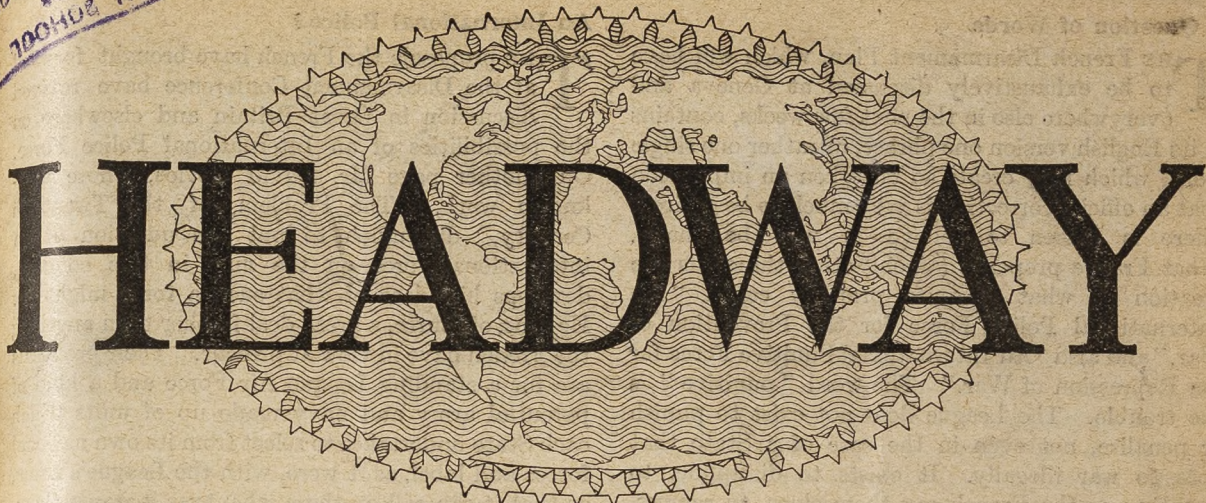


NOT TO BE TAKEN AWAY  
 STUDENT'S COMMON ROOM  
 THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

17 APR. 1932

*Richard*



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

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**Matters of Moment**

**T**HE end of the Chinese conflict, if it is the end, will leave Japan with a considerable bill to foot. Her Government has just floated a loan of 87,500,000 yen (£8,750,000 at par) for the expenses of the campaign. In addition to that it will take her years to get back the trade she has lost. The Chinese Government may have fomented the boycott of Japanese goods, but that does not mean that the Government has power to end it. The boycott, moreover, stretches as far afield as Malaya and the Dutch Indies, where there are large Chinese populations, and there is incidentally quite a considerable unofficial boycott in the United States. China, of course, has sustained heavy losses, too, both in the disorganisation of trade at Shanghai and in the destruction of property in the battle zone. Fortunately, owing to the flimsy construction of Chinese houses, the obliteration of a place like Chapei, with its population of 600,000, means in cost nothing like what those figures would imply in the case of a Western city. The Chinese estimate puts the total damage at £95,000,000 none the less. Theoretically the Chinese would appear to have a good case for compensation against Japan, but probably compensation talk will be dropped on both sides by common consent.

**The Dominions at Geneva**

**F**OR reasons of geography it is often difficult for the British Dominions to be adequately represented at League Committees and Conferences. It is matter, therefore, for special satisfaction that Mr. de Water, High Commissioner of South Africa, should in the last month or so have made a deep impression by his speeches both at the Disarmament Conference and at the Special Assembly of the League. Both were of an unusually high order and bore witness not only to a clear understanding of what the League stands for, but to a firm resolve that the League should work as it was meant to work. Both, in short, were speeches which definitely sent the stock of the British Empire up. With regard to Australia, it is safe to predict that the advent of Mr. S. M. Bruce, a former Prime Minister, who comes to London not so much to discharge the office of High Commissioner as to absorb it into the higher position he holds as an actual Australian Cabinet Minister stationed in London, will give Australian representation at Geneva a new standing. He was himself a delegate to the Second Assembly in 1921, and as Prime Minister of Australia has always given the League steady and cordial support.

## A Question of Words

THE French Disarmament Plan, which will have to be exhaustively discussed at Geneva and everywhere else in the next few weeks, contains in its English version one phrase, or rather one single word, which may create so mistaken an impression that an official correction is very much to be desired. There is reason to believe it will be made. What France proposed (among other things) is the creation of what is quite properly called "An International Police Force for the Prevention of War," and also "An International Punitive Force for the Repression of War." The word "punitive" is the trouble. The League does not exist to punish or penalise, not even in the case of a State that goes to war illegally. It exists to discipline, to restrain—as the French say themselves, to repress. The original French version of the proposals never spoke of punishing. The phrase used was "une force de coercition," which ought to be rendered in English "a coercive force." Compulsion may have in the last resort to be used against a State which uses force itself illegally, but coercive, in that connection, is not punitive, and the sooner the latter word is dropped the better.

## Dr. Temple's Sermon

CONSIDERABLE controversy has centred round the Archbishop of York's now famous sermon preached at Geneva on the eve of the Disarmament Conference, a good many of the comments attributing to the Archbishop words he did not use and meanings he never intended. In the edition of the sermon just published by the League of Nations Union (price 2d.), Dr. Temple replies to some of his critics and explains his whole position in a lengthy and important prefatory note. It is sufficient to quote here the summary with which he closes:

"In 1914 we were right to fight. In 1919 it was still inevitable that men should look at the story of the War from the angle of vision which made the War Guilt Clause a reasonable verdict on the part of those who framed it. But it is an angle of vision from which only a portion of the relevant facts are visible. When we look at the whole, we do not so much reverse the verdict, as become detached from the interest which prompted the inquiry. We no longer ask: Was Germany guilty? Was Great Britain guilty? We ask: What was wrong with Christendom—with the civilised world? To answer that question with assertions about Germany would be irrelevant, insulting and self-righteous. The whole welfare of the world now depends on our ceasing to take first the standpoint of our own nation, and taking first the standpoint of the community of nations; to do this genuinely and without hypocrisy is as obligatory as it is difficult."

To this it need only be added, in regard to the crucial point at issue, that the Archbishop never said and never implied that all nations were equally guilty of causing the war. What he did say was that it was not true to maintain that the whole and undivided responsibility lay on the shoulders of Germany and her allies.

## An International Police?

THE proposals the French have brought forward at the Disarmament Conference have revived discussion in Great Britain and elsewhere on the possibilities of an International Police Force. On another page Mr. David Davies, whose well-known work, "The Problem of the Twentieth Century," did much to put the question of an international force on the map in this country, develops his ideas of what such a force might be. He goes, of course, a great deal further than anything the French have in view at present. Their proposals are for a standing League Air Force and a kind of potential army and navy made up of units which each State undertakes to select from its own national forces and label, as it were, with the League's name, so that it can call on them whenever it wants them. Mr. Davies sends our thoughts ranging far beyond that, and even those who do not find his ideas practicable will not fail to find them interesting. For a fuller discussion of them see the book already mentioned, and also a smaller work, "Letters to John Bull and Others," by "Robert the Peeler." Whoever Robert may be Mr. Davies will not repudiate his views.

## A Baedeker Settlement

THE League of Nations Unions in two adjacent and once hostile countries have just put through a very useful piece of work between them. The world-famous Baedeker recently produced a new edition of its guide to Belgium, in which the statement was made that at Dinant and Aerschot massacres of the population took place during the war as reprisal for the action of the inhabitants in firing on the German troops. This suggestion of illegal firing by sharpshooters was bitterly resented in Belgium, and a lawsuit against Baedeker was threatened. Now the Belgian League of Nations Union has taken it up through the German Union, which in turn approached the Guide-book firm with the happiest results. The firm has declared itself ready to cut out the offending passage and to make it perfectly clear that the Belgian and German versions of the incidents at the two towns in question differed. An admirable example of how little international differences of this sort might be settled.

## The League and Liberia

THE League of Nations looks like having its hands full for some time with Liberia. The British, American and German Governments have protested strongly to the Negro Republic regarding the abuses which still exist unchecked. Slavery and forced labour are the chief of them, but general ill-treatment of the natives of the hinterland must be added. Government finance and Government administration seem alike to have broken down, and taxes have produced less than half the actual expenditure in the last complete year. The British Government takes the view that no

substantial reform can be carried through without outside assistance, but it is far from clear who is to pay for that assistance. Clearly the Liberian Government is in no position to do so, and there is no reason why anyone else should. The League has a Committee sitting on the subject, and it will meet again in May. Meanwhile, there seems no prospect of any local improvement. The League of Nations, of course, has no responsibility for Liberia, but the Liberian Government invited it a couple of years ago to investigate the charges of slavery made against the Government, and having got thus involved in the country's fortunes, Geneva finds it difficult to detach itself.

## On the Edge of War

DISTURBING as conditions in Europe are to-day we are at any rate not living on the edge of war. It is not so very long since we were. The latest volume of papers from the Foreign Office archives throws a rather startling light on that. The volume deals with the tension in Europe, mainly over Morocco, in the years 1908 to 1911. Here are three quotations:—

Sir Edward Grey (Foreign Secretary) to Mr. McKenna (First Lord of the Admiralty), November 5th, 1908: "I think the Admiralty should keep in readiness to make preparations in case Germany sent France an ultimatum and the Cabinet decided that we must assist France."

Mr. Lloyd George (Chancellor of the Exchequer) to Sir Edward Grey, September 1st, 1911: "War is by no means inevitable, but it is becoming an increasing probability. It is so much in the reckoning as to render it urgently necessary for us to take every step which would render the issue of war more favourable, always provided that such a step does not increase the chance of precipitating war."

Mr. McKenna to Sir Edward Grey, September 15th 1911: "Am with Home Fleet at Cromarty. If any danger of attack on ships at anchor here not safe at night. Do you think safer position necessary? No difficulty in moving if desirable though some comment may be made."

War was in the end staved off in 1911. It could no longer be staved off in 1914. The League of Nations system can claim credit for keeping the menace of war a little further off to-day than it was twenty years ago.

## Nansen's Armenians

AN old project of Dr. Nansen's is being gradually carried out, in the transfer of a certain number of Armenian refugees to the Soviet Armenian Republic of Erivan in South Russia. These are Armenians who had taken temporary refuge in Greece, where, however, it seemed impossible to settle them permanently. The Greek Government has provided the cost of their transportation to Batoum, and about 3,250 have so far been moved there. Another 3,750, making 7,000 in all, will be following shortly. Though doubts have been enter-

tained in some quarters as to the desirability of Erivan as a place of settlement, it appears clear that the Armenians concerned have gone there entirely of their own free will, with the approval of the various Armenian Relief Organisations and with full assurances from the local government that all reasonable assistance will be given them.

## The League in £ s. d.

THE Civil Service Estimates for 1932-3 show an item of £182,000, representing Great Britain's annual subscription to the League of Nations. This is an increase of £64,500, and since the fact will inevitably occasion comment it calls for a word of explanation. The increase is due to two causes, the holding of the Disarmament Conference, which every British Government has strongly supported, and the depreciation of the pound sterling, for which this country and not the League of Nations is responsible. The actual cost of the League for 1932 is the equivalent of £1,347,520 at the old par of exchange and Great Britain pays just over a tenth of that. The fact of the pound being worth only from 14/- to 15/- in foreign currency explains the difference.

## War Films Again

INVESTIGATIONS as to the effect of war films on children are carried out from time to time in different countries, and some day no doubt an attempt will be made to collate the verdicts of different countries on a large scale. One recent study has been issued by the L.C.C.'s Chief Inspector of Schools, who, on the basis of figures from 29 London schools, reports that as many as 30 per cent. of the children in London elementary schools go to the cinema once a week. The one subject on which teachers, inspectors, and all concerned were agreed was that films of violence, including war films, produce serious mental disturbances in the children. There is no definite suggestion that war films create either admiration or horror of war, but terrible and gruesome details evidently lodge in the mind, with unfortunate, and sometimes, permanent, effects.

## The Problem of Easter

THE question of fixing Easter has just been raised in the House of Lords, and a useful little debate resulted. The Archbishop of Canterbury spoke strongly in favour of the new departure, and Lord Lucan, for the Government, made it clear that the official view is still favourable. The trouble is still that the Roman Catholic Church has not declared itself, and it is clearly impossible to proceed without it. The view of the Pope has always been that he must get the project discussed by an Œcumenical Congress and there is none in prospect at the moment. The League Committee which is dealing with the subject is issuing another general appeal, and it is possible that the Holy See may find some way after all of falling into line with the rest of Christendom.

## Japan and China

### The Special Assembly and its Work

THE Chino-Japanese story must once more be picked up at the point where it was left a month ago. It was then recorded in these columns that the Chinese delegate at Geneva had requested (as he was entitled to do) the transfer of the whole question from the League Council to the Assembly. The Japanese thought fit to challenge that right, but on the advice of a committee of jurists their objections were over-ruled and the Assembly was fixed for March 3.



M. Sato

Meanwhile, however, three important meetings of the Council were held. On **February 16** an urgent appeal was despatched to Japan by the members of the Council other than the Japanese and Chinese representatives. Its importance lay in the fact that it was addressed to Japan only, not China—that it expressed regret that Japan had not made full use of the methods of peaceful settlement provided by the Covenant, that it mentioned that China had put herself definitely in the hands of the League and that it consequently implied very clearly which of the two countries was the aggressor.

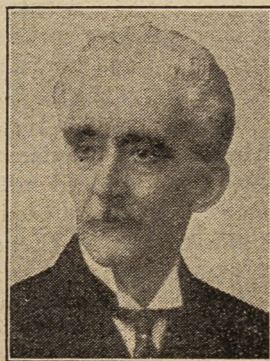
Japan was fully alive to that, and at the next meeting of the full Council, on **February 19**, M. Sato, the Japanese delegate, spoke with more vigour than usual and made one or two very notable admissions, declaring in particular that if China had had a settled and efficient government "we should have been able to respect the provisions of the Covenant as they stand, but unfortunately that was not the case." This was, of course, a frank confession that Japan had knowingly violated the League Covenant. The Japanese reply to the Note from the twelve members of the League Council came in on **February 24**. It was based throughout on the assumption that Japan was the innocent victim of Chinese aggression and that any action she was taking was merely a legitimate defence of the life and property of her citizens. It questioned the right of twelve members of the Council to take action apart from the other two, it claimed that Article X of the Covenant did not apply because Japan had no territorial ambitions in China and it took the line that the Nine Power Treaty was no concern of the Council's. No reply was sent by the Council to this document.

Simultaneously, a highly important letter written by Mr. Stimson, the American Secretary of State, to Senator Borah was published. It constituted a considered statement of American policy regarding the Far Eastern conflict. Mr. Stimson expressed the opinion that the Nine Power Treaty of 1922, which was drafted for the protection of China, was as necessary as ever. What was more, added the Secretary of State very significantly, this was only one of a series of closely related treaties, some of the others dealing with the non-fortification of naval bases in the Pacific and the

reduction of naval armaments. If one treaty went by the board, said Mr. Stimson, the whole would have to be reconsidered. Later passages in the letter made it clear that there was no doubt in Mr. Stimson's mind as to which of the two contending parties was the aggressor. Finally, the letter repeated the declaration of the American Note of January 7, that the United States would not recognise any situation, treaty or agreement entered into in violation of existing treaties, and ended with a plain invitation to the other Governments of the world to adopt publicly a similar attitude.

Meanwhile, fighting was in steady progress round Shanghai, the Chinese defending themselves tenaciously in a region made difficult for the attack by the numberless water-courses which intersected it. The Japanese advance was consequently slow, but very considerable damage was done by air-bombing and the shells of the heavy artillery. The suburb of Chapei in particular suffered heavily. At other points Chinese counter-attacks gained some ground. On **February 28** more Japanese reinforcements were landed, and on the same day Japan addressed a Note to the League declaring herself ready to consider a truce as soon as the Chinese had been driven back a certain distance.

On **February 29** the situation at Geneva took a new turn, for Sir John Simon on that day was able to inform the Council that a meeting between Japanese and Chinese leaders had been held on board H.M.S. *Kent* at Shanghai under the chairmanship of Admiral Sir Howard Kelly (who, as it happened, had been the British naval representative at Geneva for some years), when the principle of the mutual and simultaneous withdrawal of the Chinese and Japanese forces had been agreed to. The League Council welcomed the news and at once adopted a plan of peace negotiations with a view to a permanent settlement. The Japanese Government accepted the League plan, which, however, was conditional on a local agreement being reached for the cessation of hostilities. Instead of that the Japanese the next day, **March 1**, launched a new offensive and there were strong rumours at Shanghai that Japan refused, after all, the simultaneous withdrawal agreed to on the *Kent* and would only move back if the Chinese moved back first. On **March 2** the Japanese offensive was pressed with fresh vigour, reinforcements having been landed at a point on the bank of the river Yangtse where they were able to turn the Chinese flank. The Chinese, therefore, fell back under cover of darkness to new positions on or behind the line, 20 kilometres from Shanghai, to which Japan had required them to withdraw. On **March 3** the Japanese announced that, their objective having been attained, they would refrain from further offensive action.



M. Paul Hymans



Dr. Yen

On the same day the special Assembly of the League of Nations met and elected as its president M. Paul Hymans, Foreign Minister of Belgium, who presided over the first Assembly ever held in November, 1920. As it turned out, no better selection could have been made. A general statement of the situation was made by M. Paul Boncour, as President of the Council, and then Dr. Yen, at whose instance the matter had been referred from the Council to the Assembly, presented his case, reminding the Assembly that China had from the very first placed herself in the hands of the League and calling on it to do its utmost to end the fighting, secure the withdrawal of the invading forces and bring about a peaceful settlement of the whole dispute; to recognise that the Covenant had been broken; and to acquit China of all responsibility for what had been happening in Manchuria and at Shanghai.

#### The Assembly Pronounces

The Japanese delegate then gave his version of the dispute, declared again that Japan had no political or territorial ambitions at Shanghai, and submitted that the Assembly should not concern itself with the Manchurian affair, since the League Commission of Enquiry already had that in hand.

The next day, **March 4**, a resolution was carried unanimously (after various objections had been put forward and withdrawn by Japan) calling on the two Governments to see that the orders for a cessation of hostilities were made effective, asking for information on this point from representatives of other League Powers at Shanghai, and recommending negotiations between Chinese, Japanese and the representatives of other Powers regarding the cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of Japanese troops. There next followed a general demonstration of world opinion, some thirty-five speeches being made by delegates of different Powers in the Assembly, all of them either implying or declaring definitely that Japan was the aggressor and that her action in Manchuria constituted the invasion of one country by the troops of another. A number of resolutions were handed in and it was left to a Committee to try to harmonise them. Sir John Simon spoke on **March 7** and recommended that the Assembly should make a definite declaration on the situation. One of the most notable speeches was that by Mr. de Water, the South African delegate, who said in plain language that what was going on in the Far East was war and that Japan had definitely broken her international undertakings.

A good deal of Committee work was needed, and the resolution finally drafted was necessarily lengthy. It may be summarised as follows:

1. The provisions of the Covenant are entirely applicable to the present dispute.
2. The Council resolution of December 10 is reaffirmed (Manchuria being thus included as well as Shanghai).
3. The Council resolution of February 16, declaring that no infringement of the territorial integrity or political independence of any member of the League brought about in disregard of Article X of the Covenant or the Kellogg Pact can be regarded as valid, is reaffirmed.
4. It is contrary to the spirit of the Covenant that a settlement should be sought under the stress of military pressure on the part of either party.
5. The Council resolutions calling for the withdrawal of Japanese troops and accepting the offer of the Powers with special interests at Shanghai to facilitate this operation, are reaffirmed.

6. An Assembly Committee of nineteen members is appointed to carry on the Assembly work, and, in particular, to report on the withdrawal of the opposing forces, prepare a draft settlement to submit to the Assembly, to submit any point to the Permanent Court of International Justice in case of need. The Committee is to consist of all the Council members, except Japan and China, the President of the Special Assembly (M. Hymans) and six others elected by the Assembly (Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Colombia, Portugal, Hungary and Sweden were subsequently elected). The first report is to be submitted not later than May 1, the Assembly, meanwhile, remaining technically in session.

The resolution was carried unanimously, Japan and China abstaining (the latter because instructions from Nanking had not been received in time). It gave general satisfaction at Geneva, and at least equal satisfaction in the United States, the latter being expressed in a special message addressed by Mr. Stimson, the American Secretary of State, to Sir Eric Drummond.

#### The Promise of Peace

Meanwhile, military operations around Shanghai remained suspended, apart from a little irregular sniping, but the local negotiations regarding a truce had reached no definite conclusion by the date of the adoption of the Assembly resolution (**March 11**). It was announced, however, on **March 14** that Japan was withdrawing part of her forces, though she did not intend to withdraw the remainder till a definite agreement on the lines of the Geneva resolution had been reached. Local peace negotiations were opened at Shanghai, with the British, French and American Ministers assisting, and the newly appointed Assembly Committee sat at Geneva on **March 16** and **17** to consider the reports received. On **March 17** the position was that proposals had been made by China and met by counter-proposals by Japan, the point at issue being whether the Chinese Government should be required to call off the boycott as a condition to the withdrawal of the Japanese troops. On this M. Hymans, the Chairman of the Committee, was firm, declaring that no political conditions could be grafted on to the Assembly's resolution. Though it did not appear that any final agreement had been reached at Shanghai, the Assembly Committee adjourned on **March 17**, its President undertaking to call it together when necessary.

Meanwhile preparations had been going forward under Japanese auspices for the declaration of the independence of Manchuria. That event took place on **March 8** at Changchun, the ex-Emperor of China, who was deposed by the Chinese Revolution of 1911 when a child of five, and is now known as Mr. Henry P'u, or P'u Yi, being installed as President of the new State in the presence of a select company of Japanese notables, including Generals Honjo and Mori, commanding the Japanese forces in Manchuria. Sir John Simon stated in the House of Commons a day or two later that it would be premature to talk of recognising the new State. The United States is showing equal reserve. Within a week various local revolts against the authority of the new State were being reported.

The Lytton Commission, appointed by a resolution of the League Council last December to consider the whole relations between Japan and China so far as they might affect international peace, reached Tokyo on **February 29** from the United States, and, after conferring with various authorities there, reached Shanghai on **March 14**, just as the peace preliminaries were under discussion.

## Farewell to Briand

### The Greatest Figure at Geneva

WHEN, on the retirement of M. Briand from office in January, HEADWAY in February published an appreciation of "A Great Frenchman," little did the author of that article or anyone else foresee that two months later they would be called on to mourn Aristide Briand's retirement, not from political office, but from all earthly activity.

Yet so it is. The end came suddenly on the seventh of last month in the simple flat in the Avenue Kléber, at Paris, to which the old politician (though he was not really old—still a few days short of 70) had just returned from his Normandy farm, and on March 12 Briand, the apostle of peace, Briand who had given his pledge to the League Assembly that "while I am here there will be no war," made his last progress through Paris amid the military glitter and pomp essential to a State funeral in France. The Prime Minister of his country delivered the funeral oration on a tribune erected before the Quai d'Orsay, the French Foreign Office, whose greatest occupant had lain dead within it for three days, on the very spot where, three months before, he had sat presiding over the League of Nations Council as it strove to settle the China-Japanese dispute. There were there to do him honour the British Ambassador, representing the King; Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, representing his father, the Prime Minister; Sir John Simon; that close collaborator and friend of M. Briand, Sir Austen Chamberlain; and in the name and memory of the third member of a great triumvirate, a wreath from the widow of Gustav Stresemann. From the League of Nations, with which Briand was so inseparably associated, came the President of the Special Assembly then in session, the President of the Council, and Sir Eric Drummond.

The tributes paid to Briand in the days following his death have thrown into relief different features of that relatively simple character. Lord Cecil, in an appreciation broadcast the day after he died, dwelt on his passion for peace, and emphasised justly the fact that the man who never wavered from the path of conciliation and appeasement was the man endeared beyond all others by this very quality to the mass of his countrymen. That phenomenon, declared Lord Cecil, demands full consideration. "Here was a man who stood for an understanding with Germany, for disarmament and the League of Nations—in a word, for peace—and who had such a position that no Govern-

ment could be formed without him. Whether as Prime Minister or Foreign Secretary Briand was the necessary man. No; the French people are not militaristic. They are essentially and all the time lovers of peace. Owing to their political institutions and traditions they are sometimes misled and misrepresented. But in their hearts they stand for peace, and that is why to the day of his death they venerated and supported Aristide Briand."

Few tributes could have given Briand greater satisfaction than that, identifying, as it did, his own love of peace with his country's. But one other, at least, would have pleased him equally, the article his fellow-architect of Locarno, Sir Austen Chamberlain, wrote in the "Sunday Times" of March 13. Less than a fortnight before he died Briand had sent, by a com-

patriot visiting London, a message of warm greeting to Sir Austen, "a formidable adversary and a faithful friend." They were far more friends than adversaries, even than momentary adversaries on the political tilting-ground. Sir Austen's tribute is not unlike Lord Cecil's, but more personal. "Such was the man as I knew him—simple in his tastes, warm in his friendships, a charming companion in a leisure hour, a colleague of splendid loyalty

in times of difficulty. He loved France passionately, yet was ever, in his own phrase, 'a good European'; he served the cause of Peace with all his might, and in some measure it claimed him as its victim."

One outstanding trait in Briand's personality, his humour, had some justice done it in the obituary tributes—by Sir Austen Chamberlain as much as anyone. Sir Austen recalls the famous game of golf played during the Cannes Conference in 1922. (It was then that the picture on this page was taken.) Mr. Lloyd George determined to teach Briand, who never took any exercise of any kind, golf. The French Premier's first drive was no great success. His opponent, Lord Riddell (owner of the "News of the World" and other papers), then followed with an excellent stroke. "Ha!" exclaimed Briand, "he sends his ball flying like a bit of false news." After Cannes, and the famous game, Briand's Ministry was overthrown. He went back to Paris to resign, and his wit, almost for the only time, took on a touch of bitterness. The friend he had left in charge of his interests had (to quote Sir Austen again) joined his foes. Briand announced his resignation to his col-



The Cannes Golf Match:—Signor Bonomi, M. Briand, Marquis della Torretta, Mr. Lloyd George.

leagues, made as if to leave the room, then turned to the friend in question with the mordant observation, "By the way, my dear X, what is the value of thirty pieces of silver at to-day's exchange rate?"

They are commemorating Briand permanently throughout France. His name is to be inscribed in every school and every mairie as of one who deserved well of his country. Foch and Clemenceau were honoured likewise. How will Geneva commemorate him?

In the history of the League he holds a place no other single member of its Assembly or Council can equal. For no man of such prominence, no man comparable in his influence in the League's destinies, ever sat, or is likely for years to come, to sit for so long an unbroken period as representative of his country at Geneva. There is little material place for enduring memorials in the League's present temporary buildings. Now that an abiding habitation is being erected the case will be different, and one or two past omissions may yet be repaired. But Briand's claim stands supreme. It may be hoped that those well-known features will still be made familiar in the League's new home in the form of a painting or a bust. That will be something. But somewhere, too, should be inscribed, where all may read, some sentence or two in which Aristide Briand crystallised his faith in the ideals the League stands for and dedicated his strength and his purpose to their realisation.

### What Briand Said

SOME interesting personal reminiscences of M. Briand are contained in an unsigned article in a recent issue of the "Journal de Genève," presumably from the pen of its Foreign Editor, M. William Martin. Very striking are some of the French statesman's comments on the military mind. Here, for example, are some observations by M. Briand on the storm raised in 1927 because Germany was alleged to have maintained on her eastern frontier a network of concrete fortifications, which under the Treaty she ought to have destroyed.

"A good general came one day to bring me a report. He said to me: 'This report is definitive, M. le Président. Read it.' I read it. Then when he came to see me next I said to him: 'Your report contains a first part altogether admirable. You explain that the Commission of Control at Berlin is indispensable; that it has rendered the greatest possible services; you call it the eye of France; it enables us to obtain this and that and this other thing; if it were withdrawn the greatest dangers would result. Admirable, General.'

"But, unfortunately, your report has a second part, in which you explain that the Germans have built up a formidable army, the finest army of modern times, admirably equipped, and that on the eastern frontier they have constructed concrete bomb-shelters, with an area of 40 kilometres in depth. Where was France's eye then, General?' The General replied: 'Of course, one can't see everything.' I said, 'Quite right. You cannot see a straw, but 40 kilometres of concrete bomb-shelters, hang it all, that is visible enough. Then there is one other thing you have not thought of. This magnificent army which the Germans have constituted—after all, it was the Allied officers who gave them the idea of it. It was imposed on Germany by the Treaty. Aren't you a little afraid, then, that our people may say, 'Why have not our soldiers done the same thing?' They were free to do what they liked; why have not they taken the measures they have imposed on Germany and which seem to have turned out so brilliantly?'"

Another passage is worth quoting. Part of it refers to Locarno, part of it to the soldiers again.

"Locarno," said M. Briand in 1928, "is no fantasy. It is a fatality. You may try to develop another policy; you will be brought back to Locarno in the end. You may run after Russia; you will soon see that that is an illusion. Locarno is like the Monte Carlo Casino; you can get sick and tired of it; you can wander off into verdant valleys; but back it brings you all in the end. As for disarmament, the Germans are right, something must be done as a beginning, but the soldiers have learnt nothing, not even how war is made. When I went to Verdun, they explained to me that forts were no longer any use. Now they have embarked on a tremendous programme of building new ones."

### "Kameradschaft"

TO arouse the emotions of a London cinema audience by the expression, in however dramatic a parable, of the international ideal, is not as easy as it ought to be. Film audiences to-day are not easily moved. The old, sure tricks have been played on them so often—their susceptibilities have been so consistently exploited, their minds so consistently hoodwinked—that it is difficult to stir their emotions deeply; and still more difficult, one would have thought, to stir them with a theme calculated to sway more heads than hearts.

Yet "Kameradschaft" (Comradeship), which was shown at the Academy Cinema in Oxford Street last month, and is to be seen in several provincial centres, "gets across" as few ordinary films, for all their catchpenny shock-tactics, can hope to "get across." It tells the story of a disaster which entombs French workers in a mine below the Franco-German border, and of their rescue by German miners from the other side of the frontier. Ancient enmity—or, if not that, the red tape and regulations which were its official expression—should by rights (or wrongs) have denied to the doomed men this succour from across the frontier. But blood is thicker than water, and the narrow compartments of nationalism proved in this emergency not to be blood-tight. At the risk of their own lives, and to the horror of the officials, the Germans crossed the border and saved the French. After the rescue, in a climax which might easily have fallen flat or rung false, but which in fact does neither, the miners, German and French, express in their joyous enthusiasm an unformulated faith in the glimpsed ideals of internationalism. Underground, officials are putting the finishing touches to the re-erected barrier between the mines. So the film ends on a note of quiet irony.

But it is not inspired by, and it will not inspire, irony. As a technical achievement, it comes as near to being good art as anything which this country has yet seen on the screen. Even more satisfactorily than in his war-film, "Westfront 1918," Herr Pabst has contrived to present us with a drama which is also a document: a piece of work which, while it excites and moves us, convinces us too. It is as free from theatricalism as from propaganda. And if it is to be given a chance of affecting audiences throughout England as it has affected audiences in London, the cinema may well pride itself on having supplied education—in the least didactic of forms—on a subject of the first importance. The general public has heard a great deal about international ideals. "Kameradschaft" has the power to make it feel something about them.

R. P. F.

"Kameradschaft" is being shown in the following centres:—From April 3, Brighton; from April 4, Croydon, Cheltenham, Camden Town; from April 11, Sheerness. Other arrangements in the provinces are in progress.

## What Is a Super-State? And Does the French Plan Propose One?

By PROF. ALFRED ZIMMERN

THE French proposals at the Disarmament Conference are being criticized by many people on the ground that they would turn the League into a "Super-State." This is muddled thinking. The French proposals may be good or bad; but they have nothing to do with the question of whether the League is, or should be made into, a Super-State.

What is a Super-State? It is a word which has crept into our political discussions without adequate definition. At first sight it recalls "super-man." This is a term which G. B. S. should really be asked to define; but presumably it means a species that marks a biological advance, in the evolutionary process, on man as we know him, as man marks an advance on the ape. But this is a use of the term "super" which cannot be applied to political institutions, for it is only by analogy (often very misleading) that they can be said to evolve. A Super-State is not something more advanced, or more organic, or more perfect, than a State. If it means anything, it means a State covering a wider range, as an "Empire" is thought of as being larger than a "Kingdom." In fact, it really means a "World-State," or something closely resembling it.

### Centralization or Not?

The League of Nations would thus approximate to a "Super-State" if it changed its constitution and became a state with a government of its own. Such a government (whether it had a Parliament or not) would necessarily have power to tax its citizens directly, and maintain an army for the sake of public order. In other words, the League of Nations, thus transformed, would be committed to a policy of centralisation, such as we have recently abandoned in our relations with our own Dominions and (at least in regard to fiscal policy) with India.

M. Tardieu, however, does not propose to change the constitution of the League of Nations and to turn it into a centralised world-government. At present, the League, like the new British Empire, is an agency of co-operation between independent governments. Under M. Tardieu's scheme, it would remain exactly what it is at present. The only difference would be that the co-operating governments and peoples would have at their disposal *if and when they agreed to use it*, a special armed force to carry through their decisions.

### Can We Co-operate?

At first sight the natural criticism to make of the Tardieu scheme is that it is irrelevant to the real problem. That problem, as we have seen in the events of the last six months, is that the Members of the League find it difficult to co-operate in an emergency affecting one of the Great Powers. The co-operative system does not work as well as it should. This difficulty would not be overcome by having a Commander-in-Chief waiting in the ante-room of the Council when it is deadlocked on policy. The natural British inclination therefore is to impale the French proposal on the horns of a dilemma. *If the Council cannot agree on policy, what is the good of its having a standing army?* And if it can agree, surely the armed forces of its principal members will be amply sufficient to enforce its will, as can be shown by the example of international interventions by the Concert of the Powers in the past?

But dilemmas of this kind are a little too logical to be applied to real life and, in any case, they are dangerous weapons for Anglo-Saxons to use. M. Tardieu would

probably plead two arguments in reply. Firstly that, whereas, under his scheme, the League remains an agency of co-operation through agreement between independent States, he is proposing certain modifications of procedure which will make it a good deal more difficult for them to disagree in an emergency. The introduction into his plan of provisions adapted from the Geneva Protocol is designed to facilitate the identification of the aggressor and so to make agreement, and subsequent action, almost automatic. In that way he hopes to have discovered a half-way house between co-operation and centralization.

### Arms and Psychology

In the second place M. Tardieu would no doubt argue that the very fact of the existence of an armed force at the disposal of a co-operative organization would exercise a psychological effect and cause people to think of it more as though it were a single government. There can be no question that the idea of a League army makes a very strong appeal to the French and indeed, apart from questions of policy, to the Continental mind generally. Continental political theory, based as it is on Roman Law, does not take kindly to co-operative machinery. To Frenchmen, the League in its present form, seems a half-baked, slovenly affair. And it cannot be denied that if the Tardieu project were adopted, in whole or in part, they and many other Continentals would begin to think quite differently about Geneva. This would no doubt be illogical; for the League would be no more a State, with a strong executive of its own, than it is to-day. But Frenchmen are not so logical, nor Englishmen so illogical, as is sometimes supposed.

### The Real Covenant

Whether for this, or for other reasons, the Tardieu plan should be adopted, in whole or in part, is quite another question. My only object has been to avoid its discussion being confused by side-issues. It is too often forgotten that, so far as sanctions are concerned, the Geneva Protocol did not involve any addition to the obligations of the Covenant, as it was understood in 1919. But, of course, to those who regard the League simply as an agency of conciliation and ignore the plain meaning of its central articles, the political side of M. Tardieu's proposals seem novel and alarming. But that does not mean that his project, any more than the Covenant itself, in its true interpretation, involves the setting up of a "Super-State."

### A Discovery.

"About a month ago I happened to see a copy of HEADWAY in Brisbane and was so taken with it and its apparent objects that I immediately made enquiries and became a subscriber, being, I was told, the only subscriber in Queensland. This, in my opinion, should not be, and I know many, myself included, who are very interested in the League of Nations activities but are one way and another unable to grasp fully the real significance of that body.

"Personally, I should like very much to have a move made to make our people more acquainted with these international problems, and I would be very glad if you could let me have any literature at all which would make me conversant with the activities of the League and the means adopted throughout the world to further the work of the League."—G. Flewell-Smith, Bracken Ridge, Queensland, Australia.

## China and the Film Expert Assistance from the League

THERE has been an interesting correspondence in the "Times" recently regarding the detrimental effect of western films in distant parts of the British Empire. That is an evil which does not apply to British possessions only. One country where the question is of peculiar importance is China, with potential audiences of something over 400,000,000, though it may be admitted that a large proportion of these are so far living out of range of any cinema theatre. The situation there was brought last year before the League of Nations Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the International Institute of Cinematography at Rome is taking what steps it can in the matter. A special expert, Baron Alexander Sardi, has been despatched to China by the Rome Institute to discuss with the Nanking Government arrangements, on the one hand for some control of the cinema, and on the other for the promotion of the right kind of film.

### A Lesson in Suffocation

Plenty of information regarding the effects of the wrong kind of film has reached the Institute. This, for example: "In a Chinese town a family was one day found suffocated by gas escape. At first this was thought only to be a tragic accident, but in a few days the same thing happened to several families. The police then held an inquest. Investigation showed that the cases of suffocation were actually murders committed by servants in imitation of what they had seen in a western film."

In reference to this subject a Chinese correspondent writes to HEADWAY as follows:—

"In China, as in most other countries, the whole cinema market is dominated by American films. In the last ten or fifteen years the writer has lived in Peiping, Shanghai, Nanking, and some other centres in China; excepting a few Chinese films, he has seen nothing but American films.

"As a result, probably, of the proximity of the American Pacific coast to China, many new films find their way to China, especially Shanghai, many months before they reach London. The treaty port cinema-going public is composed mostly of foreigners and Chinese with some knowledge of the English language. But among them one may find also a good many Chinese who understand no foreign language at all. Many picture theatres in Shanghai and elsewhere, therefore, provide a running Chinese translation on lantern slides either below or beside the screen. Even with the translation, it is amazing that so many Chinese, having neither contact with nor knowledge of Western life and background, should have been trained, simply by constant attendance, to become what the Americans call 'movie-fans.' To them, a great many leading actors and actresses of Hollywood are just as familiar as either Mei Lang-fang or Chen Yen-chui—the famous Chinese actors.

### Gangster Films and Crime

"Upon that section of the Chinese public which the cinema has reached, it exercises, to a certain extent, a noticeable influence of a definite nature. The college pictures provide material for the Chinese students. Gangster pictures have been blamed for the increase of kidnapping and other crimes in large cities like Shanghai. Ultra-modern love stories have probably given new ideas of sex relationship to young lovers. These are mere observations; they must not be taken

as assertions. There is no basis of statistics which may definitely substantiate them.

"Censorship in China is in the most primitive stage. In the treaty ports, where foreign municipalities control the administration, censorship does not exist, except in name. It is impossible to go into the details of the difficulty in imposing any strict supervision due to the conflict of foreign interests and their main object of promoting their trade in China. In Chinese cities, censorship cannot work, owing to the existence of extraterritoriality. Under these circumstances when pictures are shown which do not receive Chinese approval, there is likely to be an ugly scene, as there was when Harold Lloyd's 'Welcome Danger' was shown in Shanghai. When 'All Quiet On the Western Front' was shown in Shanghai, the French Consul-General insisted upon the deletion of that part where the three French girls became intimately friendly with the German soldiers. After a few nights at the Capitol at Shanghai, 'Street Angel' was burned by Italian sailors.

"The Chinese cinema industry is decidedly embryonic. Chinese pictures have been based upon well-known old Chinese novels. Technically, they are far from the American or British standard; nevertheless, by reason of the popularity of the stories, they have had so far a good reception. They are exhibited in the treaty ports, mostly in second-class theatres where the admission price is lower and the appeal is consequently to a different public."

### Government Initiative

The Chinese Government has now created a Central Commission on Educational and Instructional Films, which is concerning itself in the first instance with the collection and production of original films, mainly of an educational character, and the enlistment of a staff specialised in artistic production. The Commission will then proceed with the construction of an experimental studio and workshop, and the establishment of a large national cinema theatre and studios.

### Emphatic Undergraduates

THE Sino-Japanese dispute has evoked remarkable declarations of emphatic opinion on the part of the undergraduates of Great Britain. In Oxford, Cambridge, Glasgow and Liverpool and other universities crowded meetings representing all political and other societies in the universities have passed strong resolutions, almost all of them demanding definite action on the part of the League. The Oxford meeting was typical. It was held in the Union, and there took part in it the University League of Nations Society, the University Conservative Association, the University Liberal Club and University Labour Club, the University Imperial Club and University Indian Majlis. The resolution carried there was that in view of the acute crisis in the Far East this meeting demands the immediate and vigorous application of the full machinery of the League of Nations. The meeting at Cambridge was similar. The Glasgow meeting, held on February 29, was remarkably crowded, remarkably united and remarkably emphatic. There seems to be a good deal of evidence to support the remark made by Mr. J. C. Smuts, of Oxford, at the recent Albert Hall meeting that youth is straining at the leash and only demanding that maturer age should give it a lead.

## Disarmament

### Why the Conference is Marking Time

THE Disarmament Conference has adjourned for a long Easter Recess and will not reassemble till April 11. The holiday has been deliberately prolonged, partly in order to give time for diplomatic interchanges that may lead to more rapid progress in the end when the Conference re-convenes, and partly because it is felt, as it always has been, that two or three of the most important delegations will find it difficult to take definite decisions until the elections pending in their countries are over.

The second and final ballot in the Presidential Election in Germany takes place on April 10, and the Prussian and other State Elections in the same country a fortnight later. About a fortnight later again (the date is not fixed at the time of writing) will come the French General Election. It will, therefore, be well into May before a stable political situation can be expected in France or Germany. That does not mean that the Disarmament discussions must stand still till then. There is plenty of preparatory and provisional work to be done. But conclusions on the more important questions are not likely to be definite till the election results are known. For that reason a certain loss of time at this stage is inevitable.

#### The First Phase Ends

The first phase of the Conference ended on February 24, when the general discussion was closed. Some fifty speakers had taken part in it, and Mr. Henderson, summing up the end, felt justified in expressing himself optimistically on the general trend of the discussion. Most of the Great Powers had made their proposals in the first fortnight of the Conference's existence, but Germany did not produce hers till just before the end. Alone of all the States represented at Geneva she rejects the Draft Convention as a basis of discussion, because it does not remove the inequality between States. That, no doubt, does not mean that she will refuse to join in discussing it, when, in accordance with the desires of the majority, it is hammered out in committee. Her definite proposals include the abolition of conscription, the abolition of heavy artillery except in fortresses, the abolition of air armaments and tanks, the abolition of all warships over 10,000 tons and of all naval guns over 11 inches, the abolition of submarines and aircraft carriers, prohibition of gas and bacterial warfare and abolition of traffic in arms. These proposals, it will be observed, are almost identical with those put forward earlier by Signor Grandi on behalf of the Italian delegation. It is, therefore, more probable than ever that the main endeavour of the Conference will be to secure agreement on the abolition of some or all of the weapons recognised as essentially offensive in character.

#### Getting Organised

At the end of the general discussion the Conference devoted itself for a few days to getting its own machinery in order. There was a little difference of opinion as to what committees should be constituted, but that was soon settled, and there now exist

- (1) the General Committee of the Conference;
- (2) the Political Committee;
- (3) the Military Committee;
- (4) the Naval Committee;
- (5) the Air Committee; and
- (6) the Committee on Budgetary Limitation.

The Political Committee was formed on the strong insistence of the French, who are anxious, no doubt, that it shall discuss the proposals in their memorandum regarding the interpretation of the Covenant and the guarantees to be given of prompt and effective League action in time of crisis.

Not much committee work was got through before the Easter adjournment, and M. Tardieu having made some complaint at the slowness of movement, it was agreed that things should be speeded up as far as possible after the resumption on April 11. One decision taken was that the Russian proposals for total disarmament should not, as Russia desired, form the basis of discussion. Whatever may be said theoretically for the Russian plan, it is quite certain that the majority of the States represented at Geneva are not ready to accept it and it would, therefore, be waste of time to make it the starting point.

#### Britain's Strange Proposal

One incident in which Great Britain did not figure very favourably took place in the Naval sub-committee, when Admiral Pound proposed the omission from the Draft Convention of a clause laying it down that a State might not in wartime seize for its own use vessels which might be building in shipyards on its territory. Since the clause the British Admiral proposed to omit had been taken bodily from the Washington Naval Treaty of 1922, and was accepted then by the British delegation without demur, there was general astonishment, particularly on the part of the other signatories of the Washington Treaty, at the new British proposal. The American, French, Italian and Japanese delegates all protested against it, whereupon Admiral Pound promptly dropped it. The effect of omitting the clause would have been to allow a Naval Power suddenly to increase its strength in time of war, and the Disarmament Conference was summoned to provide not for the increase but the decrease of the armed strength of the nations. It was left to Senator Swanson (U.S.A.) to point out that the British argument that a State must help itself by any means in war time would justify the use of poison-gas or anything else.

#### The Need For Acceleration

The Air Committee was expected to discuss at once the proposal put forward both by France and Italy for the abolition of civil aviation, but it took the view that it was useless to do that till the General Committee had given a decision for or against the principle involved. The General Committee itself did not share that view and time was wasted by a certain amount of rather futile shuttlecock work between the two. Altogether the Committees had little in the way of results to show when the Conference adjourned on the 19th of last month. Unless there is considerable acceleration when they resume, the Conference seems certain to drag on through the summer. That will lay an increased strain on the Ministers who have to go out from time to time as delegates, but so far as the British Cabinet is concerned that duty has not sat very heavy on them. Lord Hailsham, the Secretary for War, has as yet not been at Geneva at all, and the First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir Bolton Eyres-Monsell, has made only a flying visit. Lord Londonderry was in sole charge in the later stages. The Prime Minister still hopes to visit the Conference and will naturally choose a time when some general discussion of importance is in progress.



### Failure or Success?

HAS the League succeeded over Japan and China, or has it failed? Has it succeeded in its recognised duty of first preventing war, or failing that, of stopping war, of condemning a nation guilty of aggression and affording protection and assistance to a State unjustly attacked? It is not a question of the answer we should like to give to those queries, but of the answer we have got to give. The facts are there, and the first thing to do is to acknowledge them, the second to form judgments about them. On September 18th of last year the Japanese seized the Chinese city of Mukden. On September 21st the League Council met to consider the situation. It called on the Japanese to stop their advance and withdraw their troops and was given to understand that would be done. It remained in session till December 10th and began sitting again on January 25th. By the end of February, or a few days later, Japanese troops had spread over the whole of the three vast provinces that constitute Manchuria, overthrown the existing Chinese authority everywhere, "dis-annexed" the provinces from China and assisted in setting up an independent revolutionary government depending for its existence on Japanese support.

On January 28th the Japanese began a concerted invasion of Chinese territory outside Shanghai, with heavy batteries, naval guns, aeroplanes and tanks. The matter was brought before the Council on January 29th. The Council sat continuously till the question was passed to a Special Assembly of the League on March 3rd. By that time some 10,000 Chinese had been killed, many times that number wounded, including large numbers of civilians, the suburb of Chapei, with a population of 600,000, completely destroyed, together with several adjacent villages. It is in the light of these facts that we have to decide whether the League has succeeded or failed. If we think it has succeeded, should we be satisfied to see it achieve another success like the present a year hence?

The truth, of course, is that the League has partly succeeded and partly failed. It has succeeded in preventing the trouble in China from spreading. No Western Power has attempted, as Western Powers so often have in the past, to get advantages for itself out of China's difficulties. It has succeeded, by the publicity of its methods (though they have not always been public enough) in concentrating the attention, and the moral indignation, of the world on what has been happening in Manchuria and around Shanghai. It has succeeded in establishing invaluable co-operation with the United States, though the credit for that seems to belong more to Washington than to Geneva. It may or may not have succeeded in stopping Japan from pursuing a large-scale invasion of China. No one can pronounce on that who has not had access to

the Japanese Cabinet's or the Japanese General Staff's secret plans. The Japanese themselves insist that they never meant to go further than they have gone.

For that reason it is difficult to gauge quite accurately the value of the Assembly's achievements. The Assembly undoubtedly did very useful work. For a body comprising 45 States to reach complete unanimity on a resolution which to all intents and purposes declared Japan to be an aggressor and stipulated for a cessation of fighting and withdrawal of troops, was a notable feat, but it has to be recognised that for one reason or another the fighting had practically stopped before the resolution was adopted. It is quite fair to argue that knowledge that the Assembly was meeting had a good deal to do with that, but the Japanese would probably not admit it and it obviously cannot be proved. And the hard fact remains that whereas Mr. J. H. Thomas declared, amid general approval, in the Council on February 2nd that the British Government considered it "impossible that the present situation should continue," it not only continued, but got steadily worse.

If it is agreed, and it is difficult to reach any other conclusion, that the League has partly succeeded and partly failed, we come to the really vital question—vital because while the past is past this reaches forward to a limitless future—whether the probability of Great Powers defying the League has been increased or decreased by the events of the past six months, and whether (for this is part of the same thing) in this case, if Japan had pursued her attack, a point would ever have been reached at which the League would have taken definite action against her. The first question is by no means easy to answer, for it must not be imagined for a moment that Japan has come out of the affair with flying colours. She has come out, on the contrary, with her reputation gravely tarnished, her finances impaired and her material interests seriously damaged. There has been very little in the affair to tempt her to try the same thing a second time.

On the other hand, a good deal has been said in this country and elsewhere that might encourage her if fresh temptation fell in her way. Language has been freely used by persons whom Japan might reasonably suppose to carry some weight, that could only mean that no matter what Japan might have chosen to do in China this country would under no circumstances have lifted a finger to stop her beyond joining in the framing and adoption of resolutions at Geneva. That is tantamount to saying that any nation can violate the League Covenant with impunity. If that were so every nation would promptly arm itself to the utmost limit of its financial powers, China (as her delegate suggested at Geneva) most of all.

That, of course, is not the policy of the British Government. If it were the only honest course would be to come out of the League altogether. No one wants to lay emphasis on sanctions in any form. No one but would deplore the occasion for invoking them at any time. But no one who has accepted the Covenant as it stands can doubt that we are pledged to "the discharge by common action of international obligations" in certain eventualities, and that a League State that insists on sitting still and watching the Covenant being violated is guilty of a violation of the Covenant itself. The agreement of the States of the world to keep the peace is valueless if any State may break the peace with impunity.

## An International Force The League as Policeman of the World

By DAVID DAVIES

IT is difficult within the compass of a short article to deal with the structure, organisation and composition of an International Police Force. The majority of us are not experts or technicians. What we have to decide is whether we want an International Court and policeman. Do we believe that the authority and prestige of the League would be increased, that the reign of law would be established, that the risks of mutual annihilation would be minimised, that disarmament on a permanent basis would be more rapidly achieved, if an International Police Force was constituted? In short, we as laymen should base our opinions upon general principles rather than upon technical considerations. Clearly the latter belong to the sphere of the experts. Can they produce a practical scheme? We are assured that they can. If so, are we prepared to join our neighbours in establishing an International Force under the control of the League?

### The Expert's Role

When a surgeon suggests an operation, he gives the patient all the information regarding his case. But it is the patient who decides whether or not he will undergo the operation. Once this decision is taken, it is the surgeon who decides how, where and when he will operate, what instruments he will use, and all the other technical details. Similarly, should the people of this country decide that an International Force is essential to their security, they would entrust their political leaders, assisted by military, naval and air experts, with the task of submitting a practical scheme.

Lest, however, it may be said that such a scheme is wholly impracticable, perhaps a layman may be allowed to suggest its outlines, if only to serve as a basis for discussion.

An International Police Force may be constituted in one of three ways:—

(a) The formation by each nation of military, naval and air quotas, which they will control and maintain for service as integral parts of an International Force. This would involve the creation of a general staff at the Headquarters of the League to co-ordinate the movements and operations of the quotas when they have been mobilised.

(b) The formation of an International army, navy and air force under the direct control of the League. This would practically involve the abolition of all national forces and armaments.

(c) The formation of a composite force consisting of (a) a centralised and mechanised contingent under the direct control of the League equipped with all the most modern and destructive weapons, and (b) national quotas controlled and maintained by the national Governments armed on a pre-war footing with rifles, machine-guns, field artillery, etc. The former might be called the International Police, whilst the latter might be known as the National Police.

Lack of space precludes me from discussing the advantages and disadvantages of these three plans. Let us assume, however, that the third offers greater possibilities than the others. It is based on the principle of differentiation of weapons. The mechanical apparatus of modern war—submarines, war-planes, tanks, poison gas, the newer types of war vessels and heavy artillery—would be handed over to the custody of the League.

The personnel of this centralised force would be

relatively small in numbers. It would be composed of highly trained technicians and experts—airmen, chemists, engineers and sailors.

Where is this Force to be located? It is proposed that there should be a Headquarters Base, Continental and Unit Bases, to accommodate the naval, air, tank, artillery and poison gas sections. Where are these Bases to be located? Four categories of territories are suggested:—

(i) **Mandated Areas**, e.g., Palestine, Syria, Nauru, the Samoan Islands, etc.

These place are at present under the general supervision of the League.

(ii) **Demilitarised Zones**, e.g., Danzig, the Rhine and Maritza Zones, the Dardanelles, etc.

(iii) **Territories leased from smaller countries**, e.g., Albania, Luxemburg, Haiti, Honduras, Latvia, etc.

(iv) **Strategic points**, e.g., Constantinople, Suez, Panama, Djibouti, Gibraltar, etc.; to be leased or purchased by the League from their present owners.

It is clear that at the outset the location of these Bases would depend upon the geographical positions of the States Members who are prepared to join in constituting the force. The main preoccupations of the latter will be to co-operate in protecting themselves against outside aggression, and to enforce, if need be, the decisions of the Permanent Court and Arbitration Tribunal. Consequently the strategical distribution of the centralised force, or International Police, will be governed by the number and geographical positions of the co-operating States. Until we know how many States Members are prepared to pool their military, naval and air forces under the control of the League it is impossible to suggest where the Bases of the International Force should be located. Such a force would possess extreme mobility. Consequently, if the scheme was supported by a number of the Great Powers, there would be no difficulty in finding suitable bases.

### The Problem of the Quotas

What is the strength of the International Force to be? We have seen that it is a composite force, made up of national quotas, and the centralised contingent, armed with the super-weapons, under the direct control of the League. The strength of the quotas will be governed by the requirements of the League, and not by what each State considers to be its own needs for purposes of self-defence. Henceforth the defence of each will be merged in the defence of all. When the total requirements of the League have been determined, this figure can be rationed out amongst the States Members. The basis of distribution might be population, or the scale on which the financial contributions to the League are now assessed.

The recruitment of the quotas, or National Police, to the limit assigned by the League will be undertaken by the national Governments. The enrolment of the International Police will be entrusted to the League. It might distribute its requirements amongst the co-operating States on the basis of the League's financial scale, each Government being asked to furnish its quota of recruits. On the other hand,

direct recruitment by the League Headquarters Staff might be considered preferable.

Will recruits of various nationalities be forthcoming? Will they be willing to serve together? This depends upon the remuneration and conditions of service. If these are sufficiently attractive, there is no reason to suppose that there will be any shortage of recruits. Past history, confirmed by the experience of the Great War, proves that men are not necessarily deterred by differences of race, language and religion from fighting shoulder to shoulder in defence of a common cause. The Foreign Legion of the French Army, despite its rigorous discipline, scant pay and continuous hardship, never lacks for recruits.

### The Man in Command

Who is to command the International Force? Assuming that the International Police consist of military (artillery and tanks), naval, chemical and air sections, four Constables will be required, one for the command of each section. In addition, there will be the High Constable, in command of all the land forces, including the national quotas, when these have been mobilised at the request of the League. Consequently, these five commands can be distributed in the first instance amongst the Great Powers, which might hold them in rotation. Subsequently the choice of officers would be restricted to those whose technical experience had been gained in the International Police. Promotion would then be governed by merit and seniority. The High Commands would be open to the most efficient officers, whatever nationality they belonged to. In these circumstances, the appointments could be entrusted to the Executive of the International Authority.

Who is to control the movements and activities of the International Force? The Executive of the International Authority; that is to say, the Council of the League. This may involve the reconstitution of the existing Council, and the abandonment of the rule of the unanimous vote.

The Articles of Association incorporated in an amended Covenant would prescribe the duties of the Council. Its main function would be to compel the appearance of the aggressor before the Tribunal, and to enforce its decisions. It would not be its business to adjudicate upon the matters in dispute. The administration of each section of the International Police might be entrusted to boards of experts under the supervision of the Council.

How is the force to be maintained and financed? By contributions from all the States Members calculated on the basis of the agreed scale. As the existing competitive system of armaments is gradually eliminated, the annual contributions will tend to diminish. No State will be anxious to pay more than is absolutely necessary towards the maintenance of the force.

### Can We Co-operate?

The experience of the War compelled the organisation of the financial, economic and military resources of the Allies. It culminated in the appointment of Marshal Foch as Generalissimo of their forces. These results demonstrate what can be achieved in the stress of war. The lessons in co-operation derived during these tragic years has still to be applied to the organisation of peace. Unless we are prepared in advance before the inevitable crisis is upon us, we shall reap the reward of our folly, and, by a process of mutual annihilation, destroy what is left of our civilisation. We have still to learn the lesson that "the price we pay for civilisation is the surrender of the right of each to be his own master."



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## A Winter in India

WHEN they hear the phrase, most people will think enviously of tropical warmth and exotic flowers and fruit, of marble tombs and red sandstone fortresses, of elephants and tigers. But such is not always the case!

The writer of this article is living at the moment 7,000 feet up in Himalayas, in the half-deserted summer capital of India, Simla. Marble and tigers may be scarce, but there are other attractions. The chief of these is the extraordinary beauty of the great hills as they lie spread out, range upon range, valley beyond valley, russet and purple and blue, unbelievably blue, in the diamond-clear air, up to the magnificence of the great snow range that guards the Tibetan frontier.

The cold is extreme at such an altitude, though the snow only lies for two months, but the sunshine would put to shame that of any vaunted Swiss winter resort, and narcissi and roses manage to bloom undismayed in sheltered spots.

The small community of English people find plenty of amusement. They skate enthusiastically on a rink contrived from six flooded tennis-courts, and play tennis, hockey, squash-racquets and badminton energetically to keep warm. They climb the neighbouring hills to shoot pheasants—of which there are several splendid varieties—and partridge, occasionally bagging a panther or a tiny barking-deer. And the man who can hit a hill-pheasant as it glides downhill at tremendous speed through the trees towards the gun is no mean shot.

Simla is surrounded by small independent States whose people make a scanty living from the forests, from cultivating their narrow terraced fields on slopes and valleys, and from breeding their tiny black cattle. The hill Chiefs are proud of their Rajput blood, and struggle to keep up a show of dignity on small revenues. They live in picturesque palaces that suggest China in their wide eaves and peaked roofs, and worship at mysterious little lonely temples perched on the crests of the hills and occupied by roughly but powerfully carved godlings, mostly of malignant disposition.

At this season the "outland folk" from the higher hills and from Ladakh, Baltistan and Tibet come down to Simla to escape the rigours of winter in their own remote lands, and to see how that curious animal, the Sahib, conducts his affairs, and to do their yearly trading. They exchange turquoise and borax, curiously carved amulets and rosaries, wooden bowls lined with silver-leaf, rugs and porcelain from China, for brass eating-vessels, food, grain, and clothing. It is a common thing to see a Lama in dingy red felt robes and hat bargaining, with a wide Mongolian smile on his flat face, with some astute Hindu shopkeeper. Beyond him may cluster a bevy of women from the border States, bundled in thick woollen home-spun shawls, with their hair in a multitude of unclean plaits, chattering with excitement before the shop-windows, and begging shamelessly, despite their ruddy cheeks and plump proportions.

In the day-time most of the population of Simla seeks the sunshine and lives out of doors, but after the sun has dropped down below the violet distances of the plains the cold becomes intense. The stars twinkle with a frosty brightness, and a cold wind may whisper off the snows. But in the cheerful chalet-like bungalows, which are perched haphazard among the pine and fir trees, the Sahibs are secure before their large fires of logs and fir cones, and play their game of bridge as cosily as if in London.

L. S.

## The Public's Voice

THE task of filling the Albert Hall is a stiff business for anyone who attempts it, and that vast building when it is not full can look very empty indeed. It was, therefore, a venture of faith to book the Hall for a League of Nations Union meeting on the Far Eastern situation, and the fact that the arrangements were made while the crisis was at its height, but that the tension had considerably slackened by the date of the meeting, March 7, was more than enough to account for the fact that while the main body of the Hall was well packed the crowds did not reach to the top galleries. Under all the circumstances it was a remarkable demonstration, and the audience made its own feelings manifest by applauding loudly those speakers, such as Sir Frederick Whyte and Sir Arthur Salter, who called for a strong lead by the British delegates at Geneva and deplored the fact that certain truths which badly needed uttering had been uttered first by the American Government and not the British.

Lord Grey, who spoke at length from the chair, and laid some emphasis on the need for going slowly, was listened to in a silence which seemed to signify rather respect than assent. He took the view that owing to the special difficulties of the situation this was not a fair test case for the League; he asked what more the League could have done under the circumstances than it had done, and, a little disregarding the firm statement made by the American State Department, appeared to assume that the co-operation of the United States could not be hoped for in any active measures the League might contemplate. He condemned Japan very definitely for her methods, and insisted repeatedly that if she had taken her grievances to the League at the outset she might have got them all remedied without the firing of a shot.

Sir Frederick Whyte, speaking from his personal knowledge of China and of Shanghai in particular, urged as a practical measure that the neutral troops on the spot should immediately occupy a line between the two opposing forces and so put an end to the fighting, and Sir Arthur Salter uttered a grave warning of the critical position in which the collective system on which the world based its hopes was being placed by the conflict in the East and the failure of the League to achieve a settlement.

Of all the speakers in the evening Lord Cecil quite clearly carried most conviction. He did not hesitate to designate Japan as the instigator and aggressor, nor to describe the conflict in progress as war in all its essentials. It was the business of the League, faced with such a situation, to get the fighting stopped somehow, and he refused to believe that the Assembly, representing some fifty nations, was not able to insist on that if it chose to do so. If, as he was convinced, those fifty nations had power to stop the fighting and did not exercise it they made themselves the accomplices of the aggressor. One other requirement emphasised by Lord Cecil has since been fulfilled in the resolution the League Assembly adopted on March 11—namely, a reaffirmation of the doctrine laid down by Mr. Stimson that no country should be allowed to profit permanently by its own wrongdoing.

As has been said, the actual fighting at Shanghai had stopped by the time the Albert Hall meeting was held, and the League Assembly was at that moment in process of drafting the resolution it subsequently adopted. It was, therefore, a little late in the day for the meeting to fulfil its main object, to put public opinion behind the British delegation at a critical moment. It did, however, provide a highly valuable exposition of League principles from such authorities as Lord Cecil and Sir Arthur Salter.

## More Fictions

SPACE in HEADWAY is valuable, and not much of it can be devoted to checking up month by month the various mis-statements of Lord Beaverbrook's papers regarding the League of Nations. For the April instalment the following must suffice. Most of the various mis-statements or misleading inferences to be dealt with this time occur in a front-page article in the "Sunday Express" of February 21.

1. The main heading reads:—

BRITAIN BUYING GOLD TO PAY THE LEAGUE.

£65,000 EXTRA MUST BE FOUND THIS YEAR.

The facts are that subscriptions to the League are payable in Swiss francs and that sterling has depreciated, not through any act of the League, but through an act of the British Government, since the last League subscriptions fell due. Hence the increase (as the "Sunday Express" itself admits).

2. Below is what the Empire has paid—£5,000,000. Of that sum £2,000,000 was sent directly by the Governments of the Empire, another £3,000,000 has been spent in propaganda by the League of Nations Union and related bodies all over the Empire." The £2,000,000 apparently consists of the subscriptions of the seven self-governing members of the British Commonwealth over a period of twelve years. If so, for a population of 348,000,000 that can hardly be considered excessive. The statement regarding the £3,000,000 spent in propaganda by the League of Nations Union and related bodies all over the Empire is simply fantastic nonsense. Not a word to justify such a figure is to be found in the article—because it cannot be.

3. According to the "Sunday Express" "the last Socialist Government committed the nation to an annual liability of £792,684 a year for thirty years to finance any wars that may break out among members of the League." A ridiculous statement. The Convention on Financial Assistance was warmly approved by Sir Austen Chamberlain at Geneva before a Labour Government came into power at all. Its object is to make a temporary loan to a State unjustly attacked. The sum involved is about half what the "Sunday Express" states, and, in any case, there is no question of Government loans, but simply of Government guarantees of loans placed on the market in the ordinary way.

4. Italy and France are stated to be in default with their League subscriptions. Both have, in fact, paid fully to date.

5. China is said to owe more than £400,000 to the League. Her debt is, in fact, less than that, and it has been funded, and it is being paid by instalments—just as the British debt to the United States is.

One more comment only. According to the "Daily Express" of March 16—

"That definitely anti-British institution, the League of Nations, has thought out a new way of injuring our interests and limiting our power.

"A clause has been adopted by the Naval Committee of the Disarmament Conference forbidding a belligerent to make use of any vessels of war that might be building in its yards for another Power."

The "Express" has got into waters far too deep for it here. The actual fact is that the clause in question, which was put into the Draft Convention with the full concurrence of the British Government of the day, was taken word for word from the Washington Convention of 1922, which was signed by "those definitely anti-British" statesmen, Lord Balfour, Lord Lee of Fareham and Sir Auckland Geddes. But the "Express," of course, knows nothing of this.

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## Headquarters at Work

ON March 10 Sir Austen Chamberlain took his seat as a member of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union. Though many distinguished public men and women, including former Ministers, have been members of this body during the last thirteen years, this is the first time that an ex-Foreign Secretary has become an active member of it. Some indication of the scope of the Committee's work may, therefore, be not without interest.

On the administrative side the Executive directs the central organisation of the Union, recognises branches and, with the help of a Finance Committee, controls the Union's money affairs. There are many advisory committees on all the important political, economic, social and educational aspects of the problems with which the Union has to deal in its relations with other bodies of people.

During the last few weeks a good deal of the Committee's attention was naturally enough devoted to the crisis in the Far East, and in particular to preparations for the special Council meeting on February 27, and a mass meeting in the Albert Hall on March 7, which are recorded elsewhere in these pages. The policy put before the General Council was the outcome of vigorous discussion between the advocates of strong League action against Japan and those who doubted the wisdom of such a policy. That is also true of the discussion which took place on March 10 upon the proposal to send a telegram to Sir John Simon. The agreement reached in both cases was all the more valuable for being the fruit of genuine debate. In its telegram the Committee strongly supported the following point in the draft resolution about to be brought before the special Assembly of the League:

"That it is incumbent upon members of the League not to recognise any situation, treaty or agreement contrary to Articles 10 and 12 of the Covenant and Pact of Paris."

It may be more than a coincidence that the Assembly's resolution gave such prominence to this point, just as the Union's previous resolution in favour of calling a special Assembly, telegraphed to Geneva and published in the "Journal de Genève" on February 11, was followed by the convening of that body.

Under several heads the Committee has considered the course of the Disarmament Conference. After a statement by Lord Cecil on February 25 it reiterated its adherence to the policy of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, and urged careful consideration of the proposals for the international organisation of civil aviation, and the creation of an international air force, on condition that they formed part of a serious scheme of disarmament. It was decided to set up an expert committee to consider the French proposals, and General Groves, Major Lefebure, Captain Liddell Hart and Dr. Merton of the Air League of the British Empire, are among those who have already accepted invitations to join it. Another Committee is to be formed to advise upon the best way of securing general ratification of the Traffic in Arms Convention, and what steps, if any, the Union should advocate regarding the private manufacture of arms in connection with the Disarmament Conference.

The Conference on Disarmament and Unemployment presided over by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Sankey, occupied the days March 1 to 3, and provided much food for practical study. On the following day, March 4,

Major Hills led a deputation of the Union to Sir Henry Betterton, Minister of Labour, and Mr. Foot, Secretary of Mines, in order to reiterate the Union's case for ratifying the Washington Hours Convention. The deputation also asked the Minister of Labour himself to attend the International Labour Conference, and urged that every endeavour be made to bring about agreement concerning hours of labour in coal mines. The deputation regarded their conversation with the Ministers as being full of hope for the future.

A number of committees of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies are to meet at Brussels from March 21 to 23. Hence the Executive has framed instructions for the British delegation to these meetings. They include a proposal that the "vindication of the authority of the Covenant of the League" should be the chief object of the resolutions passed at the Federation's Plenary Congress this year.

Misstatements of fact and false allegations concerning the League and the Union by the "Express" newspapers have received continual attention from the Union's staff during the last few weeks, and owing to the generosity of a member of the Union, a new scheme of broadsheets to counteract the campaign of this type of paper will probably be initiated shortly. Readers of HEADWAY interested in this scheme are asked to communicate with the Union's headquarters.

WATCHMAN.

## A Cheaper Army

THE Estimates for the Army, Navy and Air Force for 1932, which have been introduced in the past month, show an important reduction of over £5,000,000 on the figures for 1931. It was frankly conceded by the Ministers concerned that the primary motive behind the reduction was the urgent need for national economy, not the need for disarmament.

Nevertheless, for whatever reason, there is a reduction, and it is well to take note of it. In the case of the Navy there is a saving of £1,128,700, and that in spite of an automatic increase in certain expenditures, as, for example, on new construction authorised in previous years. But for these automatic increases something like £4,500,000 would have been saved on the Naval Estimates, the economies effected including a cut in pay and wages, curtailment of cruises and manoeuvres, and reduction of personnel.

In the case of the Army the saving is no less than £3,500,000, effected through suspending territorial and supplementary reserve camps for this year, cutting down field training of the regular army, postponement of replacement and improvement of barracks and huts, etc.

The Air Estimates have been reduced by £700,000, partly through saving on expenditure on works and buildings, cancellation of the projected 33-ton flying-boat, and the decision to break up the airship R100.

The total Estimates for 1932, consequently, amount to £104,364,300 as against £109,635,000 for 1931. The total decrease, therefore, is just over £5,000,000, and it is interesting to observe that this synchronises with an increase of almost the same amount in the French Estimates for the three services. Not too much, however, should be made of that, as it is always dangerous to compare figures for different countries where a whole variety of factors, notably cost of living and cost of materials, may differ widely.

## Arms and the Dole

THE three days' Conference on the relationship between Disarmament and Unemployment, which was organised by the League of Nations Union and held at the London School of Economics early in March, produced one of the most successful discussions on industrial subjects the Union has ever organised.

There was a good attendance of delegates from industrial organisations both of employers and employed from all over the country and added interest was given to the proceedings by the presence of Lord Sankey, the Lord Chancellor, as Chairman of the complete Conference. At the two sessions at which Lord Sankey was unable to be present the Chair was taken respectively by Mr. Clynes, lately Home Secretary, and by Captain Green, the Chairman of the Industrial Advisory Committee.

It was evident from the course of the proceedings that the question of the increased unemployment in which any measure of disarmament must result is a burning question, and valuable suggestions were made as to the measures which should be taken in advance to minimise the hardship entailed.

It was pointed out by different speakers that the Armaments Industry was inextricably intertwined with civil industry, especially on its engineering and chemical side, and that, therefore, the transference of employment from war to peace manufacture need not be violent nor obtrusive in so far as this section of the problem is concerned.

### The Displaced Worker

Besides this possibility of transfer, there are other measures of dealing with the displaced worker such as pensioning the older men, say at the age of 60, intensifying the educational work which is already carried on, especially in the Army and the Air Force, for fitting soldiers and airmen for civil occupations at the termination of their periods of service and resettling them in civil employment. In the case of the last possibility, the machinery already provided by the appropriate department of the Ministry of Labour could be speeded up, and some of the money, saved as a result of the reduction of armament expenditure, could be used to give grants to tide these displaced men over the interval in which they are proceeding from one occupation to another.

Some speakers who took part in the discussion stressed the displacement that has already taken place in certain industries, notably building and coal mining, and inquired why special means should be devised for meeting the unemployment arising out of Disarmament when, in the case of these other industries, the existing Unemployment Insurance Scheme had been regarded as sufficient. To this it was pointed out that the fact that the Government had failed to plan in advance for the unemployment referred to was one of the factors contributing to the bankruptcy of the whole Unemployment Insurance fund and that, in any case, that was no reason why steps should not be taken for tackling the unemployment arising in future on reasonable lines.

It was notable that speaker after speaker emphasised the need for planning.

Enough has been said to indicate the nature of the problem with which the Conference was concerned. It is expected that a report of the speeches made will be issued in the near future by the Union at the price of 2s. 6d., and readers of HEADWAY are urged to send their orders for it immediately so as to read for themselves what was said. We have no space here to refer to individual contributions to the discussion. The speakers were experts who spoke with authority, and the discussion was worthy of them.

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## Books Worth Reading

**The Dragon's Teeth**, by Major-General J. F. C. Fuller. (Constable, 10s.)

A curious, suggestive, unsatisfying book. General Fuller is a distinguished soldier who thinks a good deal more than some soldiers do. He discusses, of course, war and peace, but in the broadest sense, including in his range politics, economics, industry, sociology, and the whole of history from the days of Alexander to 1931. He sees Europe ripening for another war owing to the injustices created by the Treaty of Versailles and the refusal of France and her allies to have them rectified. But he sees Europe, too, as hopelessly self-centred, concentrated on her own troubles while far greater perils are brewing in Asia. He sees the League of Nations utterly impotent so far as Asiatic affairs are concerned (though it has not been as bad as that even over Manchuria and Shanghai). And in the end he sees war gradually burning itself out because of the mechanised, soulless brutality that must be its main characteristic when all glamour and all opportunity for personal heroism has gone out of it, as it almost has already. General Fuller makes many references to the League of Nations, which he views with academic approval, but with no excessive respect. His hope is that the League will gradually evolve on the economic side till it can control the causes which, if uncontrolled, will plunge the world into war again. Not the least satisfactory feature of his book is his recognition of the part economic factors have played and threaten to play still in the creation of war.

### WHAT EUROPE MIGHT BE

**The Future of Europe**, by H. Wilson Harris. (Sidgwick & Jackson, 3s. 6d.)

Mr. Wilson Harris quite frankly runs away from his subject, but such discretion has by no means prevented him from writing an interesting and thought-provoking book. He writes rather of Europe as it might be than of Europe as it will be. This is his picture of Europe in 1940 if that unhappy Continent were inhabited "by rational nations acting rationally":—

"A Europe whose constituent States settle all their disputes by peaceful procedure and not by arms; a Europe where frontiers exist to distinguish, not to divide; where minorities no longer distrust or are distrusted, because they freely accept their political lot in return for freedom to order their cultural and religious concerns as they will; a Europe where tariff barriers are lowered by mutual agreements, and reduced in number through the creation of regional customs unions; a Europe in which, conceivably, force shall have been internationalised and national forces almost eliminated. . . ."

Since, alas! nobody can yet pretend that the motive force behind the policy of nations is reason, we dare not hope, despite the development of international trusts, of broadcasting, of aviation and of the League of Nations itself, that frontiers will so quickly lose their dangerous significance.

The greater part of "The Future of Europe" is devoted to a study of the Europe of to-day, or rather, of at least three of the existing Europes. There is the Europe as divided up by political frontiers—a Continent which may represent fairly accurately the idea of the self-determination of peoples; Mr. Wilson Harris would only make a few modifications in the Polish "Corridor," the Brenner frontier, and so on. There is the Europe divided by different political ideals—democracy, or the parliamentarism which passes for democracy in many countries, on the one hand, and

dictatorship on the other; the author is quite definite in declaring that "democracy, with all its defects, will survive." There is the Europe divided into natural economic units, or rather, the Europe which would be so divided were political influences less strong.

This book should be widely read in our own country, since it brings us up against the all-important problem as to how much or how little we in Great Britain are to look upon ourselves as Europeans. And Mr. Wilson Harris will not take offence if I suggest that the most interesting part of it is that devoted to an analysis of M. Francis Delaisi's "Les Deux Europes," for if it be true that industrialised Western Europe must now find markets by supplying capital for the development of agricultural Eastern Europe, then it is certain that our interest in developments across the Channel must grow, however difficult it may become to reconcile it with our interest in the development of the Dominions.

VERNON BARTLETT.

### CHANGING THE STATUS QUO

**International Change and International Peace**, by Sir John Fischer Williams. (Oxford University Press, 3s. 6d.)

No problem the League of Nations has to face is more important than to discover how to get political changes, particularly changes of frontier, effected peacefully, and no better authority could be found to discuss that question than Sir John Fischer Williams. Unfortunately, but no doubt inevitably, the lectures which make up his little book expose the difficulties rather than solve them. Sir John is perfectly right, of course, in pointing out that a Court of Law such as that at The Hague is of no service for this purpose, for a Court can only decide what a nation's existing rights, in the matter of territory, for example, are, and is out of the picture altogether when it is a question of claiming new rights, i.e., to some other piece of territory. It is worth while to be reminded that there are various ways of effecting peaceful change, e.g., by the purchase or exchange of territory, or even by the free gift of it. But that all applies to cases where both parties agree willingly to the change. What the League is faced with is the position that arises when (as, for instance, in the case of the Polish Corridor) one nation claims territory belonging to another which declines to give it up. It cannot be pretended that the League has moved an inch towards a solution of that difficult problem.

### THE GENERAL MASS

**Nations and the Economic Crisis**, by D. Graham Hutton. (Sidgwick & Jackson, 3s. 6d.)

Economic crises tend to develop so quickly that to write a book about them is a risky business. By the time the proofs come back from the printer the crisis may have turned into something different from what it was when the copy was first sent. But every crisis springs out of past events, and without knowledge of past events it cannot be understood. It is those past events which Mr. Hutton not only records, but interprets, very succinctly and for the most part very clearly. His chapter on the over-production of commodities like cotton and copper and wheat, and the efforts made to regulate it, may be particularly commended. For the average reader despairingly endeavouring to catch up with situations that evolve too fast for him Mr. Hutton is an admirable guide, giving just the broad introductory survey the average reader needs.

## Readers' Views

### MORAL COURAGE

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Mrs. Zimmern and Major Anthony Buxton have both hit the nail on the head when they write of the need for moral courage. It is needed for the League, the League of Nations Union, the Governments and individuals. It is largely due to lack of moral courage that the League has not done more and that the League of Nations Union has not got more members. Some people have not enough moral courage to join the League of Nations Union because they are afraid to be associated with (what they think) a lot of queer people and cranks. Some people who, in their hearts, are really favourable to the League think it is not quite the right thing to do to be a member.

It takes moral courage to stand up for the League among people who sneer at it. It takes moral courage to ask people to become members of the League of Nations Union. Criticism, either by individuals or the Press, cannot do harm to the League, but unfortunately definite untrue facts are printed in certain newspapers and these do harm, because some of the people who read them believe them. There are some people who believe what they read in the Press without thinking.

The need for more moral courage is unquestionably very important. If people had as much moral courage to work for peace as they had to fight in war, we should get on better. As has been said many times, "It is much harder to make peace than to make war." It is equally true to say that it is harder to have moral courage than physical courage.

There really are quite a lot of nice respectable people who are members of the L.N.U., and that fact should reassure the faint-hearted.—Yours, etc.,

J. D. ALLEN.

### CRITICS OF THE LEAGUE

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I am sorry that Major Anthony Buxton should find fault with my little book for criticising the Secretariat. I deliberately abstained from mentioning proper names, and made it very clear, in more than one passage, that the great bulk of the staff were loyal and devoted servants of the League in its best sense. He admits, as everyone must to-day in the light of recent events, that there is something very wrong somewhere. But he does not like to see any of the blame put on the high officials of the Secretariat. He puts it all on the Governments. I think I meted out a fair share of criticism to the Governments, both in the shape of delegates and Foreign Offices, but he must not ask me to acquit the Secretariat, either of sins of commission or even more damaging sins of omission. Would he like me to prove my case by giving chapter and verse? I assure him that I could do so, and so no doubt could M. William Martin, who in a recent article entitled *Intrigues* described some of the manoeuvres which were being adopted behind the scenes of the Assembly to paralyse action under the Covenant. Are these tactics all carried on by the Governments without assistance from the Secretariat?

On one point, however, I would like to give him chapter and verse. He resents my criticism of use of the services of Mr. Sugimura, Head of the Political Section of the Secretariat, on the Sino-Japanese dispute, and pays a tribute to his impartiality. But, if he will refer to what I wrote, he will see that I never said a word in criticism of Mr. Sugimura. My criticism was directed against his official superiors who put him in an impossible position, and who, in doing so, broke an established rule. Addressing the Institute of Public Administration as recently as March 19, 1931, the Secretary-General stated that there was "an informal rule" (referred to in my book) "that no member of the Secretariat shall be called upon to deal with a matter of particular concern to his own country," and he added that he himself "had therefore abstained from participation in the details of the Mosul question."

In the light of this precedent, one is entitled to ask why the rule was relaxed when the key position in the Secretariat was occupied by a national of a country involved in the most serious dispute with which the League has ever had to deal.

Yours sincerely,

L. A. ZIMMERN.

149, Banbury Road, Oxford.  
March 7, 1932.

## STANDARDS (1)

"Lift up a standard for the people." The prophet of old saw the need. Men wanted then, as men want now, some definite focus for their endeavour, some criterion and test of worth for their living.

To speak of worth brings to the mind one standard with which in these days we have become very familiar. The Gold Standard has long seemed the secure measure of material wealth. It has proved to be insecure, and the world needs standards that abide. Not in material things, but in the wealth of the spirit these are to be found: "for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal."

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## "THE SPIRITUAL SIDE"

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—If I venture to answer Canon Digby's courteous plea for "the recognition of God" at L.N.U. meetings, it is because I am conscious of being one of those who have caused it, by frequently taking the chair at such meetings in his parish without inviting either the utterance of any prayer or the standing of the assembly for a minute or two in silence. As far as I am concerned, the reason is not that I am afraid of anyone being offended at the expression of theological beliefs that he does not share, but that I shrink from the introduction of any avoidable occasion for insincerity. I am far from thinking that there should be no "political" meetings at which prayer should be publicly offered. Let us by all means have religious meetings of such a kind, whether in churches and chapels or in other places, provided that the "religious" character of the proceedings is known beforehand. Nor should I desire to "quench the Spirit," if some speaker at an ordinary L.N.U. meeting, who was clearly *en rapport* with the audience, asked them to join him in prayer.

What I shrink from is a formal rite on these occasions; and I deprecate the notion that "the Spiritual Force behind the movement" is not "recognised" because we plunge straight into the subject for which the meeting has been called together. I do not wish to dogmatise. I am sorry not to satisfy those, whether they be many or few, who agree with Canon Digby. But I am not alone in feeling that we have passed out of the condition of society in which a specific religious rite, however brief, was appropriate to a mixed public meeting. Phrases like "the recognition of God" raise very difficult questions in many minds which are by no means indifferent to spiritual values. Perhaps, as Canon Digby says, "Christian people ought to require very little exhortation" to help forward the work of the L.N.U.: but do they in fact require very little? And is it really true to the facts of history to "recognise in the efforts of the League of Nations the beginnings of the practical fruits of nineteen centuries of Christian teaching"? It at least raises very difficult questions about the influences of Christian Churches, Christian Powers, and what we mean by "Christian teaching."

I confess it seems to me that when people come to a public meeting called, let us say, by the local L.N.U. branch to consider the crisis in China, their very coming bears witness to a spiritual motive.—I am, etc.,  
Oxford, March 3. NOWELL SMITH.

## HAS THE LEAGUE FAILED?

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—May I be allowed space in your columns to urge the need for increased propaganda at the present time.

It is needed as a gesture of faith in the League. Many of our members are suffering from a quite unnecessary bad conscience. When the last war broke out and many were saying, "This proves that Christianity has failed," G. K. C., with heartening robustness, replied, "No, Christianity has not been tried and found wanting: it has been found difficult and not tried." Similarly, to-day many who have never sought to strengthen the League by personal support, instead of hiding in shame are turning to us with a triumphant "I told you so. What about your League now?" The reply, of course, is the same. "The League way has not been tried and found wanting. It has been found difficult and not tried," and I for one would go a step further with such opponents and add, "It is your fault as much as anyone's that there is no adequate international power to meet the world's need and say to Japan, 'Peace, be still.'"

Further, the moment is peculiarly propitious for increased vigour in propaganda because world affairs, the international industrial situation, the Disarmament Conference and, above all, the war between Japan and China, make the question of the League a *live* one. Whatever views men may have, none but madmen or dead men will think or feel that these problems are other than vital and arresting. Every speech made now will provoke ten times more discussion than the same speech six months ago. Let us then be neither downhearted nor weary. Let the Executive send out a rallying call to every branch. Now is the accepted time, now is the day of salvation.—Yours faithfully,  
Notwich.

MARK W. JARVIS.

## JAPAN AND CHINA

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—I have felt deep interest in the League of Nations, for I regard war with abhorrence.

The League has a most difficult task, and it is only possible for it to succeed if it can be relied on to weigh all factors in every dispute with broadminded and well-informed, unbiassed justice, and to avoid onesidedness as carefully as an English judge does. It certainly did not so act in the action it took at first when this dispute was considered at Geneva. In later stages it appears to have acted with truer judgment.

HEADWAY, however, on pages 49 and 50, and also on 51, presents the case as a counsel acting for a plaintiff might, or as the baser sort of political newspapers, with fullest onesidedness, and then claiming that it represents a million supporters.

If that is to be the spirit of the League of Nations Union, and it intends to press onesided views on the British Government and the public generally, very many of the "million," I believe, will desire to cease membership.—Yours faithfully,  
Mount Pleasant, West Malvern. March 2, 1932.

[The article on pages 49 and 50 consisted of a plain record of fact. If that is injurious to Japan it is not HEADWAY'S fault.—ED. HEADWAY.]

## TWO POINTS OF VIEW

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

SIR,—Your January issue has just reached me. I fear that the difference between "Observer" and "Criticus" over Manchuria is fundamental. "Observer's" extreme pacifist school puts peace first and law and order a bad second. "Criticus," on the other hand, considers that armed robbery justifies the intervention of a policeman, if only to cut off the robber's supply of further arms. In their internal affairs all nations agree with "Criticus." Why then, in their dealings with world affairs, should they adopt "Observer's" standpoint?—Yours faithfully,  
W. L. ROSEVEARE.

Schwebo, Burma.

## STAMP ON STUNTS

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

DEAR SIR,—No doubt many of your readers saw the latest "stunt" attack on the League of Nations by the "Daily Express" on February 16.

Amongst other things, the "Daily Express" told us that "The whole League of Nations organisation, built up largely by the lavish expenditure of British money in the past ten years, with lesser contributions from other nations, may fall hopelessly to pieces in a few days' time."

Might I suggest that the best way for supporters of the League of Nations to show their disapproval when these "stunts" appear in the Press is to write to the newspaper concerned? I know that some of your readers already do this.

If every such attack brought a response of several hundred protests, these protests would no doubt carry some weight. Even though the letters are not published, they serve a very useful purpose.

But, so often, we who know the real facts just grumble a little and do nothing more.—Yours truly,  
HARRY E. G. GEE.

## LIBELS ON THE LEAGUE.

To the Editor of HEADWAY.

DEAR SIR,—I have been surprised so little notice has been taken by your readers of the article in HEADWAY on the "Daily Express" and its misrepresentation of facts in connection with the League of Nations.

In the autumn, as a regular reader of the "Daily Express," I informed them by letter of their misstatements, but, of course, that letter was not published. Later, when I saw that the attitude of antagonism to the League was continued, I stopped reading that newspaper.

Surely, with a membership of about a million members, the League of Nations Union could arrange a boycott of all newspapers which would not give both sides of the question a fair hearing. I suggest this expedient to bring some organs of the British Press to a right way of thinking.—Yours faithfully,  
J. SCOLLAY.

Schoolhouse, Dunbeath, Caithness.

## The Union and the Government

IN some countries the local League of Nations Society is little more than a department of the Foreign Office—a channel, that is, for the expression of the Government's views. This is emphatically not the case in Great Britain. Indeed, if such a suggestion were made, the only question would be whether the Union would have time to deny it before the Foreign Office did so, or *vice versa*. But while the Union is completely independent of the Government, nevertheless a certain relation exists between them. What ought this relation to be?

Every British Government declares from time to time that it is seeking to base its foreign policy on loyal co-operation with the League of Nations. In acting on this declaration it obviously cannot go much further than public opinion is prepared to go. It must have the country behind it. And the country, on the whole, is still pre-League rather than post-League; the majority of English men and women with votes for Parliament had their minds formed in pre-League days. The business of the League of Nations Union then is, firstly to remove this obstruction to

British foreign policy, and secondly to let the Government know how much of the obstruction has been removed at any given moment, how much support it can rely upon. We have, in fact, to organise, as well as to educate, public opinion.

"Yes, but," some of our critics say, "the trouble with your Union is that you go further than ordinary sane people are willing to go. You claim to represent public opinion, whereas in reality you represent only a fraction of it."

In the first place, to "represent" is not the same thing as to "educate and organise." In the second place, if the Union never had to educate public opinion for anything beyond the point to which the Government had already declared its readiness to go (which is also the point to which the Government believes public opinion is already prepared to go), the Union might as well not be there, and the King in Council would not have been justified in granting it a Royal Charter. The truth surely is that the Union, like the Government and the League itself, is an integral part of the machinery of international co-operation. The several parts have different functions, but they must work together as a single whole. This they certainly do in fundamental matters, such as the training of youth to regard international co-operation as the normal method of conducting world affairs. But the day-to-day action of the Government has also its proper relation to the long-term action of the Union for the policy of loyal co-operation with the League and for the "eternal principles" on which the Covenant is based. It is in this sense that the Union has interpreted its function for ten years and more; and over and over again the Government has followed when the Union has blazed the trail by removing the obstruction of an unprepared public opinion.

For example, in 1922, our General Council resolved that the British Government should formally declare the League to be the keystone of its foreign policy, and so inform all its representatives abroad; arrange for the Prime Minister or Foreign Secretary to attend important meetings of the Council; and be represented at the Assembly by a Minister of the Crown, e.g., the Prime Minister or the Minister for Foreign Affairs. These proposals are now part of the British Government's policy. Or again, the Union may legitimately claim that it prepared the way for the Government's acceptance of "compulsory arbitration" through the "Optional Clause" and the "General Act." More recently the Union asked the President of the Board of Education if he would write a formal Message to be read in all schools on the opening day of the Disarmament Conference. Nothing of the kind had ever been done before; but Sir Donald Maclean wrote the Message and it has served a most useful purpose. The handling of the Sino-Japanese dispute by the League of Nations has provided several other instances of very much the same sort of thing.

As regards "disarmament," it is not to be supposed that the Government has placed all its cards on the table. Who shall say that it is not prepared to make any advance on its present policy if British public opinion will give it adequate support?

The Union's effort is at present concentrated on securing acceptance of the so-called Budapest Policy. That policy was originally thought out by a Committee over which Lord Cecil presided at a time when he was working in the

closest possible touch with the Government of the day. Germans, Frenchmen, Italians and others sat on this Committee, and in the end this policy was unanimously adopted by the International Federation of League of Nations Societies at Budapest last June. Every one of the Great Powers has supported this Budapest policy at the Disarmament Conference in whole or in part, mostly in part. It is entirely acceptable to Germany, Italy, Russia, Austria, Bulgaria, Denmark, Holland, Hungary, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and many non-European Powers other than Japan. What reason is there to suppose that the British Government would refuse to accept the whole policy if the remaining States are also prepared to accept it and if, by the efforts of the Union or otherwise, the resistance of British public opinion can meanwhile be overcome?

The credit for spectacular achievements will go to the well-known men who compose always, or who advise, the Government of the day. But those who by patient continuance in well-doing—by adding (it may be) to the number of the Union's members or by collecting their subscriptions or by strengthening the Union in other ways—are winning neither fame nor honour nor distinction, are also contributing something that is indispensable to the prevention of war and the organisation of peace.

# League of Nations Union News

April, 1932

## The Special Council Meeting

UNDER the rules of the Union the Chairman of the Executive Committee can, "in case of emergency," call a meeting of the General Council. Such a special meeting was summoned on February 27 in order to mobilise all the resources of the Union for the cessation of hostilities in the Far East. The move was warmly endorsed by all the Branches, if one may judge by the record attendance. Despite the fact that the meeting was held on a Saturday—and this meant that many of those attending had to sacrifice a week-end—the records show that there were represented the Northern, the Western and the Eastern Districts of Scotland; Wales; and all the English counties, with the exception of Dorset, Rutland and Leicester. In the case of the last-named the Lord-Lieutenant wrote an apology for his absence. The discussion which followed the speech of the Union's President, Viscount Cecil, on the state of affairs in Manchuria and Shanghai, was of a high order. It showed that the members of the Union have followed the course of events with the closest attention and with a thorough understanding of the issues involved.

### A Keen Discussion

The debate which followed Prof. Gilbert Murray's presentation of the resolution submitted to the General Council by the Executive Committee was particularly lively. Most of the speeches made during this discussion showed that there was very strong support for the resolution passed by the Executive Committee on February 11 (published in the March issue of HEADWAY, page 50), and that this one found more favour amongst the majority of the delegates than the shorter and less detailed one which was submitted to the Council by the Executive. Eventually it was agreed that the two resolutions supplemented one another, and that the general feeling of the Council could best be expressed by adopting something that embodied both.

### A Strong Resolution

The resolution, as finally amended and adopted, therefore, was as follows:—

"The General Council of the League of Nations Union

"Approves the Executive Committee's resolution of February 11, 1932\* ; and

"Promises widespread and powerful support for His Majesty's Government in whatever measures it may be willing to take to secure the co-operation of the States Members of the League of Nations, as well as of the United States of America, in order to bring about the immediate cessation of hostilities; to vindicate the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Pact of Paris; and eventually to effect a just settlement of all the issues between China and Japan."

### The Union Pledges Itself

There was no dissension in regard to the two resolutions which followed on this and which were put forward by the Executive Committee, and they were carried unanimously.

\* See March HEADWAY, page 50.

They read as follows:—

"The General Council,

"Calls upon the Union's organisations and members to use all lawful means to support this policy";

And:

"The General Council,

"Reaffirms its faith in the League and the Covenant for the prevention of war and the organisation of peace."

### The Arms Traffic

A resolution was brought forward by Professor Darnley Naylor regarding the traffic in arms. Though it met with a certain measure of support from some other delegates, Lord Cecil pointed out that properly to discuss the subject would require much more time than was then available; it was decided that the question should not be put. The feeling of the meeting however was such that there is no doubt that more attention than ever has been called by the present crisis to the need of a drastic control of the arms traffic in the interests of the world's peace.

### Points from Lord Cecil

"I do not think it is easy to exaggerate the gravity of the present position."

"The purpose of the Covenant and of the Pact of Paris is to substitute for war other less barbarous methods. That fact should be recalled at the present crisis."

"I am bound to admit as the matter proceeded I was forced to the conclusion that the policy of Japan was being dictated not by those elements which are being represented so admirably by Viscount Ishii but by a purely militarist policy."

"The first and most essential principle with regard to every international difficulty, the most vital thing, is to avoid misunderstanding."

"I do not understand the position of those who think, after all our experience, that it is safe to allow a war to continue in any part of the world in the hope that it will not spread to other parts."

"Our object should be to stop the fighting that has broken out."

"However it was to be carried out, it would involve a formal demand to Japan to agree to an armistice and to the establishment of a neutral zone between the two armies to be occupied by neutral troops."

"The thing that strikes me very much is not the failure of the League, not even the failure of the great expectations that have been placed in it, but the increased hope that there is for a new system of international relations, the increased reliance not upon brute force, not upon the old system of the balance of power, but upon the real domination of right and justice throughout the world. I see no cause for depression, I see no cause for slackening in our efforts."

# Notes and News

### Annual Reports

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

Withernsea, Berkhamsted, Bushey, Aylesbury, Lingfield, Felixstowe, Barton Hill, Bristol, Croydon, Oxford, Bexhill, Bury St. Edmunds, Cardiff District, Wealdstone, Barcombe, Sunderland, Peterborough, Gateshead, Reading, Keswick, Bournemouth.

### The Mayors' Meeting

Many Mayors are taking, or have taken, action as the result of the singular meeting at the Mansion House, at which the Lord Mayor of London presided over a conference of some 150 Lord Mayors, Mayors and Provosts drawn from all parts of England, Wales and Scotland. The meeting was summoned in order that Viscount Cecil and Captain Antony Eden, the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, might enlist civic support for maintaining public enthusiasm for the cause of Disarmament. Viscount Cecil, as he did at Geneva recently, outlined and explained the proposals of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies. These consist, as our readers scarcely need to be reminded, of suggestions for the progressive limitation and abolition of such essentially aggressive weapons as tanks, submarines, long-range guns, military aircraft and battleships; of the need for real equality between vanquished and victors in the late war; and of the necessity for budgetary limitation.

### A New Play

Miss Mary Pendered, of Wellingborough, who has already written two peace plays, "The Quaker" and "William Penn," has just produced a new peace play, called "Banish the Bogey." The first public performance of this new play was produced at Wellingborough by the authoress herself, and it obtained very high praise in the local paper. Briefly, Miss Pendered's message is: Secure peace and disarmament by banishing the bogey, Fear, which lurks in one nation's mind against another. Copies can be obtained from the Northamptonshire Federal Council, Barclays Bank Chambers, Northampton.

### Week-End Conference

We hear from the London Regional Federation, at 43, Russell Square, London, W.C.1, that another of their highly successful Branch Officers' Week-End Conferences is being organised for May 20-23. The place at which the Conference is to be held is High Leigh, Hoddesdon, Herts.

### A Sunday School Demonstration

Some 1,500 children, all wearing armlets bearing the plea, "For our Sakes, Disarm," wended their way from the bridge at Wisbech to the Parish Church on a recent Sunday afternoon. When the procession arrived the Church was more than full. A magnificent address was given by Mr. Frederick Whelen. The photographs of the procession have been widely displayed in Geneva. Copies were sent to each of the British delegates to the Disarmament Conference.

### It's an Ill Wind . . . !

A certain secretary in Durham was told that a Councillor X would be a good chairman for the forthcoming meeting. The secretary did not know the Councillor nor who he lived. In his quest for information he was misdirected to the house of another Councillor of

the same name. He, though he confessed he knew nothing about the League of Nations, agreed to take the chair and be educated. The result has been not only one new member for the Union in the shape of Councillor X the Second, but several, because his wife and family became members too!

### Australia

As a contribution to the expression of world-wide public opinion in support of the Disarmament Conference, successful public meetings have been held in five of the capital cities of Australia, all five meetings receiving official support from the Premier of the State concerned and from the Leader of the Opposition. The meeting in Sydney was also addressed by the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, the Federal Treasurer and the Deputy Leader of the Federal Opposition.

The "National Demonstration" in Melbourne was representative of every section of the community, all political parties and all religious denominations, and, in spite of the fact that the meeting was held on the eve of a general election, the principal speaker was the Prime Minister. The gathering was organised on the same lines as that held in the Albert Hall, London, on July 11.

### What Japan Thinks

The following passage is taken from the January "International Gleanings from Japan," the organ of the Japanese League of Nations Association:—

"Of course we could have brought the disputes with China to the Council of the League or to The Hague Court of International Justice. But to demand that our people bring Manchurian questions before an international tribunal is asking too much, just as demanding that the British people or the American people should bring disputes with India or in the Caribbean region to The Hague or to Geneva. Our rights and interests in Manchuria are as vital as those of Great Britain in India or the U.S.A. in the Caribbean."

"Therefore, during the period when the 'strong hand' policy is in force, all that we peace workers in Japan can do is to wait with patience or to try to prevent the course of events from going to extremes."

"The atmosphere of the Council, especially in its sessions of October last, was somewhat unfriendly toward Japan and too blind to actual conditions in China. We can appreciate well the fact that it was partly due to the hostile response made by certain sections of our people to the League's intervention, in one form or another, in the Manchurian question that caused the worst impressions at Geneva. Reconciliation between Geneva and Tokio is sorely needed."

### A West of England Holiday Course

A vacation course for foreign students at the University College of the South-West of England, at Exeter, has now become an established yearly event. This year it will take place from August 2 to August 26. Though primarily meant for foreign students and teachers of English, it is also open to English people who would find it interesting from the variety of educated foreigners to be met. Any of our readers who would like further information should write direct to the Director, Professor J. W. Schopp, at University College, Exeter.

### The Rising Tide

Twenty-five members have been enrolled in a new Youth Group formed at Rusthall Park, Tunbridge Wells. The Eastwood, Notts., Youth Group, inaugurated in October, has run two social evenings, and has a

membership of thirty. At the suggestion of the local branch committee, a Youth Group has been formed near Reading, at Peppard. Though it has only been in existence a few weeks its membership is twenty-five, nor will it be long before the 100 mark is reached. The Chairman is the head boy of Henley Grammar School. The foundations of a new Group have been laid in Cricklewood by the special joint meeting of all local youth organisations to hear Mrs. Campbell Gordon and Colonel Delahaye, with Mr. Davies, the Director of Education, in the chair. Following a meeting of 200 young people, addressed by Harold Abrahams (the World Champion Runner) on "Sport and World Peace," a Youth Group has been formed at Worcester.

The following Youth Groups are at present in being:—

#### London.

Balham and Tooting, Barnes and East Sheen, Barnet and District, Beckenham, Brentford, Camberwell, Central and South Hackney, Central Foundation School (Old Girls), Chelsea, Chingford, Chiswick, Croydon, Downs Baptist Chapel, Hackney, Ealing, East Finchley, Fulham, Hampstead, Harrow, Hendon, Highgate, Hornsey, Ilford, Isle of Dogs, Kensington, Lewisham, Mill Hill, Money Order Dept., G.P.O., Holloway, New Malden, New Southgate and Friern Barnet, North Hackney, North Islington, Paddington, Purley, St. Pancras, Southall, Southlands Training College, Wimbledon, Streatham, Upper Norwood, Wealdstone, West Ham, West London Mission, Kingsway, Wembley, Whetstone, Woodford, Youth House, St. Pancras.

#### Provinces.

Biggar and District, Birmingham, Blockley, Brighton, Bristol, Cambridge, Colchester, Eastwood, Notts, Hereford, Hoyle and West Kirby, Kettering, Leeds (Montague Burton Factory), Littlehampton, Peppard and District, Reading, Stockton-on-Tees, Tunbridge Wells, Watford, Wilmslow and District, Withernsea, Worcester.

#### Holiday Arrangements

There is just time for last-minute enrolments for the party which is leaving London for Geneva on Friday, April 15, to study the work of the International Labour Conference. In view of the World Disarmament Conference, Geneva is an interesting spot just now, so that is an opportunity not to be missed.

It will not be possible to carry out the arrangements tentatively announced for the Whitsuntide party.

#### Forthcoming Broadcasts

5 p.m., Sundays. "Travellers from the East."  
Impressions by travellers who have just returned.

10.45 a.m., Wednesdays. "Through Foreign Eyes."

April 6, Lady Kay Muir on Bulgaria.

April 13, Mr. Czarnowski on Poland.

7.30 p.m., Thursdays. "The Growth of the Modern World Order."

A new series starting April 14.

9.20 p.m., Thursdays. "The Way of the World," by Mr. Vernon Bartlett.

10.45 a.m. and 6.50 p.m., Fridays.  
Topical talks on International Affairs.

#### Council's Vote

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

Appleton-le-Moors, Bradninch, Berks Federal Council, Birmingham District, Blisworth, Bromley, Bury St. Edmunds, Chelmsford, Christchurch, Ely, Essex Federal Council, Ford End, Felstead, Frome, Gosport, Hillhouse Congregational Church, Huddersfield, Helpston, Hove, Headley, Kent, Leek, Liverpool District, Leicester Federal Council, Launceston, Northampton Federal Council, North Chapel, Poulton-le-Fylde, Penzance, Redruth, Riseley, St. Austell, Shelford, Sussex Federal Council, Sanderland, Sherburn, Steyning, Thornbury, Gloucester, Thundersley, completed in 1931, Worcester Federal Council, Warwickshire Federal Council, Woolhampton, Worthing, Wickford, Wrotham.

Gledholt Wesleyan, Huddersfield, has completed for 1932.

#### Welsh Notes

The Executive Committee of the Welsh Council met at Shrewsbury on March 16 under the Chairmanship of Mr. David Davies. The whole situation in the Sino-Japanese dispute and the progress of the Disarmament Conference were considered in the greatest detail. The following resolutions were adopted:—

**The Sino-Japanese Dispute.**—The Executive Committee has heard with satisfaction of the frank expression of opinion and of the whole-hearted endorsement of the Covenant by the Special Assembly of the League, and it welcomes the declaration of the League of Nations that no settlement in the Far East brought about by military pressure will be recognised;

It expresses the hope that the British Government will continue to insist upon the maintenance of the authority of the Covenant and upon a strict adherence to the procedure laid down in its Articles until the Japanese have withdrawn completely the invading army at Shanghai, and have effected a military evacuation of Manchuria outside the Japanese Treaty Zone, so that a just settlement may ultimately be reached of all the issues between China and Japan.

**Publication of Exchange of Notes.**—That the Executive Committee congratulates the Government of the United States of America upon its prompt publication of the exchange of notes between it and the Chinese and Japanese Governments since the outbreak of the Manchurian conflict;

It urges the British Government to do the same forthwith on the ground that public opinion is entitled to the fullest possible knowledge of our Government's policy in a crisis which is the greatest since the World War.

**Disarmament.**—That the Executive Committee desires to reiterate its policy of a demand for a drastic reduction at the Disarmament Conference in the Armies, Navies and Air Forces of the world.

It commends to the branches a careful study of the proposals made by various Governments at the Conference, particularly the proposals affecting the international organisation of civil aviation and the creation of an International Air Force.

On Tuesday, March 15, The Right Hon. Viscount Cecil of Chelwood addressed at Cardiff one of the largest Peace Demonstrations ever organised in Wales. Sir J. Herbert Cory, Bart., presided, and Mr. David Davies also addressed the gathering.

A series of area Conferences and Public Meetings on the Sino-Japanese Dispute and Disarmament has been organised during the last few weeks amongst the chief centres being Aberdare, Cardiff, Neath, Newport, Treorchy, Haverfordwest, Carmarthen, Wrexham, Harlech, Rhyl.

The Branches in Wales and Monmouthshire are looking forward to a record Annual Conference at Bangor in Whit-week—Tuesday and Wednesday, May 17 and 18. A full attendance is expected and an interesting programme has been arranged.

#### Membership

##### RATES OF ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION.

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

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

Registered Members receive HEADWAY monthly by post.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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