

FUTURE OF THE LEAGUE

CONFUSED COUNSELS

NEED FOR UNIVERSAL MEMBERSHIP

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—You have opened your columns, in the last few weeks, to a protracted correspondence on the subject of the future of the League. To all serious students of politics it has been profoundly instructive, but some, perhaps many, of your readers have been left in a state of distressing mystification.

Mystification began when they saw ardent and notable pacifists like Mr. Lansbury and Dr. Raven subscribing a letter in the company of distinguished diplomatists like Lord Hardinge, Lord Rennell, and Sir Francis Lindley. The latter, I doubt not, are as eager in the pursuit of peace as the former, but they approach the problem from a different angle. Lord Cecil was seen to be at variance with all of them.

Later on we have Lord Davies engaged in bitter controversy with Principal Jacks, and many other combatants rather inexplicably distributed between the opposing camps.

It is all very confusing; and I do not wonder that many of your readers are looking on at the battle in perplexed silence. Incidentally, many of them are, I fancy, beginning to wonder whether they had found the right path amid the mazes of the Peace Ballot, or whether they had not been wiser to have avoided altogether that rather misleading and mischievous document. Anyhow, they are by this time greatly confused, and in some cases gravely perturbed.

May one who detests war with all the fervour of his Quaker ancestors attempt to clarify the issue? Had all your readers been so provident as to cut out and retain for reference your leading article of April 14 further attempts at clarification would be otiose and this letter superfluous. May I suggest that you would do a real service by reprinting it?

Meanwhile, some points clearly emerge: (1) The League of 1937 is not the League as conceived in 1919 by Lord Cecil, General Smuts, and Mr. Wilson. For all practical purposes it is the alliance of 1914, bereft of the adherence of Japan, Italy, and the U.S.A. (2) Under a Covenant to which, in addition to the British Empire, France, and Russia, there adhered *ex animo* Germany, Japan, Italy, and the U.S.A., "Collective Security" would become a reality: the nations might comfortably disarm under the actual conditions of to-day. "Collective Security" is a delusion in terms, and may in fact become a terrible snare. Your article of April 14 put the whole matter in a nutshell: "The Covenant imposed universal obligations on the hypothesis of universal membership."

Precisely. Membership to-day is lamentably short of universality. Consequently, the question arises whether a truncated League is to attempt to play the part of "an international war office," or to be content with a less ambitious but still valuable role. With the group who initiated this correspondence I believe that "the ideals of the League represent the only road towards lasting peace," but with them I also believe that, conditions being what they are, the League should aim at demonstrating its utility as "an effective instrument for reconciliation for the settlement of international

SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENCE

II.—LAND AND SEA DANGERS

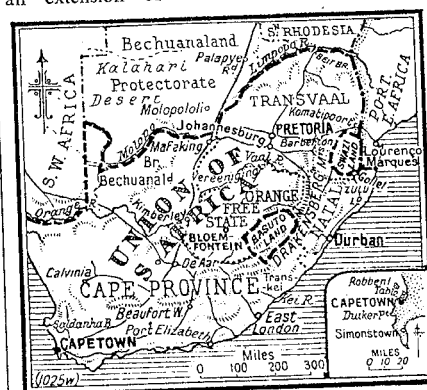
SAFETY ON ALL FRONTS

From Our Capetown Correspondent

Yesterday's article discussed the South African problem of defence in relation to its African background and the moral and physical requirements of the home front. Before the provisions on the military front are examined a word should be said on the industrial and agricultural resources of the Union.

Agriculturally she would be perhaps completely self-contained. Industrially she would be equipped for a considerable time to clothe the population, fertilize the farm lands, fuel the transportation services, fuel the aeroplanes, supply a large percentage of war munitions, manufacture armoured cars, and rapidly improvise machinery where necessary. Cotton, now neglected, could easily be grown on the low veld if emergency demanded. The major deficiencies of South African natural resources are in supplies of rubber, oil, and petrol. Intelligent foresight in the accumulation of stocks is the only safeguard, and steps are now being taken to make these deficiencies good.

On the military front the two chief dangers are a naval raid on the coasts and ports of the Union, accompanied possibly by an armed landing, and an attack overland from one of the areas outside the zone of African white civilization already defined. If such attacks came, as would be most likely, as an extension of totalitarian warfare from



Europe, neither by land nor by sea would any enemy be able to divert forces beyond the capacity of the Union to overcome.

No Eastern Power could at present face the frightful hazard of a raid; if any did, European commitments would bring prompt intervention against it. In the event of aggression by a European Power the only danger would lie in the balance being so adjusted in Europe that no one would dare to lend us aid, and that is unlikely so long as the Union remains a partner of the British Empire and produces yearly half the world's new gold.

sword," said Thomas Hobbes, of Malmesbury. "are but words." Hobbes was right. But you can safely entrust the sword to the League only if its Covenant is subscribed and faithfully observed by all, or at least a vast preponderance of, the Great Powers. Until that end is happily achieved the militarism of pacifists must remain a grave menace to peace.

Your obedient servant,

J. A. R. MARRIOTT.

Carlton Club, May 17.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—Sir Arthur Salter's letter published in *The Times* yesterday seems to call for comment.

In the first place, it is legitimate to suggest that, so far from our not relying in the past on the League of Nations for our own safety, we pushed reliance on it so far that we found ourselves helpless when the true state of affairs regarding the League was revealed.

In the second place, Article XVI, the purpose of which Sir Arthur rightly says is to prevent a situation arising in which its sanctions will be needed, has been proved worthless for this purpose in present conditions. Surely, even if it did not also present terrifying possibilities, the path of wisdom lies in putting it into cold storage until the conditions essential for its success are present, or at least likely to arise.

Thirdly, Sir Arthur rightly points out that we are a long way from having a permanent Commonwealth Foreign Office. Those who have long worked for such an institution believe that it might now exist had not an unattainable ideal been held out as practicable.

Finally, as regards commercial cooperation, economic self-sufficiency will be intensified, if that is possible, so long as Article XVI threatens proud and powerful States with slow strangulation.

I am, &c.,

F. O. LINDLEY.

The Weir House, Alresford, Hampshire,
May 18.

THE BUS STRIKE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—The "walking" public must be grateful for your leading article which appeared in yesterday's issue of *The Times*. You do well to point out that, as the transport workers enjoy a monopoly from the public, they owe, in return, an obligation to the public, and you add: "There is, however, a renewed demand by the busmen's leaders that the tramway and trolley-bus men should disregard their agreements and their contracts of service and make common cause with the men on strike. Breaches of faith and illegalities of that kind are not to be lightly condoned."

The tramway and trolley-bus men have no trade dispute with their employers, nor have they given notice to terminate their subsisting agreements, and a strike on their part at the present juncture would undoubtedly inflict considerable hardship on the community. In this connexion, I would like to draw attention to the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act of 1927, and in particular to subsection (4) of section 6 of that statute, whereby the following new provision was added at the end of section 5 of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act of 1875:—

If any person employed by a local or other public authority wilfully breaks a contract of service with that authority, knowing or having reasonable cause to believe that the probable consequence of his so doing, either alone or in combination with others, will be to cause injury or grave inconvenience to the community, he shall be liable, on summary conviction, to a fine not exceeding £10 or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months.

Yours faithfully,

JOSEPH BAKER.

Lincoln's Inn, W.C.2, May 18.

THE WEAKEST JOINT

The likeliest danger is a formidable raid on the coast ports, communications, and depôts of vital supplies. Unless the balance of sea power became violently upset the greatest enemy naval force would be one battleship, a cruiser flotilla with the usual supporting vessels, and the machines of two aircraft-carriers. The probable strength of the greatest land force launched from the North could be set down at 400 to 500 tanks and armoured cars, supported by as many aeroplanes, with accompanying infantry, artillery, and field engineers—possibly 100,000 combatants in all. No European nation could risk a greater force than this in the heart of the African bush and jungle. What assurance of security can be looked for against these attacks?

The writer of the *Cape Argus* and *Johannesburg Star* articles expresses his belief in the unlikelihood of circumstances ever involving Great Britain in any future war commitments of which the conscience of the Union, no less than her self-interest, would be unable to approve. He proceeds to consider the coastal defence of the Union without assuming the British Navy as an active partner; the Navy is only considered so far as naval defence is affected by the honourable discharge of South Africa's undertaking to maintain the land defences of the Simonstown naval base.

The best defence of the coastline is itself. In all its 4,000 miles there are scarcely 10 places where a hostile force could land with any hope of success. The weakest joint is in the territory adjoining Portuguese East Africa. Lourenço Marques and Swaziland inland, a British Protectorate in which South Africa has no responsibilities, would provide a good jumping-off place for a thrust at the Transvaal. The construction of a light strategical railway between Gollé and Komatipoort, parallel with the frontier, would be a material contribution to defence, but the Union cannot contemplate it while the Protectorates are outside Union control.

RISK OF AIRCRAFT-CARRIERS

Capetown is the chief problem. Its land defence presupposes the defence of Simonstown and Saldanha Bay. Vital national interests, however near self-sufficiency the country, require that Capetown should be made capable of withstanding serious and possibly sustained attack from the sea. The decision to make Robben Island the pivot of the defences of the Peninsula can be interpreted as meaning that armament with 15in. guns is now contemplated; the mounting of 15in. guns at Duiker Point can also be assumed. Provision for this armament awaits a time when the arsenals of Great Britain are less occupied with the urgent needs of British rearmament. The second problem is the defence of Durban, the Union's chief commercial and industrial port. Since the limited resources of the country do not permit both Capetown and Durban to be defended by guns to the same extent, the objective must be to make Durban raid-proof. A main armament of 9.2in. guns with high-angle mountings and modern 6in. guns seems indicated as coastal support for the two squadrons of fighter-bomber aeroplanes allocated to the port under the national war-time defence plan.

All this merely states the main foundation of coastal defence. On top is a structure of preparedness strongly concentrated and efficient for the tasks contemplated, including mobile batteries of 6in. guns firing naval ammunition with a range of 20,000 yards; armoured railway gun-carriages; coastal brigades of troops with the necessary field artillery and so on; mine-sweepers, drifters, distant flying-boat patrols, boom defences, submarine nets, searchlights, anti-aircraft guns. In the coastal areas the

special objective of Active Citizen Force training is the repelling of landings and the engagement of hostile forces fighting their way inland. In the event of an attack on Capetown from the sea of the greatest strength the methods of defence can readily be visualized.

An enemy with the aircraft of two aircraft-carriers at his disposal, say 200, would be met with a force at least double his strength, formidable in attack, as well as a reinforcement of the land batteries. Its effective striking range would be some hundreds of miles, and its dive-bombing tactics would inflict heavy losses, even if heavy losses were received. If it did not keep the enemy from closing in out of range of our 15in. guns, a reserve of concentrated defence could carry on the engagement, and constant raids would make life intolerably precarious for any enemy landing at Saldanha Bay. An air attack pressed with resolution and in sufficient numbers must reach its objective. What is more, in the recent manoeuvres at Singapore the two outstanding lessons learnt were the vulnerability of invading aircraft-carriers and the efficiency of the flying-boat patrols maintained by the land defences. The manoeuvres showed that a hostile aircraft-carrier, located by air scouts 220 miles from Singapore, found it impossible to launch any of its aircraft before it was attacked by torpedo bombers. If the decks of the aircraft-carrier are in any way damaged by bombs the launching of aeroplanes is greatly hampered, and if the ship develops a list after being torpedoed she cannot be rejoined by any of her own aeroplanes needing repair, fuel, or fresh munitions.

The writer of the *Argus* and *Star* articles, having come to the conclusion that Capetown is battleship-proof and Durban raid-proof, goes on to visualize the more serious danger, a strong mechanized raid from beyond the borders of white Africa. The tried measures of defence would be to avoid pitched battles in the open and aim at mobility, perfect timing of blows, and rapid concentration of superior fire power at the chosen point.

A MOBILE FORCE

What is aimed at is the creation in four years of—(1) a highly mobile striking force 50,000 strong, composed of machine-gunners, rifle-grenade experts, and trench-mortar specialists; operating with (2) an equally mobile anti-tank force anywhere between a battalion and a brigade in strength, armed with anti-tank guns and anti-tank rifles; and (3) 50 heavy bomber planes and 250 to 300 interceptor fighters and bomber-fighters; supported by (4) artillery on the scale required for mobile action; (5) gas contamination units; (6) a large explosive corps, recruited from miners and experienced natives from the goldmining industry; and (7) a large and well-trained native labour corps to serve as munition carriers, personal porters, and servants to front-line troops on the march and in camp. These would constitute the first-line fighting force. As second-line troops, available for front-line reinforcement in any type of country and any type of warfare, we should also have in the next four years 50,000 riflemen and scouts drawn from the commandoes. By 1943 these forces should increase by normal training expansion to 94,000 first-line troops, 800 aeroplanes (including all civil aircraft), and 100,000 second-line riflemen and scouts. This programme carries with it, naturally,

be able to look with confidence. Mr. Pirow has already announced the purchase of 100 Hawker Hartebeest aeroplanes from the British Government; when his programme is complete the Union should possess 1,000 pilots, 3,000 to 5,000 mechanics, 250 first line, 250 second line, and 250 reserve aeroplanes, and 40 to 60 heavy bomber and transport aeroplanes in the Railway Air Force Group. This should be attained in five to seven years. Civil aviation, which would become the Railway Air Force Group, has developed tremendously. Union airways will soon extend operations to Broken Hill and possibly later to Kisumu, and plans are maturing for an air link between Windhoek and Lagos. Services are already running, and running more frequently, between all the chief centres, with a remarkable record of security. By mutual exchange officers of the South African Air Force and the R.A.F. acquire intimate knowledge of flying conditions in all weathers. Within 48 hours passenger aircraft would be available as bombers and troop-carriers, as well as for the transport of vast quantities of explosives and other material required to hold up enemy forces, and the pilots would know the whole terrain like the palms of their hands.

The writer of the *Argus* and *Star* articles, while not underrating the danger to which the Union might be exposed, is clearly of the opinion that her natural advantages, the appalling risk of attacking her, the material and moral reinforcements of her defence plan, coupled with the mobility and coordination of all her forces, leave her with little to fear now and less as the plan develops.

Concluded

* The first article appeared yesterday.

PRINCE CHICHIBU AT THE PALACE

ORDER OF CHRYSANTHEMUM FOR THE KING

Before leaving Buckingham Palace for Guildhall yesterday the King received Prince Chichibu of Japan, who presented to him, on behalf of the Emperor of Japan, the Collar of the Supreme Order of the Chrysanthemum, and to the Queen the Insignia of the First Class of the Order of the Crown.

Prince Chichibu, who was received by the King in one of the State apartments, in presenting the regalia, said: "His Imperial Majesty has charged me to assure your Majesty of his ardent desire to maintain and further strengthen the traditional ties of amity which have so long and so happily subsisted between our respective countries, and also of his warm sentiments in earnestly trusting that your Majesty's glorious reign may be fraught with the continued well being of the Royal House as well as with the ever-increasing prosperity of the British people."

The King, in reply, said: "I would ask your Imperial Highness, on your return to Japan, to convey to his Majesty the Emperor our warmest thanks for these high honours, together with our cordial good wishes for the health and prosperity of himself and his family. The words in which you have so happily referred to the traditional friendship between our respective peoples will find a ready echo in this country. It will be my constant endeavour to maintain and develop these friendly relations in every way within my power."

MOW COP AS NATIONAL TRUST PROPERTY

LADIES ASS

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A GERMA

FROM OUR

Yesterday's most successful of the Ladies' K responsible. before been advance of la was an improv. Cocker spaniel rivals as regar other breeds w notable being smooth and wi Labradors, t corgis, chow dachshunds.

Numerous fee For one thing w at Lorna Lady F.T.Ch. Bancho obtained from I great things on trials and shows performances at Club and the E as an outstand



The King Portsmouth

asserted her su gaining the cha She has a be face that should gether she is a Lorna Lady Ho dog that she h the hope of imp stock. The show wa

fighting emergency will ever be squandered in the endless fatigues of armies organized on orthodox military lines. In the Union all non-combatant duties will be undertaken by a corps of trained native labourers and ammunition carriers. It is emphasized that it will never be the policy of the Union to give the natives training in the use of fighting weapons or to employ them as combatants. No more practical way of husbanding the manpower of the Union in war could be found than by using native workers as carriers, labourers, porters, and servants, while the white troops were kept strong for fighting alone. Part of this policy would be the use of mining labour resources in mobile sections of dynamitards. Fully 200,000 skilled native mineworkers could be recruited.

AIR FORCE EXPANSION

Finally, the defence plan, which provides for the closest contact and coordination of all forces, includes the development of an Air Force to which the Union will

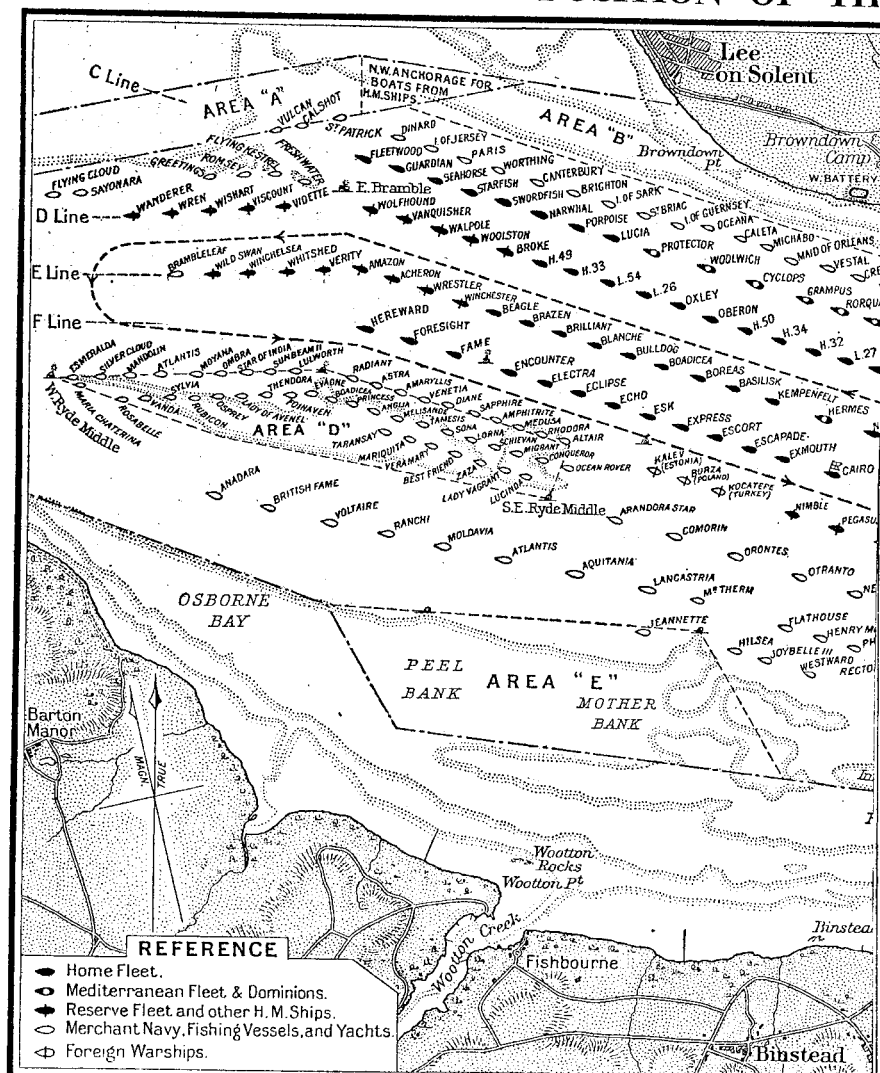
include Mr. S. H. Lee, hon. secretary, Mow Cop Committee; Mr. Joseph Lovatt, Mr. Moses Bourne, the Rev. J. Walton, and the Rev. W. Upright, of the Methodist Church; Mr. F. A. Holmes, secretary of the National Trust Dovedale Committee; Mrs. Joseph Lovatt; and Mr. D. M. Matheson, secretary of the National Trust. Mrs. Lovatt will hand over the deeds of the Castle and grounds to Mr. D. M. Matheson on behalf of her husband, Mr. Joseph Lovatt, of Kildgrove, the donor of the property.

HEAVY HERRING CATCHES

Ninety herring boats landed an average of 20 crans at Stornoway yesterday morning. Prices ranged from 21s. to 15s. The curers agreed to take the balance of the catch at 15s., but after the arrangement was made a vessel arrived with a "shot" of 160 crans. On Tuesday a restriction was placed on the number of nets to be used, but yesterday, in view of the continued heavy catch, the area committee decided that boats should again be restricted to seven nets a man. Some of the fishermen favoured closing the port altogether, but it was agreed that the fishing should continue in the meantime.

HAUS Schutting at Hillersdon.
Borzois.—Mrs. Bransgore and N. Addlesstone.
BULL MASTIFFS.—Springwell Major a Great Dane.—major and Mr. J. V. Irish Wolfhound of Ouborough and Afghan Hounds Bu Hassid and Mrs. Beagles.—Mrs. Crocus.
BULLDOGS.—Mr. Basford Amethyst. Chow Chow. Chu Chow of Am. Dalmatians.—M. Croft Cock and M. Elkhounds.—M. Hollow and Tora. KEESHOUNDS.—M. Miss O. M. Hasling GREYHOUNDS.—M. and Ch. Lady of I. POODLES.—Mrs. and Miss N. Statte POODLES (minia) The Laird of Man Mannerhead.
SALUKIS.—Mrs. and Miss A. Dox SAMOYEDS.—M. Kobe and Miss C. ENGLISH SETTERS of Ballymoy and N. Irish SETTERS.—J. H. J. Bradion

POSITION OF THE



The chart of the Naval Review at Spithead to-day which we publish above emb