felt. The value of "Kameradschaft" with its limited appeal is great. But of course the appeal is limited. A League film would have to be vastly wide in scope, the sweep of the League's work would have to be a matter of suggestion rather than of mere pedestrian record. Something of aspiration, of purpose, of hope, of resolution would have to be indicated, and at the same time it would have to be clear all the while to the audience that they were being brought in contact not with a nebulous idea but with an existent and active and effective instrument. When a Pabst comes to Geneva ready to do that for the League there will be little further need of discussions on How to Put the League Across.

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Bankrupt Europe

Can the Danube States be Saved in Time?

"WHAT," people of different nationalities were asking each other in the corridors at Geneva last month, "is going to happen to Europe?" One or two went further. "What on earth is the use," they persisted, "of spending time here talking about heavy guns and capital ships and bombing-planes while the whole world is careering at top speed into bankruptcy?"

Is it as bad as that? And what is the League of Nations doing about it? The trouble about that is that it is only partly a League affair. Germany is one of the weakest spots in the economic mechanism and Germany's destiny is dependent on the Lausanne Reparation Conference in the middle of June. The League has had applications for help from four States: Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Greece, but of these Austria and Hungary belong geographically to the Danubian group—Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Rumania (the last three of these form the Little Entente) which have been carved out of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire. The four Great Powers—Britain, France, Germany and Italy—met in London at the beginning of April to decide what they could do to help the group, but they broke up without achieving anything at all, mainly because Britain and France wanted to deal with the five States as a group, and Germany and Italy wanted to deal with them separately.

Four Powers and Four Pleaders

That made things more difficult than ever for the League Council when it met to consider the case of Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Greece on April 12. The League Financial Committee had already examined the situation in the four countries and made proposals, which included the raising of a loan, with the guarantee of countries like Great Britain and France behind it. But the four Powers in London had said they must look into that further, and they accordingly appointed a committee of experts to study the Financial Committee's proposals and report on them. That held the League Council up hopelessly, since it could do nothing at all about the proposed loan till the Great Powers had made up their minds, and without the loan there was practically no help they could give to the four mendicants at their table. All that, therefore, was put off till the next Council meeting on May 9.

What is the trouble with these four States, and half a dozen more like them, in Europe? To go into the whole thing fundamentally would be a long and complicated job, but the most obvious trouble at the moment is that the trade of those States has almost dried up. Consequently their people are getting poorer and poorer. Consequently they cannot pay taxes. Consequently the national budget will not balance. Consequently the States have come to the point where they cannot pay interest on money they have borrowed abroad. Which means that little investors in Great Britain and elsewhere who have bought £100 or £200 worth of some Hungarian or Bulgarian or Greek loan may find the next interest due to them will not be forthcoming. The first Austrian loan is safer, because it was guaranteed by Britain, France and other countries, and they will have to pay the bondholders even if Austria cannot.

Take the case of Greece, as the Greek Prime Minister, M. Venizelos, told it to the League of Nations Council on April 15. Greece is by no means as badly off as

some of the others, but M. Venizelos' story was clearly told and is easy to understand. Greece sells various products abroad, principally things like tobacco and currants. But trade is bad everywhere, and so she is selling less and less. Tobacco, for example. The League of Nations has just published figures showing what Greece's condition is. In 1929 she sold tobacco to the value of 3,955 million drachmas; in 1930 to the value of 3,389 million; in 1931 to the value of 2,259 million; and for 1932 the estimated figure is much lower still. So with everything else. Wine (which is a luxury people can do without) dropped from 619 million drachmas in 1929 to 187 million in 1931. Naturally tobacco growers and wine growers cannot pay taxes, or only much reduced taxes. And as a consequence the Government cannot find money to pay the interest on what it borrowed for such purposes as the settlement of the refugees. That loan ought to have practically repaid itself, for the idea was that the refugees as they got settled would produce enough not merely to pay taxes which would provide the interest on the loan, but to start a fund for paying back the capital. But the refugees are the very people who have been growing tobacco. They were advised to grow tobacco, and the fall in tobacco prices has reduced them to hopeless poverty.

What, under such conditions, can be done for Greece? "Well," says M. Venizelos, "we are reclaiming a lot of very useful land in the valleys of two of our great rivers. It will take three or four years more, but when it is done we shall be able to grow wheat and cattle fodder and other things that at present we import from abroad. At present we have to import far more than we can export. Then we shall be importing so much less that the balance will be on the right side and we shall pay our way easily. Only we need a loan of £2½ million a year for four years to enable us to finish these undertakings and also to pay interest on our present loans in the meantime."

Greece Cannot Pay

That is Greece's case, but she can get no loan from anywhere, so the interest due to foreign holders of Greek loan stock on May 1 and afterwards will not be paid. The interest on loans subscribed inside the country by Greeks themselves has been cut down from 8 per cent. to 6 per cent. and the Government is saving a good deal that way. But foreign holders cannot be treated like that. With Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria the position is more or less similar, though there are special points about each of them which need not be explained here. Austria and Hungary are naturally dealt with in association not only with one another but with the three Little Entente States, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Rumania, because those five made up (with bits of territory that are now Polish or Italian) the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, and a good deal of their trouble comes from the fact that over what used to be a great free trade area (because it was all under one sovereignty) a whole chequer-work of customs barriers has been built up. The four Great Powers who met in London, or some of them, thought the first thing to do would be to get these States to lower the tariff barriers they have raised against one another, so that Rumania and Jugoslavia and Hungary could sell their grain more easily in Czechoslovakia and Austria, and Austria and Czechoslovakia their industrial products

more easily in the other three States. But Germany and Italy objected to this for various reasons, partly political, partly economic. And so it came to nothing. If it had come to something Britain and France would probably have guaranteed a loan to the States that needed it to enable them to tide over immediate difficulties.

Any loan in the present conditions will have to be guaranteed. No one will lend money to Greece or Hungary to-day, for they would never be sure of getting it back. Two or three States like Britain or France must undertake to be responsible in case the actual borrower defaults. That is true of the loan the League is recommending for Greece and Austria. Britain and France may still be willing to guarantee it. They have not made up their minds yet. If they do the States concerned may manage somehow to get round the corner and begin buying foreign goods, including British goods, again. If not trade will go on getting less and less. The League Council had actually to advise Austria to put more prohibitions on imports, so as to prevent her from buying far more than she was selling. Failing some measures to stop the rot, half the British money invested in Central and South-East Europe may be permanently lost. The only way to save it may be to lend a little more to enable a new start to be made.

An International Force

The following are points from letters regarding Mr. David Davies's article on An International Police Force in last month's HEADWAY:—

"Mr. Davies puts two pertinent questions, to which he gives equally pertinent answers. 'Will recruits of various nationalities be forthcoming? Will they be willing to serve together? This depends upon the remuneration and conditions of service. If these are sufficiently attractive, there is no reason to suppose that there will be any shortage of recruits.' Is it extravagant to anticipate that the prospect of service of and for a great ideal in such a unique comradeship would appeal in all lands to the type of men who make soldiers of the very highest quality? Every such recruit would be conscious that he was joining a Force such as the world had never seen, and becoming a member of a community that in sundry vital and important respects would be to the rest of the world a demonstration of what a healthy internationalism could achieve in the full sphere; a unique, educative, and sustained appeal to the world's imagination."

Hemel Hempstead.

JESSE HAWKES.

"Is it not possible, if not probable, that the League would be more consistent and more powerful in the long run if it employed no physical force at all but relied solely on moral suasion and the education of public opinion? It seldom happens in any war that either combatant entirely disregards public opinion of the neutral countries. If they do, they generally lose the peace if not the war. I regret any idea of a League military force."

Paymaster-in-Chief, CYRIL H. JONES, R.N. (Retired).

Broadlands, Queen's Road, Shanklin, Isle of Wight.

"Allow me to thank Mr. David Davies for his admirable detailed advocacy of an International Police Force in the April issue of HEADWAY. Having, from the very beginning of the League's activities, written to the press expressing the same views, the issue of the Chino-Japanese conflict has only served to strengthen my conviction that only with an armed Force behind the League to enforce its decrees can it really successfully curb the contemptuous indifference to its behests, lately exhibited by the military caste of Japan."

Warley House, Halifax.

A. S. MCCREA.

"The League stands for organised peace, the use of arms means war. It makes no difference who fires the gun, a gunner of the British army or a gunner of the League army, the result is exactly the same, war. We in this generation have had ample opportunity to observe the application of the idea of making war to end war."

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Sir Arthur Salter

The general reader must have some brains if he is to follow Sir Arthur all the way, but after all, highly-complicated problems cannot be simplified beyond a certain point without making them something different from what they really are. And certain passages in the book, such as the thumbnail sketches of the Big Three of the Peace Conference, President Wilson, M. Clemenceau and Mr. Lloyd George, and the Big Three of Locarno, Sir Austen Chamberlain, M. Briand and Dr. Stresemann, will appeal to the most unfinancial and most uneconomic reader ever born. Here are extracts from them:

President Wilson.—"This [the incorporation of the League Covenant in the Versailles Treaty] was the greatest decision, the greatest achievement, of Wilson's life. It would have been impossible for one who did not combine the vision of the idealist, the practical insight into the conditions of success of a realist, and an unshakable will, unmoved by either the opposition of foes or the foolish counsel of friends. If the world does indeed prevent the recurrence of great wars it will be to this great act of this great man, more than to any other person or event in history, that it will owe its salvation."

Mr. Lloyd George.—"Magnetic, eloquent, dominating, persuasive; with gaps in his knowledge, but understanding so much more than he knew; gathering his impressions from those around him as if by invisible antennae; indirect and unexpected in method, but courageous, skilful and inflexible in the pursuit of his main objective; intolerably irritating to the precise, the exact, the official—at every meeting of the Powers of this period [the post-war conferences] *incessu patuit*—he was visibly the greatest personality of all those present."

M. Poincaré.—"Precise, formal, unmagnetic, with an untiring and inhuman industry; knowing all that can be known from printed book or written document, but understanding little that cannot be so expressed; a human machine working with a frictionless perfection."

Dr. Stresemann.—"Short, stout, with close-cropped and almost clean-shaven head, in his appearance a typical German as seen by foreign cartoonists, he had a personality at once charming, dominant, irresistible. . . . Never was there a more passionate or potent advocate of the policies of moderation and conciliation. And while he lived he held down by the sheer force of his dominant personality the explosive forces in his

country that showed their strength as soon as he had gone. He fought till the last moment, preferring, as Wilson had done, to throw the last ounces of his strength into the cause for which he stood, rather than nurse and coddle a few more years of impotent existence."

Sir Austen Chamberlain.—"Formal, rigid, precise. Correct in thought, in manner and in costume; with all the virtues of a good official, conscientious, industrious, competent; exact and meticulous within the limits of his habitual vision, not sensitive to what lay outside it; retaining from the Victorian school of politics in which he had been trained its best traditions of scrupulous personal honour in public life, which on one side touched quixotry and on the other side gave him a sense of perhaps too conscious rectitude."

Reckless Borrowing

But such passages as these, entertaining as they are, are no more than incidents in the course of Sir Arthur Salter's argument. That argument takes the widest possible range. Sir Arthur sees the world as a whole swaying and tottering between two systems, the old out-worn individualist system of unfettered competition and the new era of State regulation and public control. Some blending of the two, preserving the best features of both, must be achieved. That will be one milestone on the road to recovery. Then nations must learn to live providently. One cause of the economic crisis has been the tendency of some nations to borrow rashly and of others—or rather of the investors of others—to lend unwisely. Sir Arthur quotes some of Brazil's loans—£3,000,000 for the bodily demolition of a hill in Rio; £5,000,000 for electrifying the Central Railway of Brazil, which has not been electrified; £4,000,000, or more, for a water supply scheme which has to all intents and purposes been abandoned in favour of another scheme. All these loans involve interest and repayment instalments and between them they often bring a State near bankruptcy. If a country borrows money some international authority ought first to be satisfied that it is to be spent on some productive enterprise (such as the construction of a railway) which will bring in more than enough to cover the loan payments year by year.

How Germany Might Pay

Currency, and the rôle of gold in connection with it, Sir Arthur discusses very learnedly, and after that he goes on to deal with reparations and war debts. The main trouble about both is that they are expressed in terms of gold and that prices have fallen some 40 per cent, since the various agreements were drafted. The result is that for every £100 of reparation she is condemned to pay, Germany must send £170 worth of goods abroad in payment. Similarly with our debt-payments to the United States. The first thing to do is to mark down the nominal figures of the debts so as to correspond with realities. Even so, of course, Germany could not pay more than a fraction of the reparations due from her. It might be best to cancel even that fraction—if the French and others would agree. But Sir Arthur does not think that necessary. Germany, in his view, could pay something, and he outlines an ingenious plan for the issue, for reparation purposes, of ordinary shares in German railways and other commercial concerns, which would mean that the burden of reparation payments would only fall on Germany in periods when the country was prosperous

* "Recovery," by Sir Arthur Salter. Bell, 10s. 6d.

enough for her industries to be paying dividends on their ordinary shares. Further proposals for reduced debt-payments to America are outlined.

But, of course, the essential condition of salvation is peace, and no part of Sir Arthur Salter's book is more valuable than the chapters in which he emphasises the necessity of making the "collective system" a reality. His exposition of the typical French attitude on security is just and illuminating, and his discussions of French and British policy reveal once more the extent to which this country's reluctance to accept commitments under the collective system is reflected in France's reluctance to trust herself to a collective system instead of to her own national forces. America's part in the scheme of things depends mainly on her signature of the Kellogg Pact, and Sir Arthur Salter still hopes for the possibility of some declaration by the United States President or Congress that in the event of League action against a State violating Covenant and Pact, America, if it could not actively help the League, would at any rate in no way hinder it. He even suggests a form of words for the purpose.

Nothing could be more superfluous than to remind readers of HEADWAY of the unique authority with which Sir Arthur Salter, as a former Secretary-General of the Reparation Commission, a former Director of the League's Financial and Economic Section, and a member of the British Delegation at the last League Assembly, speaks on all these subjects. No higher praise can be given to his book than to say that it is in every respect on a level with his reputation.

H. W. H.

THE CROP OF DICTATORS

European Dictatorships, by Count Carlo Sforza. (Allen & Unwin. 8s. 6d.)

There are not quite as many dictators about Europe as there were a year or two ago. Spain has got rid of hers, and King Alexander, who has been dictator in Yugoslavia, calls himself that no longer, whatever he may be in reality. Count Sforza writes of them all—the Polish, the Turkish, the Spanish, the Hungarian, most of all, of course, the Russian and Italian, and the tendencies towards dictatorship in Germany. As Foreign Minister of Italy in the years immediately after the war, he was brought into contact with many of the personalities of whom he writes, and his book gains much in vividness in consequence.

Dictatorships may grow up for different reasons and take different forms. Count Sforza makes no attempt to fit them into one mould. He is more interested, indeed, in their differences than their resemblances. And on Russia, which he has visited several times since the Revolution, he is particularly instructive. "When in Russia," he writes, for example, "I was constantly struck with the impression that I was watching the flowering of a new religion, a religion half revelation and half business, but still a religion." As an Italian he fought against Fascism as long as resistance was possible. Now he lives in Paris. But there is surprisingly little bitterness in his condemnation of the Fascist dictatorship, which he is satisfied will pass, bringing back the old Italian Liberalism again.

He is satisfied, indeed, that all the dictatorships will pass, except perhaps the Russian, for in Russia there are signs that a revolution in the spirit of the people has taken place, not a mere constitutional revolution imposed by a coup d'état.

Not many readers who start with Count Sforza on his visits to European dictators will leave him till they have done the whole round.

STANDARDS (2)

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The Air Menace

Can Aviation be Internationalised?

THERE has been a good deal of talk in the last few years about what is called rather elaborately (though it is not very easy to find a shorter phrase) the internationalisation of civil aviation. Most people are agreed that the evils of military aviation are such (one of the greatest of British airmen said some time ago that if he could have his way he would abolish flying altogether) that it would probably be not very difficult to make an end of it once for all, but for the apparently fatal consideration that if the military machines were abolished the bombing would be done by civil machines instead. An aeroplane that can carry a load of passengers to Paris could carry enough bombs to blow Paris into the air, and to fit it with bomb-racks, bomb-sights and other devices necessary is a work of something less than a day.

Hence it follows that if military aviation is to be abolished some drastic steps must be taken about civil aviation. Means must be found, if possible, to make it impossible for civil machines to be used for war purposes. There is no way of making it a physical impossibility, because, as has been said already, any machines that can carry passengers can carry bombs and drop them. Can it, however, as the next best thing, be made impossible for States to build up national air forces adapted to military purposes under the guise of the development of ordinary commercial aviation? If national air forces are to exist it is very difficult indeed to prevent that. Government subsidies can be given. Civil machines can be designed on lines which make them particularly serviceable for military ends. And the civil pilots can be given, unobtrusively, a semi-military training. The conclusion seems to be, therefore, that national air forces must no longer exist, and the inevitable corollary of that is that the air services the world needs must be organised and operated internationally.

No National Secrets

The advantages of that, if it turns out to be possible, are that if the whole thing is international and the Boards of Directors and all the higher personnel consist of men from a number of different countries, it will be pretty certain that nothing can be done secretly in any country without its becoming universally known. No one, in fact, has very seriously questioned the theoretical advantages of internationalising civil aviation. The question has been whether the thing is practicable or not. As to that the situation has radically changed in the last three months since the Governments of two Great Powers, France and Italy, have both definitely proposed as part of their disarmament plans the internationalisation of civil aviation. A number of other Governments have supported them, and it is consequently no longer possible to dismiss the subject as an airy dream of theorists.

To begin with, military aviation is to be abolished. As a second step all civil machines capable of being used for aggressive military purposes are to be internationalised. That will leave the ordinary small one or two-seaters (air-taxis as they are commonly called) which private citizens and members of flying clubs in the different countries are acquiring in considerable numbers for their personal use. There will then be created one or more "International Unions of Aerial Transport." The French memorandum observes that obviously there will have to be a European organisa-

tion, but equally obviously it must extend some way, at any rate, into Asia and Africa. The number of such organisations, in any case, is immaterial. There may be one; there may be two or three. They will all ultimately be placed under the control of the League of Nations.

For the sake of simplicity we may discuss here the working of a single organisation. It will, to begin with, own all the civil aeroplanes (in other words, all the aeroplanes that exist, except the small private ones) within its area. It will be responsible for studying the world's needs in the matter of air lines, for developing and changing existing lines and creating new ones, for laying down rules for the registration of machines and the qualifications for pilots. It can create subsidiary organisms, all international in management and in their higher personnel, to operate particular air lines. These will be organised to meet public demands, so far as it seems profitable to do that on an ordinary commercial basis. But a country may for its own purposes, and without too much concern for the financial side of the operation, want to run lines from its own territory to its colonies. In that case, it is the International Union that will organise the service and the country concerned must undertake to make up any deficit if necessary. It cannot be allowed to run lines itself, or it might, under cover of that, be developing a national air service with military potentialities, which is precisely what the whole scheme is intended to prevent.

The Business Side

As to finance, the capital of the Union will be subscribed by the different countries of the world in proportions to be fixed. Many of them will be handing over existing civil aeroplanes to the Union, and the value of these machines will be counted as part of the national contribution. It is possible, even, in some cases, that the value will be greater than the contribution assessed, in which case, of course, a payment will be made not by the country but to it. Once the service is started it will be run on an ordinary commercial basis, and the French memorandum points out that substantial economies should be possible through the co-ordination and the elimination of wasteful competition. An important point—this, indeed, is an essential feature of the whole scheme—is that the management of the Union and the actual operation of the various lines, so far as the higher personnel is concerned, shall be completely international. That ensures that, so to speak, knowledge of everything that is being done in the world of aviation will be internationally diffused and there will be no possibility of secret aerial development on national lines.

Now, any ingenious person, no doubt, could work out a paper scheme like this. What is important about this particular scheme is that it has been worked out by the French official air experts and put before the Disarmament Conference with the full authority of the French Government behind it. No scheme ever likely to be drafted will be free from any kind of objection at all, but the question that has to be answered is whether the world will be better off or worse, if military aviation is abolished and civil aviation is internationalised on these or substantially similar lines, than it will be if things are simply left as they are and military aviation continues to be developed to its utmost potentiality for death and devastation.

THE CASE AGAINST WAR

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Your correspondent, Mr. G. F. Bridge (HEADWAY, January, 1932), endeavouring to correct what he believes to be an overstatement of the case against war, says the problem is to teach people "under what circumstances it is right to fight." Men, he says, have constantly shown that they believe freedom, independence, and religious liberties "to be more important than life itself. And the men who . . . have staked their lives on their faith we regard as being on at least as high an ethical level as the apostles of peace."

They are so indeed—the finest part of all nations. But without going so far as to assert that the waging of war can never under any circumstances be morally justified, may I be allowed to point out the dangerous falsity of the appeal underlying the sentences here quoted? When war is in the air, politicians and other public speakers quite sincerely stir their audiences to enthusiasm for the notion that many of their countrymen are prepared to forgo "life itself" for the sake of national interests which those who govern them have failed to settle by other means. That is true, and among those who made this sacrifice in the Great War was the cream of the human race. But, long before many soldiers made it, they had found out that the easy problem put to them by the recruiting politicians and press: "are you prepared to die for your country?" was not the true problem that they had to face. The splendid question thus put actually helps to blind civilised nations to the folly of this system of settling their rights upon the battlefield. I suppose there were few soldiers in the Great War who did not early discover that its horror did not lie in the risk to their own lives, but in the misery that it inflicted on a fair part of the human race. What caused most soldiers to loathe war was not the danger to themselves, but the notion of the destruction of millions of bodies and brains that should have enriched mankind; the knowledge of the frightful unseen misery inflicted by every battle not only on comrades or enemy soldiers, who were ready enough to die, but upon innocent, tender sufferers—wives, parents, children. Every time you smashed a man you not merely put out the light of someone who probably bore you no personal ill-will; you brought ghastly suffering upon women, children, and old folks living in homes that you had never seen or heard of, homes presumably as full of love and anxious hope as your own.

To brains like that of Carlyle the word "war" may carry this connotation whenever it is spoken, but the average man does not realize these things until he is in the thick of them. The real question for him is, not "are you prepared to give your life for such-and-such a supposed right?" but "are you prepared to secure your rights by a process of blotting out the happiness of others?" If every soldier, when he fired his rifle or let off his howitzer, could not merely see that bullet or shell strike some man opposite, but could see the results strike home among that man's family standing close behind him—if he could see the direct effect of his action on the face of that man's wife as she receives the news, and the crashing blow to children, and parents—could the ordinary, civilised man fight? Even if he could carry out his orders for a quarter of an hour in face of that realization of the truth, could he persist for a week, or month, or a year? Is there a civilised army that would not turn on its leaders or depose its government rather than go on with a struggle in which the results of this method of settling rights were exhibited so plainly?

Man is a brave animal. Nine out of ten of him are ready to give their lives for a cause that they consider worthy. But, before they make war, the problem should be fairly presented to them. Could it be stated as follows? Ninety-nine swimmers out of a hundred would jump overboard to save a brother from drowning. But suppose a man could attempt this only with the certainty of upsetting by his leap men, women, and children below him in a crowded boat, what would be his duty then?—Yours faithfully,
Sydney, New South Wales. C. E. W. BEAN.
26th February, 1932.

[The writer of this letter, though he is here simply expressing his personal opinions, is in fact the official Australian historian of the Great War.—Ed., HEADWAY.]

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Readers' Views

FLOODED CHINA

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

DEAR SIR,—May I draw the attention of your readers to the recent formation of the China Flood Relief Committee, which followed on a letter to "The Times," signed among others by the Archbishop of York, Lord Cecil and Professor Murray? The Committee, whose Chairman is Sir George MacDonough, and which includes representatives of the League of Nations Union, the China Association, the Society of Friends, the Save the Children Fund and the Church and London Missionary Societies, and other persons specially interested in China, like Lady Gladstone, Dame Adelaide Anderson and Sir Arthur Salter, is now meeting regularly and is in close touch with Sir John Hope Simpson, the Director of Flood Relief, appointed by the Chinese Government on the nomination of the League of Nations. The latter's cabled reports depict conditions of the greatest distress in the flooded areas, aggravated by the lack of resources, for which the Sino-Japanese conflict is largely responsible, and very alarming also in prospect, as unless the dykes can be repaired in time, the July rains are likely to cause a repetition of the appalling calamity of last August.

Apart from the general sympathy that such distress evokes, supporters of the League of Nations have a special concern in the matter, for in September last, on the invitation of Lord Cecil, the Assembly and Council addressed an appeal to all the members of the League to give what help they could. I venture, therefore, to ask members and branches of the League of Nations Union throughout the country to contribute something to the funds of which Sir John Hope Simpson is so desperately in need. The headquarters of the Committee are at Edinburgh House, 2, Eaton Gate, S.W.1; the Joint Hon. Secretaries—Mr. Archibald Rose and Mr. Kenneth MacLennan, and the Hon. Treasurer—Mr. F. B. Bourdillon. They would gladly furnish any information required and help in the organisation of meetings that any Branches may desire to hold on the subject.—Yours faithfully,

H. D. WATSON.

40, Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

WOMEN'S NATIONALITY

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I would remind you of the fact that British women married to foreigners are still unable to keep their own nationality. The British Parliament has done a great deal of talking, but nothing practical has been done to remedy this abominable situation, particularly in the case of Englishwomen married to Americans, who are now left without any nationality whatever. Some may say this is the fault of the United States. But anyone who does is not fair-minded, for America has done the right thing in looking after its own women, and naturally expects other countries to look after their women likewise. America has recognised women as human beings—and not left them on the level of chattels, as British law persists in doing.

After all, if the men of America, France, China, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, the Argentine, Brazil, Chili, Belgium, Rumania, Turkey, Jugoslavia, Cuba, and Russia can show justice to their women in this respect, it is surely time long overdue for England to do the same in the name of that fair-play of which it so frequently boasts.

Though perhaps not entirely a League question, yet contented citizenship of any country affects the world as a whole, and bitterness of spirit towards any Government (which these outcast British women must feel) is very much to be deplored. I beg your courtesy to spare me a few lines in HEADWAY, in case this letter should meet the eye of some fair-minded Englishman.

Yours very truly, FELIX LEE.

47, Rue du Ranelagh, Paris.

[Under existing regulations a British woman marrying an American citizen loses her British nationality and has to apply for naturalisation as a U.S. citizen, which she can do after a continuous residence of at least one year in the U.S.—Ed.]

THE ANTI-LEAGUE PRESS

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR.—Mr. J. Scollay is quite right. Why do members of the League of Nations Union buy newspapers which tell lies about the League? Why do they contribute their pennies towards the cost of printing and circulating these newspapers? People get the press they deserve and as long as they continue to pay for it they will go on getting it. The primary object of these newspapers is to make money and to do this they must attract the widest possible public. It isn't merely a question of giving both sides a fair hearing. It's much worse than that. It's a question of telling lies. We none of us ought to encourage people to tell lies by paying our pennies, and if we all refrain from buying newspapers which print lies we really shall be doing something practical towards stopping it. Writing and complaining about it only draws attention to those particular newspapers and increases their circulation which is exactly what they want. We should just ignore them and stop buying them. Many of us are doing that already and it's quite time we all did it.—Yours, etc.,

J. D. ALLEN.

A REASONABLE CALENDAR

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR.—The Rational Calendar Association has been formed with the object of continuing the work undertaken last summer by the Parliamentary Committee on Calendar Reform.

Before the Conference on Calendar Reform held at Geneva last October the Committee held a referendum, as a result of which it was able to report to the Conference that there is an active British public opinion in favour of stabilising Easter and the movable Feasts, and that as regards a general reform of the Calendar, British public informed opinion would approve a simplification which would remove the principal defects of the Gregorian Calendar.

As Secretary I should be glad to hear from any individuals or branches of the L.N.U. who would like to receive an enrolment card or to arrange for lectures or debates on the subject.—I am, etc.,

C. DAVID STELLING

(Secretary).

38, Parliament Street, Westminster, S.W.1.

WHAT WE THINK

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I notice that the recent Albert Hall meeting was quoted by the "Times" as showing that the members of the Union are perfectly satisfied with the action of the League Council and the Government, and accept the principle that hereafter the League is only to offer mediation, and if its kind offer is refused, to do nothing more.

Without further proof I cannot accept this. I am one of that large number who cannot attend such meetings, but feel that if they could they would try to ensure that their views are not so misrepresented.

Would it not be possible to arrange a sort of referendum, to find out what our views are on this vital question?

B. S. BOULTER.

Burford Branch.

A PILGRIMAGE OF REMEMBRANCE

A HEADWAY reader writes to propose that there should be organised in the summer of this year a great international pilgrimage of remembrance and dedication to the battlefields in France, reminiscent of, but differing from, the pilgrimages of remembrance which have taken place for many years. He desires to see a spontaneous demonstration by the peoples to salute the graves of men of both sides who fell in France, in the form of a five minutes' silence, followed by a mass celebration of the ideal of peace.

The Church's Call

On the opening day of the World Disarmament Conference—the first general conference on the reduction and limitation of national armaments—there assembled in the Royal Albert Hall a great congregation of more than 10,000 Christian people, eager to do their part in making the Conference a success. On the platform were twenty bishops, representative Free Churchmen, leading Roman Catholics, a Salvation Army officer representing General Higgins, the Chief Rabbi, and other religious leaders. This gathering, representative of the Christian heart of England, was addressed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, by representatives of the Free Churches and by the Dominican Provincial. The Message from the platform to the hall and from the hall to the world was plain: that the Christian people of England were in earnest about disarmament. And every Christian, whoever he is and wherever he may be, has a positive contribution to make.

It is not for Christian people, as such, to discuss the sizes of ships and of guns, the employment of submarines or gas, the use of tanks or military aeroplanes. But, by support of the League of Nations Union, they have the means of applying Christian principles to international affairs; for the Union, like the Government and the League itself, is an integral part of the machinery of international co-operation. The several parts have different functions, but they must work together as a single whole.

The basis of British foreign policy is loyal co-operation with the League of Nations; and the function of the Union is, as we said on this page last month, to prepare public opinion to support the Government in this policy. From time to time the policy for which the Union is thus preparing public opinion will go beyond the declared policy of the Government; but that is only because the Government cannot, in particular matters, declare in favour of going much further than public opinion is already prepared to go.

A month ago we gave some instances of the declared policy of the Government changing in the direction of closer co-operation with the League as the Union prepared public opinion for the change.

The story of the League's handling of the Sino-Japanese dispute affords another instance. Mr. Stimson, in his Note of January 7, said that America would in no circumstance recognise any situation or agreement which might be brought about by means contrary to the Pact of Paris or other treaty obligations to which the U.S.A., as well as Japan and China, were parties. In other words, America would not recognise legal rights arising from moral wrongs. The British Government seemed at first to be unwilling to accept this principle. But on February 11 the Union's Executive Committee urged that every State Member of the League should also refuse to recognise legal rights arising from moral wrongs and should send a Note to China and Japan on the lines of that sent by Mr. Stimson on January 7. This resolution was published

in Geneva on February 12. Four days later the British Government joined with other members of the League's Council in saying that Members of the League ought to do this, and on March 11 the British Government joined with other members of the Assembly in saying that it was incumbent upon Members of the League to follow this course.

The Union's effort is at present concentrated on securing acceptance, by the Disarmament Conference, of three important principles. They are:

First, that the weapons (such as monster warships, submarines, military aircraft, the heaviest artillery and tanks) which were forbidden to Germany and the other defeated nations on the ground of their essentially aggressive character, should now be given up by all nations. This step would greatly increase the security of Great Britain, France, and, indeed, all countries against attack. It would, at the same time, make a real advance towards that equality of status which is the principal demand of Germany.

Next, that all nations should accept a limitation of the sum of money to be devoted in their budgets for military purposes.

Thirdly, that a Permanent Disarmament Commission exercising its control equally over all nations should be set up.

The majority of Governments whose delegates have spoken in the general discussion of the Disarmament Conference have shown themselves ready to accept these principles. Italy has supported them all; and, so far as land armaments are concerned, they have been advocated by the American delegation with British support. They represent, as we believe, the only practicable basis of agreement for the Conference. Were they embodied in a disarmament treaty together with the general principle of limitation for all armaments, real progress would have been achieved. One of the chief causes of resentment on the part of Germany would be removed, and there would be a great reduction in the financial burden of armaments.

There is real hope that agreement on this policy, or something like it, may be reached. If that happens the world will have started on the road which leads to disarmament and peace. If the opportunity is missed the Conference will fail, and failure means a large step towards war and all its terrific consequences. The Union is doing its utmost to arouse public opinion. Resolutions at meetings and conferences are valuable; but their value is doubled if those who pass them and those in whose name they are spoken follow up the resolutions with united effort, and in particular if they lay their views in whatever manner they think best before their Members of Parliament.

We appeal to all Christian people to join our Union and to share in our work. It is difficult work, sometimes it is unpopular work. But we believe it is God's work, and we desire to have in our ranks all who profess and call themselves Christians.

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

League of Nations Union News

May, 1932

International Federation Meetings

Representatives of 18 countries attended the Spring Meetings of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies which were held in Brussels from March 20-23. The British delegation included: Mr. David Davies, Lord Dickinson, Dr. Garnett, Sir Walter Napier, Sir George Paish, Captain Thomas and Mr. L. M. Wynch.

The following is the text of a circular letter which the Executive Committee decided to send out to all societies:—

"In the opening stages of the Disarmament Conference three Great Powers and twelve smaller States have declared for the whole system of Disarmament Proposals made by the Federation at Budapest last June. These proposals have also been accepted in part by the other States represented at the Conference.

"The Executive Committee of the Federation has noted these facts with great encouragement. The Committee now calls upon the League of Nations Societies in all lands for a supreme effort to seize the opportunity afforded by this initial success, so that the Conference may bring about a substantial reduction, as well as the limitation of national armaments.

"The Executive Committee accordingly urges every Society to use its whole strength in order to impress upon its national Government that widespread and powerful public opinion demands disarmament on the lines of the Budapest proposals, and particularly: (1) The abolition of the so-called offensive armaments—warships of over 10,000 tons, submarines, tanks, heavy artillery and military aeroplanes—which are forbidden to Germany under the Peace Treaties, and thus the beginning of the equalisation of armaments as between the 'vanquished' and the 'victorious' Powers; (2) By this or other means a reduction of armaments by 25 per cent. within five years; and (3) The international organisation of aviation under the auspices of the League of Nations."

As to the Sino-Japanese conflict, the Executive recalled the principle that whatever the rights or wrongs of the case might be, no country has the right to resort to violence for the settlement of disputes. It expressed the hope that a peaceful and just solution of the conflict would be achieved in accordance with the terms of the Assembly resolution of March 11.

Overseas Notes

The XVIth Plenary Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies will meet in Paris from July 4 to 9.

On March 11 a public meeting was held at Kandy in support of the Geneva Disarmament Conference. It was resolved to form a League of Nations Society for Ceylon.

Viscount Ishii has been elected President of the League of Nations Association of Japan in the place of the late Viscount Shibusawa.

A South African League of Nations Union has been established, being a federation of all the Branches in the Union of South Africa. Dr. S. F. N. Gie, has been appointed Secretary-General.

The Council of the Victorian Branch of the Australian League of Nations Union considered the Far Eastern crisis at a meeting in February. It passed a resolution asking all Australians to stand by the pledged word of the Commonwealth. It urged the Australian Commonwealth Government to co-operate completely with the League of Nations and to the fullest possible extent with the United States to restrict and end the conflict in China.

The Union's Staff Speakers:—No. 1

Frederick Whelen

Even speaking for the Union has elements of adventure about it. Once upon a time Mr. Frederick Whelen, the senior of the Union's staff lecturers, found himself in Holland with no passport, no clothes, and no money. It speaks volumes for his personal charm that he was able to get out of a very difficult situation without trouble and even with the willing assistance of the authorities.



By courtesy of Douglas, 46, St. James Parade, S.W.1.

Frederick Whelen

It is as "Eyewitness" that he excels. He has attended every meeting of the Assembly, and during the thirteen years that he has been with the Union he has been actually present at most of the historical events that have happened in Europe since the war. He is, in fact, a knowledgeable man, as is shown by his "Covenant Explained," which has now entered upon its sixth and enlarged edition. Its price is 1/-

A modest man, too! His many hosts do not always realise that they are giving shelter to one who has had a vast diversity of experiences. In his younger days he spent some time in banking. He was connected with Sir Herbert Tree. He was one of the founders of the Stage Society. And last but not least he was associated with the foundation of the Bedford College for Women. "Uncle Frederick," as he is known to his friends, has at least kept one world's record for England. He has addressed more meetings on one subject than any other man alive. His vernal freshness is a symptom of his eternal youth. O. B.

Travel Notes

The Union's Easter School and the visit to the International Labour Conference are now over and done with. Needless to say, both were a source of pleasure to those who attended them. There is now a rumour that something for Whitsun is being brewed up by the Travel Section; but they refuse to divulge their secrets save to say that anybody interested will get information if they write to 15, Grosvenor Crescent.

The next big scheduled trip is the Fourth Junior Summer School which is to take place at Geneva from July 29 till August 8. The school is so popular that last year some schools who wished to bring a group of children had to be refused. Early application would therefore seem to be indicated. The party, it would be as well to remind readers, is composed of school groups of twelve or more pupils accompanied by a master or mistress. Except under special circumstances children under 16 cannot be admitted unless specially recommended by their headmaster or headmistress.

Notes and News

Annual Reports

We have to acknowledge the receipt of Annual Reports from the following Branches. Pressure on space is, unfortunately, too great to allow a résumé to be made of each individually:—

Arnside, Ashbourne, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Banbury, Barnet (Herts.), Beaconsfield, Belfast, Bishops Stortford, Bishopston (Bristol), Blackpool, Botley (Hants.), Byfleet and Pyford, Burnham, Broxbourne, Blyth, Bude, Coleshill, Church End (Finchley), Crouch Hill Presbyterian Church, Derby, Douglas (I.O.M.), East Cowes, Easton (Bristol), Earls Colne (Essex), Eltham, Ely, Essex Federal Council, Ealing, Fordingbridge, Fleet, Gerrards Cross, Glasgow, Gledholt Wesleyan (Huddersfield), Greenford, Gorleston-on-Sea, Headington, Highgate, High Wycombe, Harrow, Halstead (Essex), Heathfield (Sussex), Haslemere, Hereford, Horsham, Hull, Jesmond (Newcastle), Kempsey (Worcs.), Kenton, Kew, Kirkby Stephen, Launceston, Leicester, Leicestershire Federal Council, Lytham, Maryport (Cumb.), New Southgate and Friern Barnet, North Finchley, North Hackney, Nottingham, Oxford Federation, Oxhey, Oxted, Paddington, Parkstone, Pinner, Preston, Reigate and Redhill, Sandhurst (Glos.), Streatham, Stockport, St. Albans, Scarborough, Swindon, Stafford, Southport, Southwark, Sunderland, Savings Bank Branch, St. Annes-on-Sea, Sheringham, Seaford, Stroud, Windermere, Winscombe, Welwyn Garden City, Worcester, Withernsea, Wealdstone, Weston-super-Mare, West Hartlepool, Waterloo, Crosby, Seaforth and Lytham, Winton (Bournemouth).

Disarmament and Unemployment

The reprint of the speeches made at the Union's March Conference on Disarmament and Unemployment is now ready, 2s. 8d. post free. We would commend this slender booklet to those who meet with the objection that Disarmament will increase unemployment. The whole problem was thoroughly discussed during the three days of the Conference.

"Disarm"

A repeat performance of Mrs. Martin Browne's play, "Disarm," was given on behalf of the People's National Theatre on Sunday, April 17. The play has now been published by the S.P.C.K., price 4d.

A New Mock Trial

The Sidmouth Branch has chosen the old title of "The Trial of Mars" for its new Mock Trial. At the first performance the defendant, "War" was absent—on a job of work in Manchuria—but the trial proceeded without him. The witnesses for the defence included a Profiteer and those for the prosecution a War Widow. We understand that Mr. Appleby, the Church House, Sidmouth, is having a book of the play made available for other Branches to use.

In the Schools of Scotland

A special booklet on the League of Nations in Scottish education has been published by the Scottish National Council of the Union and the Education Institute of Scotland, price 3d. It contains a report and the recommendations arising out of the joint Conference representing the educational world on the one side and the Union on the other, which was held at Dunblane in 1930. The Committee, it is interesting to note, placed on record its view that in Scotland, less than in some countries, "there is a fairly common belief in the inevitability of war." It proceeded further to draw up a series of recommendations concerning the methods whereby the schools might best train up a new generation which will believe in "Peace as a positive, vital, active force based on mutual understanding, fair dealing, open conference, publicity and co-operation."

A Suggestion

Wireless Discussion Groups during the last three years have proved their value as a new source of enjoyment

and information for all who take an interest in affairs. So many of the regular series of talks have an international angle—as indeed will have been noticed by those who have listened to any of the events mentioned in our regular *Forthcoming Broadcasts* paragraph. For this reason the formation of a discussion group might well form a matter for consideration at Branch or Youth Group Committee meetings. A handbook telling what Discussion Groups are and how they should be run can be obtained free on application from any B.B.C. station.

Medals for Schools

Colonel E. C. Heath, D.S.O., the General Secretary of the British Legion, presented the Fidac Medal and Certificate to Gresham School, Holt. Colonel Crosfield has since made similar presentations to Leighton Park School, Reading, and St. Leonard's Road L.C.C. Girls' School, Poplar. Fidac Medals and Certificates are presented to those Schools who have done most for the promotion of international understanding during the current year.

A Bursary

The Fircroft Residential College for the Higher Education of Working Men has placed a Bursary at the disposal of the Union for next year. The Bursary is open to a student nominated by the Union or one of its Branches with a view to his becoming better qualified to take a part in spreading and extending internationalism. There is no entrance examination and the only conditions are that the student shall be over twenty years of age, in good health and have already undertaken some lecture course of evening study. Nominations will be welcomed. Further details concerning the Bursary can be obtained from Headquarters.

A New H. Q. Committee

In order to study in detail the French proposals to the Disarmament Conference an International Air Committee has been created. The internationalisation of civil aviation and an international air force are the two subjects to which the Committee is especially addressing itself.

The Cheltenham Meetings

The meetings of the General Council of the Union will take place in Cheltenham on June 28, 29, 30, and July 1. The opening session will be at 2.30 p.m. on June 28. It will be followed at 5.30 by a service in the Parish Church. In the evening the President and Committee of the Cheltenham Branch are giving a reception in the Town Hall. On the 30th arrangements are in hand for an official luncheon or dinner over which will preside the Lord Lieutenant of the County, the Duke of Beaufort, who will be accompanied by the Duchess. Visits to local places of interest will be arranged as convenient.

On July 1 there will be a special conference to which all members of the Union are invited. Admittance will be obtained by presentation of delegates' tickets or by a special Conference admission ticket obtainable from Headquarters. A limited amount of private hospitality will be available but it cannot be guaranteed. Applications must be made to Mr. J. Monro Briggs, the Honorary Secretary, at "The Lawns," Park Close, Cheltenham. Enquiries as to boarding houses or hotels should be made to Mrs. Bissett, the Manageress of the Spa Bureau, at the Town Hall, Cheltenham.

Notes from Wales

Branches in all parts of Wales and Monmouthshire are looking forward to the Annual Conference at Bangor, Caernarvonshire, in Whit week. In addition to meetings of the Executive Committee, of the Council, and of the Advisory Education Committee, English and Welsh Public Meetings are being organised. The programme also includes a "Festival of Youth," and an Education Conference.

The interest of Local Education Authorities and of teachers in the subject of "Teaching World Citizenship" continues to be as keen as ever. During April Conferences of Teachers were arranged in the Rhondda, Mountain Ash and Pontypridd areas. These conferences were addressed by Dr. George H. Green, M.A., of the University College, Aberystwyth.

The World Wireless Message

On May 18 for the eleventh successive year the children of Wales will broadcast their message of goodwill to the world. This year it takes the form of a tribute to the pioneers who have helped to make the world one neighbourhood by means of the telephone the telegraph, and the wireless. The response to the message every year becomes more encouraging. Answers have been received from such out-of-the-way places as a village high up in the Pyrenees and a remote township in New Zealand. Altogether in 1931 schools in no fewer than 61 countries sent back messages to the children of the Principality.

The Goodwill Journal

It is not generally known that the inspiration of the Welsh Children's Wireless Message has led to the foundation of a newspaper. It is published in Holland and is called the "Goodwill Journal." It is edited by an international committee, each member of which undertakes a particular number though part of the contents is common to all. The keynote of the Journal is neighbourliness and it hopes to awaken in every child who receives it a recognition of the *one-ness* of the world. The Welsh National Council, 10, Museum Place, Cardiff, will give all particulars.

Shorter Notices

Mrs. Shaxby, of the Cardiff District Committee, has made a League Tree, with branches and leaves to represent all its organisations.

A Model Assembly was given at Wolverhampton by the members of several Black Country Girls' High Schools. Both Sir John Simon and Mr. Arthur Henderson sent messages of goodwill.

Continuing the Tyneside effort, Gateshead has organised a Model Assembly, 1,500 people were present, and 43 different organisations took part.

The London Regional Federation has an "Active Service" list. Members of this contingent help Branches which may be temporarily without a secretary and so forth. Other big centres might adopt the same idea.

Mill Hill School obtained three of the nine prizes in London's 1931 Essay Competition on "The Problems of World Disarmament."

The Acton Junior Branch is the winner of the Sherman Award for 1931, it having the best all-round record of work amongst London's Junior Branches.

The Elite Picture Theatre at Nottingham gave a special Sunday evening performance in aid of the Union.

The Pately Bridge Branch at Harrogate has sent a special donation of £10 to Headquarters to assist in propaganda work.

Council's Vote

The following Branches have completed their Council's vote for the years stated:—

1931

Barlston, Bovey Tracey, Bingley, Byfleet, Chertsey, Exmouth, Finedon, Great Ayton, Greenlaw, Hawkhurst, Holt, Keighley, King's Lynn, Middlesbrough, Reephram, Rishton, Rayleigh, Somersham, Theale.

1932

Barton Hill, Biddulph, Chalford Y.M.C.A., Calverley, Highley, Kimble, Lakenheath, Painswick, Pateley Bridge, St. Levan, Shalford, Worksop, Woodford Halse, Whittington.

A Correction

Last month by a clerical error Branches who had paid their Council's Vote got mixed up. Dursley, Sedgely, Beaminster and Whitley Bay have paid their Council's Vote for 1932, not for 1931 as stated. The four Branches who were stated as having paid for 1932 in reality had paid for 1931.

Forthcoming Broadcasts

| | | |
|-----------|--------------|--|
| Sundays | .. 5 p.m. | .. "Travellers from the East." |
| Thursdays | .. 7.30 p.m. | .. "The Growth of Modern World Order," |
| | 9.20 p.m. | .. "The Way of the World," by Mr. Vernon Bartlett. |
| Fridays | .. 9.20 p.m. | .. "Here and Now," a weekly commentary of events at home, by Mr. Gerald Barry. |

Total number of persons who have at any time joined the Union and who are not known to have died or resigned:

| | | |
|----------------|-----|---------|
| Jan. 1, 1919 | ... | 3,841 |
| Jan. 1, 1920 | ... | 10,000 |
| Jan. 1, 1921 | ... | 60,000 |
| Jan. 1, 1922 | ... | 150,051 |
| Jan. 1, 1923 | ... | 230,456 |
| Jan. 1, 1924 | ... | 335,455 |
| Jan. 1, 1925 | ... | 432,478 |
| Jan. 1, 1926 | ... | 512,310 |
| Jan. 1, 1927 | ... | 587,224 |
| Jan. 1, 1928 | ... | 665,022 |
| Jan. 1, 1929 | ... | 744,984 |
| Jan. 1, 1930 | ... | 822,903 |
| Jan. 1, 1931 | ... | 889,500 |
| Jan. 1, 1932 | ... | 951,400 |
| April 21, 1932 | ... | 968,463 |

On April 21, 1932, there were 3,051 Branches
1,215 Junior Branches, 3,556 Corporate Members and
757 Corporate Associates.

Membership

RATES OF ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION.

| | |
|--------------------|------------------------------|
| Foundation Members | ... £1 or more. |
| Registered Members | ... 3s. 6d. or 5s.* or more. |
| Ordinary Members | ... 1s. or more. |

Foundation Members receive HEADWAY, the journal of the Union, monthly by post and as much as they desire of the pamphlets and similar literature issued by the Union.

Registered Members receive HEADWAY monthly by post.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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