

THE JOURNAL OF ECONOMY
STUDENTS COMMON ROOM
NOT TO BE TAKEN AWAY

827

rhay

HEADWAY

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Vol. XIV. No. 8 [The Journal of the League of Nations Union] August, 1932 [Registered with the G.P.O. for transmission by the Canadian Magazine Post] Price Threepence

CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
MATTERS OF MOMENT	141	LAUSANNE AND GENEVA. (Editorial)	151
MARITIME POLICE. By Admiral R. A. Hopwood ..	144	LAUSANNE. By Warren Postbridge.. .. .	152
DISARMAMENT	145	AN IMPENDING CRISIS	153
THE NEW SPIRIT	146	PUBLIC SERVICE	154
TWO FAMILIES. (Cartoon)	147	WANDERING REFUGEES	155
THE WAR GUILT QUESTION. By W. Harbutt ..	148	BUDAPEST TO PARIS	156
Dawson	148	SATIRISTS AT GENEVA	157
HAROLD BUTLER. By L. H. Green	149	BOOKS WORTH READING	158
TURKEY JOINS THE LEAGUE. By J. Walter Collins	150	READERS' VIEWS	159

Matters of Moment

THE League of Nations has been left a heavy legacy in the duty laid on it by the Lausanne Conference of making all the preparations for the World Financial and Economic Conference on which so many earnest hopes are being set. The precedent is not altogether encouraging, for though the World Economic Conference of 1927 was to all appearance a great success the nations of the world were lamentably reluctant to apply the admirable doctrines there laid down. But mankind has learnt much by bitter experience since 1927, and it may be prepared to do now what it would not do five years ago. For reasons which are not entirely obvious, except that the Disarmament Conference will probably be holding its resumed sittings in Geneva, it seems to be generally assumed that the Economic Conference will not meet in the League city. There can be little in the idea that the Americans would object to that, for the United States is willingly sending delegates now to almost every gathering held at Geneva. The actual place of meeting, however, is unimportant. What does matter is that the good work begun at Lausanne shall be continued in other fields at what will be a far more comprehensive conference, when such vital questions as tariffs and currencies and trade restrictions can be faced squarely and honestly by all the nations of the world.

Next Month's Assembly

THE date of the Assembly has now been finally fixed (it may be hoped, at least, that finality has been reached) for September 26, which is three weeks later than the normal date, the main reason for the postponement being the burden of work that has fallen on the Secretariat from the beginning of February till the end of July in connection with the Disarmament Conference. For that matter delegates as well as officials are in urgent need of rest and many of them have work to do in their own countries. The Assembly itself will, no doubt, be shortened as much as possible, but there are two or three important questions that will inevitably need full discussion. One is the amendment of the Covenant to bring it into harmony with the Pact of Paris; another is the question of the position and period of service of the principal officers of the Secretariat, notably the Under-Secretaries-General; another the League budget, with the drastic economy proposals which certain delegations are expected to bring forward; another, and most important of all, consideration of the Lytton report on the relations between Japan and China. Altogether, although an attempt may be made to get the Assembly through in something under the usual three weeks, it is hard to see how that will be possible.

Assembly Delegates

THE British delegates at the Assembly are to be Sir John Simon, Sir Edward Hilton Young, and Lord Cecil, with Major Walter Elliot, Captain Eden, and Mrs. Edgar Dugdale as substitute delegates. This is a strong and tried team, for three of its members have been Assembly delegates or substitute delegates before, and the other two, Sir John Simon and Captain Eden, have had abundant experience of Geneva during the past year as representatives of this country at the Disarmament Conference. Major Elliot, it may be observed, besides his special qualifications for dealing with health questions, is at present Financial Secretary to the Treasury, and a good deal will, no doubt, fall on him in a year when the League's finances are undergoing a particularly detailed scrutiny. Mrs. Dugdale makes her *début* as a woman-delegate but she will go to Geneva as well primed as any of her predecessors and better primed than some, for she was for many years head of the Intelligence Department of the League of Nations Union and is at present a member of the Union's executive. A niece of Lord Balfour, she has for some time been engaged on the official biography of her uncle.

The Tattoo Problem

THE League of Nations exists avowedly to achieve the abolition of war. If, therefore, supporters of the League of Nations are opposed, as many of them are, to military displays calculated to make war look attractive, there is nothing unreasonable or illogical in their attitude. Their position is well stated in a letter which appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* in the course of last month from a number of Leeds signatories, regarding a forthcoming local Tattoo.

"Our principal objection to the Tattoo," they write, "lies in its being in its nature and of necessity an alluring and stirring picture of aspects of military life and discipline which, it must be admitted, are on the whole splendid and good. But other aspects for which the soldier is trained are, and must be, omitted. An observer of the great Tattoo at Wembley in 1924 wisely said: 'If war meant no more than that!' Especially to the minds of children and youth, with no recollections of the sorrows and horrors of 1914-18 (and such is the case with the children of our day), the Tattoo is a misleading spectacle. The ears are filled with the magic of music, the eyes are riveted by measured and disciplined motion, the pulses are stirred by the rhythm and colour of it all, and yet in truth beneath it all, hidden from most, certainly from young, beholders is the hideousness of war. And they may well ask, If the soldier's training can bring about such an appealing pageant, why talk about disarmament and outlawry of war?"

This seems fair criticism. On the other hand it is only natural that so long as armies and navies survive at all those who run them should want to make them as efficient as possible, and display that efficiency from time to time. Even an international force might be permitted so much indulgence.

What Japan Feels

THE very interesting speech made by M. Tsurumi, the Japanese delegate at last month's meetings of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, throws light on a serious difficulty that faces the League of Nations in its handling of international disputes. The strong condemnation of Japan's action in Manchuria expressed both in speeches at Geneva and in many articles in the press of the whole world might have had either of two effects. It might have led the Japanese Government and people to bow before a powerful world opinion, or it might merely have stiffened them in their resistance. M. Tsurumi left no room for doubt that in his view it had had the latter effect. Japan, he said, felt that she was being unfairly criticised by people several thousand miles away who did not really understand the situation, and, as can quite well be understood, she was irritated rather than persuaded. Qualified foreign observers have given the same report of the reactions in Japan of European discussions of the Manchurian situation. No doubt there is another side and, in any case, it is difficult to see how the League could have refrained from condemning Japan or to suppose that unofficial persons who held strong views would not express them. But it is clear that the consequences of such an attitude are not always what one would like them to be.

A Good Bargain

THE Member of Parliament who asked the Foreign Minister the other day how much Lord Cecil was paid "by way of salary and other emoluments" for his work in connection with the League of Nations in 1931, may have been actuated by nothing but a laudable thirst for information, though why he should need information on this particular point is not clear. The reply was, as might be expected, that Lord Cecil gets nothing but his expenses when he is representing the Government at Geneva, and that the whole of the wearisome and arduous work he did last year on the Preparatory Commission, the Council and the Assembly and in various other committees in which he represented this country, cost the Government no more in the twelve months than £403 16s. Rarely has such ability and such experience been sold so cheap. A Foreign Minister—and Lord Cecil is as competent as any Foreign Secretary of the last twenty years—draws more than £403 a month, over and above all expenses (subject to income tax, it is true) and Lord Cecil must have given at least four months to League service on behalf of Great Britain in 1931. It is a notable benefaction, and a singularly good bargain for the Government.

Moral Force or Material?

IN a stimulating and suggestive letter to the *Times*, Sir Rennell Rodd, who was in 1922 a member of the British delegation at the League Assembly, looks at the trend of the world and

strikes an optimistic note regarding it. The days of the balance of power have gone, in his view, for the days of a League of Nations have come. There must be a new factor to measure a nation's influence by—its stability and credit, depending on both moral and economic qualities. To give that full play, the rule of force and competition in armaments must be ended. Sir Rennell Rodd believes that this country has substantially strengthened its moral position among the nations in recent months. "The next step," he concludes, "should be to use that influence effectually to secure the scrapping of dispensable engines of destruction as a condition for stabilising the machinery of peaceful progress." The letter well deserved the prominence the *Times* accorded it.

The League's New Member

THE entry of Turkey into the League of Nations is now an accomplished fact. The new member was admitted on July 17, and a satisfactory feature of her admission was that her warmest supporter was her old antagonist Greece. Various factors have kept the Angora Government aloof from the League for some time. Chief of them has been the influence of Moscow, with which Turkey has always maintained the closest relations, but latterly there has been a steady *rapprochement*, due partly to the fortunate contacts established by the Turkish Foreign Minister, Tewfik Rustu Bey, during his long stay at Geneva as a delegate at the Disarmament Conference. Turkey appears, fortunately, to have dropped her original stipulation about a seat on the Council, but it is quite possible, none the less, that she may be elected in the ordinary way as a non-permanent member next September. The fact that she will already have been a League member for two or three months obviously makes that development more likely.

A Police Navy

RECENT articles in HEADWAY and many discussions elsewhere have raised the question of an international police force under the control of the League. Such a force has so far almost always been envisaged as consisting of land or air detachments or both, but, obviously, there is as strong a case for the internationalisation of naval units as of any others. Indeed, as Admiral Hopwood suggests in an article in another column, the case is in many respects stronger. That does not mean at all that the time has arrived when an international navy can be contemplated, but the more it is discussed, the more propositions are put forward and the more they are criticised and argued about, the greater the probability that, if ever action is taken, difficulties will be avoided that might otherwise have brought the project to disaster. Admiral Hopwood's contentions, therefore, demand careful

study. No doubt both endorsements and criticisms of them will be forthcoming.

War Guilt Again

THE war-guilt question discussed in recent letters and articles in HEADWAY continues to excite considerable interest, as a contribution from Mr. Harbutt Dawson in another column testifies. The subject is particularly relevant in view of the informal discussions in regard to it at Lausanne. The German delegation there pressed insistently for the definite abrogation of the notorious Article 231 (attributing sole responsibility for the war to Germany and her Allies), but that could not be done without the consent of all the signatories of the treaty, and in the end no reference was made to war-guilt in the Lausanne agreements at all. The fact that reparations, which appear in the treaty to rest on Germany's confession of guilt, have been abolished may seem to rob the war-guilt article of much of its importance, but Germany is not likely to allow it to drop altogether. The points Mr. Harbutt Dawson makes are, therefore, well worth considering.

Wars and Toys

A Disarmament Conference must, no doubt, take account of small things as well as great things, but it is rather a long stride from the abolition of 35,000-ton battleships to the abolition of tin soldiers. It is not inappropriate that the proposal on the latter point should have emanated from almost the smallest State at the Conference, the Dominican Republic, population rather under a million. It will be considered by the Committee on Moral Disarmament, the actual resolution being to the effect that "the Conference should agree to recommend to all the countries here represented that they should agree to prohibit the manufacture of warlike toys." That means that warlike toys will need defining. How far playing with soldiers up to the age of ten really inculcates militarist ideas at the age of twenty is a matter on which psychologists might have something of interest to say. But *de minimis non curat lex*—the law does not bother about trifles—and that is not a bad rule for a Disarmament Conference too.

An Appeal and a Challenge

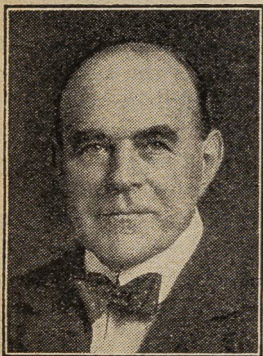
IN the last issue of HEADWAY some description was given of the valuable and useful camp site in Hampshire presented to the League of Nations Union for the purpose of international conferences. It was there stated that £200 was needed to provide the necessary equipment. Most of this sum is still needed. A reader of HEADWAY has generously offered to contribute £4 for this purpose provided that 30 others will do the same. This is a fair challenge and it may be hoped that it will be rapidly taken up. The offer is, however, only open until the end of August.

Maritime Police

A New Basis for Naval Disarmament

By ADMIRAL R. A. HOPWOOD

IN a recent letter to the *Times*, Sir Herbert Richmond stated that the bulk of the world takes the view that Security is to be most surely attained by armaments, a statement which few will deny, so that I will not attempt to discuss whether, so long as the



Admiral Hopwood

future remains unrevealed, there can be any such thing as security. My purpose is rather to point out that the popular view, if correct, requires that security of this sort shall be available for all who desire it if the competition to which Sir Herbert also referred is to be avoided.

Unfortunately, however, owing to their nature and object, such security as armaments may provide can only be attained by the nation which, in one form or another has most of them. In other words there cannot

possibly be enough of this sort of security to go round. Competition, in fact, is simply a race for security, with only one prize, and the failure of any conference to face this very elementary fact must always be the one and only cause of its own failure. The following observations are simply an attempt to suggest a line of approach to the Disarmament problem which, so far as I know, has not been explored hitherto, and are offered as a basis for discussion.

Impossible Conditions

It may be argued that the present mentality of the nations renders the prospect of any solution on the lines suggested remote if not quite impossible, to which I would reply that the proposals are submitted solely with the idea of contributing some new food for thought on the chance that such nourishment as they contain may eventually help to build up that new mentality without which, I not only admit but emphatically insist, no possible progress ever has been or ever can be achieved.

I do not know exactly what the advocates of "Disarmament" or "Limitation" have in mind, or how far reduction is to proceed before their objective is achieved, still less the price which they are prepared to pay. From the Prime Minister's statement, however, that we can reduce no further until other nations do, it would seem that the object of statesmen is an all-round reduction safeguarded by the impossible condition that each nation shall be guaranteed that measure of security to which it considers itself entitled. Since each must be the sole judge of its own needs, a moment's reflection will show that it is this *relativity* of armaments which constitutes the insuperable barrier to any solution along the present lines.

Relative Strengths

The problem is not one of the size or the number of ships of any class, but of agreeing as to the *proportionate armed strength of one nation to another*. Even were an agreement reached producing an ostensible equilibrium to-day, the experience of any expert suggests

many reasons which would imperil its stability to-morrow, a peril of which the "pocket battleship" is an example, and the unpopularity of the expert is largely due to an excusable inability to explain such reasons to the layman.

Once the ratios were agreed upon, however, then any reason for adopting any particular set of figures as to the size or numbers of ships of any kind disappears, excepting only the work which is required to be performed by them. As any prospect of such agreement seems as remote as ever, can we get over this difficulty of ratios and relative strengths?

Now there must always be enough ships to carry on what is often stressed as "Police work," but while this term is a perfectly legitimate one as applied to the land forces, i.e., national forces keeping the peace of the *nationals* which employ them inside the *national* boundaries, it is not so on the sea which is the common property of the inhabitants of the globe, and whereon, to-day, the armed ships of the nations are expressly equipped and trained for combat with each other at a moment's notice, which, of course, robs them of any title to be spoken of as "police."

Queen Elizabeth put the position with perfect accuracy when she said: "Seeing the use of the sea and air is common to all, neither can a title to the Ocean belong to any people or private persons, forasmuch as neither nature nor public use and custom permitteth any possession thereof," that is to say the trade routes which any nation desires to "police," are not, in fact, its own trade routes at all, but international public highways and as such only subject to international "police" protection.

If this be accepted it involves an entirely new conception of the duties, obligations, rights and privileges of "police" ships and those who wish to employ them. What seems to be the fundamental need is nothing less—or more—than a new view of the sea; as a wise Frenchman, I believe, remarked: "It is not the thing itself which matters, but the view which you take of it; and this you are permitted to change at your pleasure."

The Neutral Ocean

The sea being viewed then as a strictly neutral area, the problem would become that of providing the necessary Police Force to carry on the many services which for years have been rendered by the ships of all nations irrespective of their own nationality or that of their beneficiaries, and it should not tax the handiness of mariners too far to devise, with the guidance of their experiences, a suitable type of ship for the purpose, having always in mind the new view of the sea, and the functions of the Police Force.

Such ships would, outside their own territorial waters, fly, in addition to and in precedence of their own national flag, the flag of, let us call it, the International Maritime Police Service: say a ship—OR on a field—AZURE; and they would be at the service of all who needed their help, and be free and welcome to the world's harbours and dockyards. They would of necessity carry sufficient armament to discourage piracy and no more; but, always having in mind their own element, i.e., the sea, whose peace and neutrality would be confided to their keeping, and the Service whose common flag they flew,

this "truncheon" armament should not, I think, cause any apprehension; and in the consequent absence from the high seas of any other type of armed ship it is not easy to see whence a potential threat could arise.

Of course the view may be taken that the International flag would not have a sufficiently binding effect upon the service which flew it, or, in other words, that the Sea Police were not to be trusted, in which case the problem is hopeless indeed; but, possibly, if the control and organisation were vested in a small representative body drawn from the world's mariners, leaving statesmen free to concentrate upon their multitudinous problems ashore, experience would presently prove the sea fraternity to be equal to their task; and who knows what unexpected benefits might thereby accrue both ashore and afloat? The only difficulty I foresee is that, if it came to a question of requiring a minimum quota from each maritime nation, some, at least, might conceivably advance financial or other reasons for considering their assessment excessive; but the resulting controversy, if any, would at least have the merit of novelty, and so be well worth it.

An international flag at sea would be a constant reminder to the nations that 75 per cent. of the globe is, beyond question, common property, the rights and privileges of which are just as sacred as those of any public place in their own territories and to be as strictly and as impartially maintained by all.

For all its novelty such a conception, once accepted and established, could hardly fail to extend its unifying

influence on the relationships which exist in the remaining 25 per cent. of the globe and so lead to a natural readjustment of armaments therein, the only kind of adjustment in which there can be any possible hope of permanence. The suggested emblem of a ship on the International Flag, moreover, might well give emphasis, if any be needed to-day, to the truth that all nations are in the same boat.

To those who will face the real facts and difficulties of armaments some such solution must appear inevitable; though we shall, I have no doubt, require much sorrow and shoving before we get accustomed to the idea; but it may help if we remember, which few of us do, that there is yet another view of the sea, namely that it is not only the largest but, characteristically also of those who sleep there, an international cemetery, and, as such entitled to at least the same respect as is accorded to similar sanctuaries on shore. The sanctity, however, which would, I am sure, alone be understood by, and make any appeal to the "Souls of the jolly jolly mariners," would be none other than such as would permit their successors to go forward with the work of the High Seas unhampered by controversy, in the spirit and tradition which have been handed down through the ages, so that:

"The ships shall go abroad

To the glory of the Lord,

Who heard the silly sailor folk and gave them back their sea."

Disarmament

The Results of Half a Year's Discussions

THERE have been three recent landmarks in the progress of the Disarmament Conference. The first was the proposals laid before the Conference on behalf of President Hoover at the end of June, the second the programme produced by the British delegation at the beginning of July, and the third the agreed resolutions adopted by the Conference before its adjournment some ten days ago.

All three proposals must be judged not only on their own merits as they stand, but also by their relation to what must be considered the disarmament ideal represented by the Budapest resolution of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies of 1931, the Italian proposals to the Disarmament Conference in February of this year, and the plan outlined in a letter to *The Times* signed by Lord Cecil, Sir Austen Chamberlain and others in June. All these projects—for they are virtually identical—provide for the acceptance by all nations of the restrictions imposed on Germany by the Peace Treaty, namely, abolition of submarines, heavy mobile guns, tanks and military aircraft, and of all surface warships of over 10,000 tons.

The Hoover proposals already discussed in HEADWAY may be summarised here for convenience of reference. President Hoover's aim was to reduce the armaments of the world by approximately one-third and to achieve this by:—

- (1) Abolition of tanks, chemical warfare and heavy artillery;
- (2) Abolition of bombing planes and prohibition of bombing from the air;
- (3) Reduction of one-third in the strength of land armies over and above a reasonable defence minimum, proportionate to the forces allowed to Germany under the Treaty of Versailles;
- (4) Reduction of one-third in the number and total

tonnage of battleships and of submarines, no submarine to be over 1,200 tons;

- (5) Reduction of number and tonnage of aircraft carriers, cruisers, and destroyers.

After rumours to the effect that Great Britain proposed to submit an alternative plan and then other rumours that it did not, an alternative plan was, in fact, submitted. The British delegation brought forward on July 7 a programme which it was claimed was inspired by the same purpose as President Hoover's. Its main features were as follows:—

- (1) Abolition of chemical warfare, heavy mobile artillery and of tanks over 20 tons;
- (2) Abolition of bombing from the air, "save within limits to be laid down as precisely as possible by an international convention," and of all attacks on civilian populations, and limitation in weight and numbers of all naval and military aircraft.
- (3) Limitation of land armies on roughly the scale proposed by Mr. Hoover.
- (4) Abolition of submarines, or, failing this, limitation of size to 250 tons.
- (5) No scrapping of capital ships, but reduction of future ships from 35,000 tons to 25,000 tons (or possibly 22,000 tons), with corresponding reductions in gun calibre. Reduction in size of future cruisers from 10,000 tons to 7,000 tons and reduction of destroyer tonnage by one-third if submarines are abolished.

Bare summaries do not provide a basis for adequate comparison between the British and American plans, for they obscure the fact that some of the most important reductions contemplated in the British plan apply to some future date, while Mr. Hoover's reductions are to be made at once. In regard to capital ships, for example,

the new and smaller vessels would not replace the 35,000 ton unit till 1937 at the earliest, and if, as is probable, the life of capital ships is lengthened by agreement at Geneva, the date would be pushed forward six years further still. In the case of cruisers the first substitution of 7,000 ton to 10,000 ton vessels would not take place till 1947.

The following statement which appeared in *The Manchester Guardian* on July 12 deals instructively with the financial as well as other aspects of the problem.

"Most of the comparisons that have hitherto been made between the effect of Mr. Hoover's disarmament proposals on the one hand and of the British proposals on the other have been concerned with the ultimate effect of the two schemes, say, after 1947, when the latest British battleship is due for replacement. But much may have happened between now and 1947, and it is perhaps more important to consider the effect of the two proposals five years hence rather than fifteen.

The Effect on Great Britain

"Here is a comparison between the amount of the British contribution to all-round disarmament which would result from British proposals on the one hand, and from Mr. Hoover's on the other, by December 31, 1936. Taking, first, battleships and battle-cruisers over 10,000 tons, the British proposals would make no change, while the American plan would scrap one-third *i.e.*, five out of fifteen. As to aircraft-carriers, the Simon-Baldwin scheme would not touch them, but Mr. Hoover's would scrap one ship of 14,000 tons not due for scrapping until 1938. Eight-inch-gun cruisers would be affected by neither plan; but, while the British proposals would leave light cruisers alone, the Hoover scheme would mean not building 84,750 tons, or, say, twelve ships of about 7,000 tons each. Our plan would mean avoiding the building of 50,000 tons of destroyers and flotilla leaders, provided that submarines were abolished, while Mr. Hoover's would avoid the building of 37,500 simply; and while we propose the scrapping of 35,000 tons and the not building 17,700 tons of submarines, Mr. Hoover would avoid building 17,700 tons. Thus the total saving on naval construction by the end of 1936 would be on the British plan 67,700 tons, or about £20,000,000 (conditional on the abolition of submarines), while the adoption of the Hoover proposals would save altogether 139,950 tons, or about £42,000,000.

"With regard to land armaments, neither set of proposals would reduce the number of soldiers, but while we propose to scrap the few tanks over 20 tons the Americans would scrap all tanks, and as to the air, while the British Government does not specify a definite change, but only limitation of use, Mr. Hoover desires to scrap bombing 'planes altogether."

The results of the attempt to find the greatest common measure of agreement between the various delegations were made known at a meeting of the General Commission of the Conference on July 20. The resolution then presented included the following main features:—

- (1) Air attack against civilian populations to be prohibited.
- (2) All bombardment from the air to be abolished and military aircraft to be limited in number and type.
- (3) Heavy land artillery to be limited in number and calibre.
- (4) Tanks to be limited in size.
- (5) Chemical and bacteriological warfare to be prohibited.
- (6) A Permanent Disarmament Commission to be constituted.

These represent definite agreements actually reached, but there was also a broad acceptance of certain points

of principle which are to be further worked out by the Bureau or organising committee of the Conference in the interval which will elapse between now and the next meeting of the Conference. That is not likely to be till January. The principles include real reduction of effectives and budgetary limitation. All questions concerning naval armaments are to be left over till the naval Powers have had an opportunity of discussing them among themselves (they have already had between six and seven months available for this purpose). The Armaments Truce which, though most people have forgotten it, was agreed on just before the Conference opened, is to be continued during the forthcoming four months' adjournment.

Measured either by the Hoover proposals or by the Budapest resolution or the Cecil-Chamberlain letter in *The Times*, these results can only be regarded as profoundly disappointing. There is to be no abolition of bombing planes, but only regulations about their use. There is to be no abolition of tanks. The question of what land guns are to be prohibited is left open. The whole naval question is similarly left open. There is practically no progress, such as the Hoover scheme by its abolition of bombing 'planes and tanks would have effected, towards equality of status for Germany. Mr. Hugh Gibson in the speech in which he accepted this compromise made the best he could of a manifestly unsatisfactory situation, observing that the agreement represented not what progressive nations would have liked, but all that the last straggler could be persuaded to accept.

The Conference, however, is not over. An agreement to limit tanks by size does not prevent a later agreement to abolish them altogether. The same applies to bombing 'planes. Mr. Gibson said he would continue to press for the full Hoover plan and it is to be hoped he will get adequate support. Meanwhile, it is extremely unfortunate that just when the American elections are pending the American proposals should appear to have made so small an impression on the Conference.

THE NEW SPIRIT

"To passion we have closed the door. To violence we have preferred reason. We have carried out our programme, not with the intention of imposing our will on others, but with a desire to establish collaboration with the idea of curing cruel ills by dint of patience and goodwill. We have tried to understand one another, and we, French, deeply concerned for our nation, have listened with emotion to the recital of the sufferings of the German people, with whom we desire to have cordial relations. To-morrow, perhaps, the old spirit, that which has caused so much suffering, will try to undermine our work. We appeal to all noble minds and to all loyal hearts in the world to combat this. The humblest of beings may become for us and for our scarcely-begun task a valuable collaborator. It is for the peoples themselves to help us forward on our way.

"The new spirit, the spirit of Lausanne, must triumph. After we have so long based our policy on the search for what divides men, that policy must now aim at what can bring them together. Its highest purpose must be the development of all the forces of life, whether material or spiritual, the relief of suffering, the creation of confidence, the allaying of fears.

"My dear colleagues, of whatever nation, of whatever opinion, of whatever faith we may be, the Frenchman now speaking to you desires that this evening, at this moment, we may be united in one common thought, in one common soul, and that we may take into the depths of our consciences the noblest and sweetest words ever uttered: 'Peace on earth, to men of goodwill.'"

—M. Herriot at Lausanne.

Two Families



"Look, mother, how well fed these are"

The War Guilt Question

Did the Treaty Make Germany Responsible?

[We have received the following communication from Mr. William Harbutt Dawson, the well-known authority on German history.]

OWING to stress of work it is my misfortune to be a somewhat unpunctual reader of HEADWAY (on whose continually improving appearance and contents may I congratulate you?) so that I read only a few days ago Dr. Harold Temperley's criticism of the Archbishop of York's brave "war guilt" utterance. Dr. Temperley claims the right to deny categorically that Germany's "war guilt" is stated or implied in Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles. I claim equally the right to dispute his denial. It would be easy to mention the names of many men of authority who have shared the almost universal opinion which Dr. Temperley now challenges. I cite only two. One is the late Lord Carnock (Sir Arthur Nicolson) and another is Signor Nitti, who signed the Treaty, as he tells us, in sorrow because he regarded it as "despicable." Lord Carnock's biographer writes of his father: "He was appalled by the Treaty of Versailles. Particularly did he resent the paragraph which obliged Germany by force to admit that she was solely responsible for the war." ("Life," page 433). In his book "The Decadence of Europe," Signor Nitti says that "Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles declares that Germany alone is responsible in every way for the outbreak of war" (page 38), while in "They Make a Desert," he says: "The vast stratagem contained in Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles cannot last; the whole truth must be told. It is not merely a question of a moral stratagem, but of a vast falsification of the truth" (page 259). I suggest that such testimonies alone both forbid and rebuke Dr. Temperley's dogmatism.

"The War Imposed on Them"

Let us, however, take the Article on its merits. It runs: "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." Dr. Temperley contends that all the trouble has arisen because of the alleged misinterpretation of the word "aggression." But that is not the gravamen of the Article. The context showed clearly that material phrases are those which affirm Germany's "responsibility" for the loss and damage suffered by the Entente Powers and for "the war imposed on them" which caused such loss and damage. If these phrases do not imply, and not merely imply but directly and explicitly impute, Germany's "war guilt," they have no meaning at all. I suggest that the intention of the Treaty framers could not have been stated in plainer words.

Dr. Temperley says that "the Allies ought to know what their own treaty meant." I agree, and they did know. That is why, in their reply of June 15, 1919, to Germany's protest against the "war guilt" doctrine, they devoted a whole long section of some two thousand words to the elaboration of their accusation, and in order to rub it in the more forcibly they headed this section "The responsibility (not the alleged responsibility) of Germany for the war." I wonder if Dr. Temperley overlooked this significant fact. It may be said that although this reply is printed as an addendum

to the Treaty of Versailles it is not part of the treaty. No, but it is an official interpretation of the treaty, given not by draughtsmen or outside legal commentators, but by the men who made it and therefore alone knew positively what their intentions were.

Passing over mere abuse and vilification, we may read in the reply: "The Allied and Associated Powers are satisfied that the series of events which caused the war was deliberately plotted and executed by those who wielded the supreme power in Vienna, Budapest and Berlin. . . . The outbreak of the war was no sudden decision taken in a difficult crisis. It was the logical outcome of the policy which had been pursued for decades by Germany under the inspiration of the Prussian system. . . . She (Germany) planned and started the war." In the still unabated war frenzy of 1919 the spokesmen of the Allied and Associated Powers were "satisfied" with many things which existed only in their heated imaginations, but imagination has yet to establish its title to equal value with fact.

Germany's Reservation

But, finally, if the Allied and Associated Powers did not mean that Article 231 conveyed their conviction of Germany's "war guilt," why in the name of reason did they object to the German Government's reservation that it declined to accept the stigma which it saw in the Article? This reservation was communicated to them in the words "The Government of the German Republic is ready to sign the peace treaty, but without implied admission in so doing that the German people were the first instigators of the war," etc. The reservation was peremptorily forbidden; the Berlin Government was told that the treaty must be signed as it stood, Article 231 and all, without qualification of any kind, failing which military compulsion would be employed. Are we seriously asked to believe that all the time the Germans were protesting against the accusation of "war guilt," the statesmen in Paris never meant to impute it in the Article objected to, yet refused to say so? Were that the truth—which I do not believe—no words would be too strong to denounce conduct so ignoble.

All these assurances to the Germans that the indignation which they have expended on the "war guilt" question is wasted emotion are useless, and must rather irritate than relieve the sore. Every one of us knows best his own feelings, and no one can interpret them for us, still less argue them away. The attempt to prove that language so clear as that of Article 231 does not mean or imply that Germany was responsible for the catastrophe of 1914 is a feat about as futile as an attempt to prove that the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed do not really mean or imply damnation.

May I add that I read with as great surprise as regret the first paragraph of Dr. Temperley's letter, holding out a fearful prospect of the financial results of accepting the thesis that Germany was not solely responsible for the war. Surely that question is entirely irrelevant to the moral issue raised by Article 231. The idea of setting possible material disadvantage against possible moral obligation suggests a certain confusion of thought.

The I.L.O.'s New Director

Harold Butler: A Personal Sketch

By CAPTAIN L. H. GREEN

READERS of HEADWAY will like to know what manner of man has been chosen to direct the activities of the International Labour Office at this singularly difficult time. I suppose there never was a time when the industrial problems of the world were more acute or when the variously-suggested political and economic solutions are in greater need of the co-operation of industry if they are to be effective.



Mr. H. B. Butler.

Harold Beresford Butler was born at Oxford in 1883, and was educated at Eton and Balliol. In 1907 he became a civil servant, his first post being in the Local Government Board. From there he was transferred to the Home Office, which, at that time, was the department chiefly responsible for dealing with social and labour legislation. In 1910 he served as Secretary to the British delegation to an International Conference on Aerial Navigation held in Paris, and this was his first direct experience of international affairs. In 1917 Butler was transferred to the newly-established Ministry of Labour and he had a large share in working out the scheme submitted by the British Government in February, 1919, to that section of the Peace Conference which was concerned with international labour legislation. In the main the British scheme was adopted, and its main features were embodied in Part 13 of the Treaty of Versailles.

At the Washington Conference

Part 13, as all readers of HEADWAY know, set up an international labour organisation as a separate entity within the Constitution of the League.

In accordance with the Treaty, an International Organising Committee was appointed to make the necessary arrangements for the first session of the International Labour Conference to be held in Washington in October, 1919, and, incidentally, we may remark that this Washington Conference is also prominent in the minds of our readers because it drew up the Convention on Hours which the League of Nations Union

at its Annual Conference constantly urges the British Government to ratify. Butler was Secretary of that Conference and, in 1920, when Albert Thomas was elected Director of the International Labour Office, Butler was made Deputy Director.

Butler's experiences both in the British Civil Service and at international conferences were a useful preparation for his work as one of the heads of an international civil service. This experience was a guarantee of his competence, but far more than competence was necessary in this particular job. For the International Labour Office had not only to be created, it had also to be run at the same time as a going concern. The suspicions of organised employers, who suspected that because the term "labour" was used in its designation its policy had a swing to the Left, had to be allayed, and the enthusiasm of organised Labour, who for the same reason were apt to think that the work could proceed more speedily, had to be modified, whilst in addition there have been the usual suspicions on the part of Governments, whose motto without exception appears in these matters to be dalliance rather than leadership. Add to these difficulties the language difficulty and it will be recognised that to create and, at the same time, guide an organisation of this nature demanded qualities both exceptional and supreme.

Butler and Thomas

It is doubtful whether any one man could have achieved success and Butler would be the first to acknowledge that the driving power of Albert Thomas was indispensable, just as Thomas would have acknowledged that the steadiness and calmness of Butler were the necessary complement to his own volcanic activity.

Butler has not the personal magnetism, the passionate vitality that radiated from Albert Thomas and that was, as Princess Bibesco wrote at the time of his death, "a perpetual challenge both to inertia and patience."

The cautious advance, the middle of the road, which were so antipathetic to Thomas, are positions in which Butler excels. No greater contrast can be imagined than the contrast between these two men and only the march of events will show how greatly the less spectacular qualities of the Deputy Director contributed, during these first twelve difficult years of the I.L.O.'s existence, to the success of the Director. The very diversity of their qualities made for efficiency and harmonious working, because both were animated by the spirit of service to the common cause which they served so loyally.

Butler will blaze no trail, he will initiate no violent enterprise, but his calm wisdom, his deep and informed common sense, his knowledge of men and his patience with their modes of thought, are of supreme importance in the difficult times that lie ahead. In this work, which depends so much upon contact with human beings for its success, he will be materially aided by his wife, whose gracious and generous hospitality is known to all who have made the pilgrimage to Geneva.

No more appropriate appointment could have been made, after these first twelve stormy years, to the headship of an organisation which has for its whole object the establishment of social justice as the essential preliminary to universal peace.

Turkey Joins the League Her Motives and Her Expectations

By I. WALTER COLLINS

CONSTANTINOPLE, July 16th.

THE decision of the Turkish Republic to join the League will be welcomed throughout the world—and especially in South-Eastern Europe.

Since the proclamation of the Republic in Angora nearly ten years ago Turkey's attitude towards Geneva has been non-committal. The Government, while recognising the importance of the work accomplished by the League, were inclined to regard with suspicion a body which, they considered, favoured the Great Powers at the expense of the weak. Nevertheless, Turkey was represented at many Conferences held under the auspices of the League, and for some time past it has been apparent that Turkey, sooner or later, would come to Geneva.

Why She Stayed Out

It is believed that two reasons prevented Turkey from entering the League. One was that the Angora Government—not altogether unjustifiably—wished to obtain a permanent or semi-permanent seat on the Council. As the years went by, however, it was realised that this wish was impossible of fulfilment—at any rate for the moment. The second reason was that Soviet Russia, a former ally of Turkey's, and one of the few remaining States outside the League, was understood to have brought pressure to bear on Turkey in order that she should not join the League.

There was, undoubtedly, a good deal of truth in these assertions, but the fact that Turkey has become a member without having been promised a seat on the Council shows that moderation has been exercised in Angora. Concerning the attitude of Soviet Russia, it is said that Ismet Pasha, the Turkish Prime Minister, when visiting Moscow a few months ago, let it be known that Turkey was on the point of entering the League, and the Russians raised little, if any, objection.

It would appear that Italy and Germany among the Great Powers, and Bulgaria and Greece among the smaller States—especially the latter—have been the prime movers in sponsoring Turkey's admission to the League. At one time it was thought that Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey might be given a semi-permanent seat on the Council, which they would hold alternately. This idea would seem to have been discarded for the time being, but it is to be hoped that at a later date it may be revived. The three countries in question are neighbours and see eye to eye on many questions of an international nature.

Why She Comes In

It will be asked why Turkey has now chosen to join the League. One answer is that the Angora Government—which has grave economic and financial preoccupations—considers that it may be possible to receive assistance from Western Europe, through the League. This is not, however, to say that Turkey will solicit a loan, the expenditure of which would be controlled by foreigners nominated by Geneva. Republican Turkey has no intention of allowing its finances to again fall under foreign control. On the other hand, Turkey earnestly desires that the Governments and bondholders interested in loans granted to the Ottoman Empire before the Great War should extend sympathetic consideration to the Republic which has inherited these debts. In addition, expert advice as

to the best way of dealing with certain aspects of the economic crisis would not be discouraged.

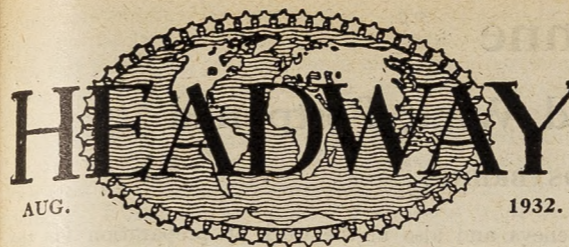
There is no question that Turkey's adherence to the League will reinforce Geneva's influence in the Near and Middle East. In the last few years the prestige of Turkey among Near and Middle Eastern States has been steadily growing, until it has reached a pinnacle undreamt of in 1920, when the "Sick Man of Europe" was thought to be on his deathbed. After the Greco-Turkish War the Angora Government began to consolidate its relations with the Balkan States on the one hand and with the countries of the Middle East on the other. The Greco-Turkish rapprochement is now an accomplished fact, and the speech which M. Michalokopoulos, the Greek Foreign Minister, made in Geneva recently regarding Turkey's application to enter the League, was remarkable for its effusiveness. Bulgarian-Turkish relations are also very good, and the same remark applies, in a slightly lesser degree, to Yugoslavia and Rumania. In Asia, Turkey was confronted with a difficult task, as so many of the countries contain elements formerly belonging to the Ottoman Empire. For instance, with Iraq there were many ticklish questions to be settled, notably that of the Mosul oilfields. But to-day Iraq and Turkey are on excellent terms, and Iraq is also due to join the League this year. The Kurdish risings in 1925 and 1930 caused friction between Turkey and Persia, but the forthcoming visit of Shah Pahlevi to Istanbul is a sign that Angora and Teheran have settled their differences.

Friends All Round

Turkey is thus in the position of being on really friendly relations with her neighbours in Europe and Asia, all of whom have come to regard her with respect and admiration. The scope of this article does not permit of a recapitulation of all the modernising and beneficial reforms introduced by Mustapha Kemal Pasha. But these reforms have made Turkey become a go-ahead and progressive State, which has earned the reputation of knowing its own mind and not being afraid to stand up to the Great Powers.

Now that Turkey will be represented at Geneva several of the Near and Middle Eastern countries will feel more confident in pressing their claims, and will rely on Turkish support, assuming that their claims are just. Dr. Tewfik Rushdi Bey, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, has represented Turkey at many of the Conferences held in Geneva, and he will attend the autumn assembly. He has been responsible for much of the "spade work" incidental on Turkey joining the League, and he will be welcomed by all those with whom he has come into contact. It is hoped that Ismet Pasha, who has been Prime Minister for many years, may also find it possible to proceed to Geneva.

Adjusting his arrangements to the change in the date of the League Assembly, Professor Zimmern will give his usual morning commentary at the Conservatoire de Musique, Place Neuve, Geneva, at 9 a.m. every morning during the fortnight beginning September 26, and, in addition, will deliver a course of six daily lectures under the title "Where Stands the League of Nations?" beginning on Monday, September 19, at 10 a.m., in the same place. Course tickets can be obtained on application to Professor Zimmern at the Conservatoire.



Lausanne and Geneva

DURING most of the last month the Lake of Geneva has attracted more human attention than any other spot on earth. The financiers were sitting at Lausanne and the disarmers were sitting at Geneva, forty miles down the Lake. Now both have finished their work and we can survey the results of their toil and put our values on them. Take Lausanne first. It has not done all we should have liked, because it could not. The British Government's policy was the clean slate—reparations wiped out, France and Italy's debts to us wiped out, our debts and France and Italy's to the United States wiped out. That could not be. The United States was not represented at Lausanne. She has always taken the line that debts are debts and that reparations have nothing to do with them. Strictly speaking that is perfectly accurate. We borrowed money from America in 1917 and 1918 to buy cotton and wheat and guns and shells with, and the American Government borrowed money from its own citizens to lend to us—and to lend to France and Italy in the same way. Those citizens have to be paid their interest year by year and if it does not come out of the British and French and Italian Governments' pockets it will have to come out of the American Government's. That, says America, is the debt question and it concerns America directly. Reparations is a European question and does not concern America at all.

From our point of view things are not so simple. We have to make debt payments to America every year and we get the money for them out of what we receive as our share of Germany reparations, combined with what France and Italy send us in payment of their debts. We remitted most of the French and Italian debt years ago, only keeping enough to make our German reparations receipts up to the amount we ourselves have to pay America. That being so, we should clearly be in a difficult position if we had to give up German reparations and still go on paying America. That, in fact, is what we shall have to do if America insists, for there is not another penny to be got out of Germany beyond the one lump sum of £150,000,000 which she agreed at Lausanne to pay at some future date. But we were not willing, and the French and Italians were much less willing still, to commit ourselves finally to an arrangement which meant surrendering reparations altogether and at the same time remaining liable for our debt payments to America. Consequently, it was agreed at Lausanne to wipe out German reparations once for all (apart from a final future payment of £150,000,000); but not to make that arrangement finally binding till debts had been discussed with the United States. There is no prospect of that happening till after the Presidential election in November.

What of Geneva? There the outlook is less hopeful. The Disarmament Conference has now been sitting since the beginning of February. Its first fortnight kindled considerable expectations and they were renewed when different delegations put a series of practical proposals before the conference in April. They were kindled yet again when, after a long period of marking time while France got her elections over and a new Government installed, President Hoover in June produced a definite and concrete plan, providing for the reduction of the armaments of most countries by about a third. Many delegations, including that of Italy among the Great Powers, accepted the Hoover Plan wholeheartedly as it stood. Others, like our own, gave it general approval and then put forward proposals of their own differing substantially from Mr. Hoover's and as a whole distinctly less far-reaching. Finally, the Conference, compelled, if only to give the exhausted human frames of its delegates a chance to regain their normal resilience, to adjourn for a summer vacation, adopted a series of resolutions designed to register the agreement so far achieved and lay the foundations for further agreement when the Conference resumes.

The resolutions are thoroughly disappointing. On nothing except the abolition of chemical and bacteriological warfare has the Hoover standard been reached. Bombing planes are not to be abolished; nor are tanks; and the whole naval question is to be held over for the naval Powers to discuss among themselves between now and the next session of the Conference, which may very likely not be till January. That is a meagre enough harvest for over six months' work, and the most serious feature of it is that it fails completely to meet Germany's reasonable demand for at any rate a nominal equality in status in the matter of armaments. As it is, other countries may still possess bombing aeroplanes but she may not; other countries may still possess tanks but she may not; and there is nothing whatever to encourage the hope that equality in status at sea will be any more attainable than on land.

That is a grave matter, for it means maintaining two separate sets of disarmament obligations—those embodied in the Peace Treaties binding Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria, enforcing compulsorily a heavy measure of disarmament, and those assumed voluntarily at Geneva by the rest of the world, involving a very modest measure of disarmament. That kind of distinction and discrimination will never be accepted by Germans, and there is, on the face of it (whatever there may have seemed to be in 1919), no reason whatever why Germany should be made incapable of attacking other countries and other countries not be made incapable of attacking her.

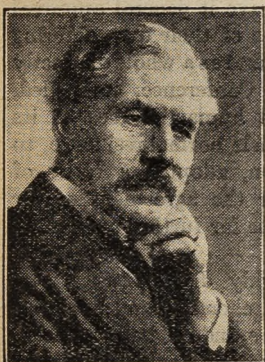
Looked at in any aspect, the harvest of the first six months of the conference must be regarded as profoundly disappointing, and it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the British Government has done a great deal to make it so. Except in the matter of submarines, whose abolition is, unfortunately, not practical politics, and heavy land guns, our proposals have fallen far behind President Hoover's. The best hope remaining is that in the three or four months before the Disarmament Conference meets again the Government may yet be stimulated by public opinion to make a definite move forward in the matter of naval reduction.

Lausanne

What Was Settled and What Postponed

By WARREN POSTBRIDGE

THE Lausanne Conference, resulting as it has in the end of reparation payments, closes one chapter in post-war history and opens another. That is in reality true whether the agreements reached at Lausanne are ratified or not, for no one believes that Germany will ever pay or be asked to pay more than the sum agreed on between the Lausanne delegates.



Mr. Ramsay Macdonald.

After numberless hitches and various misunderstandings the Lausanne negotiations reached their climax so rapidly and in such an atmosphere of haste (several of the British delegates needing to get away on account of Ottawa) that the precise agreements reached are still not too clearly understood. There were five altogether:—

- (1) A convention on German reparations;
- (2) An agreement regarding non-German reparations;
- (3) A resolution on the reconstruction of Central Europe;
- (4) A resolution on a World Economic and Financial Conference; and
- (5) An agreement between Great Britain and France on common action regarding international problems.

Of these the German reparation agreement is, of course, the most important and must be discussed more fully in a moment. The other four may be disposed of more briefly first.

Cleaning Up Europe

Non-German reparations, *i.e.*, those to be paid by Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, are referred to a committee. It may be taken as certain that they will disappear as German reparations have done. The question of reconstruction in Central and Eastern Europe is referred to another committee, which is asked to draw up a plan to be submitted to the League of Nations Committee on European Union. The League of Nations is invited to convene a world economic and financial conference "at a convenient date and at a place to be fixed, not necessarily Geneva." The United States is to be asked to join a committee of experts which will make a preliminary examination of the financial and economic questions to be discussed.

As to the agreement between Great Britain and France which was actually concluded at Lausanne, but not published until some days after the Conference ended, it has given rise to considerable differences of opinion. Its object is said to be to provide for a frank interchange of views between the two Governments on all European questions, for close co-operation regarding disarmament at

Geneva and also in the work of preparation for the world economic conference. The collaboration of other nations is invited in all these spheres. Since such co-operation is taken for granted as between members of the League of Nations it is not clear what new element the Anglo-French agreement imports into the situation. There is, however, a fourth provision, whereby the two nations agree to refrain from anything in the nature of economic discrimination against one another. That, so far as it goes, is, of course, all to the good.

So much may be said about the subsidiary decisions reached at Lausanne. Now for the main decision which brings German reparations to an end. It should be remembered that down to the date of the Hoover moratorium on July 1, 1931, Germany was paying in reparations the equivalent of £85,000,000 (at par) annually and that would have risen gradually to an average of £100,000,000. As a result of the agreement concluded at Lausanne she will be relieved altogether from paying off the contributions suspended during the moratorium year, and be called on only for one final payment of £150,000,000 (at par). What is more, the intention is that this sum shall be used by its recipients for some such purpose as European reconstruction. It is, therefore, no longer to be regarded from the German point of view as "tribute payment."

How Germany Will Pay

So much is fairly clear, but a good deal of confusion has existed as to the method by which Germany is to make this payment. Though it is spoken of as a single sum it does not mean at all that Germany will have to hand out £150,000,000 all at once. What she will do is to deposit with the Bank of International Settlements at Basle bonds (like our War Loan certificates) to the value of £150,000,000. She will not do this till three years hence, and when she does do it the Bank may simply keep the bonds in its vaults for years. That depends on whether it seems a favourable moment for selling them to the public. When that moment comes, the bonds will be sold, just as War Loan, or the bonds of some municipality, like Birmingham or Manchester or Bradford, are sold to the public in this country. On each bond as soon as it gets into the public's hands Germany will pay interest at 5 per cent and at the same time she will pay the Bank another 1 per cent to build up a fund for the ultimate redemption of each bond.



M. Herriot.

Let us look at the matter from another angle, the angle of the man—you or me, for example—who buys one or two of these bonds as a good investment, say



Herr Von Papen.

five years hence. He will pay his £100 for each bond (though the Bank is entitled to issue them at as low as £90 if it thinks fit) and receive in exchange a certificate which entitles him to 5 per cent. interest every year. The German Government can, if it chooses, redeem the bonds at any time by repaying the full £100, and sooner or later all the bonds will be so redeemed. Meanwhile, the man who buys them can sell them again, just as ordinary British Government stock passes from hand to hand. They will become ordinary counters in international finance, including the very minor finance of stockholders like you and me. For Germany, therefore, it will mean paying 6 per cent. a year on the whole sum, 5 per cent. as interest to the holder of each bond, and 1 per cent. as nucleus of a fund whereby all bonds will eventually be bought back and thus cancelled. The arrangement is a comparatively easy one for Germany, and there is no question that the rest of the world will gain enormously by having the reparations controversy wiped off the slate.

But would it not have been better to have wiped the slate completely clean and not exacted even this £150,000,000? In some ways it would. On the other hand, a small payment by agreement, which disposes of any idea of the repudiation of treaty obligations, makes the whole arrangement far easier for France and is, on the whole, a good thing in itself. There were discussions at Lausanne as to whether the so-called war-guilt article of the Treaty which appears to attribute sole responsibility for the war to Germany and her

Allies should in some way be cancelled. No way could be found of doing that formally, but since the only purpose of the clause was to give a reason for the exaction of reparations, and reparations are now no longer to be exacted, the clause itself has very considerably lost its edge.

One word must be added on an aspect of Lausanne which has caused a good deal of perturbation. France and Italy took the line from the first that they could not simply wipe out reparations while they were still technically under obligation to make heavy debt repayments to Great Britain and the United States. They, therefore, came to a rather informal agreement among themselves that the main Lausanne Treaty on reparations should not be finally ratified till it was known what attitude America would take regarding debts.

In a sense there was not much point in this compact, since there can be no question of getting anything more out of Germany, no matter what line the United States may take, and it will have the rather unfortunate effect of delaying ratification of the main Lausanne agreement. That is a pity, but it is less important than it seems, for the reason stated. Great Britain, meanwhile, has undertaken to demand no debt repayments from France and Italy until the final ratification of the Lausanne convention takes place, and it is extremely unlikely that she will demand any then. That, too, will depend in a certain degree on the attitude of America.

An Impending Crisis

THERE is every indication that a crisis more serious than any that has ever yet arisen will face the League of Nations when the Lytton Report on relations between Japan and China, with special reference to Manchuria, is presented. The work of the Lytton Commission ended last month, when its members worked back from Tokyo to Peiping (as Peking is now called) to gather some final information necessary for the actual preparation of the report to the coming Assembly.

The gravity of the situation lies not in what the report is likely to contain, but in the avowed attitude of Japan. Count Uchida, the new Foreign Minister, appears to have made it clear that Japan insists that the province shall remain independent of China. It is independent at present because what is by common consent an unreal puppet government has been set up under the protection of the Japanese, with all the real administrative work carried out under Japanese guidance. This Manchukuo Government would not stand a day if Japanese protection were withdrawn, and its continued existence is merely an excuse for virtual Japanese control of territory as large as France and Germany.

What the League Refuses

What the Lytton Commission will recommend regarding Manchuria no one knows, but one thing they cannot conceivably recommend, the continuance of existing conditions, for both the League of Nations itself in its resolution of March 11 and the Government of the United States in a declaration made on February 25 have laid it down irrevocably that no recognition can be given to a situation created in violation of treaties like the Kellogg Pact or the Nine Power Treaty signed for the protection of China at Washington in 1922.

What then is to happen in September? Japan, through her newspapers and various unofficial spokesmen, has made it absolutely clear that League or no

League she will not tolerate any régime in Manchuria short of the independence of the Manchukuo Government.

She threatens, in other words, to defy the League if the League, as it must, declines to accept that solution. That will create, inevitably, a most grave situation. Japan may carry out her threat to leave the League, or the League might conceivably feel it necessary (though that is unlikely) to use the power given to the Assembly by the Covenant to declare Japan no longer a member. But merely to do that and disregard China's reasonable demand that the pledges of her territorial integrity embodied in the Covenant shall be carried out would be completely unsatisfactory.

How to Treat Japan

The result of defiance of the League by a member would seem to be, if the intentions of the Covenant were to be carried out, resort to some form of pressure on that Power. League members have been very reluctant to move in that direction hitherto and they will probably be reluctant still. But in any case Japan will suffer. Whether China officially lifts the boycott on Japanese goods or not Chinese subjects will certainly not buy anything Japanese if they can get what they want from any other source. The cost of keeping troops in Manchuria to fight the bandits and irregular armies which are ranging that country will still further accentuate Japan's budget difficulties, and there is always the possibility of getting seriously embroiled with Soviet Russia. For these reasons it may well be that the sound policy in the long run would be to pursue delaying tactics and wait for Japan to discover for herself how gravely she is injuring her own interests. The difficulty about that is that it would be an inglorious attitude for the League to adopt. It can do Geneva no good to acquire a reputation for weakness. The coming Assembly may have to face heavier responsibilities than any before it.

Public Service

What International Volunteers Are Doing

FROM time to time discussions on the abolition of war turn into discussions on alternatives to war. Dr. Stresemann, in the last speech he made at Geneva (or anywhere), touched on the opportunities the conquest of Nature provides for the development of those qualities—courage, enterprise, self-sacrifice—to which war so often gives dramatic expression as the easy ways of peace rarely do. In an Assembly which still numbered Fridtjof Nansen among its members the suggestion had a singular fitness.

But not everyone can explore the Arctic or Central Africa, and many in every country for whom these adventures are excluded are anxious still to find some avenue of service enabling them to demonstrate that they fight for the abolition of war and the military service which in most countries forms part of the regular preparation against war. That explains the existence, and the very interesting though as yet very limited, activities of bodies like the Voluntary International Civil Service and International Voluntary Service (British Committee). Now and then paragraphs about the S.C.I.V. (Service Civil International Voluntaire), formed originally by Swiss objectors to military service, creep into the Press; and the part played by the I.V.S., with which the S.C.I.V. works in this country, in the reconstruction work in the South Wales mining township of Brynmawr last year obtained some recognition at the time. But something more may be said with advantage of a movement calculated pretty certainly to appeal to a good many who have so far never heard of it.

Repairing Flood Damage

Civil service first became generally known in connection with a flood disaster in the miniature Principality of Liechtenstein in 1928, and it was also to repair damage due to flood disaster that a volunteer S.C.I.V. brigade betook itself to the French village of Lagarde in the Department of Tarn-et-Garonne (in the south-west, near the Spanish border) in 1930. There for five months, over 250 volunteers of different countries, 30 of them women, worked through the summer heat clearing roads and demolishing houses, taking over completely a task with which the official Roads and Bridges Service was primarily charged. Each individual remained on an average for about a month, though one or two remained the whole five months. They were of 16 nationalities, 122 being Swiss (since the movement originated in Switzerland), 48 German, 38 British, 15 French, while the remainder hailed from Austria, Holland, the United States, Italy, Belgium, Bulgaria, Hungary, India, Norway, Roumania, Russia, and Czechoslovakia. M. Pierre Cérésolle, of Chaux-les-Fonds, Switzerland, the founder of the movement, was in command. The women were mainly engaged (in relays) in catering for the men. No one took any pay, but board and lodging was provided by the commune.

There seems to have been no doubt as to the soundness of the work carried out. Houses had to be demolished and as much as possible of the material sorted out for future use, a business over which the volunteers showed themselves particularly conscientious. The engineer in local charge of the Roads and Bridges Service gave them experimentally a batch of houses in the middle of the village to demolish, assessing the time required for the staff available as a month. Actually, the job was done satisfactorily in a fortnight, as a result of which the

whole village was turned over to the volunteers. Apart from the practical work done, opportunity was taken of impressing the inhabitants of the village with the motives inspiring the volunteers, namely, the desire to effect some constructive work for peace, and the gratitude evinced by the inhabitants was sufficient proof of the understanding created. A passage may be quoted from an address given by the Mayor of Lagarde, M. Carla, at a social evening at which the volunteers and the inhabitants of the commune gathered. "After the volunteers have left us," he said, "we shall continue to maintain in our little commune the bonds of solidarity and co-operation. Their living example of international solidarity will inspire us to give what help we can ourselves to others. The volunteers have made a substantial contribution to our moral welfare."

From France to South Wales

M. Carla's reference to seeking opportunities of giving help to others had a striking sequel. Under the financial arrangements made with the village the volunteers received from the commune a modest daily allowance out of which they provided for their board and lodging. At the end of the time there remained a balance in hand of some 16,500 French francs. That, in the ordinary way, would have reverted to the village, but by happy linking of need with need and country with country it was, in fact, presented by Lagarde to the volunteers to use as they thought best and formed, in fact, the basis of the next piece of work carried out a year later in Brynmawr, South Wales.

A good deal has been heard of the work outside volunteers have done to reconstitute the life of a village which the misfortunes of the coal industry had left almost derelict. Among them figured in 1931 and is again this summer an international contingent from M. Cérésolle's Service Civil International Voluntaire. What they did at Brynmawr last year is part of what the Friends as principal organisers of the work had planned, primarily the construction of a public garden, a swimming bath and a youth hostel. The S.C.V.I. complement numbered 37. The countries represented were Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Georgia, Switzerland, and the United States, the average stay of each individual being six weeks.

This Year's Work

Enough has appeared in the public press about the work at Brynmawr to make it unnecessary to describe it in detail here. That, moreover, was a last year's story. This year there is another story to be told, for the work at Brynmawr is continuing and another camp under the auspices of the British Committee for International Voluntary Service is being held at Rhos, near Wrexham. The international element will again be represented, for volunteers are expected from France, Germany, Switzerland, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Norway, Denmark, Austria and the United States. At Brynmawr further improvements are to be carried out by the volunteers. At Rhos a recreation ground is to be created on a piece of waste land in the middle of a congested district.

It is due to the volunteers in Wales to mention that since it is part of their aim to lay, if possible, no charge on the locality they are benefiting, subscriptions to make that possible are welcomed. Donations sent care of HEADWAY will be duly forwarded.

Wandering Refugees

SOMETHING was said in the April issue of HEADWAY about the work the Nansen International Office for Refugees is doing to carry out a scheme dear to Dr. Nansen's own heart, the settlement of Armenian refugees from Greece in the Armenian Soviet Republic of Erivan in the south of Russia. Particulars have since come to hand of an interesting development under the auspices of the same Office in another quarter of the globe.

The wanderings of a band of about 1,000 Catholic, Lutheran and Mennonite refugees from Soviet Russia deserve a small volume to themselves. To begin with, as just stated, the refugees fled from Russia, trekked across Siberia and finally reached Harbin, the capital of the ill-starred province of Manchuria. There, however, they found themselves caught in the net of war, and it became a matter of urgency to get them away as soon as possible. Unfortunately, the only place available for them was at the other end of the world, in Paraguay, where Mennonite refugee colonies already exist. The cost of transport was bound to be heavy, but Mennonite and other sympathisers in Europe were prepared to find most of it, and the pilgrimage was about to be undertaken when various difficulties at the Paraguay end arose. These held the refugees up in Harbin, and in any case to get them from there to Shanghai was a matter of singular difficulty, since the railway runs through the heart of the theatre of military operations. They did, however, get to Shanghai in the end and were about to be embarked on the first stage of their ocean journey to South America when it was suddenly discovered that this first instalment consisted of 373 refugees instead of the 300 for whose transport money had been provided. This necessitated hectic negotiations at the last moment, but to leave the odd 73 behind would have been tragic, so they were finally got on board. In the end they reached Marseilles, where they were cared for by the French Red Cross on their short land journey to Bordeaux, and from thence took ship once more for the New World.

Where to Settle?

The trouble about their destination arose out of the continuing dispute between Paraguay and Bolivia over the contested Chaco area, on the frontier between the two countries, but it would appear that in spite of that the first consignment of Mennonites from Harbin has duly settled down among the earlier Mennonite settlers in this area.

The next shipload was bound for Brazil. There were close on 400 of them and they reached Marseilles in the middle of June. No difficulties about destination arose in this case, though the whole 395 almost missed the boat at Shanghai owing to the difficulty in getting there from Harbin, as result of the dislocation of railway traffic due to the Manchurian disturbances. The Brazilian Government has adopted an entirely benevolent attitude towards the refugees, as it well may, for they will, no doubt, form admirable citizens and add to the wealth of the country. They landed in Brazil at the beginning of last month and will be settled as colonists in the state of Santa Catharina, where Mennonite colonies already exist.

The transition from European Russia to Paraguay and Brazil must be strange enough, but there is no question of the value of the work the Nansen Refugee Office is doing in opening up the prospects of prosperity and happiness to exiles who have suffered anxiety and hardship, and in some cases actual persecution, for years past.

You can't possibly get wet in the

NOW **17/6** "MATTAMAC" WAS **21/6**
(REGD. TRADE MARK) 19 OUNCE FEATHERWEIGHT STORMPROOF

The "Mattamac" was sold through Retailers in 1922 at 42/-, in 1925 at 35/- and in 1928 at 29/6. In 1930 it was 21/- DIRECT SELLING, from MAKER-to-WEARER, saved you the Retailer's profit; the vastly increased demand brings about further savings which we pass on to the Customer. Each year some improvement or refinement has been added, yet to-day's price for this, the World's best and best value Featherweight Stormproof, is 17/6. There is no better lightweight Stormproof made to-day, whatever its selling price.

For Ladies and Men.

Unbelted,
17/6
Belted,
19/6



SHADES: Putty, Light Stone, Light Navy, Cinnamon, Misty Grey, Copper Beech, Mid Green, Havana Brown, Fawn, Red, Bottle Green, Gunmetal Grey, Olive, Powder Blue, Dark Navy, Wine, and Black.

A "Mattamac" Stormproof is identical in appearance with the usual best-grade Gabardine Weatherproof. In utility, also, it equals the much-more-costly Coat. It weighs one-third, gives lasting wear, and is absolutely Waterproof. Light and compact-folding, Wind, Chill, and Wet proof, a "Mattamac" Stormproof is most useful for Business and Every Day wear, and ideal for Week-ends and Holidays.

"MATTAMAC" ART BOOKLET ILLUSTRATING 11 MODELS. A p.c. brings the Booklet post free and colour patterns of "Mattamac" Fabric, or you can safely order without waiting, wherever you may live.

SENT TO YOU ON SEVEN DAYS' FREE APPROVAL. You buy without risk. Send chest measurement over waistcoat (Ladies measure over dress), height and remittance, stating colour, and your "Mattamac" Stormproof will be sent post free British Isles (extra abroad). If you are not fully satisfied you can return it within seven days of receipt and get your money back in full. Send post orders with remittance to Pearson Bros., the sole makers, or write for the "Mattamac" Booklet E142.



EVERARD HOUSE,
254, Regent St., London, W.

"MATTAMAC" STORMPROOF SHOPS ALSO OPEN AT:—

LONDON:—
117, Oxford Street, London, W.;
25, Kensington High Street, W.8.;
23, Ludgate Hill, London, E.C.;
129a, Victoria St., Westminster;
157, Fenchurch St., London, E.C.;
BIRMINGHAM: 134, New Street;
BRIGHTON: 14, East Street;
BRISTOL: 67a, Park Street;
LEEDS: 23, Albion Place;
LEICESTER: 41, Market St.;
LIVERPOOL: 7, Church Street;
MANCHESTER: 39, Market St.;
NOTTINGHAM: 15, Bridlemith Gate;
SHEFFIELD: 35, Surrey Street.

WANTED—

New Writers!

Learn to write ARTICLES and STORIES. Make spare hours profitable. Write to-day for free booklet "How to Succeed as a Writer," which describes how many students have earned while learning.—Regent Institute (Dept. 219G), Regent House, Palace Gate, W.8.

The ACADEMY CINEMA, OXFORD STREET
(opposite Waring & Gillow). Ger. 2931.

Presents

THE INTERNATIONAL FILM CLASSICS OF THE WORLD

August Programmes will include

L. S. TRAUBERG'S Russian Sound Film
"ALONE"

MOLANDER'S Swedish Talking Picture
"EN NATT"

and

LOTTE REINIGER'S New Sound Silhouette
"HARLEKIN"

A Weekly Notice will be sent on receipt of name and address.

THE CAMBRIDGE (Cambridge Circus) Temple Bar 6056.
Presents Great International Films.

Now Showing

"DER HAUPTMANN VON KOEPENICK"

(German dialogue, English titles)

Based on the hoax which made the whole world laugh.

also

"THE BATTLE OF LIFE"

(Russian)

Coming:—The Great French Drama "DAVID GOLDER"

Ice-cooled air changed every seven minutes.

From Budapest to Paris

The Congress of League of Nations Societies

SINCE its meeting at Budapest in 1931, the Congress of League of Nations Societies has become a public institution widely known and watched outside the ranks of the affiliated societies. The International Federation to which the League of Nations Union belongs was established in 1921 and ever since has united delegates of societies supporting the League of Nations every summer in a week of conference and conviviality. The Federation has moved as a kind of caravan from capital to capital, its visit to Berlin in 1923, when a French Chairman presided at a mass meeting in the German Reichstag, and its appearance at Madrid in 1929 under the Directorate being perhaps its most notable excursions. But it can hardly be said to have acquired any great political importance until it evolved, at its Congress in the Hungarian Capital, a disarmament policy which proved to be a basis of unity for the progressive forces making for disarmament in every country during the ensuing critical year.

The Federation's meeting in Paris in July, 1932, was, therefore, awaited with curiosity and some anxiety. Would it provide a sounding board for the notorious conflict of opinion between the French and German Governments in the Disarmament Conference? Would the rowdy nationalist attack upon the disarmament movement which had disgraced the mass meeting in the Trocadero only last November be repeated? These fears were dissipated in the early days of the Congress over which Lord Cecil presided in the Sorbonne. Nothing except a studious boycott of this gathering by the newspapers of M. Coty and the Comité des Forges remained of the former nationalist opposition. The Government of the Republic and the City of Paris went out of their way to give the delegates of forty different League of Nations Societies the most cordial of official welcomes. President le Brun did the Congress the somewhat unusual honour of receiving the whole body of its members at Elysée; he made them a speech of welcome in which the French Government's support of the League was unqualified and no mention of the familiar French thesis of security occurred.

A New French Outlook

But more important than these official favours was the transformation of the French delegation's attitude in the debates of the Congress itself. Fearful, and not without reason, of the nervousness of its public opinion at home, the French delegates at previous Congresses had generally shown extreme difficulty in agreeing to the resolutions on disarmament. They had often been regarded by other League of Nations Societies as an over-timid or even obstructive factor. This year all was changed. In a formidable delegation, representing a great variety of political and religious thought, a number of brilliant young men took the lead in almost every discussion: Henri Clerc, the Deputy for Haute Savoie, Jacques Kayser, another young Deputy, who became the Congress's rapporteur on disarmament, Jean Carlu, the leader of the now famous poster peace campaign, Pierre Brossolette—these were but a few of the "live-wires" of the Congress.

It was the French who resisted any attempt to depart from the limit of armaments fixed by the Peace Treaties as the goal to which the Federation should aim, and the prominent place given to the Permanent Disarmament Commission in the policy eventually

adopted by the Congress was mainly due to their insistence. How far this remarkable development was the consequence of the elections, and how far it was due to the gradual education of public opinion outside political party circles, it would be hard to say; but it left the delegates of foreign societies with a very firm impression that the movement for a serious reduction of armaments in France is far more powerful than it was a year ago.

The disarmament policy adopted by the Congress does not depart in any essential respect from the Budapest programme. It welcomes the Hoover proposals. It stresses the need for a reduction in the financial burden of armaments owing to the aggravation of the economic crisis. It calls for budgetary limitation combined with the direct limitation of war material. It points to the precedents of the Peace Treaties as the best way of defining "specifically aggressive weapons"; and it insists that the statesmen "should not place upon the shoulders of the technical experts the responsibility of finding a solution for the disarmament problem."

The Traffic in Arms

The evil effects of the private manufacture of arms mentioned in the Covenant of the League were recalled—indeed it was the subject more vigorously discussed than any other in the Disarmament Committee. It is laid down that it is necessary to subject this manufacture, "as well as the private traffic in arms, to strict regulation and control, with a view to their suppression. This measure would help to put an end to the scandalous profits, the intrigues, the lying press campaigns and the fomenting of hatred which are so great a danger to the peace of the world."

There was some wordy warfare between Dr. Schwarz, of the German delegation, and the benign but irrepressible Polish delegate, Mr. Stronski, concerning the need of effecting disarmament by a single general convention "freely accepted by all States"—implying that other treaties, e.g., that fixing the eastern frontier of Poland, were of little worth because not freely accepted. The controversy was composed by the statesmanlike Dr. Jaeckh, leader of the German delegation, whose public speeches in Paris during the Congress were admirably received. It deserves, however, to be recorded that a provision to establish "precise regulations for applying Article 19 of the Covenant," by which treaties may be peacefully revived, was included in the main resolution on the crisis in the League of Nations on the proposal of the French. There was universal dissatisfaction with the comparative failure of the League to do justice in the Far East. But in order that the position of the Japanese League of Nations Society should not be made impossible, and for other good reasons, it was thought futile to frame resolutions condemning actions in the past.

So great was the variety of subjects treated at the Congress that it is not possible to do justice here to the many decisions taken outside the political sphere: the proposal for a World Conference on Training in World Citizenship stands out among other constructive suggestions of the Education Committee. The scope and character of the proposed World Economic Conference; the necessity of providing for unemployment resulting from the reduction of armaments; the improvement of the League's procedure in dealing with minorities—all these can be no more than mentioned. J.E.

Satirists at Geneva

THERE are many cartoonists at Geneva, and it is nothing derogatory to the others to say that one remarkable combination, M. Derso and M. Kelen, have established a universally recognised supremacy.

The latest album of Derso-Kelen cartoons is just to hand. (The title is "Days of Hope and Glory," the publishers are Derso and Kelen themselves, and the price 25 Swiss francs, or, for the edition de luxe, 50 francs.) The subjects, since the series is devoted to the League's recent history, are almost exclusively concerned with the Manchurian affair and the Disarmament Conference. The sympathies of the artists are not disguised. They back China against Japan and they back the disarmament all the time against the obstructors. On those themes they ring a variety of changes. Anything coming casually to hand can be made to serve their purpose. At the Geneva golf-club one day, at the height of the Manchurian crisis, they catch sight of a notice in the club-house: "Whenever a player removes a divot (in French, "motte de terre"—a lump of earth) it is his duty to replace it immediately," and a warning is added by the committee that this rule is not being observed. Consequently "you are urged to comply with it both in your own interests and in those of other players." Here, for Derso and Kelen, is a cartoon ready-made. M. Sugimura, the Japanese Under-Secretary of the League, is a well-known golfer. Hence an arresting drawing of M. Sugimura driving a divot (Manchuria) out of the ground, with Simon and Stimson, Tardieu and half-a-dozen others looking on, and urged to replace it immediately "both in his own interests and in those of other players."

Or take another Manchurian cartoon, even simpler in its conception—merely the Japanese delegate, M. Sato, haranguing the League Council with outstretched arm, while every other member, M. Paul Boncour in the chair, Lord Londonderry, Sir Eric Drummond and the rest, all but the Chinese, Dr. Yen, stands paralysed with both hands above his head in the traditional "Kamerad" attitude. In another drawing a Chinese temple is on fire and Dr. Yen takes a flying leap from its summit in the hope of being caught and saved by an outstretched copy of the Covenant tight-gripped by Simon, Benes, Drummond and three or four more, while in the corner M. Sato and a couple of other Japanese delegates have successfully tangled up the fire-hose till it only emits occasional drops.

Straight-Hitting

The disarmament cartoons are many of them sterner stuff, notably that of "The Two Families," which we reproduce on another page. With it may be compared another called "Camouflage," in which Disarmament Conference delegates by the score are endeavouring vainly to disguise a twelve-inch gun with ludicrously inadequate olive branches. In another Mr. Henderson, in a desert, labours to pile up his hundreds of petitions into pyramids while a dejected ostrich hides its head in the sand and seven sphinxes, with the faces of the seven principal delegates, turn inscrutable countenances on a distracted interviewer.

On the studies of personality in the different cartoons there is no room to dwell. Lord Cecil lends himself well to the cartoonists' pencil, whether he figures as Savonarola in the Geneva waxwork show, or pushes the babe of peace in a perambulator in "The Big Parade," or shako on head and frogged uniform constricting his chest spins yarns to his old comrades over a pot of beer of the battle of the Trocadero (when a disarmament meeting was virtually broken up by a gang of rowdies).

STANDARDS (V)

"Lift up a standard for the people."

Throughout the length and breadth of England, in cathedrals and parish churches, may be seen the tattered remnants of the flags of British regiments. These relics tell the story of many a bitter struggle, and bear witness to the fact that where the fight was fiercest there the standard was upheld.

To-day there is a world-wide fight between the forces of good and evil, of light and darkness. In the black spots of civilised lands, in the centres of superstition, in the strongholds of ignorance, the standard of Christian truth must needs be set up. Where the fight is fiercest there the Scripture of truth is most needed, and thither the Bible Society is ever sending its supplies. For missions at home, for the far-flung line of the Church across the seas, this Society produces the Book of books and makes it available for the poorest of the poor.

The standard must still advance.

Will you help in this work?

Gifts will be gratefully received and acknowledged by the Secretaries,

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

SIBFORD SCHOOL

Near Banbury

A pioneer School under a Committee of the Society of Friends. Fine new class-rooms and workshops, magnificent situation in healthy, unspoiled country. Co-education 10 to 16 years. Craft work, Esperanto and internationalism. Oxford University School certificate including two craft subjects. Individual responsibility and initiative.

Full particulars from D. Johnstone, B.Sc.

Have you read

"LETTERS TO JOHN BULL AND OTHERS"

by Robert the Peeler,

the book that everyone is talking about?

A witty and entertaining exposition of the case for an International Police Force.

Some Opinions:—

"One of the books which ought to be read, not only by the man in the street, but especially by the man in the railway carriage."
—SIR PHILLIP GIBBS.

"I hope it will be widely read."
PROFESSOR GILBERT MURRAY.

"The case which Robert the Peeler has sustained so valiantly is one which we English do not sufficiently consider. He has stated it in popular and attractive form."
—SIR NORMAN ANGELL.

"If John Bull . . . would read Robert the Peeler's letter, he might begin to see that cheap peace may be very nasty for him and others."
—MR. WICKHAM STEED.

"The proposals of this book should be read by all who would help in banishing the fear of war from the world."
THE RT. HON. G. N. BARNES.

Obtainable from all Booksellers.

WILLIAMS & NORGATE, LTD.

New Ruskin House,

28-30 Little Russell Street, W.C.1.

Books Worth Reading

HISTORY IN DETAIL

Development of the League of Nations Idea. Edited by Theodore Marburg. 2 volumes. (Macmillan. 40s. 0d.)

This is a prodigious work. Mr. Theodore Marburg, at one time United States Minister to Belgium, was one of the earliest American advocates of a League of Nations. The outbreak of war in 1914 happened to find him in England, and the first document (the publication consists of 700 pages of documents with an introduction and appendices) is a telegram to President Wilson from Ambleside urging him to press Germany to abandon the practice of laying mines in open waters. The second is a letter beginning "Dear Mr. President: May I make a plea for devoted little Belgium . . ."

But in September, 1914, Mr. Marburg went home and set to work at once propagating the idea of some kind of League of Nations after the War. To that question he devoted the next four or five years and carefully filed the whole of the correspondence arising out of it. This is now presented verbatim in chronological order. Much of it is singularly interesting, and great names like those of President Wilson, Chief Justice Taft, Lord Balfour, Sir Edward Grey and others crop up continually. But the book, of course, would have gained very much by compression, for Mr. Marburg leaves nothing out. When he gets a letter from the White House running: "My Dear Mr. Marburg: The President has asked me to thank you for your letter of October 29 with its enclosures; he is bringing the matter to the attention of the Secretary of State," it is printed as it stands. When he gets a letter from the Department of State: "My Dear Mr. Marburg: In the absence of the Secretary of State I have the honour to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter of July 11, 1917, enclosing a suggested draft convention for a League of Nations," in it goes. And if Mr. Myron Herrick mentions that "my bike busted and threw me on the rail of a bridge," that too is not hidden from us.

It would have been better to have confined the letters to one volume and restricted them rather firmly to points of public interest. But even as things stand the student of the history of the League of Nations idea in America will by dint of a little searching (and there is an efficient index) find here almost anything he can need to know.

WEAPONS FOR SALE

The Secret International: Armament Firms at Work. (Union of Democratic Control. 6d.)

There are few subjects on which so little is known and so much might with advantage be known as the influence of the armaments firms in different countries on national policy. It may be less than is sometimes suggested. It may be more. To argue that armaments firms want to sell their wares like everyone else and therefore they take every opportunity not merely of pushing them but of creating the conditions in which nations will want to be buying armaments is not enough. There may be a presumption that way, but solid evidence is needed and solid evidence is by the nature of things hard to come by.

In the brochure the Union of Democratic Control has just issued a good deal of interesting information on the interlocking of the armaments firms in different countries, the connection between armaments firms and the Press, the attempts made by such firms to get orders from country B by spreading stories, true or false, that country A is arming heavily, the bribes paid

by them to national officials in a position to influence the purchase of war material, is amassed and arranged in convenient form. It is to be noted that practically all the instances quoted are pre-War, with the exception of the notorious Mr. Shearer, employed by certain American armament firms to try and prevent the Three-Power Naval Conference of 1927 from succeeding. Whether that means that there is less scope than there was for pushing the sale of armaments is not clear. It very well may be. But the case for the abolition of the private manufacture of arms is as strong as ever it was and the case against that course substantially weaker in an age in which the Kellogg Pact for the Prohibition of War is part of international law.

The cartoon on the cover, representing a munition-manufacturer kneeling in prayer, with the inscription "Give us this day a little war," is unfortunate.

ALL ABOUT TURKEY

Kemalist Turkey and the Middle East. By Dr. K. Krüger. (Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d.)

Turkey's entry into the League of Nations is likely to stimulate interest in a country about which we know too little. Good books on Turkey are curiously scarce and this particular one comes opportunely to hand. Dr. Krüger is a German, but he writes without any particular national point of view, and deals briefly but clearly with many aspects of Turkish life. His chapter on the emancipation of women, and another on newspaper developments in Turkey, are particularly interesting, and a special importance, of course, attaches to this moment to his references to Turkey and the League of Nations. Writing even as late as the spring of this year, Dr. Krüger appeared to regard Turkey's entry into the League as unlikely, for the Government at Angora has till lately been a good deal under the Soviet influence and Moscow has been definitely averse to any *rapprochement* between Angora and Geneva. Moreover, the League's ruling over the Mosul frontier of Iraq created a good deal of dissatisfaction in Turkey, while there have in addition been other frontier difficulties with the mandated territory of Syria. Dr. Krüger's survey suggests that a good deal of significance attaches to Turkey's final choice between Moscow and Geneva.

HANDY HANDBOOKS.

Soviet Russia and the World. By Maurice Dobb. **America, World Leader or World Led?** By Ernest Minor Patterson. (Sidgwick & Jackson. 3s. 6d. each.)

These are the latest volumes in the very useful "World Problems" Series in which Mr. Hartley Withers' "Money in the Melting Pot," and Mr. Wilson Harris' "The Future of Europe" have already appeared. Mr. Maurice Dobb knows a great deal about Russia and presents his facts clearly. Like most balanced observers, he scouts the idea that the Soviet Government is contemplating any military aggression. As for the American book, its author, Mr. Patterson is an American and he treats his subject mainly from the economic angle. But economic forces are the determining factor in most countries nowadays.

The latest League of Nations publications include "The Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations, 1931/2, 7/6 and 10/-, constituting a unique reference book of world statistics; and Nos. 1 and 2 of the first volume of the "Quarterly Bulletin of the Health Organisation," 2/- each. The annual subscription is 7/6 post free.

Readers' Views

WAR OR POLICE WORK?

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

DEAR SIR,—With all respect to the Headmaster of Rugby, might I point out another aspect of history in relation to war and war heroes which has impressed me in the study of wars and nations.

A glance down the ages when civilisation was evolving to its present state in the Western world shows us little bits of nations warring amongst themselves and then gradually as intercourse between them has grown, these bits have become consolidated into wholes. Each whole can no more visualise the same state of war between the various previous bits than an inhabitant of Lancaster could picture himself fighting with a cousin of York. The various clans in the Highlands at one time were constantly at war, they then became consolidated and fought England till finally union with England put an end to the previous state of affairs and the United Kingdom fought other kingdoms. The various provinces of France were once constantly at war, and did not the same apply to the States of Germany and the Cantons of Switzerland? There is no need to inhibit or restrain the spirit of self-sacrifice and endurance which this history of wars teaches us, but rather to alter the view point.

It does not require a very great stretch of imagination to picture Europe consolidated in much the same way that the United Kingdom has become, yet nevertheless one cannot get away from the fact that some form of war in the nature of police work will still have to continue for some time, though not between neighbouring civilised States with a community of ideas, habits, customs and religion.

How is one to carry on when one portion of the European Super State finds on its borders an uncivilised collection of tribes who worship war and practise cannibalism? Take the North West Frontier of India. Can one with one wave of the magic wand of peace do away with an armed police force? Civilisation is trying to penetrate into New Guinea. Armed policeman are necessary.

Let the martial spirit of those boys who are that way inclined be directed towards all the many borders of the British Empire where physical courage, strength and risks to life still occupy the first place in attributes required. They are just as much required as others who wish to go into business or the church.—Yours faithfully,

A. H. STUART MENTEITH (Major).

Army and Navy Club.

[If all war except operations on uncivilised frontiers were finally abolished civilisation would have advanced far.—Ed., HEADWAY.]

MILITARIST DISPLAYS

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—In the conflict between politics and ideals which is being waged in our day, the issue of which will determine the future of our civilisation, as we often witness the apparent triumph of the reactionary forces of tradition we are tempted to despair and our faith is put to a sore test.

Yet there are real reasons for hope and the light of the dawn of a better day is spreading. The enthusiastic reception accorded to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in London, to Monsieur Herriot in Paris, and to Herr von Papen in Berlin on their return from Lausanne is a striking indication of the growing spirit of international goodwill—echoed round the world—as the outcome of the Lausanne Conference is symptomatic of the wider outlook of the world's statesmen. One can hardly doubt that the United States will rise to the occasion in a fitting gesture, though it is much to be regretted that the hope was not better assured by our Government's reception of the Hoover disarmament proposals. Lausanne should react on Geneva to good effect.

It is very deeply to be regretted, however, that, concurrently with the sitting of the Disarmament Conference, we should be regaled in our newspapers with brilliant journalistic descriptions of army pageantry. This morning, parallel to columns headed "World Acclaims

Lausanne Agreement," I read of "Splendours of the North's Tattoo," in which is vividly described a full-dress rehearsal of the Northern Command Tattoo:—"Aero-planes with their wings illuminated sweep out of the darkening sky. Suddenly they converge upon a sleeping village, spelling out destruction as they go. The village bursts into flames. Searchlights steal their way across the sky and the anti-aircraft guns boom out. . . ." Thousands of the new generation which knew not the War will witness this spectacle—and be infected thereby. I maintain that, having regard to the declared object, and objective, of the League of Nations Union, every branch should protest in the strongest possible terms against this glorification of war at a time when the great fight for peace and real progress and prosperity is being waged.

The yellow press is privately owned, but the Army and the Navy are our property and must obey public opinion. Let us test it.—Yours sincerely,

Wallasey.

ALFRED C. TENNANT.

A RADIO BROTHERHOOD

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I am writing this because it occurred to me that, as fellow-enthusiasts in the cause of International Peace, some of your readers might be interested in the efforts of Monsieur Stefan Tymieniecki, the Director of the Radio Station at Katowice, in Poland.

Every Wednesday and Friday, from 11.0 p.m. to 1.0 a.m. (B.S.T.), Radio Katowice conducts an International Letter-Box in French. In connection with this Letter-Box, a club has been formed, called "La Société Internationale des Katowicards." Those members who wish, may have a small badge to wear in the buttonhole. Interesting letters to the Letter-Box are read out, and the addresses noted by members, so that the writers often find themselves greeted from all parts of Europe and North Africa. (We have even a member in Chicago.) Personally, I have been made to feel quite "one of the family" since I joined "les amis de Kato," both by letters and by greetings over the ether.

Though there are several thousand members, there are only about a dozen in England, and, quite frankly, I am out to increase that number! I feel that, at present, the International Friendship in this club is too much on one side, so far as the English-speaking people are concerned (though I would add, correspondence is usually conducted in French.)

I think that your readers will agree that only by better understanding between the peoples of the world can war be prevented, and world brotherhood be established in its stead. If any of your readers would like more information about our great family, I shall be only too pleased to answer any one who cares to write to me. I hope to be able shortly to tell inquirers how the Letter-Box originated, and to tell them something of its history.—Yours faithfully,

ALAN W. MORRIS.

34, East Street, London Road, Leicester.

WHAT NOT TO READ

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—You have quite rightly been inviting members of the L.N.U. to combat the misrepresentations of the yellow press, but there is one thing we might do which some of us fail to do.

I was riding down from town a few evenings ago in the same compartment as that in which a very active worker in the cause of peace was travelling, and I noticed he was reading the evening paper which has been the most pronounced in its attacks upon the League and all that it stands for.

If all supporters of the League would cease to read the yellow press I believe we should soon notice a change of tone, as there is nothing the proprietors of these journals fear so much as loss of circulation.—Yours faithfully,

E. S. WOODROFFE.

Old Spa House, South Norwood Hill, S.E.

NEW AND IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT IN "FAMILY PROTECTION"

Here, at last, is a Family Protection Plan which looks after the welfare of every member of your family and is adaptable to the needs and circumstances of the day. It provides them with an immediate cash sum to clear up any outstanding accounts and enables them to carry on at the time of direst need.

This is followed by a guaranteed monthly income. If there are children, this income can be continued until the youngest child becomes of age. If there are no children, your wife will receive the monthly income for any period chosen up to twenty years. In either event there will still be a balance which can be invested or will purchase an Annuity.

The following is an example of the operation of the Plan providing a monthly income for 15 years, together with the other advantages illustrated.

Regardless of number of years the Policy had been in force

YOUR FAMILY WOULD RECEIVE

£200 IMMEDIATELY

and

£1,800 PROVIDING A GUARANTEED MONTHLY INCOME FOR 15 YEARS

and

£660 AT END OF 15 YEARS.

The Plan provides a large Cash sum for your own later years.

If you live and the above protection is no longer needed, you can secure a substantial cash sum for yourself at the end of twenty years—or even before—to provide a pension.

The inherent strength and popularity of the Sun Life of Canada is strikingly demonstrated by the fact that in 1931—a year of unprecedented depression—the number of its policy-holders increased to over One Million, whose deposits during that year totalled Twenty-six Million Pounds

This new "Family Protection" Plan is secured by moderate annual savings, which entitles you to valuable Income Tax rebate.

**FOR FULL
DETAILS SEND
THIS FORM, OR A
LETTER.**

No obligation
incurred.

To H. O. LEACH (General Manager),
SUN LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY OF CANADA
(Incorporated in Canada in 1865 as a Limited Company)
99, Sun of Canada House, Cockspur Street, LONDON, S.W.1.

My date of birth is..... I shall be glad to receive,
without obligation to me, details of your new Plan of Family Protection.

NAME (Mr., Mrs. or Miss)

ADDRESS

OCCUPATION

Amount I can Deposit Annually £

League of Nations Union News SUPPLEMENT TO HEADWAY

August, 1932

Half-Time!

THIS year, 1932, will never be forgotten. It is the year of the Great International match between Co-operation and Competition, between the United World and the Rival Nations, between Reconstruction and Dissolution, between Peace and War.

The game is neither lost nor won. The players—whether Cabinet Ministers, their professional advisers, or members of the League of Nations Union and its sister-societies the world over—have a brief respite before the struggle begins again after the interval. Let us reckon up the score, and make sure of victory in the second half.

We have, first of all, to congratulate our British Prime Minister on the achievement of the Lausanne Conference under his leadership. In return for Germany's final payment of less than sixpence in the £ (of the amount originally fixed by the Reparations Commission), the Lausanne Agreement puts an end to German reparations; but only on condition that the United States will agree to an all-round cancellation of war debts. This condition seems natural enough to Europeans: Why should the "victor" countries of Europe have to go on paying when the "vanquished" are let off? And how is Europe to pay America when gold is scarce and American tariffs keep out European goods? But it is at least as natural for Americans to wonder why we in Europe (apart from Russia) cannot pay them their £50 millions (gold) a year when we go on spending ten times that amount on our national armaments. Indeed, there is little likelihood that America will consent to wipe out war debts unless we all agree to spend less on preparations for war. Nothing will come of Lausanne except by way of Geneva. And success at Geneva will do more than anything else to restore confidence to Europe and the world. As Mr. Neville Chamberlain truly said, when telling the House of Commons about Lausanne, "the restoration of that confidence is the one essential of the world to-day."

But success will never be achieved at Geneva until the British Government realises that there also it must lead, and in the right direction. We in the League of Nations Societies are sure of that direction. We know what we want. We said it plainly a year ago at Budapest. We have said it many times since. We of the League of Nations Union printed it in our Annual Report. In the last month our Branches have written many thousands of letters to Cabinet Ministers and Members of Parliament, demanding once more such a measure of "disarmament" as will involve:

(1) An immediate ECONOMY in public expenditure on armaments;

(2) A substantial step towards that EQUALITY of status for Germany which was envisaged at the time of the Treaties of Peace; and

(3) An increase in the feeling of SECURITY, not only in France, by allaying fears of a "knock-out blow," particularly from the air.

In regard to Security, the world also wants to be reassured of this country's unswerving observance of all our obligations under the Covenant and other collective treaties, including the defence of each nation by the strength of all. The Manchurian question is, of course, a case in point. When the Lytton Commission's report is published and the Assembly has made the recommendations which it may deem "just and proper in regard thereto," then it may well be that the sincerity of our pledges under the Covenant will be put more definitely than ever before to the test. And here we may recall the Prime Minister's words in his Empire Day broadcast:

"The method which regards treaties as scraps of paper, to be altered or ended as it suits either party, is the method of disunity. It destroys confidence. It bases all agreements on force rather than on honour. It strikes at the root of moral solidarity."

A paragraph reprinted from the *Manchester Guardian* on another page shows how far Mr. Hoover's proposals go in the direction of ECONOMY, EQUALITY, and SECURITY. The immediate and specific results of adopting the British plan would be comparatively slight in respect of ECONOMY and EQUALITY; while, as regards SECURITY, Mr. Hoover's plan has the advantage in tanks and bombing planes, but the British goes further in abolishing submarines.

We rejoice, therefore, that British Ministers have declared themselves to be largely in agreement with President Hoover's proposals. We have now to persuade the British Government further to develop its own programme, in co-operation with the United States and other countries, so as to secure the greatest possible measure of ECONOMY, EQUALITY, and SECURITY—and, in particular, that those weapons* which are forbidden to Germany, and which specially favour sudden attack, shall now be given up by all States.

That is how, after the interval, the League of Nations Union must score the winning points in the Great International of 1932.

* Warships of over 10,000 tons, submarines, military aircraft, tanks, and heavy mobile land guns.

In December you probably resolved, in response to our President's 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.

At Headquarters

General Council Meeting at Cheltenham

TOPICS DISCUSSED

THE thirteenth annual meeting of the General Council of the Union met in the Town Hall at Cheltenham Spa on June 28, and the two following days. Professor Gilbert Murray was in the chair at the opening session, and Viscount Cecil presided at the subsequent meetings. All but two of the English counties were represented among the delegates, and strong contingents from Scotland and Wales were also present.

After the preliminary business of electing the officers, Executive Committee, and General Council for the forthcoming year had been expeditiously settled, delegates listened to an eloquent tribute to M. Briand from his old friend, their President. Lord Cecil moved a resolution placing on record the Council's "sense of the profound loss which the world has suffered by his passing," and affirming its conviction that "his memory will be a perpetual inspiration to all those who strive to bring nations closer together in understanding, and to achieve through the League of Nations the ideals of justice and peace, to the attainment of which M. Briand's life was devoted."

This was carried by acclamation, the whole audience standing in silent mourning for the dead statesman.

The next item on the agenda comprised a group of resolutions dealing with the recent crisis in the Far East; and the League's handling of the dangerous situation which had arisen at Shanghai. Vice-Admiral Allen and Major Buxton, D.S.O., dealt respectively with the need for a strong public opinion in support of the Covenant at times of crisis, and the desirability of the General Convention to Improve the Means of Preventing War, which was adopted by the Assembly last year, being signed and ratified by all nations without further delay. Professor Murray and Mr. Arnold Foster also took leading parts in this debate, and a final resolution by the Welsh National Council, condemning secret diplomacy and congratulating the American Government on its prompt publication of its correspondence with both China and Japan during the dispute, was carried unanimously.

The Council next considered a group of resolutions dealing with Disarmament and the traffic in arms. In introducing the subject, Lord Cecil declared that President Hoover's proposals were of the utmost importance to the world, and urged delegates to make a great effort during the next few months to rouse public opinion in their districts to the vital need of a substantial measure of disarmament such as they envisaged. The Council passed a resolution cordially welcoming the Hoover plan and reiterating its belief in the Budapest proposals. These provide (1) for the total abolition of all the so-called offensive weapons forbidden to Germany in the Treaty of Versailles; (2) for a cut of at least 25 per cent. in the amount spent by each country on armaments within the next five years; (3) for the internationalisation of all aircraft. Resolutions were also passed urging closer control of the traffic in arms, particularly with a view to preventing the sale of weapons to a country which was engaged in aggressive action against a neighbour, and stressing the grave objections to the manufacture of armaments by private firms.

The Council concluded by passing a number of resolutions on several other subjects which included the need for an international auxiliary language, statelessness, the Washington Hours Convention, and the displacement of workers which might result from disarmament measures.

The meeting was followed by an informal conference open to all members of the Union to discuss technical matters of organisation and propaganda. Particularly valuable speeches were delivered by Sir Norman Angell, chairman of the Union's Publicity Committee, and Mr. Gervase Huxley, Publicity Chief of the Empire Marketing Board, who outlined his plans for a national poster campaign in which leading British, French and German poster artists had volunteered to take part without payment.

Cheltenham proved an admirable home for an important conference of this kind, and both the local branch and the municipal authorities were wonderfully kind and hospitable in their reception of the visitors.

On the first night of the Council the Mayor of Cheltenham and the local committee gave a reception and dance to the delegates at the Town Hall, and the meetings concluded with a banquet at which the Duke of Beaufort, Lord Lieutenant of Gloucestershire, presided, and Lord Cecil was the guest of honour.

The Union and the Disarmament Conference

The resolution adopted by the Disarmament Conference on its adjournment fell far short of what the Union has believed and still believes to be the first necessary step towards the general reduction of armaments. The adoption of President Hoover's proposals, though they fell short of the ideal, would have been a more serious advance. The following resolution was passed by the General Council at Cheltenham:—

Realising the dangers of delay, the British League of Nations Union, in General Council assembled, welcomes the bold and statesmanlike proposals made by the President of the United States and urges H.M. Government—

- (1) To join with the American, Italian, German and other Governments in persuading the Disarmament Conference to accept Mr. Hoover's proposals in broad outline; and thereafter
- (2) To take the initiative in a further advance towards the establishment of the principle of "equality of status" regarding disarmament between the vanquished and victorious powers, as well as the principle of "collective security."

The attitude of the Union to the British proposals is indicated in the article on the previous page. On July 14th the Executive Committee passed a resolution reaffirming the policy which the Union has consistently recommended, and expressing the hope that "with respect to the size of capital ships and the abolition of tanks and military aircraft, the programme of the British Government will, in co-operation with other countries, advance along the lines of that policy." It is felt that the British proposals as they stand would neither bring about a large and immediate diminution of expenditure, nor appear to the Germans as an honest fulfilment of the promise regarding disarmament made to them when the Versailles Treaty was signed.

Though the holiday period has begun, branches have been exceptionally active all over Great Britain in pressing the Union's disarmament policy upon Members of Parliament and the Cabinet. Information has reached Headquarters that 717 branches and districts in England, Scotland and Wales have written both to the principal members of the British delegation at the Disarmament Conference and to their Members of Parliament on these lines.

Notes and News

Travel Notes

The World Crisis

It is still possible to enrol for the Geneva Institute of International Relations from August 14 to 20. The Institute has no thesis to expound and no view point to define. The syllabus of lectures this year will include a series of lectures and discussions on—

The Year in Retrospect (introductory).
The First General Disarmament Conference.
The Sino-Japanese Dispute.
National Development and Reconstruction in the U.S.S.R.
The Present Position in India.
The World Economic Crisis: its Causes and Cure.
The Burden of Debts and Reparations.
America and World Co-operation.
The Need for European Unity.
Industrial and Social Aspects of the World Crisis.
The League in Relation to the World Crisis.
The need for National and International Economic Planning and Action.

Amongst those expected to lecture this year are—

Dr. SHERWOOD EDDY, who has recently returned from Manchuria; Mr. ARNOLD FORSTER, Technical Adviser to the National Peace Council; Mr. E. J. PHELAN, chief of the Diplomatic Division, I.L.O.; Professor W. E. RAPPARD (Geneva); Professor ALFRED ZIMMERN (Oxford); Rt. Hon. H. B. LEES-SMITH, member of the India Round Table Conference; MICHAEL FARBMAN, author of books on Russian Economic Affairs.

There will be short introductory lectures (attendance optional) by members of the League Secretariat and International Labour Office on "The Origin and Purpose and some of the Achievements of the League." Visits are also arranged to the International Labour Office and the League Assembly Hall.

Teachers' Conference

Schoolmasters and Schoolmistresses attending the Institute are invited to remain in Geneva for a lecture Conference on the "Schools and World Citizenship" organised by the Union's Education Committee, during the week-end immediately following the Institute. If sufficient enrolments are obtained a Rotarians' Conference will also take place.

Youth Groups

A special fee of £10 has been fixed to enable members of the Union's Youth Groups to spend ten days (August 13 to 23) in Geneva and to attend the Institute.

Those who have registered for the Assembly parties to Geneva have been notified that the date of the opening of the Assembly has been changed. Those who have not yet registered but who would be interested in a visit to the Assembly later in September, are invited to write for particulars to headquarters.

Branch Notes

The New Shropshire Council

Shropshire moves slowly along the international road. It was, therefore, an event of some importance when a Shropshire District Council was formed. The first act of this new body was to organise a meeting in the largest hall in Shrewsbury. Over 1,000 people from all parts of the County came to hear Lord Cecil, and though the great majority were of course, already members, over 100 new ones were enrolled. The organisers are especially to be congratulated on the way in which the audience, socially, politically and geographically, was representative of the whole County.

Doing Does It

The recent issue of the *Berkshire News Sheet* draws attention to the extremely good work done during the past year by the Bluecoat School at Reading. Four members of the School were enabled to go to the 1931 Junior School at Geneva, two of whom were sent by their fellows saving enough from their weekly pocket money to pay their fares. During the year nearly £90 has been raised by the School Branch. The Head Boy of the School is amongst the group going to the Junior School this year.

In addition to the Bluecoat School boys, nine other boys and girls have been successful in obtaining bursaries to which many Reading Societies have contributed.

Pageants and Parades

First prizes were won by the Union's exhibits both in the Infirmary Pageant at Stafford and in the Hospital Parade at Northampton. In the former case a remarkable stand illustrating steps to peace was erected, and in the latter a series of six tableaux on motor lorries took part in the procession. The titles of the tableaux were: "The Law of Force," "The Force of Law," "The World Rests on Close Co-operation," "The League has Stopped Four Wars," "Nations Must Reduce Armaments to Reach Prosperity," and "Which Way are You Pulling?" The Stafford Branch will hire its exhibit to other branches at a cost of 10s. 6d. for branches with more than 500 members, and 7s. 6d. for smaller branches.

The Annual Pageant and Demonstration of the Heywood Branch was held in the presence of large crowds. The *pièce de résistance* was the competition for a silver shield awarded to the School who presented the most effective tableau typifying the work of the League of Nations. There were a number of entries and the task of judging was extremely hard. The prize eventually went to St. Joseph's Roman Catholic School whose tableau typified the League surrounded by the Member States. St. John's School and a troop of Girl Guides were highly commended.

The following is an extract from the *Lancaster Observer and Morecambe Chronicle*, which in the course of a long illustrated report of the Lancaster Branch Pageant, "Peace or War?" says:—

"It was a decidedly ambitious project on the part of the joint Secretaries of the Lancaster Branch of the League of Nations Union, Mr. and Mrs. E. A. Dowbiggin, to stage a Pageant with the object of illustrating actual scenes of events from the history of the League. There can be no doubt of its effectiveness for the purpose of inculcating the ideas which have animated the League since its foundation. It represented propaganda in its most interesting form.

Optimism Wins

The Letchworth Branch have shown that where there's a will there's a way. The local cinema manager was requested to put on the film "Kameradschaft," but declined on the grounds that that particular film was peace propaganda and not entertainment. Nothing deterred, the Branch set to work to organise a matinée on a Saturday afternoon, laid out nearly £17 in publicity, filled the house and made a net profit of £7 13s. 11d. Great was the surprise of the manager when he discovered that peace propaganda could be made to pay even on one performance.

If anyone is interested to know how this was done, Mr. F. W. Rogers, the Chairman of the Letchworth Disarmament Council, at Gashio Lane, Letchworth, Herts., can give them details.

Council's Vote

The following Branches have completed their Council's vote for 1931 :—

1931.

Berwick-on-Tweed, Darlington, Kirkoswald Lazonby and Fellside, Ryton, Shildon.

1932.

Arlesey, Arnside, Appleby, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Barley, Bozeat, Bratton, Bream, Brackley, Bucklebury, Brentwood, Braintree, Bradwell, Chapel St. Leonards, Clacton, Church Stretton, Chester, Cartmel in Furness, Castletown, Croston, Charlbury, Horley, Hartford, Heversham, Kimpton, Loddon, Ludlow, Montagu Burton (Leeds), Methwold, Moulton, Milnthorpe, Newport, Nantwich, Trinity Presby (Newcastle), Poulton, Rushden, St. Ives (Cornwall), Stebbing, West Mersey, Wheatley, Uley.

Welsh Notes

On Tuesday, July 19, Lord Davies of Llandinam and Lady Davies were the guests of the members of the Welsh Council Executive Committee at a luncheon at Shrewsbury. Mr. Thos. E. Purdy, J.P., C.C., the President of the Council presided.

The luncheon was followed by a meeting of the Executive Committee, over which Lord Davies presided. The results of the Lausanne Conference, the progress of the World Disarmament Conference and the present position in the Far East were the subjects under special discussion.

A party of students from Coleg Clwyd Branch, Rhyl, have arranged to devote a portion of their summer vacation to touring the rural areas of North Wales on behalf of the Union and visiting Branches. The action of the students in undertaking this task is deeply appreciated.

The Welsh Council's Pavilion will again be a centre of attraction on the grounds of the Royal Welsh Agricultural Society's Show at Llandrindod Wells, July 20 to 22, and on the grounds of the Royal National Eisteddfod of Wales at Port Talbot, August 1 to 6.

The three Geneva Scholars from the Welsh County and Intermediate Schools are this year joining the Union's Party for the Sixth Annual Conference of British and Dominion Students to be held in Geneva, September 2 to 12.

Will all friends interested in the Welsh Party which it is hoped to organise to visit Geneva in August, kindly apply for information to Welsh Council Headquarters at 10, Museum Place, Cardiff.

Four Branch workers selected by the Welsh Council were granted free places at the International Affairs Week at Coleg Harlech, July 9 to 16.

The Welsh School of Social Service Week at Llandrindod Wells in August will open on the evening of Sunday, August 7, with a Peace Demonstration at which Sir George Paish and the Rev. Gwilym Davies will be the speakers.

The Brynmawr District Committee of the Union is organising a Peace Week on a large scale during the week September 26 to October 1.

OVERSEAS NOTES

The 16th Plenary Congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies was held in Paris under the Presidency of Viscount Cecil from July 2nd to 11th. An article on the Congress appears on another page. Here are a few items of interest from overseas.

League Supporters in the U.S.A. and Lausanne

On June 20 the Board of Directors of the League of Nations Association of the U.S.A. passed a resolution urging that the Congress of the United States, before its adjournment, should request the President to confer with the Governments represented at Lausanne in order

that a permanent solution might be found for the problems which block the road to recovery from the present economic distress. Copies of this resolution were sent to the President, the Secretary of State and to the Members of the Congress.

Jamaica

A well attended public meeting in connection with the Jamaica Branch of the League of Nations Union was held at the Ward Theatre, the largest building in the Island, on Thursday night, May 12. The Chairman was Sir Thomas Roxburgh, C.M.G., and other speakers were the Rev. P. W. Gibson, B.A., B.D., Mr. Sidney Change, B.A., Colonel Mary Booth, C.B.E., and the Rev. A. F. Blandford, B.A.

Greetings from South Africa

Amongst many replies received this year to the Welsh Children's Message, the following has been received from the boys and girls of South Africa :—

"Will you please convey to the boys and girls of Wales the thanks of the boys and girls of South Africa for the splendid message of goodwill. The South African boys and girls have a fellow-feeling with the children of Wales for many reasons.

One of the ties we have in common is an unbounded enthusiasm for sport.

Our Springboks one and all testify to the wonderful hospitality and enthusiastic friendliness which they experienced in Wales during their recent visit overseas. South Africa is eager to reciprocate and there are many young budding Springboks who dream already of the day when they can meet their friendly and enthusiastic rivals, the Welsh, for whose Rugby prowess they have the greatest admiration.

May we the South African boys and girls join, therefore, with so many other nations' children, in the great and universal message of friendliness and goodwill to the boys and girls of Wales.

(Signed) E. G. MALHERBE.

For Secretary of Education."

Membership

RATES OF ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION.

Foundation Members	... £1 or more.
Registered Members	... 5s. 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."