

China and Japan when they joined the League of Nations, gave equally solemn undertakings not to resort to war. Open and successful defiance of the League would undoubtedly destroy whatever hopes have been built upon it.

Up to date, neither Japan nor China has actually declared war. Such a declaration would represent a formal and open repudiation of treaty obligations, and an act of defiance to all peaceful opinion throughout the world. Neither Power has yet seen fit to take this last irrevocable step. If the League of Nations has done nothing else, it has provided a rallying point for those forces in the world which condemn war. The question is whether these forces will prevail. Failure is bound to affect in varying degrees the lives of every one of us, even in New Zealand—success on the other hand will mark a great advance toward security.

It must not be supposed that the problems confronting the Chinese and Japanese Governments are capable of simple statement. I can only mention a few points which indicate the problems which each country is now facing. The Chinese say that the Japanese have pursued a well-planned policy of penetration in Manchuria, and that the Japanese soldiers have deliberately and on numerous occasions provoked hostilities. The Chinese say that they will abide unreservedly by the decisions of the League of Nations and will give

Can the League save Shanghai?

(Continued from page 3.)

any undertaking to carry out any instructions the League might give. The Japanese say that even if the Chinese Government gave such undertakings the Chinese soldiery would not respect the instructions of their own Government—in other words they say that the Chinese Government cannot control their own soldiery and their own population. The Japanese say that the Chinese have repeatedly broken the understandings with Japan relating to Manchuria—that the Chinese Government has invited trouble by encouraging a boycott in China of Japanese goods, causing grave unemployment in Japan.

It is unnecessary for us to enter into the rights and wrongs of the dispute between Japan and China. What we are concerned with at the moment is the position of the League of Nations.

Briefly, the league's case against Japan is that the Japanese have constituted themselves judges in their own cause, instead of using the machinery of the league. The chief concern of the Western world is the evasion by Japan of her obligations to us under the League Covenant and the Kellogg Pact—the chief obligation being not to go to war. One clear fact is

that Japan in the last few weeks has occupied Chinese territory greater in extent than the British Isles.

The powers of the League of Nations for punishing a state which goes to war are contained in the famous 16th clause or article, as it is called, of the League Covenant. Article 16 provides that a state which resorts to war, in breach of the Covenant, shall be treated as being at war with all the other members of the league, which thereupon must sever all trade and financial relations with the covenant-breaking state. Mutual support is to be given against the aggressor, and, in addition to economic pressure, military pressure may be used. Now Great Britain and the United States of America have never been very favourable to Article 16. Great Britain agreed to the article with reluctance, and the United States has refused to join the League of Nations partly because of the existence of this article. The British and American Governments look upon the league as an instrument to be used to pacify and unite peoples, rather than as an instrument of punishment.

This view is a practical one. The League of Nations is no stronger than the public support which it can command. Britain has always seen that if and when Article 16 is applied, heavy burdens would fall upon her, and it is doubtful whether public opinion in Britain would countenance a war of punishment, even in a just cause.

Some of the less responsible English newspapers, with large daily circulations, have concealed and distorted the facts as to the Far Eastern situation, and have demanded that Britain should not support the League of Nations even in the limited action it has taken. One newspaper even condemned the comparatively trifling expense of sending Sir John Simon to the meetings of the League Council.

Two of these journals which have consistently attacked the League of Nations since its formation are endeavouring to stir up public opinion in England against the League. They may or may not be justified in what they are doing, but I merely state the fact to show that public opinion in England is not yet overwhelmingly behind the League. When people say, why doesn't the League of Nations act, they are really thinking, why doesn't the League take drastic steps, even to the extent of going to war? The answer is that the League dare not become involved in this way without the whole-

hearted public support which would be essential to successful action. The League of Nations can advise, it can warn, it can judge—but it will never threaten where it cannot compel.

One can only state the problem in the form of questions, the answers to which are obscure. The problem resolves itself along these lines: Can the League remain inactive and still retain its influence in the world? If an Asiatic Power successfully defies the League Council, which is essentially European, what effect would this successful defiance have upon the peoples of Asia? What will the United States do if the balance of power in the Pacific is radically changed? Is it better for the League to lose prestige rather than for Japan to feel insulted by the European Powers? If the League goes no further, will the Chinese people turn upon their own rulers and destroy them, on the ground that they have relied upon treaties and moral forces rather than upon military preparation?

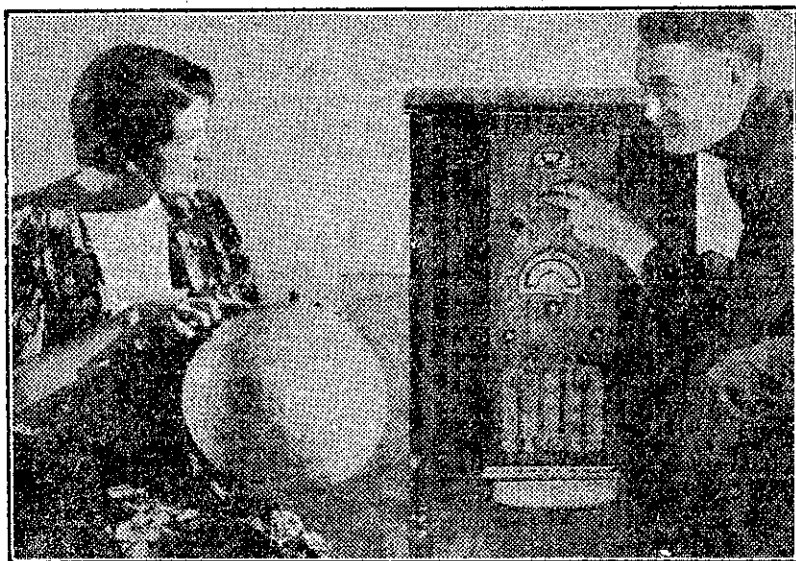
Finally, I wish to stress this point for the consideration of each one of you: The British Empire is a member of the League of Nations. What do you, as British citizens, think about the honourable obligations which you have entered into under the Covenant of the League?

Serviceman's Exam.

IN the list of successful candidates published recently the following names were omitted in error:—Olivecorona, E. E. D., Hardie, T. G.

Television from the Vatican

ON October 25, the television transmitting station of the Vatican was put into operation. The apparatus was a gift of Edouard Belin, the well-known French inventor in this line. At the inauguration a photograph of the Pope was transmitted to the laboratory of Belin at Paris.



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