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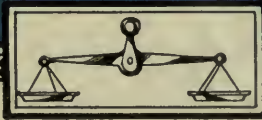
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ADVOCATE OF

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The Index to Volume 92 is now ready and will be sent upon request.—EDITOR.

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The
United States
and
The Permanent Court
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International Justice

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No. 1

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

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Society's First Referendum

THAT the American Peace Society should find the time, amid all its work for a Second World Conference on International Justice to be held in May, 1932, in honor of George Washington, and its other labors, to carry on a membership referendum such as is set forth elsewhere in these columns is an illustration both of vitality and vision.

This Referendum on the Permanent Court of International Justice is the Society's first of a series of referenda on questions of interest to everyone concerned for better international relations. It is already evident that this new approach to the problems of war and peace appeals to all classes of peace workers from the most radical to the most conservative, a program of research and education acceptable to all.

The bipartisan committee that formulated the report of this first referendum succeeded admirably in setting forth essential affirmative and negative arguments as they have appeared from time to time on the question of our adherence to the Court. The committee has made no claim to have covered, much less exhausted, all the points on either side. No one can doubt, however, that the report is fair, and that the summaries, in parallel columns, accompanied by the statements of Professor Jessup and Senator Dill, have added immeasurably to the body of right thinking upon this question, affecting as it does the relations of our country to foreign powers.

By such non-partisan and non-sectarian

approach to a better understanding of our foreign policies it is becoming increasingly clear that the American Peace Society is indeed a "service organization." As pointed out by President Esch, when we of America know the facts we may be trusted to do the right thing. The American Peace Society does well to key its work to that saying of George Washington:

"Truth will ultimately prevail where there is pains taken to bring it to light."

Uncle Sam

IN HIS fascinating novel, "*Uncle Sam In the Eyes of His Family*," published last year, Mr. John Erskine sets for himself the difficult task of showing Uncle Sam as he is today, "with those qualities which for those who do not understand him are not to be understood, and with those other qualities which for those who admire him are easy to admire." At the close of the book we see Sam, after having rescued his brothers from bankruptcy, educated their children and set them up in business, entertaining them all at his comfortable home. With a sad and heavy countenance, Sam, with his eyes on the financial page of the evening paper, is listening to his brothers, who are lecturing him on his lost opportunities for culture, his want of interest in art, his spiritual barrenness, his lack of interest in important and graceful conversation. They are criticizing him because of his preoccupation with money, money, money. The sadness on Sam's face deepens. He is quite crushed.

In the midst of these lectures, however, Sam suddenly starts with an unmistakable expression of joy, and, pointing to one of his favorite investments on the page of stock reports, he exclaims, "See! Western common has gone up!" Whereupon the brothers conclude that Sam is quite hopeless.

The book is a masterpiece of character portrayal, and of course Sam comes out of it with a rugged goodness all his own; but those brothers are typical of something in us, a disposition to feel apologetic now and then for Uncle Sam, a wish that he were something finer than he would have people believe him to be.

It's an outdoor sport for certain types of people to heave bricks at Uncle Sam. It is a sport that breaks out frequently in this country, and sometimes abroad. Thomas A. Edison, who has accomplished enough and lived long enough to know, sighs that he is "not acquainted with anyone who is happy." He jabs us by saying that "we don't know a millionth of one per cent about anything." We are assured by some that Uncle Sam has gone back on his religion, on his morals, that he is not interested in social observances, and that he enjoys kicking over the traces. He permits vulgarity in book and press, and allows crime to blister our entire social structure. He is rearing a family marked by indifference, selfishness, speed, anxieties, and is allowing himself every little while to be knocked off his mental balance.

It is an expression of the Old World's outlook upon Uncle Sam that the Swedish Committee should grant the Nobel Prize in literature to the man whose contribution in literature thus far has been to paint the Uncle Sam in us only in the colors of satire and ridicule.

Uncle Sam is condemned by many for his way of moving rapidly from one spot to another, thinking the while that he is getting somewhere. He doesn't seem to know

what knowledge is worth while. He is extravagant and confused. He is pugnacious. His chief admiration is for mere bigness. Some still agree with Matthew Arnold that he has not been able to distinguish between bigness and greatness.

People abroad accuse Uncle Sam from time to time of many things. They tell us that he preaches too much, and in that they are probably right. Sometimes they call his children "those crazy Americans," and he has some of those, especially among his travelers abroad. Perhaps the chief criticism from overseas is that Uncle Sam is hopelessly selfish, bent primarily on policies of greed and isolation. Uncle Sam is a political isolationist. There is no doubt of that.

Guilty

It doesn't clear his skirts to say that we are proud of him, of his physical energies and achievements, that we like his liberal political and religious views, that we admire his educational ideals, that we glory in his unlimited capacities to create wealth. It doesn't get us anywhere to slap him on the back and congratulate him on his commanding position in the world of affairs. It doesn't quite answer, even, to praise the brave action of his boys on foreign fields.

Uncle Sam has, 'tis true, the best barbers, the best elevators, the best plumbers, the happiest women, the best dentists, the most artistic bootblacks, the best ball players, jazz and chambers of commerce in all the world. But to say all these things doesn't answer the charge against Uncle Sam that he is a political isolationist. When it is claimed that he profited out of the war, that he insists on getting back the money he lent abroad, that he is raising tariffs to the detriment of foreign manufacturers and that he is refusing to help where his help is needed, we raise our eyebrows and call it sniping. But in one way Uncle

Sam is guilty. We must admit it. He is a political isolationist.

Political isolation is in his very blood. His ancestors came to these shores that they might get away from the political follies of their home lands. Three thousand miles of ocean, even generations of time did not lessen—they increased the spirit of individualism, of self-reliance, the will to be left politically alone. They grouped themselves “selfishly” together in parliaments. Worked out and tried to perfect various plans of unions in New England in 1643, in Pennsylvania in 1698, at Albany in 1754, in Philadelphia in 1776, and, finally, in Philadelphia again in 1787. John Adams, who had lived much abroad, wrote in his diary in 1782: “It ought to be our rule not to meddle in the politics of Europe.”

Our ancestors fought a war from 1776 to 1783 to establish their political isolation. On the 12th of June, 1783, the American Congress passed a resolution, as follows: “The true interest of the States requires that they should be as little as possible entangled in the political controversies of European nations.” This will to political isolation expressed itself in our doctrine of neutrality, which has kept us out of a number of wars. It led to Washington’s advice that we have with other nations “as little political connection as possible”; to Jefferson’s warning against “entangling alliances” in Europe; to the Adams-Monroe Doctrine that the extension of European systems or colonies in this hemisphere would be “dangerous to our peace and safety.”

There have been reasons for this policy of political isolation. The builders of this Republic have been wary of whittling away Uncle Sam’s influence by letting him take sides in the political broils and feuds of Europe. The tragic decline of President Wilson’s prestige during his months in Paris, 1918-19, followed inevitably his sid-

ing first with this and then with that faction with the result that his influence with every faction all but disappeared. Our founding fathers were anxious to avoid such a fate for these United States. It was for this reason that they adopted a policy of political independence. It is generally believed that this policy has been a wise one. In any event, measured by the results, the policy has not been without merits, for, as we have to remind ourselves, the United States is the oldest nation resting on a continuous constitution in all the world. Furthermore, the United States, sniping notwithstanding, is the most courted of nations. Uncle Sam presents to the world a Union of free, sovereign and independent States, maintaining peace at last between themselves without recourse to war. This happy result has been achieved by carefulest attention to the processes of justice, to the teachings of experience, and by leaving European nations to work out their own political systems without interference from us.

While we are political isolationists, however, we are not a parochially minded people. We have had the international mind from the beginning. The Mayflower Compact showed the interest of the earliest Puritans in “just and equal laws” and that “in the name of God, amen.” Long before the Revolutionary War, our ancestors were carrying on world trade, making use of maritime and commercial settlements, pleading for the freedom of the seas, and settling many a dispute in the English court of last resort. Recall these phrases from the Declaration of Independence: “Human events,” “the powers of the earth,” “laws of nature and of nature’s god,” “the opinions of mankind,” “all men,” “among men,” “supreme judge of the world,” “war,” “peace,” “alliances,” “commerce,” “let facts be submitted to a candid world.” No parochially minded people could coin expressions such as these.

They accuse us of being selfish. But no one accused us of being selfish during the Great War. That mess, for which we were in no sense responsible, cost us between thirty and forty billions of dollars, an amount greater than our total national wealth in 1860, and we received nothing in return. Of this amount some twenty-five per cent was raised by direct taxation and paid out while the fighting was on. During the five years following 1914 our national debt jumped from one to over twenty-seven billion dollars. During the war our Government spent twice as much as it had spent throughout its history. Herbert Hoover spent some two billion dollars of our money for the relief of the hungry in Europe. We lent some twenty billions of dollars to foreign governments and we have settled for fifty cents on the dollar. We have been patient and considerate. No debtor is asking for the cancellation of the debts owed to the United States. There is no evidence that there is any relation between the present economic depression and the debts owed to the United States.

Indeed, informed Europeans believe that the debts their countries owe to the United States are keeping Europe from breaking out into a war.

We have billions invested in industries abroad. Similarly foreigners are heavy investors in our securities. We are exporting over five billion dollars worth of goods and importing four and one-half billions annually. We are associated with the rest of the world, socially, religiously, economically, intimately. During 1930 there were one hundred four international conferences, congresses, expositions and meetings in which the United States was invited to take part, and in seventy-two of which it did participate. Indeed, our Government appropriated three hundred and fifty thousand dollars for our part in the Naval Conference, fifty thousand dollars for a Special Commission to study conditions in

Haiti, four thousand dollars for the International Congress of Rectors, Deans and Educators, twenty-five thousand dollars for the Conference on the Codification of International Law, five thousand dollars for the International Hygiene Exhibition, twenty thousand dollars for the Conference on Lode Lines, thirty thousand dollars for an exhibit at the Fur Trade Congress, fifty-five thousand dollars for the presentation of a statue to Iceland, thirteen thousand dollars for the Sixth Pan-American Congress on Children, forty thousand dollars for the Fourth World's Poultry Congress, twenty-five thousand six hundred dollars for the Congress on Forestry, Agriculture and Animal Industry, twenty-five thousand dollars for the Convention of Fidac, fifty-five thousand dollars for the Sixth International Road Congress, twenty thousand dollars for the Interparliamentary Union.

Sniping at the Congress

SNIPIING Uncle Sam in general and the United States Congress in particular, recurrently rampant in our country, is not the most hopeful way to improve our foreign policies or to advance the cause of peace between nations. It has been recently charged that "we are the one country in the world, except Mexico, Russia and Turkey, which insists that there be no orderly machinery for the settlement of international differences." The speaker went on to say that "our country is practicing international anarchy in insisting on an isolation that requires fleets and armaments to maintain." Another, according to the press, charges United States Senators with opinions that "it would be a slur upon the intelligence of childhood to describe as infantile." In our opinion, none of these criticisms is just. Why make it?

Our achievements in foreign policy are dependent upon the President of the United States and upon the advice and consent of

the Senate. There is for us no other way to advance agencies of peaceful settlements between nations than through the President with the cooperation of the Senate. The Editor asks his fellow peace workers, why not try working with the Senate for a while?

Congressmen are not a bad lot. Those whom we know are a good sort. Indeed, those 96 men have become Representatives because they have braved public examination—the most difficult of all examinations—and “passed.” Those people on Capitol Hill are our 531 chosen ones, actually. They are as a whole able and high-minded men and women. They are industrious and patriotic men and women. There is no “graft” in the United States Congress. There is no “racketeering” in our National Government. No “gangster” has his hand on the purse of Uncle Sam. No “crook” can get started in the Congress, for every member of that body is watched by 530 others. They want to do the right thing, for votes sake, if nothing else.

Peace workers of this country can begin with the belief that American achievements in government, especially since the second week in May, 1787, are the marvel and in certain respects the hope of the world. Assume that the greatest peace conference of all time was the Federal Convention of 1787, presided over by George Washington, and attended by over fifty of the founders of this Republic. Study will justify the assumption. We are convinced that the strategy for those concerned to get results on any international plane is to kick less and to help more the men whom we have placed in positions of trial and responsibility. The policy of trying to get them to do our will by calling them bad names is poor technique, to say the least. Show your representatives in Congress the facts. They are more anxious to do the right thing than you are to have them.

Elihu Root

WE OF America are very proud of you. You make our country a fairer place to think upon. At 86, alert and able as of yore, you come to Washington and appear before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, the Senate where you served with distinction from 1909 to 1915, to plead for our adherence to the Permanent Court of International Justice. Your appeal makes a profound impression in the Senate and upon the minds of your other fellow countrymen. You stand for a principle especially dear to every person associated with the faiths and aspirations of the American Peace Society.

We associate no fanaticism with your life work nor with your dramatic appearance before our Senators. Before going to the Senate you were Secretary of War in the Cabinet of President McKinley, Secretary of State in the Administration of President Roosevelt. You have served your country on international tribunals and foreign missions. You were a member of the Commission of International Jurists, which on the invitation of the League of Nations reported the plan for the International Court of Justice established in 1921. You were a member of the League of Nations Commission of Experts to revise the World Court Statute in 1929. Your large variety of interests throughout have included only specific services to definite times and issues. Fanaticism would not have led fifteen universities here and abroad to grant to you the degree of Doctor of Laws. The writer of these lines saw you receive *in absentia* the degree of Doctor of Political Science at the University of Leyden, Holland, in 1913, at the same moment you were receiving the degree of Doctor of Common Law at Oxford *in præsentia*. It was not because of fanaticism that you received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1912. Your services to public interests have been and continue to be

useful because palpable. Your voluminous writings, filled with the idealisms associated with the profession of law at its best, reveal always the application of your mind to the things of reality. Thus you have become the outstanding member of our genre, our elder statesmen, respected and honored of all.

Through all your work runs one dominating motive, a golden strand of faith in the fundamental necessities of justice, between man and man, between nation and nation. You have lived amid the scenes of justice in operation, of disputes settled, of interests achieved, of peace attained. You have watched these processes at close range. You have learned that where injustice lurks there are the kindlings of war, and that where justice reigns there are the happy achievements of peace. It was inevitable that you should throw your life into the establishment and the development of a Permanent Court of International Justice. Whatever defects, real or imaginary, there may be in the plan you have striven so valiantly to perfect, your work will go on through the years as long as men believe in the will that gives every man his due, and strive to extend to the behavior of nations the same beneficent faith.

EIGHT hundred thirty-six, an average of seventy international conferences and exhibitions a month, is the latest summary of these expressions of the international mind in Europe. Modern transportation has made it possible for specialists in every field of human cooperation throughout the world to convene for the advancement of their work. America, in this way, has had her share in a majority of these European gatherings, sixteen of which were labeled as "world" affairs during 1930.

From clippings, reports, partial recapitulations and propaganda sheets an European

correspondent writes that the International Congress of Critics was held this year at Prague, to think up quaint and acid things to say about what other people are doing; that the International Congress of Tramps took place at Vienna; that the International Anti Prohibition Leagues (with a strong American delegation) gathered at Budapest; that the International Anti-Tobacco League roundly condemned that weed at Dresden; that the International Congress for the Protection of Creditors and an International Congress of Lodgers were held at Vienna. The Oxy-Acetylene Welders got together at Zurich, Count Keyserling's "School of Wisdom" at Darmstadt, the World Colored Folk at London and the Herring Fisheries (20,000 strong) at Lofoten.

In brief, and according to record, the hotel men met, the criminal police met, the doctors and lawyers and preachers and teachers; the merchants and architects and musicians and artists; the archeologists, stamp collectors, shoe-makers, politicians, economists, writers and psychologists; the Rotarians, astronomers, Esperantists, zoologists, geometrists, geographers and Byzantologists; the beggars and the capitalists—both dealing with finance; the playwrights and dancers, the engineers and athletes—all met from different parts of the world.

LET facts be admitted to a candid world." According to our United States Treasury the net cost of the World War to the United States was \$37,873,908,499. Of course these costs will go on for generations. Three months ago foreign governments owed the United States \$11,641,508,460. During the fiscal year 1930 the Treasury received payments on these obligations amounting to \$239,565,807. Of this last amount \$97,634,287 was applied to the reduction of the debts and \$141,-

931,519 represented interest. The amounts paid represent a very small fraction of the debts owed to the United States. While Europe was paying \$239,565,807 taxpayers in America were contributing \$1,397,020,431 toward the payment of their national debt, \$659,347,613 of which was interest. Thus it appears that the people of the United States paid nearly eight times as much on the principal of its war debt as it received from Europe on that account, and more than four times as much interest. Approximately 70 per cent of our national debt represents the debts of foreign governments to us. Debts due to our loans to foreign nations that they might prosecute the war. Senator Smoot has recently pointed out that if foreign governments pay their debts as at present funded there would still remain a national debt of \$4,543,799,839. Should the European war debts be canceled the entire burden of paying our present national debt of \$16,185,308,299 would fall upon American taxpayers. Elsewhere we say that we settled these foreign obligations at fifty cents on the dollar. That is true of France. Italy is paying only twenty-eight cents for every dollar originally owed. Belgium is allowed an approximate interest rate of 1.79 per cent; France 1.64 per cent; Italy 0.405 per cent; Great Britain 3.306 per cent. Taxpayers of this country have provided nearly \$1,000,000,000 per year for payment on the national debt, in addition to interest, which, when the debt stood at its highest point, amounted to more than \$1,000,000,000 annually. The settlement with Great Britain calls for annual average payments equivalent to 4.6 per cent of the total British budget expenditures. Belgium devotes only 3.5 per cent of its budget expenditures for this purpose and Italy 5.17 per cent. Payments on the principal and interest of the American national debt took 33.4 per cent of our Budget last year.

PRELIMINARY returns of the census taken in Czechoslovakia last December show that the country now has a population of 14,723,234, an increase of 1,115,859 on the figure recorded at the previous census ten years ago. This increase of over 8 per cent is the biggest recorded in any decade since 1870 when censuses began to be taken regularly. In the preceding decade 1911 to 1920, which included the war years, the increase of population was indeed less than 1 per cent. Czechoslovakia is ninth on the list of European countries in respect of population, and has, interestingly enough, on either side of her an ally, Rumania occupying eighth place, and Yugoslavia tenth, the three countries being united, of course, in the alliance of the Little Entente. The population of Bohemia has increased from 6,670,582 to 7,103,266, a growth of approximately $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, but in the most easterly districts of the country (in eastern Slovakia and in Carpathian Ruthenia) the increase has been almost 20 per cent. It is of some interest to note the development in housing accommodation in comparison with the growth of population. In Bohemia, while the population has increased by only 6.40 per cent, the number of dwellings has grown by 17.53 per cent, and the number of houses by as much as 19.41 per cent. The extension of housing accommodation has thus been very considerably in excess of the growth of population, proving that there has been a marked improvement in housing conditions, and that the housing problem was largely due to the demand for a higher standard of comfort. The density of population in Bohemia is now 137 to the square kilometer, a figure surpassed only by Belgium and Holland, so that Bohemia can claim to be one of the most densely populated lands in the world. Czechoslovakia as a whole is sixth on the list of European countries in respect of density of population with 105 to the square kilometer. The average density for all Europe

is 43. The most notable increase in population among the towns is that of Zlin in Monravia, which had 4,678 inhabitants in 1921, and now has 21,584, an advance due to the energies of M. Bata who has established and developed there the biggest boot and shoe concern on the Continent. Prague population has increased by some 171,000, and now totals 848,702, giving the capital sixteenth place among the cities of Europe.

IT WAS a gracious thing for the Honorable Frank B. Kellogg to pay his tribute some weeks ago to his former lads of the American Foreign Service as instruments for world peace. When he called attention to the fact that "the members of the Foreign Service of the United States have, for many years, acted as American outposts of peace in all parts of the world," he said a true thing. When in his remarks he added "few Americans realize the immense value of these officers in maintaining peace," he said an arresting thing. We

are encouraged by the new efforts of our Department of State to call the attention of the public to the countless misunderstandings dealt with instantly and effectively by our Foreign Service men in the thousands of places throughout the world. That work is peace work worth while.

WHEN His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador to the United States, Sir Ronald Lindsay, presented his letters of credence, he stepped aside from the usual formalities of such a ceremony to pay his respects to the cause of international peace, and said:

"The principal effort of diplomacy today is directed towards the noble task of making impossible any future outbreak of war. What for centuries has been the dream of poets and idealists has come to be regarded by practical men as a possibility of practical politics. In this task the cooperation of all governments is necessary; but no cooperation is more important and none more completely assured than that which so happily subsists between the Government of the United States and that of the United Kingdom."

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

World Disarmament Conference

ON DECEMBER 9, after many weeks of earnest and oftentimes acrimonious discussion, the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference completed a work which had extended over nearly five years by giving final approval to a draft convention for the reduction of armaments and to a detailed report explaining the evolution of each of the clauses and the reasons for the various reservations attached to the convention. These voluminous documents were immediately dispatched to all the interested governments, while the Council of the League of Nations at its January meeting set the second Tuesday in Febru-

ary, 1932, as the day on which the World Disarmament Conference is to meet and discuss the question of the limitation of armaments with the draft convention as the basis of discussion.

Origin of the Disarmament Movement

The general disarmament movement, which is to enter upon its first official stage with the convocation of the World Disarmament Conference, has its origin in the Treaty of Versailles. That instrument made two important provisions with regard to armaments. The first was that Germany was to agree to a strict limitation of her

armed forces, under the supervision of the Conference of Ambassadors and later on of the League of Nations. Similar provisions regarding the other defeated powers were written into the treaties of peace concluded with them. The second was that the victorious Allies undertook to bring about, under the auspices of the League of Nations, a general limitation of their own armaments.

It has taken the League of Nations more than ten years to reach the point at which the stage could finally be set for carrying out this second provision of the treaty of peace, the first one having been carried out swiftly and completely in very short order. After much discussion within the League, the 1925 Assembly finally adopted a resolution calling for the convocation of a disarmament conference and for the creation of a preparatory commission for such a conference. This Preparatory Commission was duly created and held a number of meetings, culminating in the December session. The work of the Commission was greatly impeded by the need of solving first many important problems closely connected with the question of disarmament. Accordingly, a great deal of work was done within the League with regard to security, arbitration, et cetera. The great naval powers had to reach substantial agreement on the limitation of naval armaments. All this work, as well as the meetings of the Preparatory Commission, were currently reported in *THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, and by referring to the files of our magazine the interested reader will find a complete record of the whole movement.

Provisions of the Draft Convention

The draft convention adopted at the last meeting of the Preparatory Commission, consists of 59 articles and covers the whole field of military, naval and air armaments. It is divided into three parts.

Part 1 concerns *personnel*; and its articles limit the total number of effectives in the land, sea and air forces. In "formations organized on a military basis," which are also to be limited, are included all police forces, gendarmerie, customs officials, forest guards and any bodies capable of being employed for military purposes without measures of mobilization. There follow model tables, with columns for land forces sta-

tioned in the home country, stationed overseas, formations organized on a military basis; and tables for sea and air forces. Chapter B of Part 1 contains articles which limit the maximum total periods of service of effectives recruited by conscription, whether for land, sea or air.

Part 2 is concerned with *material*. The annual expenditure of each high contracting party on the upkeep, purchase and manufacture of war material or land armaments will be limited in accordance with the figures to be inserted in the tables, which are appended.

In the chapter covering naval armaments it has been found possible to insert figures—no capital ship shall exceed 35,000 tons, no aircraft-carrier 27,000 tons, no submarine 2,000 tons, and the caliber of guns is fixed. Each country agrees to limit its global tonnage, and in certain conditions freedom is allowed in its distribution between classes of ships. Rules are laid down for prohibiting the use of a vessel of war under construction for any other power by a high contracting party which itself becomes engaged in war. The annual expenditure on war material for naval armaments is separately limited. There is at present no provision for the separate limitation of air material. Naval surface combatant vessels of 600 tons, and in certain circumstances up to 2,000 tons, are exempted from limitation.

Chapter C, covering air armaments, contains an article by which the high contracting parties agree to limit the number and total horsepower of the aeroplanes, capable of use in war, under commission and in immediate reserve in their land, sea and air forces.

Part 3 covers *budgetary expenditures*, which it has been agreed "to limit and, as far as possible, to reduce." An elaborate series of model tables follow in order that the various lists of the different states may be drawn up on similar forms and forwarded to the Secretariat of the League in such a way that checking and comparison are easy. Article 30 covers the preparatory military training which may be given to youths in some countries, a statement of which is to be communicated to the Secretariat.

Miscellaneous provisions cover the establishment of a Permanent Disarmament Commission and procedure regarding com-

plaints. The members of the new Commission, which will operate on the lines of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League, shall not represent their governments. If any violations of any of the provisions of the convention are laid before the Permanent Disarmament Commission, it shall examine them and may report them to the Council of the League.

Finally, it is laid down that the convention shall not in any way diminish the obligations of previous treaties in which certain of the high contracting parties have agreed to limit their land, sea and air armaments.

Views of Various Powers

The draft convention was not adopted unanimously by the preparatory Commission, but only by a very large majority. Two important powers, Germany and Soviet Russia, refused their acquiescence. Moreover, the final draft was the result of a great deal of compromise between numerous and more or less opposed points of view. All these differences of opinion found their expression in the debates at the Commission's meetings and in the speeches delivered at the closing of the session by the principal delegates.

At the closing session, M. Politis, the Greek delegate, who had taken a very important part in the work of the Commission, paid high tribute to Lord Cecil, the principal British delegate. Within and without the Commission, M. Politis said, none had done more than Lord Cecil. His action had not only been that of a statesman of noble heart and high inspiration. He had been something of an apostle. The sanctity of his cause had almost made a prophet of him. He had achieved the measure of success mentioned in the Scriptures; he had moved mountains. He had overcome many obstacles and prejudices, and some of his prophecies had already materialized, as they had now completed their work and the Disarmament Conference was in view.

Lord Cecil, after thanking M. Politis and expressing his consciousness of the Greek delegate's "serious exaggerations," said that if he had done anything he had only worked in common with very many other people. He was quite sure that all they could do and all they had done was to make a way for the great wish of the peoples of the world, and to assist them, in however hum-

ble a degree, in accomplishing what he was convinced was one of their greatest desires. The one thing he wanted to impress, not only upon his colleagues, but upon anyone else who might hear or read what he had said, was that one of the most valuable features in the scheme was that it contemplated no finality. The first conference and the first advance were only the prelude to greater advances later. In the Permanent Disarmament Commission, they had created a piece of machinery which he believed to be of the greatest value to the cause of disarmament. They were going to bring into existence an international organ whose duty it would be to watch over what they had done, and to press forward continually to further advances.

Mr. Hugh Gibson, the United States delegate, after associating himself with M. Politis's tribute, expressed admiration for the way in which M. Massigli, the French delegate, had upheld the best traditions of French diplomacy. He would not be frank, Mr. Gibson continued, if he did not say that the draft convention fell far short of American hopes and expectations. Governments would be rendering a poor service to the cause of the reduction of armaments if they led their people to believe that the work done carried the movement farther than it really did. They had been repeatedly told during the past four years of the rôle of public opinion in disarmament. It had been said that the Disarmament Conference could only reach real achievement through an aroused public opinion. This was perfectly true, but it was not enough that public opinion should be aroused. It was first of all necessary that it should be informed. For an aroused and uninformed public opinion might eventually do more harm than good. Public opinion would not be informed in such a way as to exercise an intelligent influence if, through a desire to create confidence, too optimistic a tone was adopted as to what had been done and what could be accomplished on the basis of the present draft. Such exaggeration could really tend only to lure public opinion into a false sense of confidence, render it incapable of exercising its salutary influence and prepare it for inevitable disillusionment.

Count Bernstorff, the German delegate, repeated his view that the draft contained

"many errors and motions of a very grave character." The peoples of the world, he said, would not fail to observe that in this complex instrument the will to disarm was absent. The Disarmament Conference offered to them the last possibility of realizing the final aim of disarmament—an aim which the German Government had persistently worked for.

M. Massigli said that the draft they had prepared was, from the point of view of reality, the one which best corresponded to the necessities of the moment. France would carry to the Disarmament Conference its sincerest good-will, conscious of the limits which prudence forbade one to exceed, but nevertheless resolved to do everything possible and conceivable within those limits.

M. Loudon, the chairman, in his closing speech, recalled that the Commission had begun work on May 18, 1926. He considered that the draft convention was as much as could be done in present circumstances. This was the first time in history that governments had envisaged the possibility of concluding an agreement which touched upon matters hitherto reserved for national jurisdiction.

The Soviet delegate, M. Lunacharsky, reiterated his grievance that the Commission had decided to eliminate from the report accompanying the convention all the remarks of his delegation. Señor Cobian, the rapporteur, quietly reminded him that if his delegation had not so much despised the Commission's report, the present situation would not have arisen. On three or four occasions the desire of the rapporteur that all reservations by the Soviet should appear in the report had been made clear, but on no single occasion had the Soviet delegation supported his point of view. Señor Cobian, however, was anxious that the governments should be fully informed of the Soviet views, and proposed that the minutes of the closing meeting should be forwarded to governments at the same time as the draft convention and report. M. Lunacharsky agreed to this proposal, and then read a long statement setting out the points on which the Soviet delegation had disagreed with the Commission. He concluded with a protest against the refusal of the Commission to pass final judgment on the article which allowed exemptions to the

western neighbours of the U. S. S. R. in the event of the U. S. S. R. not acceding to the convention. This article being "expressly directed against the U. S. S. R.," the Soviet delegation protested against the decision to submit this proposal to the Conference by mentioning it in the report.

Draft Convention before the League Council

The presentation of the draft convention and of the final report of the Preparatory Commission to the League Council at its January session served as an occasion for important pronouncements on the question of disarmament by the Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, Germany, Italy and France.

The British Foreign Minister, Mr. Henderson, in his speech insisted once more on the absolute obligation of every country that had signed the Covenant and the peace treaties not merely to limit, but to reduce its armaments. If they failed to do so there would be doubt about their pacific intentions, and the authority of the League would be gravely impaired.

The coming Disarmament Conference would, he said, be the first world conference ever summoned for that purpose. Nations could only show that their renunciation of war was real by collectively limiting and reducing the military means at their disposal. There was also the obvious consideration of material self-interest. They saw unemployment, poverty, distress and political unrest on every side. In how great a measure was this unrest, simply the result of the armaments that now existed, and how far was it a result of uncertainty as to whether war could be prevented? On behalf of the British Government, he declared that he knew no alliance and could know none except that of the Covenant itself. For the British people, as well as the British Government, only those were their friends who would work with them to carry the great cause of disarmament to victory. They had all to show the world that their work was not on paper only.

Herr Curtius, the German Foreign Minister, who followed, claimed equality for Germany, and said that security must not be matched against insecurity. The draft convention had not been accepted by Germany because, as it stood, it might be taken actually to authorize increases of armed

strength. He demanded that it should be drastically revised before the plenary conference filled the figures into its blank tables.

Signor Grandi, the Italian Foreign Minister, said that security was an element which must be taken into account, but which should not be made a preliminary condition. The preparatory work between now and the conference could best be done by a small committee conversant with the technical aspects of the question and representative of the various points of view.

M. Briand expressed his confidence that the conference would result in an all-round reduction. A nation that did not act up to Article VIII of the Covenant would dishonor itself. At the risk of repetition he must still insist upon the need of security. Disarmament was a moral as well as a material problem. The conference would be a first stage and other conferences would follow. Complete equality could not be reached all at once, but there was no question of establishing the supremacy of one nation over another. People were living on their nerves in Europe, but there was no need for panic.

Concerted Action in Europe

THE second League Conference for Concerted Economic Action, held at Geneva last November, once more demonstrated the difficulties of an agreement among the nations of Europe upon some program of concerted economic action. The first conference of this sort, which took place in February and March, 1930, resulted in the signing of a convention under the terms of which the signatory powers undertook to make no changes in their existing tariffs for the period of one year. The convention was made subject to ratification, and when the November conference met the number of such ratifications was still insufficient to put the convention into operation. Although the original convention set November 1, 1930, as the final date on which ratifications were to be made, the November conference decided to extend this date to January 25, 1931, in a last effort to save the convention from lapsing through lack of ratifications. The first conference also had resulted in the ratification of a pro-

Seat and Presidency of the Conference

After reaching decision on the date of the Disarmament Conference, the Council left open the question of where the Conference is to be held and of the choice of the presiding officer. The general feeling appears to be that the conference should be held at Geneva, while a group of fourteen powers has announced itself in favor of entrusting the presidency of the conference to Dr. Edouard Benesh, the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, who had presided very ably over the sessions of the Committee on Arbitration and Security. On the other hand, the Moscow Government has circulated a note in which it has demanded that the conference should not be held in a country which does not have full diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia and that the presiding officer should not be a statesman of a country which has a large munitions industry. Agreement to this would eliminate both Geneva and Dr. Benesh. There is also a movement on foot to induce some outstanding American to accept the presidency of the conference.

gram of future negotiations, and this program furnished the basis of the discussion at the November meeting.

British and Dutch Proposals

Two important proposals were placed before the November conference for the general improvement of economic relations. They came from Great Britain and the Netherlands.

The British Government proposed the reduction of customs duties by taking groups of commodities and proceeding by stages. It suggested that textile fabrics and machinery might be selected in the first instance, and afterwards other products of industry, agriculture, commerce, stock-raising, and fisheries. The Netherlands proposal suggested the division of states into two groups: (1) Those states which, while retaining tariff autonomy, pursue a liberal commercial policy, and (2) those which, while pursuing the policy of conventional tariffs, possess a more or less pro-

tectionist customs régime. States in the first group would undertake to maintain their liberal system in return for tariff benefits which would be granted to them by the second group, and which would remain subject to the most-favored-nation clause.

Explaining the British proposal, Sir Sydney Chapman, the principal British delegate, said the question was whether tariff reduction could or could not be obtained by collective negotiations. The British proposal aimed not so much at obtaining reductions on a given product as at discovering whether a general result could be obtained. The idea was that certain groups of articles should be taken with a view to obtaining a reduction on the average import duties. Each country could then decide upon which articles of each group tariff reductions could be made.

The conference decided to appoint a committee to examine the British proposal.

In the course of the discussion, M. Elbel, the French delegate, explained the attitude of the French Government to the League economic policy generally. France felt some anxiety, he said, over the tendency to pay more attention to customs measures than to nontariff possibilities for the promotion of trade. The British proposals were considered by France to be very complicated, and circumstances were not favorable to concerted action for tariff reduction. It was necessary to avoid creating a panic by taking precipitate action. France sympathized with the Dutch proposal, but thought it best to keep her own régime, subject to certain readjustments. The French proposals were for the drafting of a convention on nontariff matters and the setting up of a permanent organ of arbitration and conciliation.

The German delegate, referring to the French proposals, said that nontariff questions were particularly difficult to settle, and the Netherlands delegate declared that if more could not be obtained than what the French delegate had offered, he might as well go home and say to his government, "Abandon all hope."

Problems of the Agricultural States

A large part of the discussion at the conference was devoted to the problem of the agricultural states of Europe. Speaking

for these countries, M. Manoilescu, the Rumanian delegate, said that it was in the interests of the industrial countries of western Europe that the agriculture of eastern Europe should be kept in a satisfactory condition. He thought that the conditional and limited interpretation of the most-favored-nation clause should be accepted, with stipulations for preference in special cases; this preferential system should be granted for agricultural products. Under present conditions, however, the eastern European states would be able to content themselves with its application to cereals only. There should be no quantitative restriction, it being nevertheless understood that the states should abstain from trying to monopolize western markets. All European states should grant preference, except those which had no import duties on cereals; these would not be invited to introduce duties with a view to establishing preference. Finally, states which, under the most-favored-nation clause, might be justified in protecting themselves against this preferential system should abstain from doing so.

Following a discussion of the question, an Agrarian Committee was appointed by the president of the conference to study the special problems involved.

Results of the Conference

Neither in the committees nor in the general meetings of the conference was it found possible to reach any substantial degree of agreement. In the end the conference was able to produce only a final act, signed by 23 of the 26 delegations present, which contemplates a reduction of European tariffs through bilateral negotiations, as distinct from general action. The delegates of the three remaining states represented at the conference promised early signature by their respective governments.

After the signatures had been registered, M. Mishaikoff (Bulgaria) declared, on behalf of his own country and of Esthonia, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, the opinion that, in the present circumstances, the commercial convention could not achieve its purpose of stabilizing international trade in any appreciable time unless, in the course of subsequent negotiations and in the near fu-

ture, agreement was reached about remedies for the severe depression from which agriculture was suffering.

The president of the conference, M. Colijn (the Netherlands), said that, while there were grounds for optimism in spite of the closing of the road to general negotiations, the states which had agreed in principle to enter into bilateral negotiations had undertaken no light responsibility. Fail-

ure of these bilateral negotiations would be disastrous for the whole of Europe, as it would lead to the adoption of a protectionist policy by those countries which had hitherto maintained a more or less free-trade policy. Tariff passions would be unchained and this would mean a general European tariff war. He felt it his duty to remind the conference of these probable consequences before its dispersal.

Second Session of the European Committee

THE second session of the Committee of Enquiry for the Economic Union of Europe, created last September, took place at Geneva January 16 to 21. M. Briand, the French Foreign Minister, presided. There were also present 16 other Ministers of Foreign Affairs, three Prime Ministers, and a number of former Foreign Ministers.

Opening Addresses

M. Briand, in his opening address, described the work of the committee as being that of all those who desired to maintain peace in Europe and a guarantee against every form of dissociation which might lead to anarchy and war. The road upon which they were setting out was a long one. In mapping the course care would have to be taken not to lose the sense of realities nor to turn aside from the ultimate goal; at the same time it would be necessary to advance cautiously. M. Briand put forward the question of agricultural credits as one requiring urgent consideration.

Herr Curtius, who followed, declared that Germany remained in favor of a policy of peaceful cooperation and of the reconciliation of interests on the basis of equality of nations. He pressed for immediate decision upon such questions as the Bureau of the Committee and the participation of European nonmember states.

Signor Grandi said that the Italian Government had asked for explanations in regard to the basis on which the European Union should be constituted and what steps should be taken as regards European nonmember states. The attitude of Turkey and the U. S. S. R. was not known, but the European Union would be in a difficult position if these states were kept outside. Italy, he added, would accept a discussion

of economic problems if, after being examined by the committee, they were discussed according to the regular procedure of the League of Nations.

Mr. Arthur Henderson thought the points raised by Signor Grandi deserved serious consideration. The committee was a League organization, but the Assembly's resolution invited it also to consider the question of nonmember cooperation. An agenda would have to be adopted, so that the debate might be concentrated on specific points, and he proposed the appointment of a subcommittee to draw up an agenda. This proposal was accepted, and the committee was appointed, consisting of M. Briand, Mr. Henderson, Herr Curtius, Signor Grandi, M. Hymans, M. Baelaerts Van Blokland, the Duke of Alba, and M. Michalacopoulos.

M. H. Colijn (a former Dutch Prime Minister and President of the Second Conference of Concerted Economic Action), reviewed the situation so far as it was related to negotiations in the economic field. If certain passions now making themselves felt in connection with tariffs—passions hitherto controlled by moderating influences, both national and international—were freed from all constraint they would dominate the future, and their domination would, beyond question, lead to a general tariff war in this part of the world. He appealed to the Foreign Ministers present not to imagine that this matter concerned only Ministers of Commerce. The menace of a tariff war constituted a serious obstacle to a closer understanding between nations, and there must be an improvement in the economic relations between the states of Europe if the aims which the committee had in view were to be attained.

Results of the Meeting

The following resolution was adopted by the committee at the termination of the session:

As the result of our discussions and conversations during the last few days concerning the problems which our governments have respectively to face, it has become plain that economic recovery is now being hindered by lack of confidence in the course of future events, due to widespread political anxiety. That anxiety has been increased by irresponsible talk in various quarters concerning the possibility of international war.

We recognize that there are political difficulties in Europe at the present time and that these difficulties have been accentuated by the economic instability and unrest which the world economic depression has caused. The best service we can render towards the improvement of the economic position is the firm assurance of European peace. We, therefore, declare, as Foreign Ministers or responsible representatives of European states, that we are resolutely determined to use the

machinery of the League to prevent any resort to violence.

The declaration was put to the meeting by M. Briand in the names of France, Great Britain, Germany and Italy, and was adopted by the other representatives of the 27 states by acclamation.

Various subcommittees were appointed by the committee to continue to study the possibilities of collective European action in the economic sphere. They will have to report upon the best means of disposing of the grain surplus at present available and of promoting agricultural credits. Further subcommittees are to be appointed to deal with the political side of European unions and to consider points of organization.

The committee also decided to invite Soviet Russia and Turkey, the only two European powers not represented, to take part in the work of the committee.

British Empire in Conclave

ON November 15, the British Imperial Conference completed its work, which lasted several weeks. The following eight nations comprising the British Commonwealth were represented: Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Irish Free State, India and Newfoundland. Two great problems were before the conference: The constitutional interrelations among the component parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the intrainperial economic relations. Of the two, the second problem is of much the greater immediate importance, but its solution is also the more difficult. In its work, the conference achieved substantial results in advancing the solution of the first problem, but failed almost entirely of success in its grappling with the second problem, further consideration of which has been left to a future conference to be held some time this year at Ottawa.

The Constitutional Issue

On the constitutional issue the delegates agreed to adopt the recommendations of the 1929 Conference on the Operation of Dominion Legislation and to remove the last formal remnants of the old supremacy of what used to be the Imperial Parliament.

The Imperial Conference of 1926 had agreed that the dominion governments and parliaments had attained a status equal to that of the Government and Parliament at Westminster, and the 1929 Conference drew up a report recommending that such survivals of earlier practice and theory that did not accord with this doctrine of equal status should be formally abolished. The 1930 Conference accepted this report with certain safeguards to protect the rights of the Canadian provinces, and recommended that an act, to be known as the Act of Westminster, should, at the request of the dominion parliaments, be passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom to put on a footing of exact equality its own legislative competence and that of the dominion parliaments.

One result of the conference was the agreement that in future the responsibility for advising the king in the appointment of a governor general of a dominion should rest solely with the ministers of the dominion and not with the Government of the United Kingdom.

The Economic Problem

So far as the economic problem was concerned, Canada came to the conference with

a definite proposal for the establishment of a system of more far-reaching preference as between the home country and the dominions than that which exists at the present time. Specifically, Canada asked that Great Britain should impose a duty on cereals imported into that country, giving the dominions preferential treatment in the form of a reduction of duty, in exchange for which the dominions would give British manufacturers a preferred position from the point of view of their customs duties. The other cereal-growing dominions supported the Canadian proposal, while all the dominions appeared to be in agreement that closer economic relations within the Commonwealth, based on some sort of preference, are highly desirable.

The British delegation rejected the Canadian proposal. It did not, however, offer at first any counter-proposals, although toward the end of the conference the British delegation did come forward with several schemes of according preference to the cereal-growing dominions by means of quotas, bulk purchases, import boards and similar devices, not involving customs tariffs. Any serious discussion of these proposals was put over until the Ottawa Conference. In the language of the conference's report, at the Ottawa meeting the examination of the various means by which intra-imperial trade may best be maintained and extended will be resumed "with a view to adopting the means and methods most likely to achieve the common end, provided that this reference is not to be construed as modifying the policy expressed on behalf of any of the governments represented at the present conference."

The summary of the proceedings of the conference, issued after the final meeting, states that the Government of the United Kingdom has undertaken to examine carefully the report of the Graham Committee, set up during the course of the conference, on a wheat quota in consultation with the governments of the wheat-growing dominions and of India. The committee's report on other commodities was referred to the governments concerned for their consideration. The United Kingdom Government has agreed to reconstitute the Empire Marketing Board as a body with a fixed minimum annual income, with a provision enabling it to receive such other contribu-

tions from public or private sources as it may be willing to accept, to further the marketing of Empire products. The home government has also agreed to the reconstitution of the Imperial Economic Committee so that it will be able to examine and report upon any economic question which the governments of the Commonwealth may agree to refer to it.

Heads of Delegations on Conference Results

At the conclusion of the conference, the head of each of the delegations summed up in a closing speech the views of his government on the results of the parley. Following are the salient features of these speeches:

Mr. Bennett (Canada): We from Canada are prepared to consider the desirability of accepting the quota system as a solution of the problem of marketing our Empire wheat in the United Kingdom, having regard especially to importations from foreign countries.

The offer which I extended at the second plenary conference is still open and will, I confidently believe, be accepted by all at Ottawa.

While we might have hoped to accomplish more, we shall not regard our association as wholly in vain or our deliberations as without results.

A further meeting at Ottawa will be of the greatest possible benefit to the representatives of all the members of the conference.

We shall meet there in a spirit of true cooperation, governed by the considered conviction that the interests of all parts of the Commonwealth will be surely advanced through subscription to a plan of closer Empire economic cooperation.

Mr. Scullin (Australia): I do not for one moment believe that this conference has failed. I consider it has made a wonderful step forward.

It has remained for the conference to translate the declaration of the conference of 1926 into acts, and it now remains for the parliaments of the Commonwealth to express their views on what we have done.

We have made considerable progress on the constitutional side, but the economic task was too great for the time at our disposal.

The economic side has by no means been a failure, and we have laid the foundations for closer economic cooperation and greater interimperial trade.

The spirit that has been created will give a wonderful impetus to the voluntary preferences that are given by the peoples of the various countries for Empire goods.

The United Kingdom Government's declaration that the existing preferences will be maintained for a definite period will give great relief to the sugar, the dried fruit and the wine industries. It will enable them to carry on with some sense of security.

I am hopeful that something definite will be done with respect to the wheat quota.

Mr. Forbes (New Zealand): In constitutional questions New Zealand had no complaints to make and no requests to put forward.

The ties of friendship and sympathy, based upon kinship and common blood, are stronger than any document.

On the economic side we regret that it has not been possible to come closer together, though we recognize that it is the right of the people of the United Kingdom to decide what policy is required to meet their individual necessities.

But our regrets will make no manner of difference in our attitude or in our policy towards this country.

We shall continue our system of preference to British goods, determined to increase it where possible.

We leave it to the good-will of the people of the United Kingdom to purchase our products wherever possible.

General Hertzog (South Africa): I should be insincere to pretend that the conference has borne the fruit which we and the other dominions had hoped for.

But we know the circumstances in which the United Kingdom Government has been laboring and the very difficult problems it has had to contend with.

As our expectations did not run too high we have no great disappointments to carry away with us.

Mr. McGilligan (Irish Free State): The results of the conference will not be seen for some time. They will only become apparent as things work out.

The adjournment of the Economic Section to Ottawa postpones economic discussion for some time.

Much may happen before then, and if we have then to view these matters in a somewhat aloof and detached way, we shall, nevertheless, look with interest to see whether climatic conditions

can bring about the reconciliation of the many views that in this climate appear to be irreconcilable.

May I express to the other delegates our tremendous appreciation of the friendship and the sincerity that we have met from them all?

I do not think that from all the welter of conflicting views any man living other than Mr. MacDonald could have brought about the success which this conference has achieved.

Sir Richard Squires (Newfoundland): This conference has been convened in circumstances of unusual world difficulty.

It has, in my opinion, laid the foundation-stones for an important inter-imperial trade development. I look forward with great hope to the continued development of the economic structure of our Empire at the Ottawa Conference.

Sir Muhamed Shafi (India): The whole of India, including its princes and its people, is looking forward to the day when she will be able to send to the conference her own delegation in the same manner as the other dominions.

If the agenda of the conference was very heavy, it has accomplished a great deal.

In view of the rapidly changing international conditions the meeting of the conference once in four years is not sufficient to meet the requirements of the times.

Mr. MacDonald (Great Britain): We meet at a time when the world is undergoing very rapid change, and it would have been sheer folly if we had felt we could make arrangements for the next generation in a conference that has lasted not quite six weeks.

The British Commonwealth of Nations has got to be kept together by other things than material interests.

I still believe in the homage paid to what is good and true and beautiful, and I decline to believe that those magnificent bonds of human co-operation and sympathy which are keeping us united together are going to be alienated.

India's Progress Toward Self-Government

THE Indian Round-Table Conference which sat in London for ten weeks concluded its arduous labors on January 20 with an announcement by the British Prime Minister of the willingness of the British Government to extend to India a substantial measure of self-government. Called at the suggestion of Lord Irwin, the last Viceroy of India, and advocated also by the Simon Commission, the Round-Table Conference represented three elements: the British Government; the various political groups in British India; and the independent Indian states. Apart from coming to an agreement on the main question as to how much self-government India is to have,

the conference, through its various subcommittees, did a great deal of work on various technical questions to be involved in framing a new Indian constitution.

The British Declaration

The declaration read by Prime Minister MacDonald at the closing session of the conference dealt with the following matters:

In the view of his Majesty's Government, responsibility for the government of India should be "placed upon legislatures, central and provincial, with such provisions as may be necessary to guarantee during a period of transition the observance of certain obligations, and to meet other special circumstances; and also with such guarantees as are required by minorities to protect their political liberties and rights."

It will be a primary concern of his Majesty's

Government to see that the reserved powers are so framed and exercised as not to prejudice the advance of India through the new constitution to full responsibility for her own government.

The deliberations of the conference have proceeded on the basis, accepted by all parties, that the Central Government should be a federation of All-India, embracing both the Indian states and British India in a bi-cameral legislature.

The precise form and structure of the new federal government must be determined after further discussion with the princes and representatives of British India.

The federal government will have authority only in such matters concerning the states as will be ceded by their rulers in agreements made by them on entering into federation.

With a legislature constituted on a federal basis, his Majesty's Government will be prepared to recognize the principle of the responsibility of the Executive to the legislature.

Under existing conditions, the subjects of defense and external affairs will be reserved to the governor general, and arrangements will be made to place in his hands the powers necessary for the administration of those subjects.

Moreover, as the governor general must, as a last resort, be able in an emergency to maintain the tranquility of the state, and must similarly be responsible for the observance of the constitutional rights of minorities, he must be granted the necessary power for these purposes.

The transfer of financial responsibility must necessarily be subject to such conditions as will ensure the fulfillment of the obligations incurred under the authority of the secretary of state and the maintenance unimpaired of the financial stability and credit of India.

The governors' provinces will be constituted on a basis of full responsibility. Their ministries will be taken from the legislature and will be jointly responsible to it.

In the opinion of his Majesty's Government it is the duty of the communities to come to an agreement among themselves on the points raised by the minorities subcommittee, but not settled there. The Government will continue to render what good offices it can to help to secure that end.

In view of the character of the conference and of the limited time at its disposal in London, the Government has deemed it advisable to suspend its work at this point so that Indian opinion may be consulted upon the work done and expedients considered for overcoming the difficulties which have been raised. If there is a response to the Viceroy's appeal to those engaged at present in civil disobedience, and others wish to cooperate on the general lines of the Government's declaration, steps will be taken to enlist their services.

In his remarks which preceded the reading of the declaration, Mr. MacDonald said that the British Government was animated by an "overwhelming desire" to let the people of India settle their own affairs and by the conception of India as a unity. He spoke of the unanimity shown by all the speakers in favor of a Federation of India,

and paid tribute to the "magnificent part" played by the independent Indian rulers in making it possible to build up a constitution for an All-India Federation.

Resolution of the Conference

The conference adopted the following resolution:

The conference, sitting in plenary session, has received and noted the reports of the subcommittees submitted by the committee of the whole conference, with comments thereon. These reports, provisional though they are, together with the recorded notes attached to them, afford in the opinion of the conference material of the highest value for use in the framing of a constitution for India, embodying as they do a substantial measure of agreement on the main ground plan and many helpful indications of the points of detail to be further pursued; and the conference feels that arrangements should be made to pursue without interruption the work upon which it has been engaged, including the provision in the constitution of adequate safeguards for the Mussulmans, depressed classes, sikhs and all other important minorities.

The important last sentence, dealing with safeguards for minorities, was added to the resolution as it was at first drafted in order to meet the objections which had been raised on behalf of the Moslems by the Aga Khan, who informed the Prime Minister that without such safeguards the Moslems would accept no responsibility for reforms on the lines laid down by the conference.

Address to the King and Royal Reply

Before the conference dispersed, the following loyal address was sent to the King:

The delegates to the Indian Round-Table Conference on the conclusion of their proceedings desire to submit to your Majesty, with their humble duty, an expression of their loyal gratitude for the several marks of royal favor so graciously bestowed on them. To your Majesty's kindly forethought they owe a setting for their deliberations unsurpassed alike in convenience and in beauty, and they will ever treasure in grateful remembrance the inspiration of your Majesty's personal association with their proceedings.

The King's reply to the address was as follows:

I have received with much pleasure the loyal message which the chairman of your conference has conveyed to me on your behalf. The time has now come for me to bid you God-speed on the conclusion of your deliberations which I inaugurated some nine weeks ago. I have followed your proceedings with the closest interest and have

been impressed with the dignity and earnestness with which they have been conducted, and with the unity of aim which inspired them.

It was not to be expected that in nine short weeks, however close and intensive the labor that was crowded into them—and I know full well how exacting your labors have been—a clear-cut and final solution of the vast problems which confronted you should be found; but I am persuaded that, great as is the volume of patient thought and careful work still to be done, you have opened a new chapter in the history of India. I am sure that you will one and all strive to secure the aid of your countrymen in carrying on the task in the same spirit that has marked your discussions, and I hopefully look forward to an outcome which will restore peace and contentment throughout India.

Reactions in India

The London Round-Table Conference naturally represents only the first step in the solution of the Indian problem. The decisions of the conference still have to be ratified by the British Parliament and by the various groups in India. There appears to be little doubt that the British ratification will be forthcoming. Representatives of all three of the major British parties sat at the conference with Mr. MacDonald, and in spite of such incidents as Winston Churchill's break with his party over the issues raised by the decisions of the conference, little opposition is expected at Westminster. So far as India is concerned, a good deal depends upon the position to be taken by Gandhi and his followers.

The more moderate elements in India have received the London decisions with considerable enthusiasm. Characteristic of this reception was the manifesto issued by the Nationalist Party in the Indian Legislative Assembly, which read as follows:

We members of the Nationalist Party of the Indian Legislative Assembly, having considered the Prime Minister's speech, are of opinion that the announcement made by the Prime Minister at the conclusion of the labors of the Round-Table Conference of the views of his Majesty's Government and of the policy they propose to adopt for giving effect to those views in establishing a new constitution which will advance India to full responsibility for her own government and to give her the equal status of a dominion among the British Commonwealth of Nations, is welcome and gratifying. It is also pleasing to note that his Majesty's Government recognize that the reservations which are to be

placed upon the full powers of the legislature are not only to be transitory but are to be so framed and exercised as not to prejudice the advance of India through the new constitution to true responsibility for her own government. In particular, we are emphatically of opinion that the reservations in the matter of financial adjustment must not in the least degree hamper the effective control of Indian Ministers over the finances of India.

Subject to further consideration of the details which are to be evolved later as to the precise form and structure of the new government, the party cordially approve of the main principles underlying the declaration. The fine sentiments expressed by the Prime Minister in his noble speech are worthy of the occasion, and mark an era full of promise for the future. While welcoming the declaration of policy, we trust its realization will be immediate, which alone can really satisfy. While reserving liberty to consider the whole after the details are known, we venture to endorse the substance and accept the spirit in which the offer has been made.

For such acceptance to be of real effect the cooperation of that important section of Indian political activities whose absence the Prime Minister so profoundly regretted, is essential, and that cooperation cannot be secured unless this declaration is also accompanied by a wholehearted and generous extension of trust and good will to the leaders of the congress. We urge upon the government the necessity of a general political amnesty and the suspension of the ordinances. Then alone that full, sympathetic, and unbiased examination of the Prime Minister's statement from the people's point of view can be secured. While several congress organizations have been declared unlawful and prominent leaders are incarcerated in jail, it is idle to expect that atmosphere of peace which is so essential at the present stage.

While making this appeal to the government, we also make an earnest appeal to the congress leaders, both in and outside jail, to give the most careful consideration to every part of the declaration and cooperate and unite with the rest of the country in securing such modifications and improvements as may be deemed necessary. We are of opinion that the offer is one which is worthy of the most careful consideration.

Gandhi and the other insurgent leaders who had been arrested have been released by the order of the Indian Government. It still remains to be seen whether or not they will accept the position created by the London Conference or will continue their demand for full independence.

Communism in the United States

THE Special Committee to Investigate Communist Activities in the United States, created last year by the House of Representatives, has completed its difficult task and has issued a voluminous report. In fact, there are two reports, one signed by Representative Hamilton Fish, Jr., Chairman of the Committee, and three of the committee's members, Representatives Carl G. Bachman, Edward E. Eslick and Robert S. Hall. The other report is signed by the remaining member of the committee, Representative John E. Nelson.

Committee's Work and Findings

The committee's work lasted several months. Hearings were held "in practically every section of the United States where communist activities were reported." Approximately 275 witnesses were heard and vast quantities of documents examined. The reports issued by the committee are based on all these data.

The majority report begins with a definition of communism, which is given in the following terms:

The following is a definition of communism, a world-wide political organization advocating: (1) Hatred of God and all forms of religion; (2) destruction of private property, and inheritance; (3) absolute social and racial equality; promotion of class hatred; (4) revolutionary propaganda through the Communist International, stirring up communist activities in foreign countries in order to cause strike, riots, sabotage, bloodshed, and civil war; (5) destruction of all forms of representative or democratic governments, including civil liberties, such as freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, and trial by jury; (6) the ultimate and final objective is world revolution and the dictatorship of the so-called proletariat into one union of soviet socialist republics with the world capital at Moscow.

Communism has also been defined as an organized effort to overthrow organized governments which operate contrary to the communist plan now in effect in Russia. It aims at the socialization of government, private property, industry, labor, the home, education, and religion. Its objectives are the abolition of other governments, private ownership of property, inheritance, religion and family relations.

Webster's 1930 Edition Dictionary gives the definition of communism, as follows:

"(1) A system of social organization in which goods are held in common:—the opposite of the system of private property."

Then follows a history of the communist movement generally and of its development in the United States in particular.

The committee came to the conclusion that there are between 500,000 and 600,000 communists and their active sympathizers in the United States. The headquarters of the movement are in New York, and William Z. Foster is the recognized leader. The whole country is divided into 20 communist districts, each in charge of an experienced organizer.

By means of the central organization and its numerous ramifications, an immense amount of propaganda is being conducted in the country. The communists own or control 12 daily newspapers and 30 weekly, semiweekly, biweekly and monthly publications, all published in this country in various languages and distributed through the United States mails. In addition, no less than 14 publications are distributed in other ways than through the mails. Intensive propaganda is carried on in factories, within labor organizations, in schools, among negroes, et cetera.

Majority Recommendations on Treatment of Communists

After reviewing the evidence submitted to it and reciting its own findings, the majority of the committee made the following recommendations on the treatment of communists in the future:

(1) Enlarging the authority of the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice, for the purpose of investigating and keeping in constant touch with the revolutionary propaganda and activities of the communists in the United States; and to provide for additional appropriations for skilled agents to devote their entire time to investigating and preparing reports on the personnel of all entities, groups, individuals, who teach or advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence.

(2) Strengthening immigration laws to prevent the admission of communists into the United States, and providing for immediate deportation of all alien communists.

(3) Provide for additional appropriations to the Bureau of Immigration for vigorous handling of deportation cases.

(4) Amend the naturalization laws so as to forbid the naturalization of a communist.

(5) Amend the naturalization laws so as to cancel the United States citizenship of a communist.

(6) Deny re-entry to the United States to an alien who has visited Russia to secure training in communistic doctrines.

(7) Amend Post Office laws to declare non-mailable all newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, circulars, et cetera, published, written or produced, advocating revolutionary communism.

(8) Amend interstate commerce laws to prohibit transportation of newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, circulars, et cetera, advocating revolutionary communism.

(9) Enactment of Federal law to prosecute communists or other persons, organizations, newspapers, et cetera, in the spreading of false rumors for the purpose of causing runs on banks.

(10) Restriction of, or elimination of, the use of secret codes or ciphers with any government with which the United States has no diplomatic relations, and its trade agencies.

(14) That the Communist Party of the United States of America, Section of the Communist International, be declared illegal, or any other counterpart of the Communist Party, advocating the overthrow of our republican form of government by force and violence, or the affiliation with the Communist International at Moscow, be declared illegal; and that the executive authority of each State and legislature thereof be informed of the revolutionary principles and objectives of the Communist Party of the United States of America, Section of the Communist International, and be requested to take appropriate action to have said party excluded from, or denied recognition as a political entity.*

Recommendations on Trade with Russia

The majority report also contains the following recommendations on trade with Russia:

(11) In view of the fact that the Soviet Government is under the control and direction of the communists, that—

The Treasury Department request, through the State Department, permission to send inspectors or agents to investigate the prison camps and the

pulpwood and timber cutting districts of Soviet Russia, and report back regarding the alleged production of lumber and pulpwood by convict labor, in order to intelligently and properly enforce the provision of the Tariff Act of 1930, section 307, which reads as follows:

"All goods, wares, articles, and merchandise mined, produced or manufactured wholly or in part in any foreign country by convict labor or/and forced labor or/and indentured labor under penal sanctions shall not be entitled to entry at any of the ports of the United States, and the importation thereof is hereby prohibited, and the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to prescribe such regulations as may be necessary for the enforcement of this provision."

The difficulty in administering the law has been to prove that certain shiploads of pulpwood or lumber are specifically produced by convict labor. Up to now the Treasury Department has been unable to prove the use of convict labor in connection with any specific cargoes, and the recent regulations requiring a certificate of origin and good character on each shipment to the effect that convict labor is not used is not sufficient for the protection of free American labor and industry and amounts to little more than a scrap of paper.

If the Soviet Government should refuse such a reasonable request as sending American inspectors to investigate the use of convict labor in the production of lumber and pulpwood when approximately 1,000 Russian engineers and Soviet subjects are roaming about at will in the United States gathering all kinds of information in our factories, mills and mines, then the committee recommends that the Treasury Department prohibit the entry of Soviet pulpwood and lumber, until such time as the agents of the Treasury Department are permitted by the Soviet Government to make a thorough investigation and report.

(12) That the Treasury Department should request through the State Department, permission to send inspectors or agents to investigate the use of forced or indentured labor in Soviet Russia in order to intelligently and properly enforce the provision of the Tariff Act of 1930, section 307, which reads as follows:

"The provisions of this section relating to goods, wares, articles, and merchandise mined, produced, or manufactured by forced labor or/and indentured labor, shall take effect on January 1, 1930; but in no case shall provisions be applicable to goods, wares, articles, or merchandise so mined, produced, or manufactured which are not mined, produced, or manufactured in such quantities in

*Although this point comes last in the list of the committee's recommendations, it is given here for the sake of convenience.

the United States as to meet the consumptive demands of the United States.

"'Forced labor,' as herein used, shall mean all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty for its nonperformance and for which the worker does not offer himself voluntarily." (See "Trade & Commerce Section.")

(13) That immediate consideration be given by the Congress to the placing of an embargo on the importation of manganese from Soviet Russia.

Representative Nelson's Recommendations

Representative Nelson's recommendations, contained in his individual report, are not nearly as numerous or drastic as those of the majority. They are as follows:

1. Greater care on the part of our consular officers in the selection of immigrants and the issuing of immigrant visas.
2. All necessary authorization and appropriations to enable the Department of Justice to resume the work which it carried on previous to 1924—that of following up radical activities in the United States and cooperating in this work with the various State authorities.
3. Adequate appropriations to enable the Department of Labor immediately and continuously to deport all undesirable and illegally entered aliens whose deportation is indicated under existing statutes.
4. The strengthening of our present deportation laws so far as may be necessary more fully to rid ourselves of criminal aliens, including all those convicted under the anarchy and criminal syndicalism laws of the several States.
5. Constant and careful inspection by the Post Office authorities of all radical publications offered for transmission through the United States mail, and the debarring from the same of any issues containing nonmailable matter as defined under existing law. At the present there is no formal inspection or translation of the contents of the foreign-language newspapers, many of which are carrying matter of the most virulent and vicious character.
6. The encouragement and support of organized labor.

Representative Nelson's Conclusions

In making his recommendations, Representative Nelson expressed himself as fully cognizant of the dangers presented by the communist movement, but he followed his

recommendations with the following conclusions, embodying a truly constructive program:

Modern scientific and industrial progress has created new social and economic conditions never contemplated by the founders of this Republic. There is a chasm between the new life and the old ideas. We perhaps need a new attitude of thought and a more liberal approach to some of our problems. After all, a social system finds its final sanction in human happiness and social welfare in the achievement of economic freedom for the individual through the elimination of economic poverty. The crisis that American industry and American labor is facing today speaks in no uncertain terms of something wrong in our social and industrial system, of that which calls for further and deeper study of causes, effects, and cures. Out of such study much good may eventuate.

Bolshevism was born out of a social and political chaos that can never obtain here in America. Our institutions, imperfect though they may be, express the hereditary needs of our race. They were born out of those needs, were shaped and molded to fit them, and are a part of our very beings. There will be no weakening in our ideals of democracy—simply an extension of those ideals into other fields. We may correct the faults in our social philosophy, but the philosophy itself will endure—a philosophy that to date has given to mankind all that it has enjoyed of happiness.

The problem of communism is bound up with our other social and economic problems. Hungry men are dangerous; but to the man with a home, a family, and a job, communism makes no appeal whatever. Communistic ideas are germs in the body politic, hostile, but harmless so long as that body maintains a healthful condition and reacts normally to human needs. They are dangerous only when the resistance of that body becomes weakened through social or selfish errors. Even then their manifestations are symptoms of something wrong rather than a disease in themselves. Sound therapy indicates an eradication of the disease rather than the symptoms.

The solution of this problem lies in the wisdom of our legislators and in the unselfishness of our industrialists. In proportion as we work out economic justice here in America and so order our social system that labor shall share in the economic life of the national as fully and as fairly as it now shares in its social and political life, in just that proportion will radicalism fall of its own inanition and the threat of communism cease to disturb us.

Our World Court Problem

By JOHN J. ESCH

President, American Peace Society

THE Permanent Court of International Justice is of major interest, not only to reformers but to governments, ours included. Certain questions of detail have arisen to befog our relations to the Court. These questions must be resolved, if they are to be resolved, by the common processes of right reason. The American Peace Society aims to aid that kind of approach to the problems of war and peace. As in the realms of law, medicine and the other sciences, facts are of more importance than mere opinions, so in the science of international relations there is abundant need for those methods of analysis and of report we have come to associate with the sciences of research and education.

Thus the American Peace Society is gratified at the reception already given to its "Referendum on the Permanent Court of International Justice." We are now assured that such an approach to the problem was desired by a large number of thinking men and women. From the large number of votes now coming in, it is already apparent that there has been a deep desire to know more of the arguments for and against on the controversial question as to whether or not the so-called "Root Formula" is a satisfactory substitute for the Senate Reservation of January 27, 1926. Even members of the United States Senate are divided upon this question, a number of them saying frankly that in this matter they are "still in the dark." This is of practical importance, for it is in the Senate that the issue must be decided. At this writing it seems probable that it will be so decided at the next session of the Congress convening in December.

The American Peace Society is convinced that its Referendum has already rendered a service. This causes no surprise, for, of course, there is no better way by which to arrive at the truth in any given controversy than by a careful examination of the facts on both sides. Where the facts are clearly seen there can be little doubt as to procedure. The report drafted by the distinguished committee appearing

elsewhere in these columns has already demonstrated the desirability of this approach. It is an able and a thoughtful report. It represents opinions of no one man or group. It is an essay in the realm of facts. It is bipartisan and fair. It sets forth essential arguments on both sides, arguments that have been advanced from time to time by leaders in the field of international relations. There is no doubt that the arguments on both sides represent the best thought, the honest thought, of some of our ablest and most trustworthy men. The American Peace Society is proud to acknowledge the ability and high purpose of all who have given of their strength toward enlightenment upon this question.

The American Peace Society has stood for a Permanent Court of International Justice for 103 years. It has been the pioneer in this field. It has pleaded for it actively and persistently, sometimes alone, through periods of public indifference, of opposition, of doubt and of ridicule long before governments became interested at The Hague in 1899 and again in 1907. It stands for it now, unequivocally as always. It is immeasurably impressed by the growth of public approval of the whole idea which it has done so much to initiate and to foster. When Article XIV of the Covenant of the League of Nations provided in 1919 for steps toward the formation of a Permanent Court of International Justice, the American Peace Society took new courage. When the Council of the League set up a Commission of Jurists in 1920 to frame a statute for the organization of such a court, the American Peace Society felt again the baptism of a new hope. When the United States Senate voted in 1926 and the House of Representatives approved in February, 1929, to adhere to the Court with "reservations," certain members of the American Peace Society felt misgivings, for the kind of court pleaded for by the American Peace Society is the kind of court of which the United States could well be a member without reservations.

The differences of opinion in this coun-

try today on this matter is not over a question whether or not we should join the Permanent Court of International Justice; it is, for one thing, over a detail affecting advisory opinions. The main contention of the American Peace Society stands approved. Essentially all America is for a court. There is, however, the question whether or not the Root Formula should be substituted for the Swanson Resolution. The Swanson Resolution provides that the Court shall not entertain any "advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest." That is the right of an absolute veto under certain circumstances.

The Root Formula provides that if the Court insists upon its right to entertain a request for an advisory opinion in a matter in which the United States claims an interest, the United States may withdraw from the Court "without any imputation of unfriendliness or unwillingness to cooperate generally for peace and good-will." There are Senators who hold that there is no right to absolute veto here whatever. So, should the Root Formula be accepted in place of the Swanson Resolution? That is a question of detail involved. Honest men, some of them responsible men, differ on this question. Even members of the American Peace Society differ also; how far, it is the object of this referendum to determine.

The American Peace Society does not regret differences of opinion upon matters of detail. It welcomes them. It would bring the reasons for these differences of view out into the open; for, as it believes, when once we American people understand we will act right. The American Peace Society is not afraid of the Senate, or of

the discussion which will take place in that body upon this question. The only difference between United States Senators and the rest of us is that the Senators are in positions of responsibility. Thus they are more anxious than the rest of us that what they do shall stand the test of time, for to them will attach the blame or the credit for the ultimate outcome.

While it is the aim of the American Peace Society not to befuddle but to aid its members to think their own thoughts, it is the further purpose to promote education in behalf of that international justice which is the Society's chief interest. Readers of this magazine, therefore, will welcome the reappearance in these columns of all the essential features of the Referendum, together with the additional relevant material brought together by the Editor.

It should not seem strange that the American Peace Society does not get more excited about this or that panacea as in turn it is offered as the solution of the problem of world peace. None should make the mistake of supposing that the American Peace Society is foggy as to the great things for which it stands. This old Society recognizes, however, that truth is elusive, that it must constantly be pursued. It is backed by the faith that there is room for one Society, sobered by years of experience, dedicated to the development of just relations between nations in accord with the teachings of history, particularly of American history—a Society where any honest seeker after the light may find ample opportunity for ascertaining the facts and for following where experience seems destined to lead.

Should the United States of America Join the Permanent Court of International Justice?

Explanatory Note

To the Members of the *American Peace Society*:

In behalf of the American Peace Society, we here thank the distinguished gentlemen who have been kind enough to draft this important Report.

While it has been the aim of the Board of Directors to aid you to interpret more easily the subject submitted for this Referendum, the major purposes have been: first, to promote education in behalf of international justice; second, to ascertain your views as to this special and important problem.

The Board of Directors, in authorizing the submission of this Report to Referendum, neither approves it, of course, nor dissents from it.

Your ballots, in order to be counted, should be in the possession of the Secretary of the Society at the earliest possible moment.

The results, as determined by the ballots, will be presented as totals to the President of the United States, to each member of the Senate, to the Secretary of State, and to other interested persons. They will be printed in the *Advocate of Peace*.

This Referendum is but one of many others which the Board of Directors contemplates. The *American Peace Society* seeks to promote better international relations by the processes of right thinking. It invites your cooperation to this end.

Yours very truly,

JOHN J. ESCH,
President,

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL,
Secretary.

Personnel of Committee

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LESTER H. WOOLSEY, Washington, D. C. Attorney. Solicitor United States Department of State from 1917 to 1920. Technical Delegate United States Peace Conference, Paris, 1919.

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, *Secretary*, Washington, D. C. Secretary American Peace Society. Editor of the *Advocate of Peace*. Executive Secretary American Group, Interparliamentary Union.

A REPORT

Certain Arguments in Favor of Ratification*

From the beginning, the United States of America has believed in justice as the foundation for any abiding peace between States. Therefore, in cases of dispute involving principles of justice, the United States believes in a Court of Law for the final determination of such controversies.

The United States has adopted and applied the foregoing beliefs by establishing a Supreme Court for the settlement of disputes, whether or not the parties to the controversy be individuals or States of the Union.

Faith in due process of law led Americans over a century ago to advocate a court of last resort for the settlement of disputes between nations. Such a court for the nations has been urged by prominent laymen and statesmen of America, especially through the American Peace Society since its foundation in 1828. It has been known here and abroad as "The American Plan."

The establishment of an international court of justice based on law, as advocated by the American Peace Society, was proposed by delegates from the United States—instructed by John Hay, Secretary of State of the United States—to the first Hague Conference of 1899; and again by delegates—instructed by Elihu Root, Secretary of State of the United States—to the second Hague Conference of 1907. Woodrow Wilson approved the incorporation of Article 14, providing for the

Certain Arguments Against Ratification*

The World Court is the League of Nation's Court, and not an unfettered Court with relations to the nations like unto the relations existing between the States of the American Union and the Supreme Court of the United States of America. "The hallmarks of the League are written more than sixty times into the very fabric of the Statute of the Court." The Court was established by the League, its judges are elected and paid by the League.

The World Court rests not upon laws accepted by all, but upon a League of Nations existing not as an instrument of justice but as a political agency of power.

As long as it remains undesirable for the United States to join the League it will be undesirable for the United States to be in any sense responsible for the action of its Court.

This Court is not a fulfillment of the "American Plan," because of its inconsistencies with American conceptions of Courts and of the principles of jurisprudence.

The World Court advocated by our leading men heretofore is not the kind of Court now set up at The Hague. Witness the unwillingness of its sponsors to accept the unqualified jurisdiction of the Court in all really justiciable cases; and, particularly the rejection by the League of the recommendation of its own Committee of Jurists for the further development of international law. Presidents Harding and Coolidge advocated this Court only with reservations

* These "arguments" are placed in parallel columns not as statements with replies but for purposes of comparison merely.—Committee.

establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice in the Covenant of the League of Nations. Presidents Harding, Coolidge and Hoover advocated this Court.

Distinguished American jurists have urged the importance of an international judiciary; they have thus urged in South America, in councils of learned societies, in conference. They so urged upon the makers of the Treaty of Versailles in 1918-19.

The Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, organized in 1921 and holding its first session in January, 1922, is an established and successful expression of American aspiration, called by Mr. Hughes, now Chief Justice of the United States, "the absolute minimum of intelligent effort for the promotion of world peace."

The Court has delivered sixteen judgments, rendered eighteen advisory opinions, and made seven orders. In each of the judgments the action of this Court has been accepted as final.

The Court avoids the necessity of sporadic efforts toward judicial settlement, furnishing continuity and promoting confidence.

The Court rests upon foundations laid in 1920 by a Committee of Jurists, of which Mr. Elihu Root, assisted by Mr. James Brown Scott, both Honorary Vice-Presidents of the American Peace Society, was a member.

The organization, competence, procedure, the matter of advisory opinions and the judicial independence of the Court are clearly defined in the sixty-eight articles of the Statute of the Court. (The last four Articles, dealing with advisory opinions, remain yet to be ratified.)

The Court rests upon this Statute incorporated in a treaty, commonly

which the League of Nations refused to accept.

In the absence of laws mutually and universally agreed upon, the World Court can hand down arbitrary and unacceptable decisions. It is unreasonable to expect the Court to disavow any portion of the Covenant of the League because the Covenant is the charter of the Court, the instrument from which it derives its being.

This Court is not an expression of American aspiration, otherwise no reservations would have been suggested by our Government.

What the Court has done is an argument neither for nor against the soundness of the Court's foundations. The League of Nations officially considers the Court as its "most essential part." It is fair, therefore to ask, "How can the United States become a part of a part, without becoming a part of the whole?"

The Court does not invite the confidence of a people imbued with the history and the spirit of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The Court's statute was materially and vitally changed by the Council of the League of Nations. The Council of the League flatly denied the proposal of the Jurists that there should be recurring conferences for the advancement of international law. It refused the suggestion of the Jurists as to the jurisdiction of the Court.

The Court is the League's lawyer, an adviser to a political organization. To impose upon a court the duty of advising a political body is to subtract from it its substance as a court.

The "Statute", changed by the League, never has been acceptable to the United States. Witness the general demand for "reservations" even by the friends of the Court throughout the United States.

If the Court be what its friends claim, why the "reservations"?

The purpose of these reservations was to protect the United States and the Court itself from degenerating into a

called the Protocol of Signature, opened for signature December 16, 1920, and now signed by fifty-four powers. There is no proposal for a World Court other than this.

The Court is established in accord with Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. It is, therefore, competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. It may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly. Certain States of the American Union provide for advisory opinions from their Superior Courts. The Court is open to States mentioned in the Annex of the Covenant, which includes the United States.

On February 24, 1925, the House of Representatives approved by a large majority our adherence to the Court, with the reservations recommended by President Coolidge.

The United States Senate voted in 1926—76 to 17—to adhere to the Court, with five reservations.

These reservations were considered at Geneva in September, 1926, by a Conference of Signatory States. This Conference drafted a protocol of eight articles. Substantial differences of opinion remaining as to the second part of the fifth reservation, Mr. Kellogg, Secretary of State of the United States, opened the way in February, 1929, for further negotiations.

The League of Nations having appointed a committee of jurists to suggest amendments to the Statute of the Court, the Council of the League requested the committee, of which Mr. Root was a member, to consider the situation relative to the

tool of a political organization. The Root formula is a proposal that the Senate rescind its own resolution* for another "wordy, obscure and ambiguous", leaving the Court free to disregard our protest.

The provision for advisory opinions is particularly unwise, for such use of the Court by the League means that the League may intermeddle in any controversy between sovereign States, political or otherwise. There is the best authority for holding that the advisory function of the Court is "admittedly inconsistent with and potentially destructive of the judicial character" of the Court.

America stands for the self-government of peoples within separate States where all are morally accountable under laws voluntarily adopted. America has courts for the settlement of controversies under such laws. America stands for the application of the same system to the relations of States. If the World Court were a real court, no sovereign State could refuse to accept its jurisdiction in any justiciable case. America is opposed to any rule of action devised and imposed by the same authority. By joining the World Court, America would violate her traditional policy, place herself subject not to laws but to men, and hamper the further development of institutions of justice on the American model.

Secretary Stimson is quoted as saying that with the Root formula we may "safely" adhere to the Court. Without the Root formula, evidently he thinks there would be danger. What safeguard does the Root formula provide? None but the privilege of withdrawing from the Court.

Mr. Hughes is quoted as saying "we lose nothing"; but we also gain nothing, for without accepting the protocols we may make use of the Court.

Although members of the League of Nations have signed the Pact of

*See "Swanson Resolution" page 13, paragraph 5.

accession of the United States to the Protocol of Signature of the Statute of the Court. This the committee did in March, 1929. The result was an agreement upon a Protocol embodying a formula for the adjustment of differences over the five reservations of the Senate Resolution of January 27, 1926. This formula is familiarly known as the Protocol of Accession containing the Root formula. Authorities, including Mr. Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State of the United States, agree that the United States can under this formula safely adhere to the Court. Secretary Stimson holds that this Protocol of Accession* meets the objections raised by the Senate Reservations.** In the language of Mr. Hughes: "In supporting the World Court in the manner proposed, we lose nothing that we could otherwise preserve; we take no serious risks that we could otherwise avoid; we enhance rather than impair our ultimate security; and we heighten the mutual confidence which rests upon demonstrated respect for the essential institutions of international justice."

The Pact of Paris renounced war as an instrument of national policy. Signatories to the Pact, including now practically all the nations of the world, have agreed never to seek the settlement of disputes which may arise among them except by "pacific means." The Court is such pacific means.

The Court is an independent Court, open to every nation member of the League of Nations or not. The League has no influence over its jurisdiction or procedure, as both of these are regulated by statutes and rules outside the League. The judges are nominated by national groups in the Hague Court of Arbitration, also outside the League. The Court's expenses are not paid by the League, but through it. The nations simply

Paris, by Article 16 of the Covenant of the League all members have explicitly agreed to violate it by making war an instrument of the League's policy in penalizing certain violators of the Covenant. Furthermore, not all the adherents of the Court have accepted its jurisdiction in all cases, especially the great powers. As an agency of "pacific means," the Court is out of harmony with American practice.

The Court is not independent. The League of Nations fixed both its jurisdiction and procedure. The League elects and pays the judges. It is the League's Court. We are not a member of the League. If we wish to make use of the Court we can do so at any time without "joining". Partisans of the Court seem more anxious that we "join" it than that we use it.

Furthermore, the refusal of a judge to accept the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations as constituting the Court's fundamental law might expose him to the disfavor of the League and render him ineligible for re-election as a judge.

If the Court were the kind of Court familiar and acceptable to the United States, it should be possible for any defendant to be haled before it. The limited jurisdiction is another evidence of defect in the structure of the Court. Furthermore, if we "join" the Court and then for any reason withdraw, we will be face to face with another political situation serious as it would be embarrassing. The whole problem of "consent" was far from settled by the Carelia case. The Court was censured by the League for its action in that case. The Council believes the Court is under duty to act when directed by the League to do so. If a member, the United States might find itself faced with intrusions by the League in matters of a purely political nature.

Again, is it desirable for the United States to accept in advance

*See page 39.

**See page 38.

make use of the League machinery to elect and pay the judges. The election of the judges through the League machinery is no infringement upon the independence of the Court any more than the Justices of our Supreme Court are dependent upon the Executive or the Senate because of their selection by those agencies.

No nation can be haled before the Court without its consent, as the jurisdiction of the Court is limited to cases which the parties refer to it. From the action of the Court in the Eastern Carelia case it is apparent no advisory opinion will be given without the consent of parties who may be non-members of the League. In any event, under the terms of the Root formula the United States could withdraw from the Court if it entertained a request for an advisory opinion over the objection of the United States. (The so-called "Root Formula" appears in full as Protocol II, page 14.)

There is already a body of law for the Court. Under the Statute of the Court, the Court applies international conventions that have established rules recognized by the contesting States; international custom, as evidence of the general practice accepted as law; the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations; judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations. The decision of the Court has no binding force except between the parties and in respect of that particular case. The Court may decide a case in accord with the principles of right and equity, if the parties agree thereto.

All three Protocols have been approved unanimously by the Council and by the Assembly of the League, signed by practically all the member States, and December 9, 1929, they were signed on behalf of the United States. So far, it appears that the majority of our Press, it is hoped also

the jurisdiction of a foreign tribunal, and after accepting such jurisdiction to refuse to adjudicate a particular difference?

While we favor an international court with power to sit in judgment on questions of law, law for Europe is confined mainly to treaties backed by force, with many of which we are not in sympathy. The European outlook is political and military. The law upon which the World Court rests has little to do with justice for the United States. The Court is not a Court of justice rendering decisions under rules of law. Under the Covenant of the League of Nations the Court would be obliged to justify war as a penalty for violation of treaty engagements.

In case we "join" the Court, who shall decide whether or not a given case shall go to the Court? The President? the Senate? the Congress? Who shall formulate the issue to be adjudicated? How shall it be formulated?

We are for an independent tribunal acting under just laws made with our consent, and deciding every question according to its merits. The idea of the League making laws for the Court to apply means a world government opposed fundamentally to the enduring things at the heart of America. Thus far America has assumed a detached position on controversies affecting other governments. She has preferred to keep the privilege of throwing her influence, if at all, at any right time on any right side. She has retained thus far a popular and open control of her foreign policy. She has never merged her identity in a mass of political agreements to make war in circumstances not easily foreseen. She is anxious to avoid siding with this or that faction in troubled Europe, especially because of the dangers involved, not the least of which is arousing the antagonism of one section of our own population against another. She

of the Senate and of the American people are disposed to follow President Hoover in his efforts to identify the United States with this expression of the world to promote the peace of justice between nations. The United States should be able to defend its legitimate international rights, and interests, openly and unafraid, before this accredited tribunal. There are sufficient reasons, moral and practical, to warrant our adherence to this Court.

It remains only for the Senate to ratify. The Senate should ratify.

cherishes her freedom to stand by the cause of justice through "cooperation today— freedom of action tomorrow." She has shown her faith in courts of justice. She must stand aloof from any court to which she cannot grant compulsory jurisdiction, and to which she cannot adhere without qualifying "reservations."

The Senate of the United States should not ratify the Protocols, for the United States of America should not "join" a court about which there hangs so much misunderstanding, misinformation and doubt.

Respectfully Submitted to the Board of Directors of the *American Peace Society*

World Court Referendum Committee

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The World Court

A Statement in Favor of American Adherence

By PHILIP C. JESSUP

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There are three World Court treaties of current interest. They are called Protocols. Their support by a large body of public opinion in the United States has been made obvious. The Senate is called upon to take action in accordance with this opinion; to take action in accordance with its own conclusions; in accordance with the traditions of the United States; in furtherance of the national interests of the United States.

The first Protocol is the original treaty of 1920 under which the Court was brought into existence. Every President and Secretary of State who has been in office since the treaty was signed has favored our adherence to it. In 1925 the House of Representatives by a vote of 303 to 28 approved such adherence. In 1926 by a vote of 76 to 17 the Senate added its approval subject to five reservations.

The creation of the Court under this Protocol was the culmination of twenty-one years of endeavor. The United States was a leader throughout this movement and the final success of the plans was due to American ingenuity. That we should adhere to this Protocol is no longer a subject for serious debate. Over 60% of the newspapers in the United States favor such action. The people of the United States, individually, through numerous organizations, through the voice of their chosen executives and through their representatives in both Houses of Congress, have long considered this Court and have found it good.

The reservations to our adherence are properly the subject of the second or Root Protocol. There is no suggestion that the Senate reservations be abandoned. There is rather insistence that they be maintained and made effective. At first their meaning and effect were not clearly understood. The other States, parties to the first Protocol, invited us to attend a conference to discuss them. We declined. In our absence they searched in the dark and their proposals were not acceptable to us. In March, 1929, Mr. Elihu Root went to Europe to attend a meeting of a Commit-

tee of experts to study revision of the original Court Protocol which he had materially helped to draft. He carried with him 84 years the experience of two Cabinet posts, six years in the Senate and a long service at the bar and in international affairs. He drafted a Protocol which he, two Secretaries of State, President Hoover, and many others, believe constitutes an acceptance of the Senate reservations as well as a method for their application. The Root Protocol opens with the words: "The States signatories of the said Protocol [of 1920] accept the special conditions attached by the United States in the five reservations." No one of those signatories objects to this Protocol; it meets the terms we ourselves have proposed; are we to repudiate our own conditions? How are we to carry on our international business if we reverse a decision reached after mature deliberation and exhaustive debate?

It has been asserted that the Root Protocol was not the work of Mr. Root, but of Sir Cecil Hurst. The English jurist did participate in the re-drafting, but anyone who cares to examine the record will find that not one of Mr. Root's basic suggestions was abandoned or even substantially altered.

The chief argument on the Root Protocol centers around the second part of the Fifth Reservation, whereby it was specified that the Court should not "without the consent of the United States, entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest." It is not always remembered that at the present time, when we are not parties to the Court treaty, the Court might render an advisory opinion on a question touching our interests. It has affirmed the principle that it will not, without our consent, render such an opinion on a dispute to which we are actually a party. By ratifying the Root Protocol we would thus secure a right we do not now have. But it must be remembered also that advisory opinions bind no one,—neither outside States nor participating States. The dan-

ger is therefore not a real one. If advisory opinions have a moral influence, that influence is as strong upon us now as it would be if we had ratified the Protocol of 1920, and no stronger.

The Senate reservation contained no procedure for its application; the Root Protocol provides such procedure. Obviously, there must be some way in which the United States can make known an objection if it has one; the Root Protocol suggests how this may be done and gives an opportunity for negotiation explaining how our interests are affected. The language of the Root Protocol is usually ignored by its opponents. The article in question begins: "With a view to insuring that the Court shall not *without the consent of the United States, entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest, . . .*" The italicized words are taken word for word from the fifth reservation. The procedure designed to insure this result is then set forth. If, along with this language, you consider Article I, quoted above, which stipulates that the five Senate reservations are accepted, no honest doubt remains.

The Fourth Reservation provided that the United States could withdraw from the Court at any time. The Root Protocol contains the same provision and also emphasizes one instance in which that right might be exercised. It has been erroneously alleged that the withdrawal under the Root Protocol would take place if the Court gave an advisory opinion without our consent on a question in which we were interested. Not at all. The Root Protocol contemplates that we would withdraw if, contrary to present expectations, the use of advisory opinions should change in a manner which we did not approve.

The third Protocol, for Revision of the Statute of the Court contains those changes which the experience of nine years suggested might profitably be made in the Court's fundamental constitution and operation. We are not under any obligation to accept these changes, but it would be to our advantage to do so. In general, they are designed to make the Court more of a permanent judicial body like the Supreme Court of the United States. In particular, they supplement

those regulations on the advisory opinions of the Court which the Senate reservations and the Root Protocol contain. They make of general and permanent application the rules that advisory opinions shall be rendered publicly after due notice and hearing. They also affirm the provisions of the Root Protocol which would operate to prevent the rendering of an advisory opinion, on a matter in which the United States is interested, without the consent of the United States. On all these points the Root Protocol suffices for the protection of the United States, but the Protocol for Revision of the Statute formally inserts these regulations in the fundamental organization of the Court, making them of general application to all States. The highly desirable doctrine of the Eastern Carelia case is perpetuated. In addition, this Protocol provides improvements in many other details.

What is to be feared from the approval of the Protocols? The only positive obligation we would assume would be that of contributing to the expenses of the Court whatever amount Congress decided was proper. Behind the bulwarks of the Root Protocol no interest of the United States could be adversely affected, no controversy in which the United States was involved could be passed upon in any way without our specific consent. Should conditions change or should the Court deteriorate, our right to withdraw at any time is freely recognized. Some pretend to fear this is a first step toward entering the League of Nations. For six years the United States considered this possibility and then went on record in favor of adhering to the Court Protocol, realizing that the danger was unreal and that we do not bind ourselves to some far-distant eventuality by taking an unrelated step today. The League issue is not involved and we are in a sorry pass if we can not consider separate issues on their separate merits. The League issue was dragged across the trail in a futile attempt to befuddle those who wish peace through justice. Of course the Court has relations to the League, but it is an independent judicial body, and the history of nine years proves that those relations do not endanger the Court and would not affect the policy or interests of the United States.

The Issue Before the United States Senate

A Statement Opposed to American Adherence

By Senator C. C. DILL of Washington

When the Senate adopted the resolution of ratification of the League of Nations Court Protocol five years ago, January 27, 1926, it attached five reservations, the essential parts of which are as follows:

1. That the United States would establish no legal relation to the League of Nations, nor incur any obligation under the Treaty of Versailles, by joining the Court.
2. That the United States would help elect the Judges of the Court.
3. That the United States would help to pay the expenses of the Court.
4. That the United States could withdraw from the Court and that the protocol could not be amended without the consent of the United States.
5. That the Court could not render an advisory opinion on any subject if the United States objected.

When President Coolidge submitted those reservations to the members of the League of Nations, what happened? The European statesmen, who run the League, immediately accepted the first four reservations, but they refused to accept the fifth. Let me quote that reservation in full. It is as follows:

"That the court shall not render any advisory opinion except publicly after due notice to all States adhering to the court and to all interested States and after public hearing or opportunity for hearing given to any State concerned; nor shall it, without the consent of the United States, entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest."

What is the history of this reservation? How did the Senate happen to adopt it? The record of the Senate debates shows that Senator Swanson, the chief proponent of the Court at that time, offered it the day before the vote was taken in the Senate. It represented the deliberate, considered judgment of those who favored entrance

into this Court five years ago, after Senators had debated the subject in committee and on the floor of the Senate for many months. The Senate was practically unanimous in its support of this reservation. The President approved. The press of the country declared it a wise and proper reservation, because it gave the United States the right to protect whatever interests might be involved in decisions of the Court.

Every other great nation had then, and has now, the right, as members of the League, to prevent consideration by the Court of any case to which they make objection, but these nations now refuse to grant that right to the United States. If the United States were a member of the League of Nations, it would possess that right, but because it is not a member of the League, it is to be denied that right.

In other words, the European statesmen, who run the League of Nations and control the League of Nations Court, now say to us: "You may come into the Court with us, you may sit with us, you may vote with us, you may pay bills with us, but you shall not interfere with us, you shall not have equal rights with us, you shall not prevent decisions about your affairs being made by us."

You may have noted that I refer to this Court as the League of Nations Court instead of as the World Court. I do that because this is not a World Court at all. A World Court would be a court created by the nations of the world to decide cases only in accordance with terms of international law; but the League of Nations wrote the law that established this Court. The League of Nations determines what subjects this Court shall consider. The League of Nations elects the Judges of this Court. The League of Nations pays the salaries of those Judges. The Supreme law of this Court is not international law, but the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The League of Nations created it. The League of Nations controls it. The League of Nations maintains and guides it. I re-

peat, it is not a World Court, but the League of Nations Court.

When the American people voted by seven million majority to stay out of the League of Nations, they meant to stay out of the Court of the League as well as out of the Council and The Assembly.

Surely if we are to enter the court at all, it should be only on conditions that will fully protect American rights. Had we joined the League as President Wilson urged, our rights in the Court would have been protected, as are the rights of all League members, but the people vetoed that at the polls. Both President Harding and President Coolidge believed adherence to this Court should be on a basis of equality with other nations. When the League refused to accept the fifth reservation, Mr. Coolidge said: "I do not intend to ask the Senate to modify its position. Unless the requirements of the Senate Resolution are met by other interested nations, I can see no prospect of this country's adhering to the Court."

The American people approved that statement. No member of the Senate expressed disagreement. It remained for Mr. Hoover to propose surrender. He excuses this proposed surrender in the name of peace. Millions of the American people and many Senators and Congressmen are willing to close their eyes to all objections and dangers, because of their hope that the Court will maintain peace. League of Nations propagandists and followers of the international bankers have made them believe this League of Nations Court will prevent war. They hope this League of Nations Court is the international machinery that will insure permanent peace. But let us examine this proposal.

The greatest contribution the United States can make to world peace is, first, to remain at peace itself, and second, to use its vast influence to keep other nations at peace. The United States covets no territory. Our people will not start war to secure trade in other parts of the world, or to enforce our form of government upon any people. About the only causes for which the American people will fight are interference with the rights of our government and its citizens within our own borders, or upon the high seas, and for the maintenance of human liberty under law.

If we enter the League of Nations Court,

without the power to protect our own rights against interference by that Court, as was provided in the fifth reservation, we are sowing seeds of international trouble that may easily lead to war.

Let me illustrate the danger of such action. Take the immigration question. Suppose a nation proposes that all bars to immigration be abolished in all countries, and asks the Court to pass upon the question. We could object, and the Court would consider our objections. If it decided to pass on the question anyhow, we could withdraw. Then we might find ourselves in the position of having the League of Nations Court, of which we had been a member, making a decision on the question at this time. Under the fifth reservation, if some nation brought forth a proposal, and we objected, that would be the end of it. Under which arrangement do you think the future of America would be best protected? Under which arrangement would there be less likelihood of internal complications which might lead to war?

Take the question of cancelling the war debts: If some nation proposed the Court should render an opinion on the question of the cancellation of all war debts, and the United States objected, and if the Court decided to consider the question anyhow, we could withdraw. If the Court decided the war debt should be cancelled, and that is the sentiment of Europe generally today, we would find the League of Nations Court deciding all war debts should be cancelled, and the United States would be pictured as leaving the Court because we feared the Court would cancel the debts. Under the fifth reservation, if such a proposal were made the United States could object and that would prevent the Court's consideration of the proposal to cancel the war debts. Which arrangement do you think would best protect American rights? Under which plan would there be less likelihood of international complications that might lead to war?

I have used these two illustrations because they are questions that are pressing and imminent in international affairs at this time. Nobody can foresee what new questions may arise in the years that are ahead, but with the guarantees of protection afforded by the fifth reservation, at least the United States could protect its rights and future interest without offense

to other nations. Under the Root formula all it could do would be protest, and if the protest were overridden, it would mean withdrawal from the League Court of which it had previously been a member. This would inevitably lead to international resentment and make war far more probable than had we never entered the League Court.

The issue before the Senate and the country is not whether the United States shall enter the League of Nations Court or not, but whether the United States shall enter that Court under the terms of the Swanson reservation,* which fully protects American rights, or whether the United States shall adopt the Root surrender,** prepared and submitted with the definite purpose of making it impossible for the United States to protect its rights, without withdrawing from the Court.

APPENDIX

Documents Relating to the Question of American Adherence to the Court.

I

Senate Resolution 5 of January 27, 1926, Advising and Consenting to Adherence of the United States to the Permanent Court of International Justice, Subject to Five Reservations.

WHEREAS the President, under date of February 24, 1923, transmitted a message to the Senate, accompanied by a letter from the Secretary of State, dated February 17, 1923, asking the favorable advice and consent of the Senate to the adherence on the part of the United States to the protocol of December 16, 1920, of signature of the Statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice, set out in the said message of the President (without accepting or agreeing to the optional clause for compulsory jurisdiction contained therein), upon the conditions and understandings hereafter stated, to be made a part of the instrument of adherence.

Therefore be it

Resolved (two-thirds of the Senators present concurring), That the Senate advise and consent to the adherence on the part of the United States to the said protocol of December 16, 1920, and the adjoining Statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice (without accepting or agreeing to the optional clause for compulsory jurisdiction contained in said Statute), and that the signature of the United States be affixed to the said protocol, subject to the following reservations and understandings, which are hereby

made a part and condition of this resolution, namely:

1. That such adherence shall not be taken to involve any legal relation on the part of the United States to the League of Nations or the assumption of any obligations by the United States under the Treaty of Versailles.

2. That the United States shall be permitted to participate through representatives designated for the purpose and upon an equality with the other states, members, respectively, of the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations, in any and all proceedings of either the Council or the Assembly for the election of judges or deputy judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice or for the filling of vacancies.

3. That the United States will pay a fair share of the expenses of the Court as determined and appropriated from time to time by the Congress of the United States.

4. That the United States may at any time withdraw its adherence to the said protocol and that the Statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice adjoined to the protocol shall not be amended without the consent of the United States.

5. That the Court shall not render any advisory opinion except publicly after due notice to all states adhering to the Court and to all interested states and after public hearing or opportunity for hearing given to any state, concerned; nor shall it, without the consent of the United States, entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest.

The signature of the United States to the said protocol shall not be affixed until the powers signatory to such protocol shall have indicated, through an exchange of notes, their acceptance of the foregoing reservations and understandings as a part and a condition of adherence by the United States to the said protocol.

Resolved further, As a part of this act of ratification that the United States approve the protocol and Statute hereinabove mentioned, with the understanding that recourse to the Permanent Court of International Justice for the settlement of differences between the United States and any other state or states can be had only by agreement thereto through general or special treaties concluded between the parties in dispute; and

Resolved further, That adherence to the said protocol and Statute hereby approved shall not be so construed as to require the United States to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions of policy or internal administration of any foreign state; nor shall adherence to the said protocol and Statute be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions.

Agreed to January 16 (calendar day, January 27), 1926.

Attest:

EDWIN P. THAYER
Secretary

*See section "5", next column.

**See "Article 5", page 39.

II

Protocol of Accession of the United States to the Protocol of Signature of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, signed at Geneva, September 14, 1929. (The Root Formula)

PROTOCOL

The States signatories of the Protocol of Signature of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, dated December 16th, 1920, and the United States of America, through the undersigned duly authorised representatives, have mutually agreed upon the following provisions regarding the adherence of the United States of America to the said Protocol subject to the five reservations formulated by the United States in the resolution adopted by the Senate on January 27th, 1926.

ARTICLE 1

The States signatories of the said Protocol accept the special conditions attached by the United States in the five reservations mentioned above to its adherence to the said Protocol upon the terms and conditions set out in the following Articles.

ARTICLE 2

The United States shall be admitted to participate, through representatives designated for the purpose and upon an equality with the signatory States Members of the League of Nations represented in the Council or in the Assembly, in any and all proceedings of either the Council or the Assembly for the election of judges or deputy-judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice, provided for in the Statute of the Court. The vote of the United States shall be counted in determining the absolute majority of votes required by the Statute.

ARTICLE 3

No amendment of the Statute of the Court may be made without the consent of all the Contracting States.

ARTICLE 4

The Court shall render advisory opinions in public session after notice and opportunity for hearing substantially as provided in the now existing Articles 73 and 74 of the Rules of Court.

ARTICLE 5

With a view to ensuring that the Court shall not, without the consent of the United States, entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest, the Secretary-General of the League of Nations shall, through any channel designated for that purpose by the United States, inform the United States of any proposal before the Council or the Assembly of the League for obtaining an advisory opinion from the Court, and thereupon, if desired, an exchange of views as to whether an interest of the United States is affected shall proceed with all convenient speed between the

Council or Assembly of the League and the United States.

Whenever a request for an advisory opinion comes to the Court, the Registrar shall notify the United States thereof, among other States mentioned in the now existing Article 73 of the Rules of Court, stating a reasonable time-limit fixed by the President within which a written statement by the United States concerning the request will be received. If for any reason no sufficient opportunity for an exchange of views upon such request should have been afforded and the United States advises the Court that the question upon which the opinion of the Court is asked is one that affects the interests of the United States, proceedings shall be stayed for a period sufficient to enable such an exchange of views between the Council or the Assembly and the United States to take place.

With regard to requesting an advisory opinion of the Court in any case covered by the preceding paragraphs, there shall be attributed to an objection of the United States the same force and effect as attaches to a vote against asking for the opinion given by a Member of the League of Nations in the Council or in the Assembly.

If, after the exchange of views provided for in paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article, it shall appear that no agreement can be reached and the United States is not prepared to forego its objection, the exercise of the powers of withdrawal provided for in Article 8 hereof will follow naturally without any imputation of unfriendliness or unwillingness to co-operate generally for peace and goodwill.

ARTICLE 6

Subject to the provisions of Article 8 below, the provisions of the present Protocol shall have the same force and effect as the provisions of the Statute of the Court and any future signature of the Protocol of December 16th, 1920, shall be deemed to be an acceptance of the provisions of the present Protocol.

ARTICLE 7

The present Protocol shall be ratified. Each State shall forward the instrument of ratification to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, who shall inform all the other signatory States. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited in the archives of the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

The present Protocol shall come into force as soon as all States which have ratified the Protocol of December 16th, 1920, and also the United States, have deposited their ratifications.

ARTICLE 8

The United States may at any time notify the Secretary-General of the League of Nations that it withdraws its adherence to the Protocol of December 16th, 1920. The Secretary-General shall immediately communicate this notification to all the other States signatories of the Protocol.

In such case, the present Protocol shall cease to be in force as from the receipt by the Secretary-General of the notification by the United States.

On their part, each of the other Contracting States may at any time notify the Secretary-General of the League of Nations that it desires to withdraw its acceptance of the special conditions attached by the United States to its adherence to the Protocol of December 16th, 1920. The Secretary-General shall immediately give communication of this notification to each of the States signatories of the present Protocol. The present Protocol shall be considered as ceasing to be in force if and when, within one year from the date of receipt of the said notification, not less than two-thirds of the Contracting States other than the United States shall have notified the Secretary-General of the League of Nations that they desire to withdraw the above-mentioned acceptance.

DONE at Geneva, the fourteenth day of September, nineteen hundred and twenty-nine, in a single copy, of which the French and English texts shall both be authoritative.

III

Protocol for the Revision of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, signed at Geneva, September 14, 1929

PROTOCOL

1. The undersigned, duly authorized, agree, on behalf of the Governments which they represent, to make in the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice the amendments which are set out in the Annex to the present Protocol and which form the subject of the resolution of the Assembly of the League of Nations of September 14th, 1929.

2. The present Protocol, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall be presented for signature to all the signatories of the Protocol of December 16th, 1920, to which the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice is annexed, and to the United States of America.

3. The present Protocol shall be ratified. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited, if possible before September 1st, 1930, with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, who shall inform the Members of the League of Nations and the States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant.

4. The present Protocol shall enter into force on September 1st, 1930, provided that the Council of the League of Nations has satisfied itself that those Members of the League of Nations and States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant which have ratified the Protocol of December 16th, 1920, and whose ratification of the present Protocol has not been received by that date, have no objection to the coming into force of the amendments to the Statute of the Court which are annexed to the present Protocol.

5. After the entry into force of the present Protocol, the new provisions shall form part of the Statute adopted in 1920 and the provisions of the original articles which have been made the subject of amendment shall be abrogated. It is understood that, until January 1st, 1931, the Court shall continue to perform its functions in accordance with the Statute of 1920.

6. After the entry into force of the present Protocol, any acceptance of the Statute of the Court shall constitute an acceptance of the Statute as amended.

7. For the purposes of the present Protocol, the United States of America shall be in the same position as a State which has ratified the Protocol of December 16th, 1920.

DONE at Geneva, the fourteenth day of September, nineteen hundred and twenty-nine, in a single copy which shall be deposited in the archives of the Secretariat of the League of Nations. The Secretary-General shall deliver authenticated copies to the Members of the League of Nations and to the States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant.

IV

Protocol of Signature of the Statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice, with the Optional Clause and the Text of the Statute

PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE

The Members of the League of Nations, through the undersigned, duly authorised, declare their acceptance of the adjoined Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, which was approved by a unanimous vote of the Assembly of the League on the 13th December, 1920, at Geneva.

Consequently, they hereby declare that they accept the jurisdiction of the Court in accordance with the terms and subject to the conditions of the above-mentioned Statute.

The present Protocol, which has been drawn up in accordance with the decision taken by the Assembly of the League of Nations on the 13th December, 1920, is subject to ratification. Each Power shall send its ratification to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations; the latter shall take the necessary steps to notify such ratification to the other signatory Powers. The ratification shall be deposited in the archives of the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

The said Protocol shall remain open for signature by the Members of the League of Nations and by the States mentioned in the Annex to the Covenant of the League.

The Statute of the Court shall come into force as provided in the above-mentioned decision.

Executed at Geneva, in a single copy, the French and English texts of which shall both be authentic.

16th December 1920.

Additional Arguments

IN THE *Messenger of Peace*, supplement to the *American Friend*, of December last, there appeared an editorial friendly to the Court. This editorial aroused Mr. Frank Santee, of What Cheer, Iowa, to write as follows:

Editor *Messenger of Peace*:

Your editorial in the issue of November 13th says in regard to the Permanent Court: "There is no good reason why this nation should not go in and there is every sound reason why we should." That might be a debatable question. The Permanent Court is not an independent international court dealing with questions that might lead to war. It is a League of Nations Court. It was established by the League. Its law comes from the League. Its judges are nominated by The Hague Tribunal of Arbitration and elected and paid by the League. Its decisions if enforced are enforced by the League and neither the Court nor the League has the power to enforce their decisions or advisory opinions on questions that might lead to war. It is like the optional clauses, just a peace gesture. France and Italy have both defied the League, and if this nation joins the Court, we might be drawn into the League. Our entrance in the Court, under the reservations that the Court objects to, would not set the cause of peace forward, but would be an actual nullification of the Court as a world power for peace.

It might be well to consider both sides of the question and then—write another editorial.

Upon the request of the Editor of the *Messenger of Peace*, President William C. Dennis, of Earlham College, Indiana, an international lawyer of excellent reputation, replied to this letter, in the number of January 15, as follows:

Editor *Messenger of Peace*:

In compliance with your request, I am glad to comment upon Mr. Frank Santee's interesting letter in regard to the World Court, with which I am in general and specific disagreement. I believe with you that "there is no good reason why this nation should not go in and there is every reason why we should." Please allow me to take up Mr. Santee's objections seriatim.

I. "It is a League of Nations court."

I do not think that this is either technically or substantially correct. A nation can belong to the League and not to the Court, or vice versa. Membership in the League comes through acceptance of the Covenant of the League either as a part of one of the peace treaties or separately. Membership in the World Court will result from our acceptance of (1) the Protocol of Signature of the Statute of the Permanent Court of Inter-

national Justice, (2) the Protocol of Accession or Adherence, and (3) the Protocol of Revision of the Statute, all of which have been signed by the United States and submitted by the President to the Senate for its advice and consent. The Court and the League, therefore, are created by separate and distinct treaties. Joining the World Court secures none of the rights and entails none of the obligations which pertain to membership in the League. The Court and the League are in law and in fact separate and distinct. The League can neither change nor control the Court.

II. "It was established by the League."

It is true that Article 14 of the Covenant looks forward to the creation of an international court of justice and that the League appointed the body of jurists drawn from various nations who drew up the Statute of the World Court. Elihu Root was one of these jurists. The Council and the Assembly afterward made certain modifications in the Statute. The League, therefore, deserves a generous measure of credit for the establishment of the Court, although by no means all of it. The work of the committee of jurists in 1920 was only the culmination of a long series of efforts to create such a court running back (to mention recent times only) to the First and Second Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907, the London Naval Conference of 1908-09, and the subsequent attempt to use the proposed International Prize Court as a world court. In all of these efforts the United States led the way, and finally Mr. Root, the leading international lawyer in the United States, made easily the most important individual contribution to the work of the committee of jurists in 1920 in suggesting the plan which was adopted for the selection of the judges for the court.

But, assuming that it is correct to say that the League did establish the Court, what of it? Can no good thing come out of Nazareth? Suppose the Statute of the Court had been drawn up by Indiana Yearly Meeting; would its authorship have made it better or worse than it now is? Is a document to be judged by its authorship or its contents?

III. "Its law comes from the League."

If I understand this statement, it is quite erroneous. The law of the Court is prescribed by Article 38 of the Statute, which says in substance that the Court shall apply, first, international conventions; second, international custom; third, the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations; and fourth, judicial decisions and the writings of publicists. The Covenant of the League is not the law of the Court except in the sense that any other international convention is the law between nations signatory thereto, and will, of course, be applied by the Court in deciding any case between such signatories to which it is applicable. So long as the United States is not a party to the League it is in no wise bound by the Covenant of the League and the Court would not apply the Covenant in any case to which the United States was a party litigant.

IV. *"Its judges are nominated by The Hague Tribunal of Arbitration and elected and paid by the League."*

(a.) The first part of this statement is not entirely accurate. The judges are nominated by the national groups of The Hague Tribunal in each country; e. g., the four American judges have the right to nominate a certain number, and the same is true of each country. Is there anything objectionable in this? The United States is a member of The Hague Tribunal and presumably both friends and opponents of the World Court approve our membership therein.

(b.) The judges, after being nominated, are elected not "by the League" but by the Assembly and Council of the League acting separately. This method of selection was an American contribution proposed by Mr. Root for the purpose of solving the perplexing question as to how the rights of the small and large states are to be accommodated. The influence of the large states is predominant in the Council, while in the Assembly each state has equal representation, and the election of judges by each body acting separately satisfies the aspirations and quiets the apprehensions of both the large and the small nations, just as the constitution of our House and Senate reconciled the large and small colonies to the Federal Constitution. If the Council and Assembly of the League were not ready to hand, it would be necessary to create similar bodies appointed by the same nations. If we are ready to sit down with these nations at all, we might just as well sit down with their representatives to the Council and Assembly of the League for this one purpose. Since we must perforce remain in this wicked world associating with these same nations it is difficult to see how we would be in any wise the gainer if we insisted on their stepping outside the doors of the Council and the Assembly before each election of judges was held. It is, of course, provided in the Protocol of Adherence that the representatives of the United States shall participate in elections in the Council and Assembly, and for this purpose only, upon the same basis as the representatives of any other nation.

(c.) It is true that the judges of the Court are paid through the machinery of the League, and when we join the Court we shall contribute our proportion in that way rather than by handing our check direct to the Court. "If this be treason, make the most of it."

V. *"Its decisions, if enforced, are enforced by the League, and neither the Court nor the League has the power to enforce their decisions or advisory opinions on questions that might lead to war."*

The World Court has no authority or power whatsoever to enforce any decision or advisory opinion on any question, whether it would lead to war or not. Neither has any other international court in existence or in contemplation. If this be an objection, it is an objection to every international tribunal beginning with The Hague Tribunal. If we are to wait for a World Court until we can have a court with power to enforce its decrees, in my judgment we shall have to wait some time, and I think we ought to wait

some time. I do not believe that the world is yet ready for such a court, or that it would be wise as yet to agree to enforce the decisions of any court. I believe that this would as yet make more for war than for peace.

"From lower to the higher next,
Not to the top, is Nature's text."

No one claims that the World Court is perfect. It is claimed that it is the most nearly perfect international court which has yet been devised.

VI. *"It is like the optional clauses, just a peace gesture."*

This would seem to mean that any international agreement which does not provide that it shall be carried out under the sanction of physical force is merely a gesture. If this is true, all treaties are gestures, and yet treaties have ordinarily been regarded as matters of great practical importance. When a great nation once concluded that a certain treaty was only a "scrap of paper," it discovered its error.

VII. *"France and Italy have both defied the League, and if this nation joins the Court, we might be drawn into the League."*

(a.) It is submitted that the relations of France and Italy to the League, whatever they may be, are irrelevant. We are speaking of the Court, not the League, and we have nothing to do with any action which the League might or might not take to coerce France and Italy.

(b.) It is difficult to understand how signing document A has any tendency to "draw us into" signing document B, except upon the theory that we shall "first endure, then pity, then embrace," but is this not to suggest that we shall be so well pleased with our experience under document A that it will make us less gun shy, so to speak, of document B? This might be true if our objection to document B merely arises from prejudice. In my own case, I fondly hope that my objections to entering the League for the present at least, rest on reasons, and if I should be convinced that these reasons are unsound or have ceased to exist, I reserve the right to change my attitude. Cannot the opponents of the Court trust themselves so far? Must they, like Ulysses, stop their ears with wax in order to resist the temptations of the international sirens?

VIII. *"Our entrance into the Court under the reservations that the Court objects to would not set the cause of peace forward, but would be an actual nullification of the Court as a world power for peace."*

This is not understood. It is believed that the Court has not objected to any of our reservations. If the reference be to the members of the League of Nations, the answer is, while they had some difficulty with our reservation with respect to advisory opinions, they had every desire to meet our point of view and have now done so, in the opinion of the President and Secretary of State and the great body of international lawyers in the country, through the adoption of another suggestion of Mr. Root's which provides in substance that in the extremely unlikely event that

it is insisted that the Court shall render an advisory opinion to which we object, we may drop out of the Court on our own motion, without hard feelings on either side.

IX. "It might be well to consider both sides of the question and then write another editorial."

Every effort has been made to state the facts as I understand them accurately in this letter. I leave it to the Editor to write another editorial, but I do venture to express the hope in closing that Friends will not allow "the best to be the enemy of the good"; that they will not reject a modest step in the right direction because it does not go all the way; that they will not join hands with the forces of reaction to prevent the United States from assuming her rightful place as a member of the most satisfactory international tribunal which the nations of the world have as yet been able to devise, a court which is no longer an experiment, but which has behind it a record of solid accomplishment for a decade, a court which more nearly than anything which men have as yet devised realizes William Penn's ideal when he said, "Thus Peace is maintained by Justice, which is a fruit of Government as Government is from Society and Society is from Consent."

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The Happy Traveler

And the Contacts of Peace

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

WHAT, if any, are the mental processes of the happy traveler? Here is a field seemingly untouched by the inquisitive psychologists. Perhaps it is not a psychological matter—psychology is no special forte of mine; but in a day when the degree of doctor of philosophy is given for a thesis on "A Relative Study of the Spots on Potato Bugs," there ought to be room for at least one dissertation on the mental operations of the happy traveler, to whatever branch of learning such a "research" may belong. Indeed, we may not know it, but we are all seeking for a critical examination of just this thing, for travelers at last we all are. With reflection, such an inquiry assumes an increasing importance; for, if we are going to keep up this habit of travel—and the internal combustion engine and cheap ocean travel seem to have settled that—we may as well make it as happy as possible while it lasts. How can this be done? Here, surely, is a question that comes home to everyone of us. What is the use of travel?

The Word

Of course the word "travel" itself stirs up a mess of difficulties at the outset. What does it mean? Francis Bacon had a bit to say about this, calling it "education" for the young and "experience" for the old—not a very clear distinction; while Samuel Johnson referred to it as a useful regulator of the "imagination." And yet, Immanuel Kant acquired education, experience, and a regulated imagination, and all on a quantity production scale, without ever wandering from his old city of Koenigsberg for more than thirty miles. Thoreau felt that he knew his "world intimately," for, as he said, "I have spent many years traveling in Concord." So, since definitions are acknowledged to be rather dangerous things, the purpose here is to speak of travel in its simpler sense of getting about from place to place for

legitimate purposes other than business. What I am about to say, therefore, relates for the most part to travel in its every-day meaning.

The Show

The mental processes of the happy traveler, if the processes are to rank as mental, depend, of course, on the kind of mind the mind in question may be. Some travelers seem to get their money's worth by simply moving rapidly from one place to another, restaurant to restaurant, theater to theater, town to town. Evidently motion can itself be a form of recompense, a *Ding an sich*, if the phrase is still allowable. When asked in Paris if he had been through the Louvre, the red-blooded American—of course he must have been red-blooded—replied that he had. When asked how long it took him, he regretfully confessed that it took all of thirty minutes; but he added, a bit more proudly, that he could have "done it in twenty minutes if the floors hadn't been so slippery." It doesn't get us anywhere to suggest that this virile person would better have followed Mr. Dooley's advice to all prospective travelers, thrown a lot of money out of the window, put a cinder in his eye and gone to bed on a top shelf in his closet. The motion of going through the Louvre in record time may have been salutary. It is better to have seen the Louvre in a rush than never to have seen it at all. What he saw through those miles of matchless art, of course, depended upon what he had in his eyes to see with. After all, he may have had something. The happy traveler learns to soft-pedal his impatient criticisms of travelers who have tastes different from his.

A growing stock of incidents and whimsies is proof that the happy traveler never becomes blasé. Express yourself if you will as to the wealthy gadabout who, when addressed by the poor stay-at-home

with "I suppose you have seen the whole world," yawningly replied, "Oh, yes, what there is of it!" Or, again, as to this conversation between two Englishmen: "And where have you been?" "I? I have been abroad." "Yes? Oh, that's a beastly place, isn't it?" Whatever your reactions to such persons, you will agree that there is a more hopeful something in the candid wanderer who replied to the question whether or not he had found much poverty in Europe: "Oh, yes, I found a great deal of poverty in Europe. In fact I brought a lot of it home with me." The happy traveler has a flair for humor, which at its best is a sense of proportion; but, be it added, the really happy traveler becomes consciously modest as his increasing experience widens his perspectives, for he soon learns that there is beyond all his travels a world of things which while on this planet he can never reach.

In other words the happy traveler may agree with Voltaire who wrote to his friend that "only charlatans are certain," or with another Frenchman who held that "all conclusions are for the most part acts of folly," or with still another, that "every dogmatic statement is false, including this one;" but the more he travels, the more he will conclude with certainty, and state with dogmatic assurance, substantially as follows: "This old world is an interesting show. even if I don't know what it is all about."

The Shrines

The happy traveler is a lover of shrines. Since Carlyle could write so feelingly of "Heroes and Hero Worship," surely someone will yet rise to do justice to "Shrines and Shrine Worship."

A thing or spot made venerable or sacred by historical or other association is a shrine. Such a thing or spot, seen for the first time, gives the happy traveler a thrill like the music from a gondola or the news of an unexpected legacy. There are tombstones the sight of which start something in the happy traveler to "a fine frenzy rolling." To put informing tablets on historical houses and places is an encouraging evidence of good sense, as well as fine taste, be it by a person, a town, or a state—a

spiritually profitable business for all hands.

Shrines interpret and illuminate in a way known only to themselves. I never got any sense out of Emerson's matchless little poem "The Days" until I had been entertained in that great man's home among his aged books. What there was about that fine old colonial Concord house that could have any bearing on the "daughters of time" I cannot say. I only state the fact.

Look at the matter further. Francis the First was to me a mere name in French history until one day in Paris I found myself in the little old Rue Hironnelle before a house which he built for his friend, the Duchess d'Estampes, and over the door of which he had placed his hideous salamander insignia, the most emphatic, and in this case probably needful, "keep off the grass" sign in all the world. Since seeing that little old palace on Swallow Street, Francis the First is to me a very flesh-and-blood person. I feel that I have known this man, this *intrigant*, this he-blade sort of chap, initial force of the Renaissance in France. I know him, now, highly educated and profligate, bold and unscrupulous, lover of beauty, chivalrous and gay, filled, as the French say, with "the reverse of his qualities." I can see him now writing that fine sentence of his to his mother, after his defeat before Pavia—"all is lost save honor."

And then, I never seemed to sense the relations between Henry the Fourth of France and his former wife, Marguerite de Valois, until, again in Paris, I stood before the old Hôtel de Sens, and reread the story of Marguerite's erstwhile young lover Vermont's execution there, she looking approvingly on from that little window above. It became clear to me then that this Henry, who found Paris to be "worth a mass," must have easily discovered a number of things in Marguerite to suggest a divorce. Somehow, furthermore, it is easier to read Dante's "Divine Comedy" after having seen in Paris that battered old court, in front of the very ancient little church of St. Julian the Poor, in which Dante, a student, slept o' nights on the straw because his landlady had turned him out for nonpayment of board.

Or once again, the story of the French

Revolution never appeared to me real until I had visited, again in Paris, the old monastery of *Les Carmes* at 70 Rue Vaugirard, where, on September 2, 1792, the floodtide of Revolutionary butchery seems to have reached its height. There it is today, garden, steps, doors, windows, halls, quite as one hundred and thirty-nine years ago. One can here live over again vividly the whole heart-rending story, and realize as perhaps nowhere else in all Paris what those days of "The Terror" came to mean.

And, finally—it must be finally somewhere—stories of Madame Roland and of Charlotte Corday never became sensible to me until after I discovered, largely by accident a few months ago, in the cellar of a very agreeable French householder in a small square of the narrow little Rue Furstemberg, some eighteen of the original cells of the old Abbaye prison, referred to by the guidebooks as "wholly destroyed"; for it was in this prison that both of these remarkable women were incarcerated, Charlotte being brought directly there after her affair with Marat and a butcher knife, just around the corner. From here Madame Roland wrote her charge against the revolutionists, condemning the illegality of her arrest, in a letter one can still read in the National Archives, across the river from this place. Perhaps, pitiful thought, the cells these poor women occupied are among those I found by chance, just wandering around with no "guide" but an inquisitive mind. In any event, Charlotte Corday and Manon Roland are more clearly defined persons for me now after having seen those cells.

Shrines speak a language all their own and tell tales the books can never tell, explain it as you may.

The Collector

The joy of traveling is quite akin to the fascination that collectors get out of their collections; or, rather, out of the game itself. And this pleasure of collecting depends less upon the item of expense than is commonly supposed. There are collections which cost very little. Wishing to enjoy the thrill of collecting without the thud of bankruptcy, a happy writer in a recent magazine tells of the fun he is getting out of collecting and tabulating famil-

iar phrases and their origins. This new and wholly inexpensive luxury began, as I recall, with his discovery of the origin of the phrase "Hobson's choice." He now has a large and growing collection. According to our last news of him, he was chasing down the origin of such phrases as "suited to a T," "call a spade a spade," and, interesting enough, the expression "queer as Dick's hatband." He is excited to know who was Dick, and why his hatband was queer. Here is a kind of travel as inexpensive as it is fascinating, the collector-travel. But all happy travel is collector-travel.

So let us get back to Paris. Take eleven hours and drop down to Geneva, shorter by airplane. I choose Geneva because Americans seem to like the place. Indeed, we have named some eighteen of our towns in the United States after Geneva. It will cost eight or ten dollars to get to that little Swiss city; but, once there, it will cost nothing to look around, for one can walk all over the place in a short time.

Look around—there is the rub! For a traveler's satisfaction ought to deepen and increase somewhat in proportion to his background of historical knowledge of the places he visits. To look around requires something to look around with. There are things to be seen only with the inside of the eye.

So you are in Geneva. You see a clean little city; a very pretty lake, with cold, clear water, running on to the Mediterranean as the River Rhone; a cathedral on a hill; parks; a law-abiding people, a republic since 1530. You see restaurants with real orchestras on the sidewalks; shops with the best and the poorest watches in the world; and Mont Blanc, if the air is right, forty miles away—not in Switzerland, but in France. You see the League of Nations at work, here, there and everywhere. And, if you are wise, you observe delegates from every land, drinking beer at La Bavaria late at night, and hear them talk. You see swans swimming around the little island dedicated to Jean Jacques Rousseau, native of Geneva. You are collecting pictures in your mind. Once on the spot, it costs very little to collect these things.

And, being there, it costs nothing to walk around to the old bastion wall of the place, over near the university, to close your eyes and to see the Savoyards, the Genevese call them Mamelukes or soldier-slaves, with their spoon necklaces indicative of their purpose to "eat Geneva." They are attacking the town and meeting defeat there, after over three hundred years of strife with the Genevese, there on the 12th of December, 1602; and, if you wait and listen carefully, you will hear the Genevese celebrating their victory, their "Escalade," with the 124th Psalm. It costs nothing to hear and see the men and women of Geneva of that day, with molten lead, petards and much bravery, winning this their final fight with the men of Savoy. Part of the old city wall over which these Homeric things happened is this bastion-like structure right before you.

And to the left, still a part of the wall, is an ancient looking building, shooting high up in a tower-like fashion. It is the town hall of the place. You probably know that in there is a room where the Red Cross was born, and where, too, American and English statesmen settled a major international dispute known as the Alabama Claims. But with the right kind of eyes you will see there in the very walls the handiwork of Romans, of Franks and Burgundians, a monument indeed to considerably over a millenium of human aspiration.

Geneva is an open, fascinating book for those with eyes to see. Last summer, with no one else around, a companionable Congressman from Ohio and I took turns preaching in German to each other—why our sickly German I don't know—from the pulpit of the Chapel of the Maccabees, from which pulpit both Calvin and John Knox preached to their boys, one in French and the other in English, during midyears of the 16th century. Both Calvin and Knox are persons now, for the Congressman and for me.

There are many places where you may walk and talk, should you choose, with one Francois Marie Arouet, familiarly known as Voltaire, who lived nearby, 1756-67, and who spent the last twenty years of his life at Ferney, in a house still standing just outside the city.

Remember your Shelley, and then walk around on the south shore of the lake toward Cognoy to the old Villa Diodati, where a Swiss gentleman with an American wife now live; a place where Milton stopped on his way to Florence; where Byron lived at the time when Shelley, his wife and her sister were staying at a little villa just below on the shore, and see what you can see. If you can recall those days of Byron's life here, you can see dainty footsteps back and forth through the vineyard between the home of Byron and the house of Shelley, and you can hear a woman crying, while the gossips rage in the town; for there are great goings-on, a little slipper found in the mud by a talkative gardener. And it all ends in very sad things for Shelley's poor sister-in-law, mother of Byron's baby. Can't you see it all, here by the lakeside, here at the Villa Diodati?

Encircling the city, you can see the outbreak of an epidemic there in 1568-72. For you who can see with the inside of your eye, there are "posters" around, official decrees they are, charging as follows: That sufferers must not open their windows; that to avoid infection they must not eat fruit; that they must take no baths; and that they "must frequent sermons with assiduity in order to turn away the wrath of God, which would appear from the plague to be violently aroused against the town."

When the wind is right, and there are winds in Geneva, you can hear soldiers marching. They are the men of Julius Cæsar's army crossing the bridge that used to join in the long ago the Allobroges to the Helvetii. That was a half-century before Christ, right over there.

You can see the place shining as the capital of Burgundy, five hundred years later. Still another five hundred years, and now a part of the Roman Empire, Geneva is consecrating its Cathedral as a Romanesque place of worship, in 1024 to be exact; a structure ultimately to be finished, after another seven hundred years, in the Gothic form.

One can find, I dare say, the shades of more interesting people and events, persons and experiences known to the ages, around the shores of Lake Geneva, than

in any other similar area in all the world. But this is not a history.

All I am trying to say here is that there are many things which a little background will open to the eyes of the traveler in Geneva, adding immeasurably to his collection of treasured memories; but, more important fact, the same thing is of course true of every other place on earth. Across Lafayette Park from my shop window, right here as I write in Washington, I see a brown building. It is a summer evening of 1842. Lord Ashburton of England is coming down the steps on his way to dine with Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, who lives right there in that house less than a block this side, also in plain sight to the inside of the eye. A boundary dispute, lasting since the founding of the Republic, will be settled there tonight.

The Discoverer

But there is another substance in the fun of travel, most important perhaps of all. It is the zest of discovery, of real original discovery, or—which amounts to the same thing—of what one believes to be an original discovery.

Go with me on a little trip to the Harz Mountains, northermost hills of Germany, home of fairies; for I made a cheerful discovery in this Prussian section last summer.

The way to begin a trip to the Harz is to read the following: Heine's "Harzreise"; Gæthe's "Harzreise in Winter"; but especially Gæthe's first part of Faust, with especial attention to "Walpurgisnacht"; then every German fairy tale possible; and finally, of course, the guidebooks. One can get all these in English.

Then go to Goslar, favorite of old Saxon kings, one of the best picture towns of all Europe. It is only a few hours by train southwest of Berlin and about the same distance southeast of Bremen. While not appreciated by Heine, one could not find a more comfortable and imperial old Hanseatic city, or a better center from which to take easy bus trips through the Oker-Tal, to the Bode-Tal, the Ilse-Tal, and other fascinating woodland valleys, every one ablaze with beauty and its charm of folklore. The Grimm brothers wrote their fairy tales at Cassel nearby. Dietrich Vorwert is a German who knows

his Goslar, for it is he who has said: "If I were permitted to choose my dwelling in some German town, I should say Goslar. There houses have hearts, the slow but steady throb of which is enlivened by the rich life of a great past." Wordsworth must have begun his introspective, autobiographical poem, "The Prelude," in Goslar, for he was living there when that major work was begun in 1799,—

"Free as a bird to settle where I will."

The reason for the growth of the fairy-tale type of literature throughout this particular part of the world goes back, it is said, to the conflict between heathenism and Christianity, which was, in the 7th and 8th centuries, especially acute throughout these areas. It appears that St. Walpurga, a niece of St. Boniface, went to this part of Germany in the 8th century to convert the Saxon heathen, and especially to substitute a Christian for the heathen holiday of May 1. By the 9th century the cult of St. Walpurga had become strong, and May first was dedicated to St. Walpurga. The night before is now observed as Walpurgis-nacht, when the old heathen spirits reappear as devils, as spirits riding on he-goats, especially as witches riding on broomsticks. The celebration of Walpurgis-nacht is especially associated with the Brocken, the highest of the Harz mountains, for it is there that the witches foregather on the evening of the 30th of every April. It is to this point that *Mephistopheles* takes *Faust* in the Gæthe tragedy. My discovery was on the Brocken.

But before divulging this discovery, let me recall to you an illuminating fact in the experience of Richard Wagner, born not far away in Leipsic. After Wagner had developed his art theory—his idea of a musical drama in which not only music but poetry, painting, and acting should be brought together into an organic whole for one complete artistic effect—the question arose whether he should make use of historical or mythical characters for his persons of the drama. He decided to take the mythical, and for the reason that historical personages are limited by the color and conventions of time and place; while mythical subjects, free from such limitations, lend themselves perfectly to the poet's task

of concentrating on characters and emotions. My own corollary to this conclusion of Wagner's is that our mythical characters, evolved from a sort of common consent, are truer to life than the flesh-and-blood persons of time and space, circumscribed as they must be by the mental boundaries of the historians.

Be that as it may, after a comfortable bus ride of about forty miles from Goslar through the colorful Oker-Tal, I arrived at Schierke, at the foot of the Brocken. There I took a train some twelve winding miles to the top, visited daily by crowds, with its hotel, meteorological station, and tall tower. It is easy to relive there the experiences of Heine and Gœthe, in spite of these very physical expressions of our modern world. When on December 10, 1777, Gœthe reached this height he walked out on the grotesque ledge of rocks known now as the Devil's Pulpit, and, looking out in every direction over the hundred miles of snow-covered world, with a dozen cities in full view, he is quoted as saying, "*Was ist der Mensch, dass du sein gedenkest?*"—What is man that thou art mindful of him? Walking around among the crumbs of rock—brocken means crumbs—one's love of shrines, one's joy of collecting, one's thrill in back of the eye, all come into full play. But the rapture on this occasion was the thrill of a discoverer. While I missed what others have seen, the "Spectre of the Brocken," I discovered witches riding on broomsticks.

It was this way. While the top of the Brocken is for the most part above the tree line, there are here and there groups of short, evergreen, scrubby, shrubby trees. The winds at this height are evidently pre-ailing winds, for the greenery of these little trees, where greenery survives, is all on one side of the trunks. Walking down the well-worn path, called "Gœthe's path," I chanced to turn, and there up the slope between me and the sky was a group of these shrubs, with their bony limbs of lifted green all extending in one direction on the leeward sides of the trunks. Suddenly it dawned upon me that those bunches of greenery swinging in the wind were witches. There were the heads, the arms, the flowing skirts, the spreading brooms

swinging behind, the broomsticks themselves, all exactly as in the pictures of the fairy books. While there was no doubt about it, I called a group of Germans and asked them if they saw what I saw. They became as enrapt as I, for, behold we were at a perfect meeting of minds, all seeing the same things and for the first time. I had discovered, with all the glow of an original discoverer, witches riding on broomsticks.

It may be that these have been discovered before; but so far I have found nothing in the books about it. The botanists have "witch brooms," I am told, broom-like growths often seen on the branches of trees. They are described as a dense development of branching twigs formed at one place on a branch as the result of the irritation set up by the presence of a mite or a fungus. These are not my witches. Until someone can bring forward acceptable historical evidence that others have made this discovery of witches riding on broomsticks, as they certainly ride on the Brocken, I shall stand by my guns and demand my rights not only as an honest-to-goodness discoverer, but as an original discoverer. In the meantime, I am looking for someone to endow me to go to the Brocken every Walpurgis-nacht.

And So

In his first great masterpiece, Ralph Waldo Emerson, who has many caustic things to say about travelers, tells us that the dawn is his Assyria, the noon his England of the senses and the understanding, the sunset and the moonrise his Paphos and unimaginable realms of fairie, and that the midnight is his Germany of mystic philosophy and dreams.

As one among the travelers, let me turn these deft phrases to my purpose as stated at the outset. Here is the way I think I should just now like to put it. The dawn is my Paris of the frailest and finest in man. The noon is my Geneva of the wondering, modern day. The sunset and moonrise are my hills and dales of the Harz. The midnight is my very Brocken, of Heine, of Gœthe, of witches and goblins, of Wotan and Walhalla. Let no one try to disabuse my mind of these things, for I am a happy traveler.

Travel with its "contacts" is thought by some to be a way of promoting international peace. There are "contacts" in travel that

tend definitely to war. It all depends on the kind of travel. Do the schools offer courses in travelology? Perhaps they do.

"Yet Once More——"

By **Blanche H. Dow**

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THE last sixteen years have been replete with the many and varied printed impressions of Americans who have visited the battle area of France. It would seem superfluous to add the expression of one more ordinary traveler to that prodigious total. When the motive is sincere, however, when the purpose is profound, repetition is a great constructive force and is not to be condemned. As long as those battlefields remain, a mute testimony to the tragedy of international misunderstanding, so long must even the most casual visitor come home with a vivid consciousness of his responsibility to tell the story to his countrymen. Until the American people are awakened to an appreciation of the existence of world kinships, of the pitiful futility of shortsighted measures, of the incongruity of any egotistical policy of dignified isolation in a world bound together by thousands of indissoluble ties, then and not until then may reminders of the great cataclysm of sixteen years ago be relegated to the archives of past history.

I wish I might map out for every reader one day's journey by automobile from Paris. It is an ineffable experience. On the glories of Paris we shall not dwell—Paris, which to many Americans is, unfortunately, a city of lights, while to the Frenchman it is forever and solely the city of light. In its libraries, its museums and collections of art, in its beautiful streets and its splendid monuments, in all that it has to offer him who will take it, Paris seems inexhaustible.

Sixteen years ago, on the second of September, the fall of Paris seemed inevitable. The archives of the government with all their unwieldy paraphernalia had been moved—silently, expeditiously, but with all the haste that could be mustered—south to

the city of Bordeaux. Men had been warned to send their women and children south into the country. All day long streamed the exodus. Of the major embassies only two remained, those of Spain and the United States, the latter in her position of representative of a neutral nation having taken into her keeping the records of England, Germany and Australia. Paris was quiet by day and dark by night. The Prussian army was sweeping over northwestern France. Battles were reported daily. The British and the French fell back and back. At length the day came when General Joffre warned Paris that he could no longer guarantee the city's safety. Then it was that General Gallieni decided to throw into the strategic position along the Marne the last reserves that he had in Paris, the 62d French Division. On September ninth he requisitioned every taxicab in the metropolis and the colorful 19-mile dash to the front began. Five thousand gallant little cabs, driven by civilians, with soldiers of the 62d Division clinging to every possible hold, straight into the firing line of the enemy they went, into the welter of the Marne.

Down those same sixteen miles we rode. Three hundred miles we traveled that day and we were never out of sight of the signs of war. And at that we touched only a small section of the western battlefront. Through Claye and Trilport, Meaux, Belleau Wood, Château Thierry, Reims, Soissons, Compiègne we went, that sector into which the American troops were thrown in 1918 to accomplish what without them could never have been done, the fierce backward drive which broke the Prussian morale.

Belleau Wood appears as such on no French map today. The French have re-

named it the "Wood of the American Marines," and the road that leads to it is Pershing Road. Quiet and peaceful enough it is now with young trees and tender bushes. Only the ground, riddled with shell holes and machine-gun nests under the grass, only the black hulks of the original trees, destroyed by the gunfire of 1918, remain to attest its tragic history. All the bridges are new. All the roads are new, but on either side stretch miles of stumps, all that is left of the giant trees which once lined the roadway, felled by the retreating enemy and put across the roads to impede the progress of the advancing Allies.

Through the little village of Lucy-le-Bocage we went, the village where the American battle of Belleau Wood began. We stopped at a crossroads—a ruined church before us, crumbling walls in every direction. There in the center of the place is a gray stone, carved with a star and the words, "United States—Second Division Marines." In the village of La Ferte-sous-Jouarre is a similar stone with a star and "Twenty-sixth Yankee Division." Château Thierry was once a place of pilgrimage, the birthplace of the inimitable La Fontaine. Today the memorial to the fabulist yields the honors to the memorial to the Second, Third and Twenty-sixth American Divisions on the Square of the United States, an everlasting tribute to the gallant Americans who here carried an almost exhausted cause to victory.

The fields of this part of France were yellow with harvest. One is amazed at the work of reclamation that has been done, awed by the realization of what the past twelve years must have held for the French refugee, back in the devastated zone of the war, cleaning up the wreck and the filth with indescribable patience, resurrecting the home that once was his, clinging to his sanity as he looks out across his field to that other field of crosses, the constant reminder of the seething maelstrom of hate and destruction and death through which he passed from 1914 to 1918. The fields, I say, were yellow with wheat, but zigzag across them went the white line of the trenches. Along what was once the Hindenburg Line we went inside a machine-gun shelter, a little concrete structure, half hidden by the bushes. Its roof, flush with the ground, was of solid concrete, twelve

feet thick. Swinging doors weighing a ton apiece open and close automatically today with the same accuracy and precision with which they opened and closed in 1918 to admit the play of the great gun. Inside the nest a stairway led forty feet underground to the real dugout, the shelter for the soldiers. This refuge was connected with others of its kind by twelve miles of subterranean road. It was thus possible in 1918 to move an army five miles forward in a straight line without subjecting a single man to shell fire.

At the beginning of the war Reims had a population of 191,000 people. At its close it numbered 161 inhabitants with 53 buildings left standing. Of the glorious Cathedral of Reims, there is little one may say. Battered and broken as it is, its beauty is arresting. Reims was, I suppose, the most precious of all French cathedrals. In it Clovis, the king of the Franks, was baptized. With one exception, every king down to the time of the French Revolution received in it the sacrament of the coronation. It was at Reims that Jeanne d'Arc placed the crown on the head of Charles VII. Reims was the symbol of the sanctity of French catholicism, the masterpiece of French Gothic. Yet it was bombarded three times—in 1918 by the French themselves. "Why?" one asks. The exigencies of war, a war that was grim and unsparing. Reims, like Amiens and Soissons and thousands of other treasures of art and antiquity which can never be replaced, was part of the wreck and the waste and the futile sacrifice of war.

But why talk of the cost of the war in terms of cathedrals and houses and lands? What of the human cost? Eight million of the finest men in western Europe were buried there between 1914 and 1918. England alone buried a million men, France, a million and a half, Germany two millions, and the other nations numbers that are equally appalling.

Geographically and economically we are so far removed from the theater of the war that we forget. Europe remembers, remembers with sorrow rather than hate, with renunciation rather than recrimination. As he passes the cenotaph in Whitehall, London, or the everlasting flame that lights the tomb of the unknown soldier in Paris, the humblest newsboy bares his head in

reverent silence. England in memory of her dead! France for her children! Shall we do less for ours—our soldiers that belonged to France, French soldiers that belonged to us, for in that fraternity of death in 1918 all barriers of race and nationality were swept away in the common cause of war? Why not in the common cause of peace? We have learned—France and Germany, England and America—that there is no glory in war save the glory of those who died in the heroism of a supreme effort. There is no final victory in war. War settles finally no dispute, rights no wrong. War has no longer even any glamour. It is blow against blow, brains and money and brawn against brains and money and brawn in a desperate program of destruction. The battlefields of France don't make one hate Germany. They make one hate war, war and the tragic futility of it.

I shall never forget the tragedy of those fields of crosses in France, the Aisne-Marne American Cemetery with its 2,265 white marble crosses, the Garibaldi Cemetery where 20,000 gallant Italian soldiers lie,

the British cemeteries with the same appalling totals, and always the French, field after field of white wooden crosses with thousands of black iron crosses behind them. French and Germany, they lie together, equally cared for, equally tended, equally mourned, equally wasted unless we accept the challenge which they left us. A war to end war! That was the banner under which they went to their death. That was the prayer on our lips as we watched them go.

What has happened to us since 1918? Are we so smug that we think we can live apart? Are we so ignorant of the world's march that we can delude ourselves into thinking that we have no international problem, no international responsibility? The mute message of those fields of crosses must ring forever in our ears:

"We are the dead;
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep
Though poppies bloom
In Flanders' fields."

An International Crisis

By CATHERINE GATE COBLENTZ

Puzzle it out if you can,
Which was the more to blame,
The kindling ready to burn,
Or the match that furnished the flame?

An International Aspect of Biology

By GEORGE WILTON FIELD

WATER is an international "revolving fund," essential to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. As such, all nations participate in its benefits and in the responsibilities for its correct use.

The busy B's today are Business and Biology. Two important points to be considered are: How can biology contribute to better business? and how can business contribute to its better biologic practices?

A Business Liability

As *Æolus* unlocked the bag in which Nature confined the winds of Heaven, so more recently business has unloosed from the bowels of the earth the most dangerously destructive of pollutants, crude petroleum. The wastes of plants and of animals can be converted into useful products. Man can speed up this process. But when out of place these waste substances are an offense to the senses, a potential threat to living organisms. So it is with petroleum; one of the most important contributions of scientific business, it threatens to become a veritable Frankenstein.

It all relates to water, an international necessity, and, therefore, requiring organized international consideration.

Why should conservation be necessary for water, the most abundant, most widely distributed of all visible chemical substances? How is it possible for man to do anything which can upset the laws of Nature in such a mass of adaptable material whose depths below its surface exceed the highest peaks of the Himalayas and whose surface area is roughly five times that of the total land area?

Mankind, from the Phœnicians to the times of our grandfathers, regarded the sea as something provided by the immortal gods to make easier man's quest for goods, and for business—from salt-making to navigation. The boldest man may indeed have been "he who first ate an oyster." But business has gone far since that day, and now mankind is seriously facing the urgency of the problem of aiding Nature in producing food in such a manner that the average man can by his earnings buy an

oyster, a lobster, a bit of shad, salmon, halibut, cod or a wild duck for food. It is a premise, too often ignored, that the food supply is basic to human existence; and further, that man cannot live by bread alone. The human food supply must have a reasonably balanced ration of cereals supplemented by a varying proportion of "fish, flesh, fowl and good red herring." It is only within the lives of the present generation that mankind has begun to question the dictum of business, that if you get wealth well invested, all else shall be added unto you.

Business practices have become established by precedence and precedents. Statutes, even constitutional laws, were enacted to back up these business practices, often so drawn as to regulate competition; later, though less often, to facilitate cooperation.

There are the native birds, Nature's insect police, which guard the human food supply. The countless flocks of prairie chickens, plover, passenger pigeons could not survive the struggle for wealth by the cold storage route. The salmon canners and other manufacturing interests are frankly contributing time, money and brains to the maintenance of the most feasible projects for the conservation and restoration of national and international resources as bases for their business.

Treaties

The results of this change of basal policy and practices are disclosed in several international treaties which serve to minimize the original destructive competition for local, and for even personal advantages, such as the speedy conversion of natural resources into cash, in a manner and degree not justifiable on either a biological or a business basis because the former practice interfered with esthetic enjoyment, healthful recreation, and with the agricultural process of converting into fish and wild fowl great quantities of aquatic weeds, with incidental molluscan life, if and when it was floating in a considerable volume of pure water.

The Treaty with England and Canada

for the Protection of the Migratory Birds was one of the most important international applications of the principles of biologic cooperation on a huge and complicated scale. The fact which made cooperation necessary not merely between the states but with Canada is that many of the wild fowl have their nesting places in the north and their wintering grounds south of the international boundaries.

Another successful treaty relates to the fur seal fisheries. This involves a single species of migratory mammal which, like the wild fowl, winter far south of its breeding places. The reason for this success rests upon the fact that the biologic environment of the fur seal, the high seas, has not yet become subject to such serious impairment through the acts of mankind as have the coastal waters and the inland lakes, ponds, bayous and rivers where alone is provided the feeding, resting and nesting places of the wild fowl (plover, ducks and geese). I have been creditably informed that the site of the city of St. Louis, Missouri, was originally one of the largest breeding places for Canada geese in the United States. Recently two of our largest remaining resorts for wild fowl—Malheur and Lower Klamath lakes in Oregon,—have been seriously impaired. Oil and sewage threaten the wild fowl resorts on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts and at certain interior points. Congress has recognized the crisis and its responsibilities and is responding with legislation which shall permit more adequate cooperation between the United States and Canada.

There still unfortunately persists evidences of a guerrilla warfare based upon personal opinions, and perhaps individual jealousies, as to who shall have the credit for advocating and enacting certain conservation measures; and whether these laws and the subsidiary regulations shall be based upon personal opinions, upon local and political expediencies, or shall be guided and developed by those who can on occasion be called upon to support the decisions and actions by adequate evidence and constructive measures.

Business Waking Up

It can be said that in general the policy of conservation, national and international,

is making reasonable progress. Business has not only discovered it pays to advertise, but to advertise and to practice conservation of natural resources. Much has been accomplished in the cooperative conservation of such material assets as the forests, the birds and those game mammals that do not seriously interfere with important branches of agriculture. But too little attention has been thus far given to the conservation of the laws of Nature, to seeing to it that future statute laws shall be in conformity with the laws of Nature. There should be organized a careful scrutiny and study of those already existing statutes, constitutional and common laws, which do not within safe limits conform to the laws of Nature.

An International Matter

Within reasonable limits the conservation of terrestrial and localized aquatic assets are the responsibilities of the nationals involved. But widely ranging aquatic assets are in a larger measure international responsibilities.

Most conspicuous are those laws and business practices which are now developing in such a degree and manner as to warn us to discard our original conception that Nature could be depended upon to correct and to repair both her own and man's mistakes. Man must definitely accept the responsibility of cooperating with Nature. Man must ascertain the incidence and understand such biologic laws as the cycle of matter; the interchange of gases between the air, water and dead and living substances; the control of poisonous gases which impair life, which destroy foods for plants and animals. There are no political or geographical boundaries to these laws.

Business vs. Nature

Are there any definite instances to prove that man's business practices interfere with any laws of Nature? Yes. It has long been "good business" to discharge municipal and factory wastes into public water-courses on the theory which originally had some actual basis of fact "that every river purifies itself every seven miles." One does not have far to seek, however, to decide that this is merely an unwarranted

extension of the potency of the magic number seven. It might be otherwise if the sources of pollution were actually limited, for example, to one every seven miles, still to use the discredited magic number. But even then the quantity and the kind of pollutant must be such that it can be readily mineralized; in other words, put back into the cycle of matter by being converted into such a form and substance as to be available to vegetation and suitable for being converted by the plant into more plants like itself. Thus is started a cycle of matter; a fish, a duck, a muskrat, eats the plant and in turn converts this into the same species of bird, duck or muskrat. In due time if conditions, whether man-made or natural, put the fish, the duck or the muskrat (known to gourmands as "marsh rabbit") into the way to become food for man, the cycle of matter reaches its highest point of development and of potential usefulness. But if, on the contrary, Mr. John Carelessness or Mrs. Don'tgiveadam Jones spills some crankcase oil, or permits drippings from other machine bearings, or lets oil escape in the garage or on the streets so that the oil enters the sewers, this oil becomes an important part in the enormous aggregate of twenty-five hundred thousand barrels of wasted mineral oils which annually—the U. S. Bureau of Mines reports—enter the sewers in the United States, though to a much lesser extent in other countries.

What harm does this oil do? Entering the sewer it covers the water and its sewage contents. If mineral oil is absent the sewage is normally acted upon by certain species of bacteria which initiate biologic and chemical changes characteristic of the early stages of the inoffensive conversion of sewage into plant food. But should there be even a very thin film of mineral oil an abnormal change of condition results; the normal oxidation is checked and an explosive gas, methane, which sometimes—with or without the presence of gasoline vapor—"let's go" with such violence as to project manhole covers high into the air, a menace to life and property. The public press gives frequent reports of such occurrences in the United States and such an explosion of unusual extent was recently reported in Toronto.

The explosion is but the bark. The real bite of mineral oil in the sewer is worse than its bark. Sewage and manufacturing wastes are the necessary end products of civilization, international in scope and consequences. They should be the starting points of the cycle of matter, if a cycle in action can be said to have any definite starting point. These wastes of civilization are a complex mixture of many types and substances. Many of these either singly or in combination impair the capacity of the water to do its "work in Nature" and such a waste is classed as a pollutant. Of all pollutants, the heavy mineral oils are today most widely destructive and persistent in effects. These oils, of which crude petroleum is a type, together with the substances which remain after the gasoline groups have been removed by various chemical and physical processes, are mixtures of great numbers of rather loosely combined substances which are surmised to have originated from marine organisms through ancient biologic processes. The details of these processes at present can only be guessed. These mineral oils today float on water, are relatively insoluble, exclude air, poison plants and animals, adhere to suits and skins of bathers, accumulate to become a fire menace, impede navigation, impair property and property values, kill useful food animals, plants, and notably water fowl.

Today reports of the destructiveness of the heavy mineral oils and oily wastes when turned into public waters extend from New York and Chicago to New Zealand, from London back to London and way stations.

Cooperative Conservation

Constructive international recognition of the business facts are evidenced by the analysis of the conditions surrounding the regulation of the pollution of public waters by mineral oils. It is found that the extension of pollution by mineral oils includes three distinct categories of jurisdiction:

International: Covering the high seas and their tributaries.

National: In the case of the United States, at present limited to tidal navigable waters within the three-mile limit and to substances which constitute an ob-

struction to navigation and harmful to the migratory birds protected by treaty acts. Conditions necessitate the extension of similar jurisdiction to all waters and to all mechanisms in the interest of navigation, and for the protection of migratory wild fowl.

State Jurisdiction: Includes all other aspects. At present it covers the problems of the public health, the food supply, protection of property, fire hazard, disposal of sewage and factory waste, dumping of wastes on land, mine waste, etc.

In spite of the success of numerous efforts to salvage varied types of manufactured products and raw material, there are still many persons who do not yet appreciate the opportunity, the civic responsibility and even the necessity of salvage operations which shall directly increase the profits of business and which shall safeguard the processes of Nature and so make possible reciprocal utilization of natural processes by man and of human projects by Nature. Many steamship operators, some army and naval authorities, many manufacturers, the American Petroleum Institute and its allied interests are recognizing the importance of cooperative conservation to protect business. In spite of extensive researches upon the efficiency of salvaging processes and of the programs of the organized oil interests, mineral oil is still being wasted and even "bootlegged" into the sea to such a degree as to constitute a threat to such processes of Nature as the interchange of gases between the air and water, the evaporation from water surfaces necessary to insure the presence in the atmosphere of sufficient water in vapor form to minimize destructive floods and droughts, to insure regular distribution of water over the land as rain and snow, to insure the growth of vegetation on land and in water as an important aid and in some instances the sole food of animals. As an example, the microscopic plants, such as bacteria and diatoms, constitute in whole or in part the food supply for many commercial fishes and shellfishes, including the inland fresh-water mussels. Destruction of them by pollutants results in checking the processes of oxidation, most conspicuously at places where the speedy return of city garbage and sewage to its place in the cycle of

matter can be made more efficient from the biologic and business points of view than the ordinary methods of concentrated dumping into the public waters.

Continued international consideration must be given to the fact that the pollution of public waters by mineral oil is primarily a biologic problem of cosmic significance and not merely a business procedure for decreasing the business "overhead." But the business of properly utilizing petroleum has both personal, business and international aspects. Directly involved is the speedy and correct decision on the following: Is it justifiable for any individual, any business organization to sidestep, in order to keep down its own "overhead," the responsibilities of legally safeguarding all other types of business? I refer here to the production of such human food as fish, shellfish and aquatic birds; to navigation, recreational swimming, boating and wild-fowling; to the playgrounds and sea beaches for children and adults; to the dangers of substituting putrefaction for the normal oxidation of waste products, prejudicial to owners of city and shore properties.

An international conference held at Washington was dominated by the interest in just such matters. It is clear that every opportunity should be provided for the development of voluntary methods of establishing the essential cooperative relations between business and Nature. But ultimate success in business, as in living, must doubtless be founded upon statute and constitutional laws which conform to Nature's laws recognized by all, or at least upon sufficient basal facts, rather than upon premature fiat and propaganda.

The Evil of Wastages

The major responsibilities of the human brain in business, in politics, in religion, in ethics, is to improve Nature. Nature provides both materials, methods and laws. Science—whether harnessing gravity or electricity to speed up human progress, or transforming the original apple of the Garden of Eden into the New England Mac-Intosh, or modernizing the wild strawberry, or developing the wild cattle into the Jersey, the Holstein and the Hereford breeds—has shown us how to put certain forces of Nature under control and to

guide these toward constructive projects. The numerous processes of separating crude oil into its constituents for the purpose of improved public utilization and greater profits to the corporations and to the people is in large measure constructive conservation, but with incidental responsibilities. The results are of exceeding magnitude and of world wide economic benefit.

These benefits are certainly and distinctly marred, however, by the present extensive wastage of mineral oils, whether by carelessness of employees, of motorists, of the automotive trade, of the one who leaves a faucet open or neglects leakage in pipe or hose connections. To dump oily wastes as "cheaper and less trouble for us" is a mistaken and perniciously false economy already verging upon criminally destructive conditions. Still greater safeguards must be developed to avoid the wastages of oil in the development of new wells, in cargo transports by vessels, and even in cases of shipwreck. To safeguard and to salvage the oil is a major responsibility of the business organization on account of the cumulative damages resulting from both preventable and unforeseeable accidents.

Extent of Damages

The damage ensues from the accumulation of heavy mineral oils on the surface of water which is spread by winds and currents. Some of the direct results of this are seen in the enormous destruction of bird life. As a single specific instance, the oil cargo of the *Luchenbach* ashore on Block Island, Rhode Island, was creditably reported to have been responsible for the death of more than one million ducks during a single migration last spring, a tragedy that will be repeated. While this destruction was conspicuous, the ultimate general disastrous disturbance of the fisheries business and of Nature's régime is still more serious. The obvious remedy is to dry up the wastage of mineral oil at its source. The need is individual, business, municipal, international recognition of the necessity of giving increased attention to all possible salvaging of oil. Even in case of ships going aground, the practice of pumping oil overboard should be the last resort.

Salvage will surely spell economy in the long run.

The elements of business controlled the First Preliminary International Conference. The point of view most in evidence was that if waste oil is discharged fifty miles off the coast no damage could result. This view ignored the fact that oil on water persists, that it accumulates with each subsequent discharge, that it spreads most widely where most exposed to winds and currents, that oil, even if invisible to the human eye, may still be doing most serious damage to those primary food elements, the microorganisms in the water, by mechanical contacts and by its component chemical poisonous elements.

The only sound basis for effective action is biologic cooperation between business and state, state and nation, nation and nation, and between nations and Nature.

News in Brief

A COUP D'ETAT in Panama, January 2, resulted in the resignation of President Aronsemena and the election and later inauguration of Dr. Ricardo J. Alfaro, minister to the United States, as President of the Republic of Panama.

EUROPEAN RIVERS flowing through or between many different countries are proving, contrary to expectation, important factors in continental consolidation. This was proved at the Conference for Unification of River Law held at Geneva, November 17 to December 9. Three far-reaching international conventions were signed as a result of the conference.

THE INTERNATIONAL PEOPLE'S COLLEGE, Elsinore, Denmark, has now completed ten years of existence. In that time it has had over 1,000 students in regular courses and about 800 in summer courses. Some 700 students have come from 29 foreign countries. Danish agricultural methods are taught, but with a broad world view of general technical and social developments.

REPORTS FROM ALBANIA state that within the past five years that little country has freed herself from brigandage, has set a unified language well on its way to general use, and has secured religious toleration along with the separation of any religion from administrative connection with government. Thoroughfares are undergoing rapid improvement, and bridges are under construction. Though finances are yet far from satisfactory, a national bank has been established.

THE CENTENNARY of the birth of Heinrich Stephan, Germany's greatest postmaster general, was celebrated in Germany in January. Stephan's most memorable achievement was his plan for the World Postal Union, which was adopted, without change, in the Berne conference, and went into effect July 1, 1875.

PROFESSOR GEORGES CLAUDE, French scientist and inventor, is planning to install the world's largest plant utilizing the differences in temperature of tropical waters to generate electricity. His plant will be erected in the harbor of Santiago, Cuba. Professor Claude made successful experiments in the same line last year at Matanzas Bay.

A WAR UPON BUSINESS DEPRESSION all over the world is to be set on foot when the International Chamber of Commerce meets in Washington in May of this year. Causes are to be hunted to their lair and attacked, and effects are to receive first aid with a view to health and happiness. Some 46 nations will contribute experts for the offensive. Nobody will object to this sort of economic warfare.

IF THE UNITED STATES would refuse to export any mineral products to any nation breaking the Paris Peace Pact, Sir Thomas Holland, President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, thinks the world would be safer than if the Capper resolution of last February were to be carried out as written. He proposes the substitution of the words "mineral products" for "arms, munitions, implements of war or other articles for use in war."

MR. FRANK B. KELLOGG, former United States Secretary of State, Honorary Vice-President of the American Peace Society, has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1929, and Dr. Nathan Soderblom, Archbishop of Upsala and pro-Chancellor of the University of Upsala, has been awarded the prize for 1930.

Each prize is worth about 173,000 kroner (\$46,364).

THREE RADIO STATIONS HAVE been erected in China—the latest in December, 1930—which will make direct connection with Europe and America. The center of the system is located in the China Government Radio Administration office in Shanghai.

A TAX ON BACHELORS CAME into force in Yugoslavia in January, affecting all unmarried men from the age of 30 to that of 60. At 30 the bachelor has an increase of 50 per cent in his income tax, land, house or rent tax. The scale declines to 10 per cent at the age of 60.

COURSES IN PEACE have opened in Columbia University and in Oberlin College.

INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION between the Americas advanced another step with the organization, November 4, of the executive committee of the American Council of Intellectual Cooperation, with Secretary Wilbur as Chairman and Dr. James Brown Scott of the Carnegie Endowment, as Secretary. The Council, a branch of the Inter-American Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, created by the Havana Conference of 1928, proposes to establish headquarters for its work.

LIBRARIES, particularly in England, report a waning interest in war fiction. For serious study there seems to be a rather steady demand for after war economic and political studies which are calculated to build up the institutions of peace.

NEWLY DESIGNED flat-bottom boats that can carry cargo now navigate the Magdalena River, Colombia. These boats can shoot the Honda Rapids which have hitherto cut the navigable parts of the river in two at about 600 miles from the mouth where a railroad sixty miles long has bridged the gap. Great saving in time and expense is anticipated from the use of the new boats.

A SHARP CUT in immigration to the United States was noted this fall as compared with the same time in 1929. This cut, amounting to 36 per cent, is attributed by Immigration Commissioner Hull to the recent order excluding aliens likely to become public charges. The influx of cheap labor from Mexico has practically ceased and little or none is now coming from Canada.

THE NICARAGUAN GOVERNMENT has requested the cooperation of the Government of the United States in selecting a site on the Nicaraguan waterfront where a seaport can be established connecting with the Inter-American Railway; also to provide transportation and other aid in selecting a route and planning a highway to the Atlantic seaboard. To this request the Navy Department has promised cooperation.

DR. ALFRED ZIMMERN, head of the Summer School of International Studies at Geneva, has accepted the chair of International Relations at Oxford University, England.

A SEMINAR IN THE CARIBBEAN is planned for February 14 to March 4, 1930. It consists of a tour for cooperative study of Caribbean peoples and of their relations with the United States. The seminar is planned and conducted by the Committee of Cultural Relations with Latin America.

A SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF LYNCHINGS, case by case, to discover the underlying causes and, if possible, to frame an effective preventive program, has been undertaken by a Southern commission sponsored by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. The record of lynchings, which had been steadily declining for some years, jumped in 1930 so that the number was twice that of 1929. Hence this fresh attempt to solve, this time by scientific inquiry, the race problem of the South.

NAVAL EXPANSION IN JAPAN, caused by adherence to the London Naval Treaty, would treble the air force, build eleven new light cruisers and recondition many existing vessels. The plan for such expansion drafted by the Japanese naval department will be likely to be cut from an expense of Y900,000,000 to about Y250,000,000, however, by the Finance Minister, who proposes to cut taxes for the coming year.

SHALL WE DRESS OUR YEAR in modern costume? The General Conference on Communications and Transit has put Calendar Simplification on its agenda for the meeting next fall. The major plans under consideration thus far are the 13-month calendar, called the International Fixed Calendar, the World Calendar and the Swiss Plan. Both the latter propose a 12-month year, but with quarters equalized and arrangement perpetual. They differ in the arrangement within the quarters.

"NARCOTIC EDUCATION WEEK" is the name given the fourth week in February this year. By work done in this week the World Conference on Narcotic Education hopes to prepare the public for the Geneva conference on the subject to take place, May 11 to 15.

HENRY CLAY

1777-1852

APOSTLE OF FRATERNITY AMONG THE COUNTRIES OF AMERICA AND VALIANT DEFENDER OF THEIR INDEPENDENCE

TO THE UNITED STATES OF VENEZUELA THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA GIVES THIS STATUE OF ITS ILLUSTRIOUS STATESMAN, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SENATOR AND SECRETARY OF STATE

THIS INSCRIPTION marks the lately erected statue of Henry Clay now standing in the Plaza Henry Clay in Caracas, Venezuela. The sculptor was Edmond T. Quinn, and his work is said to be spirited and unusual. In 1921 Venezuela presented to the United States a statue of Bolivar, which was unveiled in New York City on December 9 of that year.

PROPERTY IN ROME was purchased by the United States in January, for an Ambassador's residence and office building. The land fronts upon three streets in the heart of the city, and is considered a valuable acquisition, quite reasonably obtained.

THE LARGEST OBSERVATORY in central and southeastern Europe has recently been completed in Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

AMONG THE USEFUL ACTIVITIES leading to world friendship is the International Congress of Modern Language Teachers which is announced for March 31, in Paris.

FRENCH VETERANS of the World War will hold their 14th convention in Washington during the George Washington Bicentennial in 1932. The convention will be also in honor of Lafayette. The further cementing of Franco-American friendship is anticipated as a result of the meeting in this country.

MOUNT VERNON, IN DUPLICATE, is in process of erection in Paris. The building will be appropriately furnished in period style and will form

the main exhibit of the United States at the forthcoming International Colonial and Overseas Exposition. A pageant will be staged in the building, depicting the visit of Lafayette to Washington in his home. Many other historic figures will be represented in costume; a negro band will play, and as far as possible Virginia in colonial days will be shown.

A FRANCO-AMERICAN MEMORIAL to be located on the Lafayette estate, La Grange, is proposed by the Comtesse de Chambrun, whose husband is a descendent of Lafayette, and who is, herself, an American, the sister of Speaker Longworth. She hopes to gather as many as possible of the belongings of Lafayette, many of them also souvenirs of the American Revolution, and with them create a memorial similar to the American Mount Vernon.

THE CANADIAN RADIO LEAGUE, a private enterprise but with the functions, so it claims, of a public-utility system, was formed in Canada in December. Its national council includes the head of McGill University, of the Trade and Labor Congress, of the Canadian Bar Association and of the United Farmers of Alberta. This organization places in Canadian hands the influencing of public opinion through the radio. Only American stations had previously covered all Canada with programs.

THE PRESIDENT OF GREECE DECORATED two Englishmen, Sir John Hope Simpson and Mr. Eddy with the Grand Cross of the Order of the Phoenix in recognition of their services on the Refugee Settlement Commission. That Commission is now dissolved, the Greek Government itself undertaking the administration of the Refugee Loan.

FROM CHINA COMES THE NEWS that a law has passed the Legislative Council raising women to equality with men in many respects. The law is known as the Law of Family Relations and covers such matters as marriage, divorce and property rights.

DECEMBER, 1930, SAW the last of the army of occupation withdrawn from Germany.

THE AVIATION DEPARTMENT of the Chinese Ministry of War proposes the immediate inauguration of an airmail route between Nanking, China, and Mukden, Manchuria.

WITH COMMENDABLE PERSEVERENCE the nations have set the time for another conference on arms reduction. This is the conference sponsored by the League of Nations and will consider the draft disarmament convention adopted by the League's preparatory commission. The conference will take place the second week in February, 1932, both place and chairman to be designated later.

A SCHOOL OF PEACE was lately opened in Paris, organized under the directorate of *l'Europe Nouvelle*, sponsored by M. Briand, dedicated by M. Painlevé. The course covers two years; the first, a general study of current international problems; the second, more detailed study of policies and institutions.

BECAUSE OF HIS RECENT LABORS for rapprochement between Bolivia and Chile, Señor Julio Sandander, editor for *El Imparcial*, in Santiago, Chile, was decorated by the Bolivian Government with the Order of the Condor of the Andes.

MAGALLENES, THE WORLD'S MOST SOUTHERN CITY, announces an encouraging number of tourists for the present season. Last year, in December and January, upwards of 2,000 tourists visited the region, arriving by ship mostly. Some there were who came by airplane from Argentina and Chile.

AMERICAN CULTURAL RELATIONS were furthered when an exhibition of Pan-American paintings of the modern school was opened in Baltimore January 15, 1930.

THE RED CROSS IN CHILE does not confine itself strictly to emergency work. This winter a definite preventive program has been undertaken. The main point of attack this year is child welfare, especially in the prevention of tuberculosis and of infant mortality.

PERU ANNOUNCED in February that it proposed to utilize the advice of the Kemmerer commission in its finances. The American financial expert, Dr. Kemmerer, thus adds another country to the list of those he has assisted to untangle their financial systems. Among the countries previously assisted by Dr. Kemmerer are Poland, China, Bolivia, Colombia and Chile.

CHILE AND PERU RECENTLY DECIDED to have no more smuggling across their border at least for three months. To make this sure they abolished

all customs on the frontier for that period, with the possibility of extending the time limit.

RATIFICATIONS OF A GENERAL ARBITRATION TREATY between Italy and the United States were exchanged on January 20. Similar treaties are now in force with 23 other countries.

FOR NEARLY 300 YEARS Indian Peace Medals have been given to prominent Indians in North America. With few exceptions the purpose of these medals was the promotion of friendship between the Indians and whites. Colonizing governments and trading companies issued the first medals. The United States issued its first one in 1789, the latest in 1889. Many of the medals are still prized possessions of the descendants of those Indians who received them.

THE UNEMPLOYMENT SITUATION in Australia has caused further curtailment of immigration by that government.

Book Reviews

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PEACE MOVEMENT IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY, by *Christina Phelps*. pp. 223 and index. Columbia University Press, New York, 1930.

"A living or a dead self, the earlier movement was a stepping-stone on which the later 19th-century movement for international cooperation rose to a height that it could never have reached had it dated its rise from 1867. One might also bear in mind that every noteworthy peace plan or suggestion which was made prior to 1853 still survives. Two such facts should be enough to convince even detractors of the early peace movement that it was not without importance." This conclusion follows Miss Phelps' careful and closely attentive study of the secondary stage of the peace movement. She has turned the pages of very many early pamphlets, tracts and magazines; has culled material pertinent for her study, and, what is of scarcely less importance, has published the references in footnotes. A study of these footnotes alone will be rewarding to historians for many years.

Miss Phelps evidently brings to her work both training in historical criticism and felicity in the use of language. The book is the work of a scholar. It is furthermore delightfully organized and written.

Better than any other historian in the field, she seems to us to follow and interpret the or-

ganization of the peace movement in England and America, the discarding of dangerous ideas, the emergence of significant doctrines and the methods of propaganda evolved. Peace workers everywhere have from the beginning been prone to move off at a tangent, only to find themselves far from the main body of their associates. The doctrine of "non-resistance" was one of these tangents, never approved officially by the American Peace Society, though it found more following in England. Anti-government ideas branched off from non-resistance and was in turn repudiated by many non-resisters.

On the other hand, ideas such as arbitration, proportional disarmament, and the codification of international law won early places in the aims dominating general peace propaganda. The thought of a congress of nations was conceived very early in the American peace movement, since America was not then very far removed from the making of a constitution for herself in this country, and the idea of a world constitution naturally followed. The fruit of long agitation on the subject is contained in the book of "Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations," published by the American Peace Society in 1840. Miss Phelps, a young woman approaching this collection, doubtless, in the light of post-war discussions on international organization, finds a veritable mine of treasure in these six essays. She combines their points in her discussion of the American plan. In an appendix she places in parallel columns the points in the "Plan of the Prize Essays, 1840" with comparable points in the articles of the League of Nations. It is to be noted that she summarizes all the essays instead of using merely the sixth, that by William Ladd, which has been generally considered the masterpiece.

Another notable point in the monograph is the attention given to early international work in the economic field. Few historians of the peace movement in the mid-nineteenth century have done this. She has, too, taken cognizance of the attitude of the press, both in the United States and in Great Britain. Here again she has done great service to other historians in giving references to issues of periodicals, especially in England, which dealt, pro or con, with the peace movement.

Whether Miss Phelps can or will ever do an equally sympathetic and accurate interpretation of the many-branched peace movement of today is a matter for conjecture. Most of those now at the job of such historical work are so definitely propagandist that their work is only tepidly received by the many not of their views. Perhaps such work will need to wait for another generation to arise.

However, whatever comes from the present confusion of ideas as to the proper way in which to build the superstructure, Victor Hugo's simile, used in the introduction to this book, remains true: "The future is an edifice which man builds with his own hands." The foundation has been honestly and soundly laid. It now remains to find and use the best materials and methods with which to carry out the farseeing plan of the founders; to build an edifice in which humanity can really and happily live.

MRS. SIGOURNEY, THE SWEET SINGER OF HARTFORD, by *Gordon S. Haight*. Pp. 191 and index. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1931. Price \$3.

Eighty-five years ago, in January, 1846, readers of THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE found on page 29 of their magazine a hymn beginning—

“Check at their fountain heart,
O God, the streams of strife—”

It was written by Mrs. Lydia H. Sigourney, one of the most popular and prolific writers of that period. In July appeared another of her poems; in August a pacifist prose tale, “The Brothers”; and in October still another poem. There were others earlier, signed with initials very likely hers.

To have Mrs. Sigourney's name upon the table of contents was at that time one mark of a popular magazine. Only four years later Louis Godey was paying her the fabulous sum of \$500 a year merely to have her name appear on the title page of his “Lady's Book.”

Measured by today's light, individual touch, her poems were stilted and conventional, the best often imitative of British models. But according to the idiom of her day she expressed—especially to “young females”—much that they felt on reverence for old age, resignation, and particularly the doleful contemplation of death. In any case she was an industrious, well-paid purveyor of sentimental verse, much read and admired.

The biography by Mr. Haight is altogether delightful, difficult to lay down once it is begun. It is written with sympathy, but with quiet humor. Without overemphasis, Mr. Haight pictures a highly individual though consciously virtuous, heroine. Her career, too, illuminates the public taste of her day. In spite of her mournful lays, Mrs. Sigourney is seen to be a pretty, energetic lady, quite as conspicuous for business perspicacity as for the divine afflatus. If a surreptitious flicker of sympathy is felt for the elderly husband who disapproved so strongly of “female publicity” one is glad after all that the young wife finally found expression for her abounding mental vitality.

She was teaching school at the time that Emma Willard began, and the friendship between them was lifelong. Other names now famous move more or less intimately across her stage.

All in all one closes the book feeling that Lydia Sigourney must have been a quite delicious person to know.

THE POWER OF INDIA, by *Michael Pym*. Pp. 317. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1930. Price \$3.50.

“I don't expect to understand India. I'm going to see India. Any number of people, government officials, explorers, scientists, all kinds, can write authoritative volumes on India. . . . It's time somebody went out, looked at India in a perfectly ordinary, human way and tried to give a truthful idea of how it struck him.” Partly because this intelligent English-American woman kept such directness of mental attitude, but even more because she carried with her a rich background of

western civilization, keen political sense, appreciation of the occult, rising possibly from her own Spanish-Irish ancestry and also because she carried coolness of perception, seeing far below the surface—for all these reasons Mrs. Pym's book on India is in fact unique. Its great lack as a book is the technical one of lack of maps. These are really necessary for the full enjoyment of the text. An index and a pronouncing vocabulary would also add greatly to the value of the volume.

The reader looks with the author appreciatively at bits of India from Bombay, where “one finds himself, as it were, poised in space between two worlds,” to the Himalayas, “where you have reached the edge of something that must remain your secret.” All the way spots in India are illuminated by politico-historical explanations which make them real—this for about one-third of the book. Following are chapters on the culture of India; that culture which is not literary, but the art of living and which expresses itself in art, music, literature and in the social attitudes, especially those expressed by women. These interesting chapters, never dull, are lighted with personal experiences and fraught with wit, often phrased with brittle charm.

Part 3 gazes down the vista of India's past, those long centuries upon which her present rests. Mrs. Pym has little admiration for Gandhi, who gave her “the deadening sense of the would-be great,” never unconscious of effect, a man subtle but insincere.

In the light of Britain's recent granting of dominion status to India, the following paragraph, tucked in the midst of Part 3, is significant: “Externally there is very little reason for not imagining that India can and must and will conduct its relations as a unity just as America does. . . . And with all their mistakes, all their misconceptions, the hot-and-bothered British, strenuously denying ‘India as a nation,’ strenuously insisting upon ‘lack of unity,’ are, in fact, unconsciously developing among Indians a conscious political sense of ‘Indian-ness’ to which history will probably point one day as Britain's greatest gift to India.”

MARY GLADSTONE, HER DIARIES AND LETTERS, edited by *Lucy Masterman*. Pp. 492. E. P. Dutton & Co. Inc., New York, 1930. Price \$5.

Through the eyes of William Gladstone's daughter one sees here a pageant of Victorian England. London is a city far different from the capital of today and moving through it were men and women now become famous. Causes and political events ruffled its serenity which have long been solved and left behind. Mary, born in 1847, begins her observations on life, as far as this book is concerned, in 1858, at the age of eleven. The diaries are principally notes, condensed and with briefest of comment. Yet during the years between 1858 and 1926, with some gaps and with many deletions by the editor, the diaries and letters call up events and persons in a way so intimate as to make them still vital.

Gladstone, of course, whom his daughter extravagantly admires, but whom she calls “The Parent,” or “G. O. M.” for “Grand Old Man”;

"Dizzy," the detested; Browning, not much liked at first; George Eliot; Tennyson; Burne-Jones and his family; Ellen Terry; Balfour; the Asquiths; Lloyd-George in the later years—in fact nearly all persons prominent in England and some Americans find place, first or last, in Mary Gladstone's story.

As to Mary herself, she had prejudices, conventional banalities suitable to her period; but she is somehow never dull, always alive. Fortunately for us it is always persons who are of prime importance to her, more even than "E. Q.," the eastern question, or "H. R.," home rule for Ireland; more, too, than music, which is of secondary importance to her. Her comments on concerts have been largely cut out by the editor, but we find that the first taste of Wagner was a really disagreeable dose. However she grows and develops through the years.

The exquisite portrait of her by Burne-Jones is enough to make one wish to know her personally. Indeed the whole family of brothers, sisters and cousins, who sometimes called Mary their "Von Moltke," is worth knowing.

All in all the book leaves one with a determination to read other biographies and diaries of the period. It is easy to see why it won the Dutton Prize for the year.

CEASE FIRING, edited by *Anna Whitaker Roussel*. Pp. 85 and index. John C. Winston & Co., Philadelphia, 1930. Price \$1.

The poetry of the new idealism is yet meager. We mean the thought of peace that is not passive and meek, but the sort of peace which provides the oxygen for active, virile, social labor and joy—a peace resilient, bracing, like fresh air, full of sunshine and motion. Such a peace might nowadays be considered as the necessary condition of growth and development. It is not itself that growth; it is only the atmosphere in which normal health can function.

It was long the custom for the poets who wished to arouse noble enthusiasm to use only the figures of war, the rhythm of the brass band. Now comes a small but growing number of poets who use the same rhythms but with a new imagery. They clothe in forms of beauty the stimulating call to the "peace that demands all of a man." They sing of

"Great souls, servitors of liberty

Who kept the state to star-set honor fast."

They say to the city builders: "Fill the city's veins with the red blood of friendship"—

"So may the spirit of the city tell

All the souls within her gates that all is well."

Even Hagedorn's grewsome "Boy in Armor" has a ringing quality:

"We died. And now you others who must live

Shall do a harder thing than dying is—

For you shall *think*. And ghosts shall drive you on."

So this little anthology of peace poems in the new manner, a far cry from the measured conventionalities of peace singers in the last century, has among the sad songs of war and the gentler though still modern poems in the religious vein,

many that are ringing and stimulating, enkindling to dauntless effort in behalf of humanity.

TEN YEARS OF WORLD COOPERATION. Foreword by *Sir Eric Drummond*. Pp. 460 and index. League of Nations, Geneva, 1930. Price \$3.50.

The record of the work of the League of Nations since its beginning is put out by the Secretariat itself. The League is not appraised. The book is simply a statement of facts and events. The various lines of activity of the League are treated separately under the several heads, and altogether form an invaluable historical reference. Annexes appropriately contain the Covenant of the League, a list of the many publications of the League and descriptive paragraphs of other books concerning it. The chapters which will prove most interesting on this side of the water are probably those dealing with humanitarian and nonpolitical work.

The main purpose of the League, stated in the first chapter and carried as an invisible text throughout, is the prevention of war. With this, too, Americans, whose Government was founded for the same purpose, will find themselves in accord.

THE GIANT OF THE WESTERN WORLD, by *Francis Miller and Helen Hill*. Pp. 301 and index. Wm. Morrow & Co., New York, 1930. Price \$3.

It is interesting to follow the lines of observation of writers untrammelled by much reverence for the Constitution or deep understanding of it. Their pragmatic methods are often rewarded by novel interpretations, at least, and by a fresh point of view.

In the present book America is shown to be (as she is) internationally active, while Europe is, in a sense, growing Americanized. The two most valuable contributions which America has drawn out of her pioneer life and applied to European problems are, say Miller and Hill, common-sense methods and an ineradicable belief in the integrity of the plain man.

The "isolation" idea is, of course, a man of straw. American isolation, because of conditions in the era of Washington and Jefferson, long outgrown, does not in fact exist, though in common with many other writers these two spend some time annihilating it as they wrathfully survey America's refusal of membership in the League of Nations.

The book, however, intolerant as it is of "patriots" and of many doings of the United States, has some interesting ideas in the field of economic relations. Its special suggestion, as a preventive of the apparently approaching war, is an International Commerce Commission to parallel our own Interstate Commerce Commission. Beginnings have already been made by the International Chamber of Commerce, with its Court of Commercial Arbitration. Some such rigid separation of international business and international politics is recommended as a great reform in international technique. Possibly this would prove a useful addition to the policy of the nations in their dealings with each other.

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ADVOCATE OF PEACE

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No. 2

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

VOLUME
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Our Referendum on the World Court

IN THE month of January the American Peace Society circularized its members with a referendum on the question: "Should the United States of America Join the Permanent Court of International Justice?" Accompanying the referendum was a report, setting forth certain arguments in favor and certain arguments against the ratification of the protocols, to the end that the United States may become a member of the Permanent Court of International Justice. There was a statement by Professor Philip C. Jessup favoring, and another by Senator C. C. Dill opposing American adherence. There was a list of references. There has been no little praise of the document. It was intended to help those interested to think through with clarity and conviction.

The arresting result of the referendum to date is the seeming lack of interest in the question. Only 13 per cent of the membership have thus far sent in their ballots.

Unless a renewal of interest prompts the remaining members to send in their ballots forthwith, the Society may have to go to the expense and bother of unnecessary labors. Can it be true that only 13% of American Peace Society members are interested in this question? Certainly that ought not to be the case.

The members of the American Peace Society who have failed thus far to send in their ballots on this major question facing our Country are urged to do so at once.

Why We Do Not Recognize Russia

ELSEWHERE in these columns there is a story of unhappy conditions in Soviet Russia. There are unhappy conditions elsewhere in the world, our own country not excepted. Conditions such as those depicted in Russia would not warrant us in our refusal to recognize the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It is our custom to recognize governments when they are in control of the administrative machinery of the state, when there is no overwhelming resistance within to their rule, and when they are willing and able to fulfill their international obligations.

We appear to have refused recognition of Soviet Russia primarily because of her failure to assume responsibility for her international obligations. Under date of July 25, 1923, Secretary Hughes, Secretary of State, set forth our policy in language that has not been rescinded. Mr. Hughes said: * * * while a foreign régime may have securely established itself through the exercise of control and the submission of the people to, or their acquiescence in, its exercise of authority, there still remain other questions to be considered. Recognition is an invitation to intercourse. It is accompanied on the part of the new government by the clearly implied or express promise to fulfill the obligations of intercourse. These obligations include, among other things, the protection of the persons and property of the citizens of one country lawfully pursuing their business in the territory of the other and abstention from hostile propaganda by one country in the territory of the other. In the case of the existing régime in Russia, there has not only been

the tyrannical procedure to which you refer, and which has caused the question of the submission or acquiescence of the Russian people to remain an open one, but also a repudiation of the obligations inherent in international intercourse and a defiance of the principles upon which alone it can be conducted.

* * *

The obligations of Russia to the taxpayers of the United States remain repudiated. The many American citizens who have suffered directly or indirectly by the confiscation of American property in Russia remain without the prospect of indemnification. * * * We would welcome convincing evidence of a desire of the Russian authorities to observe the fundamental conditions of international intercourse and the abandonment by them of the persistent attempts to subvert the institutions of democracy as maintained in this country and in others.

* * *

and again on December 18, 1923, when he announced to the Press that

* * * The American Government, as the President said in his message to the Congress, is not proposing to barter away its principles. If the Soviet authorities are ready to restore the confiscated property of American citizens or make effective compensation, they can do so. If the Soviet authorities are ready to repeal their decree repudiating Russia's obligations to this country and appropriately recognize them, they can do so. It requires no conference or negotiations to accomplish these results which can and should be achieved at Moscow as evidence of good faith. The American Government has not incurred liabilities to Russia or repudiated obligations. Most serious is the continued propaganda to overthrow the institutions of this country. This Government can enter into no negotiations until these efforts directed from Moscow are abandoned.

It will be seen from these statements by Secretary Hughes that this Government has considered that the present régime in Russia is deficient in its observance of the fundamental conditions of international intercourse in three respects, namely:

(1) Its failure to accord to the persons and property of foreigners within its juris-

diction that degree of respect and protection required by international law.

(2) Its failure to respect the international obligations of preceding governments.

(3) Its failure to respect the right of other nations to develop their institutions and to conduct their internal affairs without interference or control by other states.

We are of the opinion that our attitude toward the Soviets, refusing political recognition, is justified by the facts. We are mindful, however, that the words "red" and "communist" are frequently used unfairly and with little understanding of what the words really mean. It is easily possible for labels to become libels. In our conversations there is often a vast looseness of language. Out of half-baked ideas and misunderstood phrases there easily springs an unhappy amount of un-Christian ill-will. We build churches and cathedrals to memorialize the eternal truth in Christian love, and in our daily living practice ill-will and hatred, quite forgetful of the spirit of courtesy, of fairness, of patience, of consideration to which we pay but lip service in our orisons. It is of importance that we try to understand, really understand what is going on in Russia, quite as socially minded people aim to understand the criminal and the environment that has made him such. We cannot fight an evil without knowing what the evil is. We of America can afford to be fair, and to fight the sickness of blind bigotry. We, of all people, can be open-minded in our quest for truth, especially for the truth in the revolutions breaking out here and there across the world. We believe we have a great Society here in America. It is our privilege to prove it to the world by revealing to others the justice in our democracy, the social faiths that animate our people. What we may all afford to do is to pour consecration, devotion and righteousness into our task and into our talk.

A New York Post of the American Legion, at a recent dinner given to former enemy soldiers, either now American citizens or about to become such, struck a true American note when it declared:

... our fallen comrades who threw to us the torch did not intend it to be a perpetual pillar of hate to be transmitted to children even to the third and fourth generations. . . . therefore be it

Resolved, By the Lexington Post that we urge either new treaties or the revision of old treaties so that love and friendship may supplant envy and hate in the minds of generations in Europe yet unborn and insure that our children's children may never be drawn into the horrors of another war.

We may continue to refuse to recognize the political thing known as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; but if we lose the light of law, of justice, of faith and love, our nation would be bereft of its soul. If that happen, what else could possibly matter? In our condemnation of things communistic, we shall be effective in proportion as we are informed, judicial, firm and kind.

“Respectable Defensive Posture”

WHAT is the meaning today of Washington's advice that we shall have to take care “always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable, defensive posture”? Most of us in America would agree that that is good advice. The difficulty comes when we try to translate it into Army and Navy. It has been our view that this country cannot wage a war against a foreign power with our Navy alone. To attack any major power of the world would require the cooperation of our Army. Since the Army is small, we have believed, no foreign power could properly look upon us as a menace.

Representative Ross Collins, of the War Policies Commission, points out, however, that our Army is not so small. True, there are in the Army now approximately 136,000

men; but, there are 190,000 in the National Guard; 110,000 to 115,000 men in the Reserve Officers Training Corps, fully that number in the organized reserves, and some 40,000 in the Citizens Military Training. Mr. Collins is of the opinion that we have approximately 800,000 men ready at a moment's notice for use in our Army, and that the cost of this organization is larger than the cost of any other military establishment in the world. Is it true that our “defensive posture” is unreasonable?

Whatever the answer to this inquiry, it is of prime importance that our country associate itself whole-heartedly with the World Conference on Armaments, to be held in Geneva, it is hoped, next February; for it is up to us to prove that our “defensive posture” is justified or make changes accordingly. There is no desire in America that this nation shall be in any sense a menace to the integrity of any other government.

Every thoughtful peaceworker hopes that the Arms Conference will ease the irritations of the world. *“In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Germany undertakes strictly to observe the military, naval and air clauses which follow.”* That is a very important section of the Treaty of Versailles, and of our treaty of peace with Germany. It is a contract of the nations, all the nations, ours included, to initiate a general limitation of the armaments of all nations. No contract is more sacred than that. Upon its fulfillment may hang the future of civilization. The Conference in Geneva will test both the sincerity and the ability of nations to live up to their agreements.

It ought not to be impossible for men to profit by experience. It ought not to have been necessary for the United States to increase her military expenses by 86 per cent during the last 15 years, especially since

France has decreased her military expenses during the same period by 16 per cent, Italy 14 per cent, and Great Britain, 10 per cent.

Forty-million-dollar battleships, requiring an annual upkeep expense of \$2,000,000, are expensive things. Seven hundred forty-one million dollars a year, says President Hoover, is our annual expense for armaments, more than any other single nation. The world's bill for armies and navies every year is now about five billion dollars. A World Conference on Armaments is evidently needed. It is stated that the Geneva Conference will study how best to reduce armies, to reduce navies, to reduce military budgets, to abolish poison gas and disease germs from war, and to establish a permanent disarmament commission. To be of the service demanded everywhere by peoples, the studies must end in action.

Our United States will send delegates to the Conference. That is as it should be. The problems facing the Conference are not merely technical and military in their nature, they are moral and political. The Conference should be controlled, therefore, by civilians, aided as may be necessary by technical advisers.

There is no reason why armaments should be permitted to arouse fears and suspicions among nations. Men with intelligence enough to develop industries, create and run governments, fight wars on a colossal scale, are able, if they choose, to keep themselves "by suitable establishments on a respectable defensive posture." What constitutes suitable establishments, and what a respectable defensive posture, is an international problem. This problem can be solved by international understandings and agreements only. It is for this reason that peace workers look forward with such interest to the coming Conference on Armaments at Geneva.

The New Order in Spain

THE overthrow of the Spanish Monarchy, on April 13, following the municipal elections of the day before, has ended in the establishment of a Republic with Niceto Alcala Zamora, as Provisional President, and a Cabinet of Republican and Socialist colleagues. The change was sudden as it was complete. The Cabinet resigned immediately. The King turned the Government over to the Republican junta and left the country at once. The Provisional Government of the Republic assumed power without any formal procedure and without opposition. To one acquainted merely with the unsuccessful attempt at revolution in December, the complete turnover was a surprise. From this distance it appears that the event registered the popular opposition to the tyrannies of autocracy and to the economic and social ills that followed in its wake. It was a victory for democracy. Nine days later, the United States accorded recognition to the Provisional Government of the Republic Spain.

It is impossible to forecast the outcome. During the last hundred years, four times have Spanish monarchs been forced to give up their thrones, only to return. Alfonso XIII has neither abdicated nor renounced his rights. He is waiting to learn the real expression of the collective opinion of his people. He has only suspended the exercise of his royal power. 'On May 5, true to autocratic form, he issued instructions to his followers at home, saying: "Monarchists, wishing to follow my instructions, will not put obstacles in the way of the Government, but will support it. I will not approve of the people being excited against the Government. I want no military rebellion, but desire all soldiers to give allegiance to the Republic. The Monarchy went by vote of the people and if it comes back it must come the same way."

That sounds like good morals and good politics, in spite of the autocratic "I"; but

the opposition to kings and the faith in the processes of democracy seem to be stronger throughout Spain than ever heretofore.

The problems facing the new Republic are serious enough. The Government has begun by declaring that it receives its powers from the will of the nation and that it feels it to be its duty to establish the standards of justice demanded by the people. It purposes to guarantee civil and religious liberty, respect for private property, reforms in the army, clean-ups in the civil organizations. It purposes to improve the agrarian situation. It promises a constitutional convention in the near future for the determination of the ultimate form of government. This would seem to be the right way for a government to proceed, beset as it is with the evils of unemployment, a fluctuating exchange, an antiquated system of land tenure, an inadequate electoral system, and a political organization composed of long-discredited "rotten boroughs." The most serious thorn in the side of the new Government is the demand of the Basque provinces in the north and of the highly progressive Catalonians in the north-east for complete separation from Spain. Catalonia wishes to be an independent republic with its capital at Barcelona. The outcome of all this is, of course, in the lap of Providence. It may end in a confederation of Iberian States.

This change in Spain is another notice to autocracies that the days of dictators are but few, and that the only abiding sanctions of government rest on the will of the people.

M. ARISTIDE BRIAND'S defeat for the Presidency of France, on May 13, by M. Paul Doumer, long President of the French Senate, was probably a service to the peace forces of the world. As President of France, he would have had to withdraw from many of his activities in the interest of world peace. There is no doubt

that M. Briand symbolizes, perhaps as no one else, the peace aspiration of the world. As Prime Minister, he can continue his labors for peace unabated. At a time when the peace forces of the world are marked by ineptitude and divergence, no man less courageous or less tenacious than M. Briand could occupy the position of leadership that he holds.

BEFORE us are two textbooks, one Gorton's *Elementary History of the United States, Book Four*, published by Charles E. Merrill Company, the other *Lessons in Democracy*, by Molley and Cook, published by the MacMillan Company, that should be withdrawn from circulation. The former was published in 1920, and the latter in 1923. Their authors did not escape the war psychology of that period. In the Gorton book, there are sentences as follows: "The militarists of Germany saw their chance to plunge Europe into war and urged Austria to make almost impossible demands of Serbia, knowing that Serbia would receive the aid of Russia." . . . "On the sea, as well as on land, the Germans were violating all the laws of humanity. . . . Even hospital boats and relief ships were destroyed." Chapter 23 of this book, attempting to tell "What the War Meant," is a bitter characterization of the German Reichstag and of the German armies. It is a chapter of inaccuracy and injustice. The Molley and Cook publication is little improvement on the other. It accuses Germany "of murdering men, women and children," and of "sinking many American ships without warning."

Both of these publications are used in adult immigration classes. Their purpose is to teach the enduring values in our America. Their effect must necessarily be painful in the minds of intelligent foreigners trying to become loyal citizens of our country. The books should be withdrawn from circulation.

MR. GALSORTHY, the eminent English author, has recently been touring the United States. We shall await his impressions of us with interest. Already he has made one distinct suggestion. Here it is:

"There should be a day consecrated to the Kellogg, or Paris, Pact, a day to be observed in every country of the world. I venture to suggest to your President, who has the cause of peace at heart, that he should press this on the governments of the world. We need to be reminded annually that we have renounced war.

"Nobody today can believe, as some did before 1914, that war is beneficial. Before 1914 to believe in the need for peace was to be considered somewhat of a freak. In 1931, not to believe in the need for peace is to be the village idiot."

THE Wheat Conference in London, which convened May 19, was not the success that had been hoped. The Government of the United States accepted the invitation of the Canadian Government to this Conference of wheat-exporting nations for the purpose of finding a remedy for the evils of overproduction of wheat. The Conference was called pursuant to a resolution adopted in Rome, March 31, 1931, by the preparatory conference to the Second World Wheat Conference. This resolution emphasized the importance of the orderly marketing of the export surpluses of wheat, pointing out that the low price of wheat on the world's markets is a serious factor in the present economic depression, and that a conference was needed to formulate a plan, on an international basis, for the exportation of the 1931-32 crop. At the Conference there were delegates from Argentina, Australia, Canada, Hungary, Poland, Soviet Russia, and the United States. In spite of the Conference, it is feared, especially in France, that the approaching months will witness a free for all struggle for markets on the part of the great wheat-exporting nations of the world. The American delegation refused to consider the pos-

sibility of export quotas. American wheat is not, of course, a menace to the world market. The Farm Board has given assurance that its surplus will be disposed of in an orderly manner, and the Board is making every effort to take the United States out of the wheat-exporting field. Since wheat for the world market cannot be grown at a profit in this country it is probable that exports will steadily decline. Every effort here is to curtail acreage and raise the price of wheat to a point where its production will be profitable.

SO, WE are not disturbed by the skepticism over conferences. In his message to Congress, December 3, 1906, President Roosevelt, speaking of the Pan-American Conference, said, "Quite apart from the specific value of the conclusions reached by the conference, the example of the representatives of all the American nations engaging in harmonious and kindly consideration and discussion of subjects of common interest is itself of great and substantial value toward the promotion of reasonable and considerate treatment of all international questions." Self-interest will restrain the United States from dumping its wheat abroad, quota or no quota. This wheat conference will lead to another. Indeed that is specifically provided for. As to the value of Conferences, we agree with Mr. Roosevelt. Imagine a world without Conferences!

THE Academy of International Law at the Hague, which will begin its ninth year on Monday, July 6, and end on August 29, has taken its place as an outstanding contribution to international intelligence. As heretofore, the next sessions will be divided into two terms of equal length. Students may attend either of the two terms, or both, with no danger of repetition. Lectures will be given, as a rule, two in the morning and two in the after-

noon; Wednesday afternoons, Saturdays and Sundays excepted. The total number of lessons on the program for this year is 142, to be conducted by 23 instructors, coming from 14 different countries. The teaching, given in French, will deal primarily as heretofore with public international law in its relations with peace. As in preceding years, no fees will be charged. Anyone desiring to attend should apply to the Secretary at the Hague, giving his full name, nationality, occupation and address. Further information can be obtained from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

THE Ninth International Dairy Congress, upon the invitation of the Danish Government, will meet in Copenhagen under the auspices of the International Dairy Federation, July 14 to 17. Following the Congress there will be study tours to the most important institutions of the dairy industry in Denmark. An official delegation from the United States, authorized by Congress, will attend. There is no better place for the study of the world's dairy industry than Denmark, for there they have developed the efficiency of the dairy cow, emphasized the value of dairy products to the diet of the human race, controlled animal diseases with the aid of sanitary science, practised pasteurization, applied mechanization to the industry, installed cooperative marketing, all on a successful scale, and developed the dry milk industry. There could be no better land in which to study the problems of milk production, milk distribution and manufacturing, animal physiology in relation to milk production, veterinary medicine in reference to dairy cows, the technique of dairy bacteriology, dairy chemical technique, and other related matters of importance to the industry, than Denmark.

A CONFERENCE on the limitation of the manufacture of narcotic drugs assembled at Geneva, May 27. This Conference, held under the auspices of the League of Nations, is studying ways and means to limit the manufacture of narcotic drugs to the necessities for medical and scientific needs. There was a preliminary conference to study this problem in London last autumn. A further study was made by the Opium Advisory Committee of the League of Nations at its last meeting in January. The quantity of narcotic drugs manufactured in the United States is already limited by law. The interest of this country in the conference relates to the illicit traffic due to smuggling. It is generally realized that the time must come to prevent the manufacture of large surplus stocks of the derivatives of opium and the coca leaf, and it is generally agreed that this can be accomplished only by the cooperative action of governments.

MAKING travel easy and agreeable plays its part in the promotion of peace between nations. In France, the largest railway stations, notably the *Gare de l'Est*, have opened "welcome rooms" for the general public. In these rooms the soiled and weary traveler may have his bath, getting his shoes shined and his suit pressed at the same time. He can even dictate a business letter while having his hair cut, with the aid of a stenographer proficient in several languages.

CHARLES SUMNER, Senator from Massachusetts, Director of the American Peace Society from 1837 to 1853, and Vice-President and adviser thereafter until his death on March 11, 1874, left a thousand dollars to Harvard College, in trust, the income to be devoted to annual prizes for the best dissertations on uni-

versal peace. The fund is now nearly ten thousand dollars. President Lowell informs us that the prize winners, according to the records, have been as follows:

- 1887-88: M. C. Hobbs.
 1888-89: H. H. Darling—Great National Armaments in Peace.
 1889-90: L. McK. Garrison—The Irish in America.
 1891-92: R. L. O'Brien.
 1893-94: H. A. Davis—Arbitration as a Substitute for War.
 1896-97: W. H. Gorrill.
 1899-00: W. B. Munro—The Feasibility of an Universal Statehood.
 1901-02: I. Grossman—The Future Usefulness of Arbitration.
 1904-05: H. C. Jones—Limitations and Possibilities of International Arbitration.
 1908-09: C. Benton—The American Republics in the International Peace Movement.
 1909-10: David Haar—Arbitration Conventions and Arbitral Clauses in International Treaties. And
 J. W. Finkle—How War May Be Superseded by Universal Peace.
 1910-11: H. Hurwitz—The Judicial Settlement of International Disputes.
 1912-13: N. Gammons—Doctrine of the Responsibility of the State for Injuries to Foreigners.
 1913-14: P. B. Potter—The Evolution of Peace.
 1914-15: P. B. Potter—The State as an Ultimate Political Unit, and War.
 1915-16: P. B. Potter—The Development of the Rules of the Law of War, etc.
 1924-25: P. W. Williams—American Policy of Intervention.
 1928-29: G. V. Allen—Effect of the League of Nations upon the Execution of the Treaty of Versailles.

SOME of the views set forth by Mr. Melvin Traylor in his article appearing elsewhere in these columns, seem to have been corroborated by Governor Roosevelt of New York following his recent studies in France. The Governor found that the ability of France to resist the depression was due largely to the maintenance of a proper balance between industry and agriculture. The Governor was impressed by the utilization of non-productive land in France, especially for forestry. The "back-to-the-farm" trend in France has been of great economic advantage to the country. With Mr. Traylor, the Governor agrees that a similar movement in America might go a long way toward the solution of our depression.

The Governor's comments on France's flourishing agriculture are substantiated by recent figures showing the growth in volume of deposits with the *Credit Agricole*, French Farm Loan Bank. They show a steady annual increase as follows: 1921, \$6,040,000; 1926, \$29,920,000; 1927, \$47,240,000; 1928, \$71,400,000; and 1929, \$93,640,000. The margin of deposits over advances has grown from \$1,320,000 in 1921 to \$31,800,000 in 1929 and to \$38,668,000 in 1930.

THE British publicist Mr. H. Wickham Steed carries the theory of unemployment insurance to rather exalted heights. He suggests that the new International Bank at Bâle might organize a system of international insurance against the damage to world business when such damage results from a stoppage of trade with a violator of the Kellogg Pact. His plan is that the Bank should use a percentage of the reparation payments for such insurance premiums. He thinks that one of the reasons why the American Government is unwilling to say in advance what it will do to a violator of the Peace Pact is because the cotton growers and the wheat growers

of the United States might resent the damage to their interests if trade had suddenly to be stopped with a breaker of the Pact. The stoppage of trade with a breaker of the Covenant or a violator of the Peace Pact would, of course, mean heavy losses,

and perhaps to many nations. They would be light in comparison with the losses of war, but they would still be heavy. The suggestion that the risks of covering these losses may be covered by insurance is not illogical even if it may seem fantastic.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

Forced Labor in Soviet Russia

THE question of forced and convict labor in Soviet Russia has recently acquired great prominence in discussions regarding that vast territory in Europe and Asia which is ruled by the Communist régime. The existence of such labor is strongly denied by the Soviet Government. It is, however, as strongly asserted by foreign observers, and in recent months a great deal of light on the question has been shed by the evidence of persons escaping from the Soviet labor prison camps, by the testimony of occasional non-Russian eyewitnesses, and by the publication of official Soviet laws and decrees dealing with the matter. We are giving below the summary of the evidence given by an escaped official of the Ogpu (the Soviet secret police); extracts from an uncensored article sent out of Russia by an American newspaperman, and portions of a survey of the Soviet labor legislation issued by the British Government.

Evidence of Former Ogpu Official

Early this year, a former high official of the Ogpu escaped to Finland, where he issued a lengthy signed statement, describing conditions in the Soviet labor prison camps. According to this deposition, such camps in northern Russia are organized for special purposes under the official name of Severnye Lageria Osobova Naznachenya (abbreviated Slon), in cooperation between the Ogpu and the big timber trusts. Abroad these camps are generally known as the Solovetski camps. There are eight district organizations, with local headquarters in the following places: On the Popoff Island, near

the town of Kem; at the station Naiguba; Kantalahti and Biely, all on the Murman railway line; on the Solovetski Island in the White Sea; at Vichera. All these are in northern Russia. The eighth is near the town of Almatar, in Russian Turkestan.

According to official records the number of prisoners on May 1, 1930, was 662,200, comprising 569,982 men, 73,285 women, and 18,932 young people between the ages of 13 and 17, distributed over 873 groups of barracks.

Sold by the Ogpu

The Slon prisoners are employed in eight different kinds of labor. One category is doing forest work, another carries out logs floating in the rivers, a third is occupied in building strategical highroads near the Finnish frontier or constructing railway lines from Biely to the phosphate deposits at Hibinsk, from Kotlas to Soroka, and the Turkestan-Siberian line in Central Asia. The fourth group is carrying out loading and discharging work at the ports on the Murman coast and at Archangel and Kem, as well as at all the railway stations. This group is thus mainly engaged in handling the timber manufactured for export purposes. The fifth category is employed in draining and ditching work, the sixth in fishing, and the seventh in building enterprises, including the extension of the Murman and Archangel ports and the construction of a dry dock at Kem. The large eighth contingent comprises all those prisoners who have been sold by the Ogpu to the timber trusts, Karalljes and Severoljes, for work

in the sawmills. By the agreement made between the trusts and the Ogpu, the Ogpu has undertaken to provide the necessary amount of labor at a fixed rate. This is very small and, as the Ogpu has to feed and supervise the prisoners, it is not surprising that in the circumstances the food rations are so utterly inadequate.

During the winter of 1929-30 there were no fewer than 72,000 "casualties" in the camps. Many prisoners died from pure exhaustion; others fell victims to diseases, such as typhoid fever and scurvy; the rest being shot or otherwise killed by the guards on the pretext that they had tried to escape or, more frequently, because they were inefficient workers.

Early last year Ogpu representatives from the various convict camps held a meeting at Kem to discuss the progress of forest operations. The chairman was a certain Gleb Bokij, head of a special Ogpu department. One of the local Ogpu men rather anxiously inquired of the chairman: "Don't you think we are running the risk of being held responsible in Moscow for the terrible mortality among the prisoners, who are actually being worked to death?" The chairman replied with a grin: "You know we only supply you with counter-revolutionaries and other enemies of the Soviet."

Filling the Gaps

The high death rate among the Slon prisoners makes it imperative for the authorities to have new prisoners in readiness to keep up the fixed rate of labor, and a special department at the Ogpu headquarters is in charge of these duties. New prisoners are dispatched by train from various places in so-called echelons of 32 covered trucks, each containing about 50 people. There is usually one echelon a week, but in case of need Slon receives several trainloads on consecutive days. The newcomers are first collected on the Popoff Island near Kem, and afterwards distributed to the various camps.

The medical attention obtainable in the Slon camps is very deficient. For the 662,000 prisoners only four hospitals were available—namely, on the Solovetski Island, with 250 beds; on the Kond Island, with 80 beds; at Kantalahti, with 50 beds; and at Maiguba, with 65 beds. Every camp is supposed to have a medical attendant, but most of these medical attendants have had

no medical training. The lack of medicines is also appalling, the medicine chests even in big camps containing only a few grams of iodine and powder for headache and gastric trouble, and a few ragged shirts for bandages.

There are two kinds of guards to watch the Slon prisoners—the organized military "safety guard" and the "barrack warders." The former consists of men who have been trained in the Ogpu service, but many of whom, for one reason or another, have become mentally deranged. The majority of the "barrack warders" are criminal elements, such as murderers and robbers, and it is from these people that the foremen are appointed to maintain discipline indoors, as well as to supervise the outdoor work.

If a prisoner has accomplished the fixed day's work he receives a normal ration of one kilogram [2 1-5 lb.] of black bread a day. If he fails to carry out his job his ration is at once reduced to 300 grams per day, which is not again increased until he has made good his deficit. The daily food ration includes a plate of soup, generally made of rotten fish. Meat, old horse flesh, is given only twice a week.

Owing to the total lack of fats in the diet nearly all the prisoners acquire eye trouble, known as night blindness. It frequently happens, therefore, that prisoners have been shot down by the guards because they have not been able, owing to their affliction, to keep to the forest path in the dark. The guards afterwards report that the prisoners were killed because they tried to escape.

Every prisoner engaged in forest work has to fell and strip 35 timber logs a day. He must start out for the job early in the morning while it is still dark, and is given a box of matches in order to be able to find the trees marked down for felling. As a rule he has to walk a couple of miles to get to the place of work. Hard as it is to accomplish the ordinary day's job, the prisoner has to perform an additional task, entirely arbitrarily imposed upon him by the overzealous Ogpu officials—namely, the felling and barking of nine logs under the "Socialistic Efficiency Competition." In compliance with the rules of this competition, the Ogpu staffs in the various camps undertake to increase the output of the official timber-felling program by an additional 25 per cent in order to show their patriotic fervor. This means that the

unfortunate prisoner is forced to oblige his taskmaster by discharging this extra duty, which is devoid of all sense in its cruelty. Only by exerting his strength to the utmost is the prisoner able to walk back to his barrack, and while standing in the queue waiting for his execrable soup a man often falls asleep with his head resting on the shoulder of the fellow in front of him.

Forced "Colonists"

According to the official reports, there were on May 1, 1930, no fewer than 14,875 prisoners "without clothes," which means that they had nothing more than a little dirty, ragged underclothing. As soon as the lack of clothes became known, the Ogpu issued a decree ordering prisoners on their return from the forest to hand over their clothes to those who have none, so as to enable them also to do their duty. Prisoners, coming back to the barrack dead tired and often wet through, have thus to strip and give their clothes to the next batch which is at once sent out.

The prisoners who by sheer luck manage to survive their term of imprisonment are, however, not allowed to return to their homes, but are compelled to remain for three more years in Soviet Karelia or the Northern District as colonists. Their fate is shared by a large number of so-called *kollektivniki*—i. e., those who have been convicted for opposing the agricultural collectivization plan in other parts of Russia. While the head of the family is sent to work in Slon for terms ranging from five to ten years, the families are deported to the Northern District, and even to some parts of the Urals and Siberia. On May 1, 1930, 30,000 of these deported people were working on the phosphate deposits in Hibinsk, where health conditions were shockingly bad, 3,600 persons dying in 1929.

Apart from convicts and deported persons there are in Slon Karelian peasants impressed into forest work, as well as peasants from other parts of Russia mobilized by the Ogpu for the same purpose. These people are called "free workers," although in reality their position is hardly better than that of the sentenced convicts. They are forced to remain in the forests until the timber-cutting program is completed, and are receiving miserable starvation wages.

Convict Laborers Look Like Wild Beasts

A tragic picture of a group of convict laborers in Northern Russia is contained in a dispatch to the *Chicago Tribune* from its correspondent in Russia, Mr. Henry Wales. Mr. Wales describes a visit to a church in Archangel, which is now used as a sort of "a clearing house for arriving Kulak [rich peasant] exiles until they begin their long tramp over the icy tundras and snow-covered trails to the distant regions to which they have been deported." Mr. Wales' dramatic description is as follows:

The interior of the building is jammed with rough board, double-deck beds, where the Kulaks and their entire belongings are thrust among filthy, vermin-covered quilts and blankets—waiting for the endless march in the Arctic.

Like wild beasts in cages in a menagerie, they sit with great staring eyes peering from emaciated faces, gray-brown, almost black from dirt. Their withered hands and fingers are like claws and talons, and their great masses of matted hair, long, unkempt beards and mustaches, have not felt razors for months. A fetid odor pervades the place.

A false roof is erected over the upper tier of bunks and a couple of big stoves blaze away, but the heat of several hundred human bodies in the big low room, which is never ventilated, provides lost warmth.

Sprawled amid ragged bedding and dirty straw, or sitting on the bunks with legs dangling, these broken men hang on day after day with scarcely enough nourishment to keep life in their bodies. Once a day a tiny ration of black bread and a handful of barley is doled out to them, and then each cooks up a mess called stew and wolfishly devours it.

At night they prowl the city streets, rummaging in garbage cans, fighting for the contents with dogs. They are not guarded. A sentry stands at the doorway of the church, but they are permitted to wander about, as they cannot escape. The frozen stretches of ice and snow in the pitiless Arctic keep them safer prisoners than bayonets, cells or locks.

The townspeople cannot and will not take them in or give them shelter. The native populace watches unmoved as the hungry men tramp the streets, mutely appealing for food—they dare not beg or ask for anything.

Nearly all the Kulaks are middle-aged, or at least past 40. Most of them are 45, 50 or older, men who by thrift and industry attained dominat-

ing positions in their native villages before expulsion. I saw one younger man, a round-faced typical Mongolian type, whose fat features seemed singularly out of place among the lean, withered frames of his elders.

All Are Clad in Rags

All were clad in rags and tatters, their boots torn and burst open, permitting snow and ice to enter with every step. They have bound rags onto their skeleton forms with rope, string, wire, anything to hold some protection against the bitter cold blasts of the Arctic winds.

Stowed in the corner of their bunks are all their worldly possessions—battered tea pots or kettles, torn paper parcels containing odds and ends they salvaged from their homes when exiled. Their bedding of ragged blankets is alive with vermin.

Many are half naked, with enormous rents in their trousers and shirts, and they do not wear underclothing. Some, quite nude, lie among the straw and quilts. Nearly all are barefoot, their boots turned upside down to dry. In this atmosphere one man was sipping soup from a tiny iron pot in which he had brewed up a few grains of barley with a bit of horse meat. A tired-looking, aged man with shaggy eyebrows and his face a mass of bristles was chewing off hunks of raw fish. A thin, old man, bare above the waist, sat on the edge of his bed gnawing a bone like an animal. Another was chewing a frozen potato.

Like wild animals in cages at a circus, they looked, except that they had bunks of iron bars. But the most dreadful thing of all was their eyes. They had an unspeakable, hopeless expression that I had only seen once before in my life—in the field hospitals just behind the front during the war, where mortally wounded men, carried back in stretchers, emerged from the shock of injury to realize that the end was at hand.

They did not seem to see me and only answered questions with a visible effort. They sat silent among themselves, each in his separate bunk on a pallet of rags and straw. Up in the front of the former church and beneath what was once the altar, five old men sat about a table, the only article of furniture except the bunks. But they never spoke. They sat silent, gazing down at the ground or fingering uncertainly their torn clothing and scratching themselves constantly.

Scene of Misery Unfolds

One old man had an infected foot from his torn felt boot and frostbite. One was trying to saw off a length of beard with one shear of what was once

a pair of scissors. Perched off in a corner one German-looking man, wearing a pair of spectacles which gave him a dignified appearance, despite his unkempt hair and beard, was wrapping an article into a package "to send to my daughter in the Ukraine," he explained.

Although they are permitted to go out, few of the exiles ventured into the face of the bitter cold while clad only in rags. Like spectres they sat with eyes staring straight ahead, unseeing, unmoving, unspeaking.

It is difficult to understand how the local populace can steel their hearts against the concentration of misery confined here unless it is that the rest of the inhabitants are only relatively little better off and on short rations themselves, so that they cannot spare anything to give to the sufferers.

But nothing could explain to me how the people could ignore the sufferings of their own countrymen. The dread stigma of "kulak" outlaws them from all others. It classes them as a new class of bourgeois threatening to become another capitalistic menace because their greater thrift and ability gave them ascendancy over other peasants in their native villages.

As I gazed at one man lying back in his bunk I saw a long, slender object moving among his rags. Suddenly two small red eyes appeared and then the dirty gray head of a little white mouse.

"It came all the way from Siberia with me," he explained. "It lives inside my shirt here, usually upon my shoulder. It is all I have got left."

Leader Speaks in Bitter Irony

These 250 men had elected a leader as their spokesman, and I saw him, a tall, bent man with a withered frame, chin sunk on his chest, gazing into space.

"No complaints," he said bitterly, when I questioned him. "Everything is all right—you can see that." And he refused to say more.

The afternoon sun darted its lowering rays through the colored, leaded glass windows of the former church, now turned into a monstrous hell hole, tinged with red the gray, yellowish faces of the forlorn inmates. A half dozen forms shambled forward to take the cigarettes I offered, while another lingered to pick up the butt I had dropped.

Outside the children of the neighborhood were skiing and sledding down the slopes beside the church, laughing and chattering and playing. Mothers with market baskets on their arms were standing chatting with one another. Just down the street groups of boys were snow-balling a drunken millhand, who was staggering homeward.

It seemed incredible that the outside world was leading a normal life with such abject misery right at hand.

I turned and re-entered the former church. Then I saw a terrible sight. Sitting bolt upright in a bunk, a white-haired man was weeping. He was not sobbing convulsively, but just weeping, with tears rolling down his much-encrusted cheeks. There is something terrible about a grown man crying.

I hurried out again and proceeded to another Kulak concentration camp in a vacant ground above Sawmill 18 on the Maimaza Channel leading to the White Sea.

Whole families of Kulaks live there in dug-in caves in the ground like rodents, or in flimsy shelters made of bits of plank, branches of trees, sheets of tin, and anything they can find to protect them from the wind and weather.

Women, Sad-Eyed and Hopeless

The women folk, here too, are sad-eyed, hopeless creatures, muffled in rags and shawls, sometimes with small children clinging to them.

In most cases older children had been placed in the State Timber Industry's schools to learn the trade, thereby earning a little while at the same time being adequately fed.

This camp does not convey the horrors of the Muzni Chika building, maybe because of the different setting—maybe because the women, despite their misery, know how to arrange things better. For one thing, their hair is cut shorter, and I saw the reason. One woman acting as a barber was lopping off long beards with a pair of rusty scissors.

I was told that some townspeople steal up to the settlement at night and leave stale bread, salt herring and other food for the Kulaks, but most of them seemed callous and amazed at my interest in the wretches.

Soviet Labor Legislation

In response to very widespread demand in Great Britain for official information regarding conditions of labor in Russia, the British Government has issued a blue book of some 200 pages, entitled: *Russia No. 1 (1931): A Selection of Documents Relative to the Labor Legislation in Force in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*. It is explained in a note that in the making of the selection "special attention has been devoted to the inclusion of the principal enactments affecting labor in the U. S. S. R. since the Five-Year Plan was initiated." But, as it would have been misleading to publish such

enactments by themselves, a selection from the "fundamental legislation on which they are based, and without which they cannot properly be understood," is included.

For purposes of reference the volume is divided into four parts and there are two appendices, giving specimen orders of the Communist Party. Part I contains extracts from the Constitution and the Criminal and Labor Codes of the R. S. F. S. R., with an annex to the Labor Code dealing with conditions of labor in the preparation and floating of timber, and also sections on the Correctional Labor Code (principles governing the compulsory labor of law-breakers), the regulations governing conciliation and arbitration in labor disputes, the seven-hour working day and the working hours and rest periods in undertakings adopting the continuous working week, which is defined as a five-day week with four working days and one day of rest.

A decree of the People's Council of Commissars which is included says that in the undertakings and institutions having a five-day week the number of days of rest of each worker must "not be less than 72 per year, including those weekly rest days which fall within the period of regular leave," and the "unbroken weekly period of rest" must be "not less than 39 hours." In some cases accumulations are allowed, but "it is forbidden to deprive the worker of his unbroken weekly rest period on the day allotted to him by the time-table" and "pecuniary compensation in lieu of weekly rest is not allowed." Another section deals with pensions and reliefs under social insurance legislation.

"Comrades' Courts"

Part II contains a number of decrees, including one on "comrades' courts," composed of a president and two panel members, elected for six months at general meetings of wage and salary-earning employees of institutions or undertakings or at works conferences. These courts deal with "insults either oral, written or physical, or the spreading of false slanderous statements," with "assault without injury," with small thefts, with breaches of labor discipline (when the matter is referred to the court by the administration), with civil suits for small sums, and with "small matters reflecting the meaner side of daily life."

Another section gives model articles of

association for agricultural arts, by which "poor peasants" and "middle peasants" unite to form a "large collective economic entity" and in this manner to ensure, among other objects, "a complete and effective victory over the Kulak [well-to-do peasant]."

The next section deals with penal labor camps, to which "only persons who have been sentenced by a court to deprivation of liberty for not less than three years, and persons sentenced by special decision of the Unified State Political Department (O. G. P. U.), can be sent." These camps are under the "general control of the O. G. P. U."

Part III, which has the general heading "Special Legislation," sets out a number of rules for "forced labor."

An instruction of the Commissariat of Agriculture, dated June 1, 1929, on the "Procedure for the Utilization of Forced Labor in Forestry and Improvement Work," says, under the heading of "General Instructions":

The present instructions are the first attempt to utilize on timber and improvement work the labor of persons sentenced to forced labor without detention under guard. Considering this experiment of exceptionally great importance, the People's Commissariat of Agriculture instructs all agricultural organizations to begin forthwith from the current season to explore all existing possibilities of utilizing the labor of persons sentenced to forced labor for forestry and improvement work of a mass character and to establish for this purpose permanent relations with the Bureau of Forced Labor.

Grain Cartage

A decree authorizes the enforcement, "when necessary in grain areas," of "compulsory cartage of grain against payment to railway stations and steamers' landing stages, from July 1 to September 15, 1929." There is also a decree authorizing local executive committees to "enforce temporary compulsory labor in carrying out the loading and unloading of grain cargoes up to February 1, 1930."

Another decree which is quoted says:

Side by side with the immense growth in quantity of the production in state industry, there has recently been observed, in a series of cases, a falling off in the quality of goods produced not only for the open market but also for the needs of state industry and transport. Numerous enterprises are

trying, by lowering the quality of the products, to solve the very important problem of how to lower costs by rationalization and by increasing the productivity of labor. This phenomenon acts as a serious obstacle to the work of the Socialist reconstruction of the national economy, and also does great harm to the interests of workers and peasants as consumers of goods. In order to ensure the work of Socialist construction, it is essential that there should be a definite break away in the direction of improving and standardizing the quality of production.

The Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the U. S. S. R. therefore decree (1) as penalty for the systematic or mass production of inferior goods by industrial or commercial enterprises—Deprivation of liberty for not more than five years, or forced labor for not more than one year; and (2) as penalty for failure to observe the standards laid down—Deprivation of liberty for not more than two years, or forced labor for not more than one year.

A decree "regarding the measures to be taken in order to increase the productivity of the timber industry," says that "means of haulage belonging to rich peasants ('kulaks') who do not fulfil their allotted tasks of preparing and hauling timber are liable, by the decision of the rural assemblage, to confiscation for the need of the timber program." Against any person or persons "resisting the fulfilment of the allotted task in the preparation and haulage of timber" the rural assembly is empowered to institute criminal proceedings.

Executive committees are "empowered . . . where it is found that all other means of providing an adequate supply of labor and/or means of haulage have been exhausted, to institute compulsory paid labor and/or haulage in order to fulfil the needs of timber preparation and transport," and "rich peasant ('kulak') elements are to be engaged, having regard to local conditions, at a lower rate of pay."

This decree is to be "put into force by telegraph."

"Timber-Floating Campaign"

A circular dated February 13, 1930, says:

Timber-floating work during the 1930 season should be regarded as an especially important part of the politico-economic campaign. The produc-

tion program (R. S. F. S. R.) of timber floating for the 1930 season has been laid down at a figure of 91.3 million cubic meters, which shows a general increase in the volume of timber floating of more than 80 per cent as compared with last year. This increase in volume has occasioned a considerably increased demand for workers in comparison with last year, and it is thus necessary to attract to this work fresh contingents of workers who have never before been engaged in it. In view of all these circumstances, the state of the labor market for the forthcoming timber-floating operations promises to be especially strained, and this renders it necessary to establish the most rigorous discipline in the labor market and the observance of a "shock tempo" in all work of the labor organizations connected with the preparation and carrying through of the timber-floating campaign.

Plans for providing labor for this campaign are then set out.

A circular of March 3, 1930, describes the methods to be taken for the "dispatch of labor from collective farms to seasonal branches of the national economy." One section runs:

The area labor organizations in conjunction with the area collective farm unions must . . . draw up plans for the release of labor from individual collective farms in conformity with the plans for the supply of labor to individual seasonal branches of the national economy (construction, floating, agriculture, loading and unloading, et cetera), and for the distribution of labor among the individual districts and economic organizations.

The following extracts are taken from a decree of March 22, 1930:

Any demand for labor in respect of the following is considered as a matter of extreme urgency and is to be satisfied immediately and completely; the loading and unloading of grain on railway and water transport, and all enterprises connected with transport work (grain dumps, flour mills, groat mills, elevators, grain warehouses, grain drying plants, et cetera); the loading and unloading of import and export goods in all ports and stations (timber export, et cetera).

The first to be called to loading and unloading work are the unemployed from stagnant trades in any section of the register, whether they be physical or intellectual workers.

Refusal to do loading and unloading work, without adequate excuse, by any unemployed person who has been passed as suitable for such work, entails his being struck off the register and the loss of unemployment benefit.

A later decree, dated September 12, 1930, orders, "in view of the irregularity in the supply of workers for loading and unloading operations," that "in the event of a dearth on the spot of detachments of porters for loading and unloading work during September-November, 1930, all those unemployed on the register of the labor organizations, whether they be physical or intellectual workers, who are physically fit and generally suitable for such work must be compulsorily dispatched to work." It also orders that "For loading and unloading work, there may be engaged equally with the men also unemployed women to be put to light tasks (granular materials)"; and "refusal on the part of an economic organization to employ women without valid reasons will involve the material responsibility of the economic organization."

"Shock Brigades"

Labor organizations "must, with the cooperation of the local transport union and other trade union organizations, create from among the skilled porters 'shock' brigades to work off accumulations." In order to work off accumulations in loading work, these organizations will "undertake the organization of voluntary brigades amongst the workers in mills and factories and employees of undertakings and institutions, who desire, in their free time or on their rest days, to undertake loading and unloading work," this work to be paid for "on a general basis according to the existing scale and rates of pay." In the event of workers being "enticed during the season from their particular loading and unloading work to some other, or, in general, to any other work, by means of promises of conditions known to be unrealizable, or by means of an increase in rates of pay, and if this has a mass character and causes a disorganization of the plan," the labor organizations must prosecute the offenders.

A decree of the People's Commissariat of Labor of the U. S. S. R., dated October 9, 1930, says:

1. In view of the great shortage of labor in all branches of state industry, insurance bureaux are requested to discontinue payment of unemployment benefit. No provision for the payment of unemployment benefit has been made in the Budget of Social Insurance for the supplementary quarter October-December, 1930.

2. Labor exchanges are instructed to take all necessary measures in order that the unemployed be immediately sent to work, and of these the first to be sent are persons entitled to draw unemployment benefit.

3. Unemployed persons are to be drafted not only to work in their own trades, but also to other work, necessitating special qualifications.

4. No excuse for refusal of work, with the exception of illness, supported by a medical certificate, should be considered. Refusal of work carries with it removal from the registers of the labor exchanges.

Other documents set out the penalties for "duty offences" of workers, methods to "develop the employment of women in all branches of the national economy," and the procedure for the "campaign against the fluidity of labor."

"Fliers" and Malingerers

Part IV contains statistics of wages and hours, and of the two appendices the first is an order of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, dated October 20, 1930,

which declares that the "great successes following the socialistic industrialization of the country and the speed with which the organization of industry has been carried out, have completely eliminated unemployment in the U. S. S. R. and have created a shortage of labor," and says that the People's Commissariat for Labor "has taken up a purely bureaucratic stand on economic questions and instead of organizing a speedy distribution and utilization of labor has kept on the 'dole' hundreds of thousands of unemployed to whom they have paid out tens of millions of roubles, failing to combat the 'fliers' and malingerers." The People's Commissariat of Labor and its local organization have been "unable to organize their work." They have been "slack in their work, and individual directors have glossed over the existing defects of the organization entrusted with the duty of dealing with the solution of the primary problem of labor training." The Central Committee regards these facts as "an ocular manifestation of 'right opportunism' on the part of the former direction of the People's Commissariat for Labor," and it decrees other methods.

The second appendix gives extracts from a resolution of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party decreeing ways of "adopting a still higher tempo for the development of socialistic construction" in the year 1931.

Franco-Italian Naval Negotiations

ON MARCH 11, 1931, the British Government issued a White Paper (Cmd. 3812), entitled *Memorandum on the Results of the Negotiations with France and Italy for the Reduction and Limitation of Naval Armaments*. The memorandum is signed by Mr. Arthur Henderson, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Mr. A. V. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty. Annexed to it is a statement of the proposed bases of agreement.

Text of the Memorandum

The text of the memorandum is as follows:

Upon the conclusion of the London Naval Treaty the Naval Conference adjourned on April 15, 1930, to allow further time for negotiations between the French and Italian Governments with a view to the

settlement of the difficulties which stood in the way of complete agreement. Accordingly, at the instance of the Governments concerned, conversations were resumed between experts in the autumn of this year, and subsequently United Kingdom experts took part in the discussions, which were actively continued through the winter. In February the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the First Lord of the Admiralty visited Paris and Rome, and as a result of their negotiations with the French and Italian Governments complete agreement on all points was announced on March 1. The terms of the settlement were expressly made dependent on the approval of all the signatories of the London Naval Treaty.

The bases of the agreement arrived at are printed in the annex to this paper.

1. *Capital Ships*.—The slight increase proposed in the total tonnage accorded to France and Italy

under the Treaty of Washington will not in itself give rise to any new construction during the period of the agreement. The position may be explained as follows:

By the Washington Treaty France was allowed to retain 208,114 tons of capital ships, including three old vessels of a total tonnage of 52,791 tons. Of this total 155,323 tons were replaceable by new construction, which might total 175,000 tons, an increase of 19,677 tons. The three old ships were not included in the replacement calculations and could be retained indefinitely in excess of the 175,000 tons.

By the loss of the France the French total existing replaceable tonnage was reduced to 133,134, so that France was brought to the position of being able to build ships to the tonnage of 41,866 without any scrapping.

By the London Treaty France was precluded from building more than 70,000 tons of replacement capital ships. Wishing to build three ships out of this allowance she has designed to construct ships of 23,333 tons each, and by building two such ships she would exceed her right to build without scrapping by 4,800 tons. If she built a third ship of this tonnage she would exceed that right by 28,133 tons and if she scrapped one of her existing replaceable ships she would exceed it by 5,944. If on the other hand France were to scrap two ships she would, owing to the provisions of Article 1 of the London Naval Treaty, be precluded from reaching her full allowance of tonnage by as much as 16,245 tons.

Hence the necessity in fairness for increasing the tonnage allowance by 6,000 tons to 181,000.

In return for this concession France undertakes to scrap by December, 1936, two of the three old battleships referred to above as not replaceable.

Further, the French and Italian Governments will reduce the caliber of the gun on their projected capital ships from 13 inches to 12 inches and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will give the French Government a written assurance that they themselves favor a gun of a maximum caliber of 12 inches and a reduction in the existing maximum displacement of 35,000 tons.

2. *Six-Inch Gun Cruisers*.—It is anticipated that the French Government will in 1936 possess a large over-age tonnage in this category. It was made clear during the negotiations that the temporary retention of this tonnage conferred on France no aim to its ultimate replacement, and the reservation under this head in paragraph C (b) of the Bases of Agreement fully safeguards the position. It will be observed that an extension of the allowance for destroyers has been provided for in

paragraph B (b) of the Bases of Agreement. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have always considered the normal effective life of destroyers to be not less than 16 years, and the 12-year life for destroyers was only adopted in the London Naval Treaty to suit the convenience of other signatories.

3. *Submarines*.—France has 81,989 tons of submarines, built and building, which will be under age on December 31 of this year, and the French Government are unwilling to rest on a lower figure. Both the French and Italian Governments have, however, agreed not to include any submarines in the 1931 program and not to lay down any further submarine tonnage before 1933.

The question will be before the World Disarmament Conference in 1932, but, in order to take account of the contingency that a satisfactory solution of the submarine problem may not prove possible in 1932, the right of the Members of the British Commonwealth of Nations to increase their destroyer figure under Article 21 of the London Naval Treaty is fully reserved in paragraph B (c) of the Bases of Agreement.

Finally, the French and Italian Governments recognize the provisions of Part III of the London Naval Treaty, in so far as they apply to the Members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, the United States of America, and Japan, and accept, in so far as they are concerned, those provisions which are of general application and which do not conflict with the terms of the present arrangement.

ARTHUR HENDERSON,
A. V. ALEXANDER.

March 11, 1931.

Proposed Bases of Agreement

The annex referred to in the memorandum is as follows:

BASES OF AGREEMENT, March 1, 1931

A—VESSELS WHOSE TONNAGE IS REGULATED BY
THE TREATY OF WASHINGTON

I—*Capital Ships*

(a) Before December 31, 1936, France and Italy may respectively complete two capital ships, the displacement of each of which will not exceed 23,333 tons and the gun caliber of which will not exceed 12 inches.

(b) On completion of each of these ships, France will scrap one ship of the Diderot class; similarly, Italy will scrap approximately 16,820 tons of first-class over-age cruisers (making a total of 33,640 tons).

(c) Without prejudice to a general revision of the capital-ship tonnages established by the Treaty of Washington, and in order to facilitate the conclusion of the present arrangement, the total tonnage in this category accorded to France and Italy respectively under the treaty shall be raised from 175,000 tons to 181,000 tons.

II—Aircraft Carriers

Before December 31, 1936, France and Italy may complete respectively 34,000 tons of aircraft carriers.

Note to I and II—The French and Italian Governments will give one another as long notice as possible of their intention to seek Parliamentary authority for the construction of any ships in either of these two categories.

The above provisions will be included in an exchange of letters between the Ministers of Marine of France and Italy, except the provision contained in paragraph I (c) which will form the subject of a special protocol or declaration.

B—VESSELS WHOSE TONNAGE IS REGULATED BY THE TREATY OF LONDON

France and Italy will conform to the following rules in preparing their programs for construction to be completed before December 31, 1936:

(a) *Cruisers with guns of more than 6.1-inch (155 m/m) caliber*

No further construction after completion of the 1930 program.

(b) *Cruisers with guns of 6.1-inch (155 m/m) caliber or less and destroyers*

The tonnage of new construction to be completed shall not exceed the tonnage which is replaceable in this category before December 31, 1936. Vessels already over-age and vessels becoming over-age during the period of the treaty shall be scrapped on being replaced, except in cases where either France or Italy prefers to scrap instead an equivalent tonnage belonging to the category of cruisers with guns of more than 6.1 inch (155 m/m) caliber.

(It is suggested that, for the sake of clarity, this sentence should be re-drafted as follows, after the words "on being replaced." "Nevertheless, subject to the engagements mentioned in paragraph I (b), France and Italy may scrap, instead of over-age, light surface vessels, a tonnage of cruisers with guns of more than 6.1-inch (155 m/m) equivalent to the total of the new units completed.")

It is hereby declared that for the purpose of this arrangement the Members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, France and Italy do not intend to undertake the replacement before De-

ember 31, 1936, of any destroyer which will be under 16 years of age on that date. At the same time it is understood that if the present agreement is brought to an end as a result of the deliberations of the General Disarmament Conference of 1932, the right of replacement under the replacement rules of the London Naval Treaty remains intact.

(c) *Submarines*

No further construction other than for completion of the 1930 program and for the replacement of tonnage becoming over-age after December 31, 1931. Over-age vessels shall be scrapped, except where scrapping would result in the total submarine tonnage figure falling below the submarine figure mentioned in Article 16 of the Treaty of London.

Subject to a general revision of the naval question in the course of the Disarmament Conference of 1932, the tonnage of French submarines in commission will not exceed, up to December 31, 1936, the figure of 81,989 tons, representing at the present moment the under-age tonnage of vessels built or building. The Members of the British Commonwealth of Nations maintain that this figure of 81,989 tons is too high in relation to their destroyer figure of 150,000 tons under the London Naval Treaty, but they agree to notify the other signatories of Part III of the Treaty of London that they will not have recourse to Article 21 of the London Treaty pending the general revision of the naval question mentioned above. Should it not be possible at the 1932 conference to arrive at a satisfactory equilibrium between French submarine tonnage and British Commonwealth destroyer tonnage, the Members of the British Commonwealth of Nations will retain their right to make such increase as they may judge necessary in their destroyer figure of 150,000 tons.

C—GENERAL PROVISIONS

(a) France and Italy furthermore declare (1) that they will accept all the provisions of Part III of the London Naval Treaty in so far as it applies to the Members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, the United States of America, and Japan; (2) that they will accept, in so far as they are concerned, those provisions which are of general application and which do not conflict with the provisions of the present arrangement.

(b) At the time of the signature of this arrangement a declaration in the following sense would be signed either by the Members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, France, and Italy, or else by all the parties to the London Treaty:

It is understood that the present arrangement establishes no permanent ratio in any category of

ship as between the Members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, France, and Italy. In particular, no precedent is being created for the final solution of the question whether, and if so in what manner, tonnage remaining over-age on December 31, 1936, may ultimately be replaced.

Negotiations between the countries concerned are still in progress, since many new questions requiring adjustment have arisen.

Cabinet of the Spanish Republic

OUR Ambassador Irwin B. Laughlin at Madrid reported on April 17 to the Department of State that the Cabinet formed by Señor Alcalá Zamora is as follows:

Minister of the Interior, Miguel Maura
 Minister of Foreign Affairs, Alejandro Lerroux
 Minister of Finance, Idalacio Prieto
 Minister of Justice, Fernando de los Rios
 Minister of War, Manuel Azana
 Minister of Marine, Santiago Casares Quiroga
 Minister of Fomento, Alvaro de Albornoz
 Minister of Labor, Francisco Largo Caballero
 Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, Marcellino Domingo
 Minister of Communications, Diego Martínez Barrios
 Minister of National Economy, Nicolau D'Oliver

Resolution Extends to Canary Islands

Consul Charles D. Westcott at Tenerife, Canary Islands, telegraphed the Department on April 16 that the Civil Governor of Tenerife Province, Gustavo Morales, received on the night of April 15 a telegram from the Provisional Minister of Gobernación at Madrid, dated April 14, as follows:

The Royal Government of Spain has ceased to function *de facto* and *de jure*. Government of the Republic has assumed power *de facto* under the direction of Provisional Presidency of Muneto Alcalá Zamora and Ministerial Council named. Civil Governor Morales upon receipt of this dispatch will transfer his executive power to Señor Fernández Díaz, President of the Insular Supreme Court.

Consul Westcott said that this dispatch was published during the night of April 15. Governor Morales, who is highly esteemed by all factions in Tenerife, immediately

turned over his office to Señor Díaz and was given an ovation by the people, leaving the Government Building shortly after 10 p. m., April 15.

The royal standard was lowered over the Government Building, fortifications and naval vessel at sunset on April 14. The flag of the Republic was raised and saluted by the shore batteries at sunrise, April 15. Señor Díaz, pursuant to telegraphic orders from Madrid, transferred his *ad interim* functions on April 15 at 2 p. m. to Señor Antonio Lara, a local Republican leader. Señor Lara assumed office immediately as civil governor of Tenerife Province.

Troops and guardia civil were confined to barracks, but were subsequently released.

All business was reported suspended; but there was no disorder.

The Course of Arbitration in 1930

THE League of Nations is encouraged by the development of the methods of peaceful settlement, especially in 1930. This encouragement follows from the number of states bound by the General Act of September 6, 1928; from the number of states bound by Article 36 of the Statute of the Court relating to the compulsory jurisdiction of that court in legal disputes, and from the number and quality of the treaties registered with the League.

I

General Act for the Pacific Settlement of Disputes

In 1930 the number of states bound by the General Act rose from three to eight. The three states bound on December 31, 1929, were Sweden, Belgium and Norway. The five new accessions received in 1930 were those of Denmark, Finland, Luxemburg, the Netherlands and Spain.

Denmark, Finland, Luxemburg and Spain have acceded to the whole of the Act. The accession of the Netherlands does not extend to Chapter 3 of the General Act which concerns non-legal disputes.

Further, Norway, who had previously given her partial accession to the General Act, extended her accession to the whole of the Act.

II

Optional Clause of Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice

During 1930 the number of states bound by Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice rose from 19¹ to 34.

The 15 new states bound are Albania, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Great Britain, India, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, New Zealand, Salvador, Siam, South Africa, Yugoslavia.

Czechoslovakia and Roumania have signed the optional clause subject to ratification.²

III

Individual Treaties

Summary of Undertakings

Fifty-two treaties were registered in 1930, 34 in 1929, 15 in 1928 and 6 in 1927.

Thirty-one states are parties to the treaties, namely:

	Treaties
United States of America.....	17
Luxemburg, Czechoslovakia (each).....	8
Poland	6
Spain, Hungary, Roumania.....	4
Belgium, Estonia, Greece, the Netherlands..	4
Italy, Norway	3
France, Haiti, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Switzerland, Turkey, Yugoslavia.....	2
Afghanistan, Austria, Bulgaria, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Germany, Persia, Portugal, Salvador, Uruguay.....	1

¹ The states bound on December 31, 1929, were: Abyssinia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Greece, Haiti, Hungary, the Netherlands, Norway, Panama, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay.

By the same date, 21 states had signed subject to ratification or some other condition, namely, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, France, Great Britain, Guatemala, India, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Liberia, Luxemburg, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Peru, Salvador, Siam, South Africa.

² The number of states whose undertaking is subject to ratification amounted to 21 on December 31, 1929, but had fallen to 11 on December 31, 1930. Twelve states which were in this category are now definitely bound. Two new states appear in the list.

These 52 treaties may be classified as follows:

I. Those relating solely to conciliation procedure (8).

II. Those providing for the compulsory settlement of all or certain categories of disputes (44).

Of these 44 treaties, 13 provide solely for arbitration or judicial settlement.

The 31 others provide for conciliation, arbitration and/or judicial settlement.

In considering these treaties a distinction must be made between the seventeen treaties concluded by the United States and the 35 others.

1. TREATIES CONCLUDED BY THE UNITED STATES³

These treaties (seven treaties of conciliation and ten of arbitration) are all based on the same models.

The conciliation treaties present no noteworthy feature and contain no reservations.

The arbitration treaties provide for arbitration solely for legal disputes and include four kinds of reservation:

(1) Disputes within the domestic jurisdiction of states. (2) Disputes affecting the interests of third powers. (3) Disputes affecting the Monroe Doctrine. (4) Disputes affecting undertakings under the Covenant.

II. OTHER TREATIES

As regards these treaties, the following points must be noted:

(1) There is a general tendency to provide in the same treaty for conciliation and for arbitration and/or judicial settlement, 31 of 35⁴ treaties being of this nature.

(2) There is a tendency to submit all disputes to arbitration or judicial settlement.

Nineteen of 34⁵ treaties are thus drafted.

(3) There is a noticeable tendency to eliminate reservations.

Twenty of 35 treaties contain no reservations.

³ This note relates only to treaties concluded by the United States of America which have been registered at the request of a state member of the League of Nations.

⁴ This includes all treaties for pacific settlement other than those concluded by the United States.

⁵ This includes all treaties for arbitration or judicial settlement other than those concluded by the United States.

(4) As regards legal disputes, the Permanent Court of International Justice is habitually chosen as jurisdiction.⁶ Several treaties even give the Court jurisdiction over all disputes.⁷

By December 31, 1930, 182 treaties for

⁶ Twenty-five treaties out of 34.

⁷ Five treaties.

the peaceful settlement of disputes had been registered in the League Secretariat.⁸

⁸ A certain number of registered treaties have expired and have not been renewed, while others have been replaced by new treaties.

Exact figures are not yet known but the number of registered treaties which have expired may be estimated at at least ten.

The Contribution of the War Policies Commission to the Peace Movement

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

A WORK of major interest to the peace movement is going on in Washington. There is a Commission, set up under an act of Congress, approved June 27, 1930, holding hearings upon certain phases of the problem of promoting peace. Under the terms of the act the Senate and House of Representatives have set up this Commission to ascertain, as far as possible, the answers to five questions. These questions, not wholly separable, are: (1) What policies should the United States pursue in the event of war? (2) How can the United States equalize the burdens of war? (3) How can the United States remove the profits of war? (4) How far should private property be taken for public use during war? (5) What new legislative acts or constitutional changes are desirable in the light of these questions? The Commission will report its findings to the President of the United States, who in turn, not later than the first Monday in December, 1931, will transmit the recommendations of the Commission to the Congress.

The Commission is made up of the Secretary of War, Patrick J. Hurley, Chairman; Charles F. Adams, Secretary of the Navy; Arthur M. Hyde, Secretary of Agriculture; Robert P. Lamont, Secretary of Commerce; William N. Doak, Secretary of Labor; William DeWitt Mitchell, as the Attorney General; Senators: David A.

Reed, of Pennsylvania; Arthur H. Vandenburg, of Michigan; Joseph P. Robinson, of Arkansas; Claude A. Swanson, of Virginia, and Representatives: Lindley H. Hadley, of Washington; William P. Holliday, of Illinois; Ross A. Collins, of Mississippi; and John J. McSwain, of South Carolina.

The Commission is faced with no easy task. It is a job, however, that should be tackled. The outbreak of war, in spite of all our agreements to the contrary, remains a possibility; perhaps a lessened possibility, but a hideous possibility. In the light of experience, especially of experience in the last war, the question as to what policies should be pursued remains, therefore, a practical question. Men can't answer the question by ignoring it. There is no reason why peace workers need be afraid of it. It is as encouraging as it is extraordinary that a Commission of such caliber should be studying officially these questions, and, as they say, for the promotion of peace.

Let us look for a moment at this first question with all the sense of reality we can muster. What policies shall we pursue in time of war? Whatever our religion, philosophy or social point of view, it may be taken for granted that the people of the United States, or any other people for that matter, will ordain in case of the outbreak of war, the actual existence of war, that all policies shall be bent to fit and to promote

one general purpose; namely, the will to win the war. To determine what must be done to win a war is not for uninformed and untrained men. It is a highly technical matter. War policies cannot be determined in time of war by any form of referendum or town meeting. When war is on, these policies have to be fixed and carried out, as exigencies seem to require, dictatorially by the head of the state. In our case that must be, of course, by the President of the United States.

In case of war our people would find themselves faced with certain outstanding facts.

Under Article 2, Section 2, of the Constitution, the President is Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States. As such he is authorized to direct the movements of the naval and military forces placed under his command and to employ them in a manner which he may deem most effectual. It has been held by the Supreme Court that Army and Navy regulations made pursuant to the authority conferred upon the President have the force of law. When promulgated through the Secretary of War they must be received as the acts of the President, and as such they are binding on all within the sphere of his authority. Even without the declaration of war by Congress, the President is authorized by law to meet insurrection or invasion by military force.

Our policies to be pursued in event of war are pretty clearly set forth in our National Defense Act. To ignore this National Defense Act in any discussion such as this might easily lead one to get caught with one's foot off the base. Under this law, when Congress shall have authorized the use of the armed land forces of the United States for any purpose requiring the use of troops in excess of those of the regular army, the President may, including such physical examinations as he may prescribe, draft into the military service of the United

States, to serve therein for the period of the war or emergency unless sooner discharged, any or all members of the National Guard and of the National Guard Reserve. It is provided in this National Defense Act that the Army of the United States shall consist of the Regular Army, the National Guard while in the service of the United States, and the organized Reserves including the Officers Reserve Corps and the Enlisted Reserve Corps. The act provides for the composition of the Regular Army and its organization for a complete and immediate mobilization for the national defense in the event of a national emergency declared by Congress. It provides that the Secretary of War, the Assistant Secretary of War, the General of the Army and the Chief of Staff shall constitute the War Council of the War Department, which shall from time to time meet and consider policies affecting both the military and munitions problems of the War Department. Such questions shall be presented by the Secretary of War in the War Council, and his decision with reference to such questions of policy, after consideration of the recommendations thereon by the several members of the War Council, shall constitute the policy of the War Department with reference thereto.

In short, the National Defense Act, at the moment the law of the land, appears to leave little to the imagination. To a layman every detail seems to have been carefully worked out. The Secretary of War is authorized to procure gauges, dies, jigs, tools, fixtures and other special aids and appliances as may be necessary for the immediate manufacture by the Government and by private manufacturers of arms, ammunition and special equipment necessary to arm and equip the land forces likely to be required by the United States in time of war. It provides that the Assistant Secretary of War, under the direction of the Secretary of War, shall be charged with supervision of the procurement of all military

supplies and other business of the War Department pertaining thereto, and the issuance of adequate provisions for the mobilization of military and industrial organization essential to war time needs. The President is empowered to place an order with any individual firm or corporation for such products or material as may be required; and compliance with all such orders for products or material shall be obligatory on any individual corporation, with the understanding that the compensation to be paid shall be fair and just. The Secretary of War is responsible for a list of all privately owned plants in the United States equipped to manufacture arms or munitions, and of privately owned manufacturing plants in the United States capable of being transformed into munition factories. The President is authorized to appoint a Board of Mobilization of Industries essential for military preparedness.

It is fair to presume, therefore, that the policies to be pursued in time of war are already coordinated under the general direction of the President of the United States. This much is as it should be. As pointed out by Mr. Bernard M. Baruch, "Modern war requires that the full power of the nation be exerted in the shortest possible time, not only to the violent beating down of the enemy by any destructive material forces we can invent or use, but also to every process of slow and often insidious economic strangulation and political isolation that we can devise and administer."

In time of war one of the first problems is to mobilize all national industries. Under the President of the United States, therefore, there must be some central control agency, such as our War Industries Board of the last war. This would have to work in harmony with the War Department; but it would have the advantage of being controlled by civilians. It would determine the problems of priorities, of price fixing, of commandeering and the like. It

would be the organ of coordination and control.

Of course the effectiveness of any organization will never rise above its source in public opinion. In our modern world, no major war can be won unless supported by an enthusiastic public. Our colossal achievements in 1917-18 were made possible by the idealisms, the fear of a common danger, the love of country throughout a united people. President Wilson was right when he said, "The highest and best form of efficiency is the spontaneous cooperation of a free people." No more can any hopeful war policy live without the force of public opinion behind it.

In short, the policies to be pursued in the event of war, highly complicated in their nature, will be developed and directed by a completely centralized authority, operating through the Army, the Navy and the mobilized industry of the nation, all backed by public propaganda to the uttermost. That is not a pleasant picture to look upon; but that is about as far in principle a layman can go in any general reply to the question, What major policies shall be pursued in time of war?

The next question before the Commission is "How, if possible, can the burdens of war be equalized?" This question presents more difficulties than the former. We agree that it is impossible to equalize the burdens of war. If the nation were to set up a Capital Issue Committee, a War Finance Corporation, a War Credits Board, a War Trade Board, a War Industries Board, as recommended by Mr. Myer; if the Government were empowered to conscript capital, industry and labor, even without just compensation, there could not be even an approach to an equalization of the burdens of war. The best that could be done, as pointed out before the Commission by General Williams, would be to "study our previous experiences and do the best we can." We would, of course, use all the intelligence,

all the manufacturing capacity of the nation, and apply all that science has to offer; yet in the case of war, burdens will be much heavier upon some than upon others. This will be so, both in the civilian and in the military life of our people. Mr. Baruch has offered a plan, most carefully and intelligently worked out, for meeting the enemy with a maximum effectiveness, with least possible injury and violence to our people, and in a manner calculated to avoid inflation and waste. It is the most informed and analytical statement of its kind we have seen. Nowhere does he claim, however, that his plan would equalize the burdens of war. He sets forth the requirements for modern war. He grants that grotesquely exaggerated profits and income for those engaged in trade is the major source of complaint of unequal burdens. He argues that to do away with war inflation would go far toward equalizing the burden; but we do not understand that he even hopes to remove the inequalities of those burdens. To freeze prices, as of any given date, could not possibly affect equally either producers or consumers, for no two producers nor any two consumers can be at any moment equally affected by any general order affecting prices, production, consumption, transportation, or any other economic phase of our common life. As for those in military service, it is impossible to plan that an entire army shall be on the firing line. The burden of trench life, for example, will always have to be borne by a fraction of the army only. Similar difficulties are inevitable in every economic operation even in time of peace.

By foresight and the application of experience, a people may avoid some of the inequalities among the burdens of war. To equalize war burdens would be more difficult than to equalize the burdens of men and women in time of peace. In either case, equalization is impossible.

A third question proposed by the Com-

mission is, "Is it possible to remove profiteering in time of war?" No little discussion has been devoted to this question. If the War Policies Commission achieves no other result, it will have rendered a great service by publishing the views of various persons and organizations upon this matter. Some believe that profiteering can be eliminated by drafting in the next war capital and labor, quite as we drafted man-power in 1917-1918. The Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States are "studying with care the possibilities of a universal draft of both man-power and industry in all future wars in which this country may be engaged." These men believe that the economic burden of the war should fall equally upon the shoulders of capital, industry and man-power. Many in the American Legion recommend the immediate mobilization of the resources of our nation, men, money, materials, food; the fixing of all prices, which means the fixing of the prices of labor also and the regulation and distribution of production. They believe that with such a universal draft law there will be no people in this country who can profit because we are in a war. This, it is held, will mean that no one in this country will seek to draw the United States into war for purposes of profit. It would mean, furthermore, that no power would attack America were it known in advance that this country would go into the war with every machine, with every man, woman and child. By universal draft there would be established equal service from all and special profit to none. That, in brief, is the argument. There is a very plausible sound to the argument.

The experience of the last war, however, does not bear out entirely the necessity for such new legislation. Congress assumed the power to commandeer industries, and the President operated with the help of the War Industries Board to do just that thing. The War Industries Board was given con-

control of commandeering, of priorities, of price fixing. In practice, as pointed out by Mr. Baruch, the power to commandeer was very rarely used. It remained in the background, however, "as the effective persuasive force which vitalized the whole program of regulation." The price-fixing commission, fixing prices by agreement, functioned fairly well. It would function better in another war. There were nine administrations. One controlled money. This commission superintended the supply of money and regulated its use. There was a commission in control of man-power; another in control of exports and imports; another, food; another, fuel; another, shipping; another, railroads. These commissions functioned with increasing effectiveness. They would function better next time. Mr. Baruch asks, "What is the use of the vain thought of drafting dollars when dollars can be made to serve every purpose of Government by the regulation of their use?" Our own view is that our experience in the last war enabled us gradually to reduce the profiteering by the application of laws already in force. We very much doubt the necessity for additional legislation to eliminate unjust profiteering.

There seems to be a lack of exact information as to the extent of profiteering during the war. The report of Mr. William B. Colver, in 1918, as to the profiteering going on in the United States, sets forth the profits made by certain companies in 1917, ranging from 30% to 319%. From such information as we have been able to gather, these figures are not as convincing as they might be. They seem to have been prepared by a newspaper man for newspaper purposes. The companies reported were relatively unimportant. The Federal Trade Commission, on the other hand, published, on February 18, 1925, a report of war-time profits and the costs of the steel industry. An analysis of the data of that report shows that the average earnings of

these steel companies, before the payment of bond interest and Federal taxes on income, were 7.5% of the investment in 1915; 21.7% in 1916; 28.9% in 1917; 20.1% in 1918; with a four-year average of 20.2%. Federal taxes, of course, took a large part of those profits in 1917 and 1918. The steel companies reported for 1918 on the average, as reserve for such Federal taxes, an amount equal to 42.5% of the net income, or 7.8% of their aggregate investment. For the steel companies, the excess profit taxes in 1918 amounted to 55.7% of their earnings. From such studies as we have been able to give to the meat-packing industry and to the petroleum industry, we are of the opinion that the War Policies Commission will have to make a more careful study of the facts before it can proceed wisely toward the elimination of profits in time of war. From the reports of representative refining companies, the rate of return on the total investment, especially when one considers the factor of taxes, is not so disturbing as we have been led to suspect. The rates of return, as reported by the Federal Trade Commission, in December 1927, were as follows: 1912, 14.4%; 1913, 15.1%; 1914, 8.5%; 1915, 15.7%; 1916, 22.6%; 1917, 24.5%; 1918, 21.1%; 1919, 16%; 1920, 22.5%; 1921, 5.6%; 1922, 8.8%; 1923, 6.5%; 1924, 8.8%; 1925, 11.6%. The average was 12.4%. These are the most trustworthy profiteering figures we know.

By the processes of price fixing and the operation of the excess profits tax, it may be found that we were able to control, in a very large measure, especially toward the close of the war, many of the evils of profiteering. In any event, exact information in this field, not easy to get, is essential before policies can be wisely determined. The very able statement before the Commission by Mr. Arthur Ballantine, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, revealed rather clearly how important it is to know the

facts before we can generalize as to the extent of profiteering in the last war or as to the control of that unhappy business in the next. The Commission would do well to collect these facts, if possible, and bring them out into the open. We are certain, from the facts as known, that no amendment to our Constitution is necessary to meet the need.

Another question facing the War Policies Commission is "Shall private property be taken for public use during war?" The answer to this question is that it was taken during the last war and may be taken during the next war. The only qualification is that there would have to be just compensation. The inquiry, therefore, boils down to this: Should the Government be given the power to conscript private property in time of war without just compensation? Our reply to this question is "No." Under the taxing power of the Government there is now no limit to the nation's control of private property, in peace or in war, even to its destruction. Mr. Baruch would authorize the President in time of war to fix prices as of a certain date, make any necessary adjustments, set up a system of licenses and determine the order of priorities. In time of war the people would grant the President just such powers. It is difficult, therefore, to see the necessity for any new legislation for this purpose, for in time of war the President would, as far as necessary, assume the powers and the people would insist that he use them.

Policies to be pursued in time of war would have to be formulated and directed, theoretically, by the President of the United States; practically, largely by a central organization, such as the Ministry of Munitions in Britain or the War Industries Board in America, in cooperation with the War and Navy Departments, solely and efficiently set up for the dual purpose of harnessing the nation and winning the war. These policies, in case of war, would have

to be worked out without much reference to law or constitution, for it will always be true that war is largely the negation of law. It has always been recognized, certainly since the time of Cicero, that in time of war laws are silent. When people go to war they must be prepared to place all their laws aside, and to fare forth to kill and to destroy to the uttermost, if need be quite lawlessly. That is the grim ugliness at the heart of war. In a basic sense, there is nothing more footless than to try to fix the policies of war by law.

No nation can more than try to equalize the burdens of war. It may and should try; but, of course, it can never even approximately succeed. Since efficiency is the measure of success in war, and since efficiency without profits is sure to break down, at least in certain lines, it is well to keep the possibilities of profit alive; not exorbitant profits, but some profits. For the same utilitarian purpose, at least, the institution and rights of private property should be maintained in time of war. Every selfish motive, be it of gain or patriotism, will and should be utilized when once war has broken upon a people. Whether or not General Sherman said it, "War is hell!" The love, loyalty and glorious sacrifices that men and women put into it only adds to the tragic gloom of the whole idiotic mess of it.

Throughout these statements there has been at least one misleading implication. It has been assumed that it is quite impossible to equalize the burdens or to remove the profits of war. That is an error. There is one solution of all the problems facing the War Policies Commission; so far as we see, the only solution. Every policy to be pursued in time of war can be perfectly clarified. Every burden of war can be lifted. Every war profiteer can be subvented. Every property can be secured. Every principle of law and every section of the Constitution can be protected. Every one of these highly desirable ends can be

achieved by avoiding war. The reason for calling attention to this very apparent and simple truth lies in the fact that the title of the act under which the War Policies Commission is set up begins with these words: "Joint resolution to promote peace."

It is generally accepted by our people that we must have an Army and a Navy. Since we must have an Army and a Navy, it is plain good judgment that the Army should be the best, not the largest army, and the Navy the best, not the biggest navy that our military experts can provide. In the language of George Washington, we shall long have to take care "always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, in a respectable defensive posture." To quote again from the "Father of Our Country," we needs must "observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all." And, to quote again from that immortal "Farewell Address," it is of prime importance that we "avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty."

It is not the business of the peace worker to worry overmuch about the military techniques of "a respectable defensive posture." No one can define that phrase with any exactitude in terms of fighting units or materials. Military science is not an exact science. We shall have to let Congress go on arguing whether or not the National Defense Act is adequate, whether or not the number of commissioned officers of the Army should be reduced or increased, whether or not the Officers Reserve Corps and civilian military training activities should be abolished. Let the Commission study war policies, the burdens and profits of war, the fate of private property, of laws and the Constitution in war. The best that we can expect will be compromises as inoffensive as possible. Fundamentally, the

peace movement has to do with other matters. It is a bit curious that a Commission "to promote peace" should have paid so little attention to the necessity of working out its problems with some measure of co-operation from other governments, for world peace is an international problem.

This War Policies Commission has been holding hearings, taking testimony from a wide variety of persons. Undoubtedly, its work will contribute materially to right thinking. If, however, the Commission be continued, or if it result in another Commission to carry on from where this Commission has stopped—all of us, including the Government, should become more enlightened about the enduring things at the center of the peace movement, see it more clearly in its international bearings, with the possible result that foreign policies would be enriched accordingly.

This War Policies Commission, having satisfied itself as to the five inquiries already pursued, could now go on and examine profitably because more minutely the general problem of avoiding war. There are unanswered questions enough to go around. What pacific means are now available for the settlement of international disputes? How can these pacific means be improved? What are the indisputable rights of nations? What are the essential duties of nations? What improvements in treaty relations may be reasonably undertaken? In what ways may judicial processes be improved in the interest of world peace? What changes in cooperative machinery would lessen the frictions between nations? In what ways can education and religion be utilized to avoid war? What studies are needed to prepare a better informed technique of foreign policy? To shed light in dark places such as these would be more creative and hopeful than all the arms conferences and war policies discussions conceivable by man.

What America needs, what all the nations are famishing for, is new light on the possibilities of achieving national interests by the sure ways of law and justice? A Peace Policies Commission in this country, supplemented as far as possible by similar commissions in other countries, studying these questions such as we have here proposed, would be a normal outcome of the

War Policies Commission. Such a work might show nations how to soften violence and exaggeration with common sense and to substitute the ways of reason and persuasion for the follies of force. If this be the outcome, the War Policies Commission may find that it has aided the peace movement more effectively than as yet it seems to suspect.

The Human Element in Industrial Crises

By MELVIN A. TRAYLOR

President, First National Bank, Chicago

I AM glad to restate for the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* certain views which I ventured to lay recently before the International Chamber of Commerce.

We have not failed industrially because of ignorance of economic theories, but because of our utter disregard and defiance of all economic laws. Ambition, stupidity and greed have dictated policies, and trouble has been the result.

Results of War

Reams have been written, countless addresses have been made, and more will follow in the search for the genesis of the present world depression; and, no doubt, recovery will come and the crisis will be forgotten without there having been found a universally accepted cause or unanimous agreement on methods for the prevention of future crises. But I cannot escape the conclusion that the dawn of the present situation broke over the world in July, 1914, and it came not from ignorance of the ultimate results of the course chosen, but because of a complete breakdown of world political sanity. There was no lack of a knowledge of the consequences, but rather a lack of courage to face the facts, to throttle national pride, and to demand common counsel in an honest search for the basis of peace. Such a search might have failed; but, unfortunately, history does not indicate that it was honestly made.

I am not a pacifist. Until enlightened understanding points us to the council table of peace rather than to the battlefield, there will be a need for armies and navies. But let us not say that we choose the latter course in ignorance of the tremendous costs of the game. Rather let us admit generally the lack of courageous leadership which dares to align itself with the right at the risk of being unpopular. The point I would make is that, without prejudice as to guilt, the human element did fail, and the world then began its march to the tragedy of 1930-31. For it is tragedy when in a world of plenty there should be so much poverty, and when, in a nation which boasts of its riches, five million or more people willing to work should be unable to find employment. It is a challenge to the world and especially to American business and political leadership, which cannot be ignored and must not be shirked. Causes must be determined with some degree of accuracy and remedies discovered and applied. The task is largely that of business leadership.

The Many Voices

Accepting the upsetting, disorganizing and destroying effects of the War—to me fundamental to any search for causes—students and economists bring forward many reasons for the more immediate disturbance from which the world is suffering. The Gold Delegation of the League of Nations

in its first report maintained that present economic conditions already show the effects of gold scarcity, and predicted for the future a gold shortage which, in the opinion of the authors of the report, would result in a standing depression of world business and a continuing decrease in prices. Figures on the increase in gold requirements and gold production tend to justify this conclusion. The Committee in its subsequent report has, however, somewhat modified its statement on this point. Others have pointed out the maldistribution of gold supplies as the cause of declining price levels. I am not prepared technically, nor do I desire, to undertake a discussion of the gold question. I mention it here only because I fear too much emphasis on an alleged shortage of gold as a basis for the world credit structure may lead to a revival of the old campaign for bimetallism or fiat issues of other types. Personally, I see no evidence of a shortage of gold necessary to sustain the credit structure of present gold-standard countries, or that those countries having an abundance of gold have suffered less than those with a more meager supply. In relating gold to recent price declines, it seems to me that some of the critics are unfair to gold as apparently they would have it sustain a price structure in the making of which gold had little or no part. It must be admitted, I believe, that the price structure of the last decade was erected not upon a gold basis, but upon all manner of fiat credit, in nearly complete abandonment of the gold base.

Dean Donham is convinced that our breakdown is due to a lack of foresight and logical planning. He proposes cooperation of business and government, and predicts that the future safety of American economy lies in protective tariffs and home markets. He presents an interesting but not wholly convincing case. Viscount D'Abernon, on the other hand, in an address before the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, stresses the gold factor and advocates the fullest measure of free trade. He believes that this is a crisis of currency in the first place and indebtedness in the second place, both aggravated by defective lubrication through the money factor and through impediments to trade. He would have a redistribution of gold and would rule out additional tariffs as he would rule out the "throwing of sand

into an engine which is not running smoothly."

Dr. Dernburg says, in his discussion of "The Price Level and its Underlying Causes": "To the extent to which the causes of the existing depression of world business are of a monetary order, they are caused less by monetary organization than by international debt obligations swollen by debts of political origin. . . . The effect of the settlement of international debts on the world crisis and on prices is of a secular order. If it cannot be offset, it will exceed the span of two human lives and will make itself felt more and more as years go by." As evidence of its effect he points out that "the fall in the price of cotton from 19 to 11 cents means an annual loss of resources of 480 million dollars to the American cotton trade and thus to the country as an economic unit. This loss alone, without taking into account the increase in resources experienced by producers working for the world market, represents about double the amount of money received by the American Treasury through the application of war debt settlements."

Thus we could follow almost endlessly the literature on causes and remedies for the world situation, most of them dealing with the purely economic or the semi-political-economic side of the question. To the lay mind it is all more or less confusing, and to the man at the desk frequently beyond the realm of the practical. It is my purpose to talk about the human side of the problem.

Human Phases

If it is the responsibility of business and political leadership to promote the economic and social welfare of the community, it may be worth while to take stock of our conduct and see how we have measured up to our duty in recent years. Why should there be in this land of plenty, with unlimited facilities for production, abundant harvests and a surfeit of credit, millions of hungry and unemployed? It is not the fault of those who would work, but can find no work to do. They have little or no choice in shaping their course and while it is true that society owes no one a living, society does owe everyone an opportunity to earn a living. In that obligation we have failed, and until

we know wherein we have failed and why, we will not have done our duty nor will we have found that stability which is the universal desire of mankind today.

Leadership

Why have we failed? I do not know, but I think I can point to certain conduct on the part of leadership in industry, finance, agriculture and government which may have been responsible in some degree for the inexcusable tragedy of the hour. When we emerged from the War and the first readjustment period of 1920 and 1921, we had an industrial plant capable of supplying the satisfiable wants of our population based upon the current income, which was exceedingly high in relation to former periods. Technological and management improvement enabled a rapid expansion of productive facilities to take place. Large foreign loans vastly expanded our export trade. Consumer credit augmented domestic purchases. Selling ceased to be an art, and taking orders was an accommodation to the customer. The sea was smooth, the breeze favorable, and the directions were full steam ahead! Then it was that we lacked foresight and a plan. Business leadership then, had it read the barometer properly, should have noted the storm that was gathering and trimmed sail accordingly; but ambition for place, power and profit blinded leadership to the obvious dangers ahead and prevented the preparation of a safe harbor against the hour of storm.

If the true measure for the distribution and consumption of goods is national income—and I mean by this the income of the great mass who earn their daily bread—then business leadership should have known that it was expanding plant and equipment to meet a demand which was greatly in excess of any possible sustained earned income. It should have known that foreign borrowers could not afford to borrow nor could American lenders continue to lend at the rate of a billion dollars a year. It should have known also that American purchasers could not afford to borrow to purchase consumable goods, and that lenders would not be able to lend at the rate of six billion or more annually for the purchase of such products.

But these facts were wholly ignored. As competition on the productive side increased, greater and greater demands were

made for the technological improvement of productive facilities. Larger and larger demands were made upon capital to finance plant and technological improvements until we find today millions upon millions of idle capital investment with its consequent heavy charge and with little likelihood of early utilization in a manner to earn its keep. As an evidence of this plant and equipment expansion, and not for the purpose of calling attention to any particular industry, it is estimated that the capacity for the production of automobiles in this country is approximately 8,000,000 trucks and cars per annum, while recent estimates of the possible American market place it in the neighborhood of half that sum. Figures for the radio industry indicate that the maximum productive capacity is nearly three times the normal sales possibility. Similar illustrations could be produced in varying degrees for most of our principal industries.

It has long been fashionable to criticise the individual who buys beyond his income, thereby becoming a victim of debt with its subsequent embarrassment and, all too frequently, bankruptcy or worse. What shall we say, however, of business leadership which expands its plant and equipment without considering the source of its temporary market, and increases its forces to an extent which intelligent understanding should indicate would leave it seriously involved with thousands of employees out of work when such demand had passed. Certainly, we cannot blame the individual and excuse the management! Neither do I believe it is a sufficient answer for management to say that it must take business and meet the demand when it comes without giving consideration to the consequences that may follow. If we are going to level the curves of the business cycle, the adjustment must take place at the top of the peak rather than in the valleys, and if the adjustment must take place at the top of the peak rather than in the valleys, and if the adjustment is made at the top, as I believe it can be, the valleys will not be so deep, and there will be less cause to fill in the low spots. Little has been done in this direction in the past and, unless we change our policy in the future, we may not hope for that stability of industry which everyone professes to believe so essential to our economic and social well-being.

Financiers

Business management, however, is not alone responsible for the course it has followed. Unfortunately, it has had the cooperation of finance and government and will likewise have to have their cooperation in adjusting its affairs to a saner course. What, in fact, did the leaders of finance do to encourage the expansion which has taken place in the last decade? What, if anything, did they do to prevent such expansion with the consequences which they certainly did know or should have known would follow? I believe their record in that connection is not an enviable one. As early as 1927, it was clearly obvious to anyone having experience with the granting of credit that if the situation was allowed to continue, and if expansion and speculation were carried on unchecked, there could be but one end—disaster. Yet the record of American financial leadership and of responsible government officials was regrettably one of too much silence. Few warnings were issued and few attempts were made to attract public attention to the danger that threatened. Credit for the expansion of productive facilities to meet temporary demands was granted to business without adequate consideration of the consequences. Credit without stint was furnished to consumers to buy consumable goods, thereby further increasing false purchasing power and multiplying debt. No one called a halt.

Every kind and character of combination and consolidation were made, regardless of their economic advisability or the possibility of economies in management or increased profits therefrom. Little or no consideration was given to the nature of the businesses involved; in one instance, for example, soaps and candies were united. Such combinations and mergers were promoted and securities were sold on the theory that temporary earnings derived from a false demand would not only continue, but would forever increase. Furthermore, these securities were not sold to those in a position to buy, or who could buy for investment purposes, but rather to those less able to buy—to men and women fascinated by high-powered salesmanship and an inborn desire to gamble for big profits. Was such financial leadership calculated to inspire confidence or make for an economic stability which insures social welfare? I

am afraid not. But financial leadership did not stop there. It actively promoted the purchase of equity stocks and split its own unit of stock par in order, as it said, to bring its market values within the reach of the small investor. May I add parenthetically, that such action would have been unnecessary for their purpose had they waited only a few months. Financial leaders organized and promoted so-called investment trusts to give the small investor a chance to profit from wise financial leadership, made foreign loans of speculative value, and altogether followed the procession obviously intent upon getting theirs while the getting was good.

Are we to have a repetition of this kind of financial leadership? If it be true—as I believe it is—that credit is the lifeblood of the nation, and that there can be no economic stability or social progress without a sound financial structure; and if it be true—as I also believe—that no financial system is sounder or more useful than its management, then financial leadership in this country must take stock of itself, turn over a new leaf and chart a new course of conduct for its future guidance. If it be objected that not all financial leaders are guilty of such misconduct—and certainly there are some who are not—the indictment, nevertheless, stands. As far as the record discloses, not one had the courage to fight in the open against the tendencies he knew were wrong and to demand a right-about-face. Knowledge is one thing, but courage of leadership is another.

The Exchange

Aiding and abetting, if not leading, the financial group was another group upon whose shoulders must rest a large measure of responsibility for the present condition of the American economic structure. I refer to those responsible for the management of the security and commodity exchanges of the country. I have said before and I repeat that I believe security and commodity exchanges are necessary for the efficient functioning of American business. I have also said that American business has paid altogether too great a price for the character of service we have had in our attempt to maintain a free market for our securities and commodities. I do not believe we can afford to continue to pay the price which

has been required for the maintenance of such markets. As far as I can recall, this country has not had a major depression in three decades that did not follow a collapse of values on the stock exchange. I do not claim that these collapses—presupposing, of course, periods of speculative activity—were wholly responsible for such depressions, but I do say that such collapses have been the immediate and most obvious precipitating causes. Since public opinion is so directly responsive to price fluctuations, especially on our security exchanges, may I urge upon those responsible for management policies further unprejudiced investigation of changes which may be made in the public interest.

Three Recommendations

May I also suggest three specific subjects for such an inquiry?

First and most important of all, because, I believe, it exerts a more dangerous influence than any other one thing in American financial life, I would urge consideration of the abolishment of the so-called "daily settlement" with its consequent "daily call money rate." Without the power in the Federal Reserve Board to regulate to a reasonable extent the flow of credit and the rate to be charged for it, business stability is impossible. And I am equally certain that with a call-money market daily making the rate for funds, it is impossible for any banking agency to influence the flow of money more than nominally, and in no sense at all to regulate the rate. Therefore, in the interest of a sound banking structure and stable business activity, I believe the exchanges of the country would make a direct contribution of great importance should they adopt some type of periodic settlement which would eliminate the daily call rate and make possible some measure of regulation of the flow and rate of credit by banking authority.

In the second place, I would urge consideration of the complete abolishment of so-called floor trading, which, as I am informed, has about it most of the characteristics of plain crap-shooting, and few, if any, more redeeming features than that delightful Ethiopian pastime. This much I know, and every layman knows, that when the total capitalization of a corporation is traded in once a week or over a period of a year from five to thirty times, the sales

are not made for the account of one who owns and wants to sell, nor are the purchases made for those who desire to buy and actually receive the securities. If I am wrong in believing that the present system should be changed, then a large percentage of the people are wrong, for almost all believe the same thing. Obviously, if their opinion is unfavorable, it shakes their confidence in the integrity of the whole procedure.

Finally, I would urge consideration by all exchanges of the adoption of rules which would prohibit their members accepting trades on any other basis than for cash if the amount involved is less than \$10,000, and I should personally prefer to see the amount raised to \$50,000. I suggest the smaller figure because it is the par value of a hundred shares of \$100 par stock. This suggestion is not intended to bar the small investor from the market. Other avenues of credit are open to him if he desires to invest beyond his cash funds. My thought is that this country cannot afford again the wreck and ruin of people of small means, which followed the last crash. It is bad enough when the intelligent and wealthy speculate and lose, but when scrubwomen, day laborers, small home owners, wives and youths speculate and lose simply because they can go to a broker's office and get credit for small sums, the practice ceases to be defensible on any ground. If it be objected that the adoption of these suggestions would greatly curtail the volume of trading, and affect vested interests of those owning stock exchange memberships, let me say that the welfare of 120 million people should not be sacrificed to the vested interests of any group, however large or small. If such an unprejudiced inquiry indicates that these or other reforms will strengthen exchange organizations and make them more useful members of our economic structure—then surely they should be made.

Public Economics

Another field in which those responsible for leadership must do some hard, sound thinking if we are to avoid disaster is that of public expenditures. In this country, government is supposed to abide with the people, and yet we know that in no other field does leadership exert so great an influence upon the thought and action of the people as in the political sphere. In the 15-year period, from 1913 to 1928, our na-

tional income is estimated to have increased from about $34\frac{1}{2}$ billion dollars to 81 billion dollars annually, or 135 per cent; in the same period the expenditures of all governmental divisions in the United States have increased from a little less than three billion dollars to more than $12\frac{1}{2}$ billion dollars, or approximately 300 per cent. It is perfectly true, of course, that insofar as the Federal Government is concerned, the major part of the increase in that direction is accounted for by our participation in the World War; but it is interesting to observe that for the fiscal year ending in 1928, Federal expenditures were only $31\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the combined outlay for all political administration in the United States. Figures are not available for the years following 1928, except for the Federal Government, whose expenditures increased 10.7 per cent for the fiscal year ending in 1929, and 6 per cent in 1930. It may be assumed that like increases have occurred in other political subdivisions of the country. For the year ending in 1928, the cost of administration of State governments amounted to $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the total; of the remainder, over 54 per cent went to sustain local governments.

Naturally, those responsible for government desire to give their constituency the finest educational facilities, the best roads, streets, public parks, playgrounds and other facilities obtainable, but after all there is no denying the fact that expenditures for such purposes bear a very close relation to the individual, because they mortgage his future earnings for consumable and rapidly deteriorating goods. Every bond issue for the public welfare is an installment debt on the earning capacity for every individual and enterprise in the community affected. Not only does it involve installment amortization of the debt itself, but a constantly increasing charge for maintenance and upkeep if the improvement itself is to be preserved against early deterioration and quick ruin.

Most of the taxing machinery of the country was created at a time when the present volume of public debt was not thought possible; and it is, therefore, inadequately and inequitably adjusted to meet the emergencies of the present burden. The consequence is that in almost every major political subdivision of the country certain classes of wealth escape taxation, or pay

little, while other types of property are charged with an unbearable obligation. The duty of leadership, therefore, in this field is twofold. First and most important of all, a greater degree of caution must be exercised in the creation of government obligations; and, second, an immediate reform in taxing machinery must be undertaken. In connection with the creation of indebtedness, it is high time that those responsible for State administration consider the pernicious and seductive influence of so-called Federal aid for public improvements. In many instances, this policy of public expenditure approaches closely to political bribery and in almost every case lends itself to political log-rolling, the surrender of State sovereignty, and a gradual impoverishment of fiscal units. Moreover, we have said nothing of the proposal and promotion of undertakings which in many instances are not justified by the necessity of the situation or by the utilization of the facilities contemplated. Let there be no mistake in this respect. Let us face the facts. Unless there is a return to sanity in the matter of public expenditures, default and repudiation of public obligations cannot be much longer avoided.

Agriculture

For the last decade, we, in the United States, have had to deal with a problem which now seems to be practically worldwide in its effect—the almost complete demoralization of agriculture. I disavow specialized knowledge with respect to many particularly intricate and complex economic problems, but hope I may be pardoned if I claim a personal acquaintance with the life of the farm and the problem of the farmer. In my opinion, no great division of human society has ever been lied to and lied about more in the same period of time than has the American farmer in the last ten years. He has been the victim of more false economic and political information, with its constant destruction of public confidence in everything he is and represents, than has any other element in our social structure. He has been induced to accept strange doctrines and follow strange practices, until it seems to me he has almost forgotten the real purpose of farm life—to make a living for his family on the farm. The greatest damage which has been done to the farmers individually and as a whole probably lies in

the fact that they have been induced to believe that in government action there was some magic wand which would lift off their shoulders the responsibility of hard work, thrift and economy.

I do not mean at all that the farmer has not been a victim for generations of legislation which was ill-considered from the farmer's standpoint and detrimental to his welfare. I believe such has been the case. It sounded well, when industry was prosperous, to tell the farmer that his best market was the American market, well protected by mounting tariff walls. But when he sees behind such protection five or six million of his fellow-citizens unemployed and the objects of charity; when he sees frontiers closed and barriers raised to his products in other countries, then, I believe, he has a just right to complain. No one, not even the farmer himself, would advocate the abolition of reasonable protection for industry or American society. But a virtue ceases to be a virtue when its operations destroy economic opportunity and social equality.

The farmer's problems are multiple and difficult. Over many of them he has had and will have little control; with respect to many others, he is responsible, like the rest of society, for much that he endures. The diagnosis of his ailments is also far more simple than the prescription for a cure. For a third of a century our agricultural colleges have been hammering away, more successfully perhaps than they at one time thought, on better farm methods, such as the rotation of crops, restoration of fertility, conservation of moisture, diversification and other improvements in farming, until the farmer today finds himself following methods which must inevitably result in increased production. The utilization of power equipment has added further to his operating and productive efficiency, while decreasing his market for the staple crops of animal food. In addition, so-called educational campaigns on food consumption have steadily diminished his sale of the major items of human consumption. The general situation is not unlike that found in the excess facilities for the production of automobiles, radios and other products, for our agricultural production is also greatly in excess of the needs or the purchasing power of the population the farmer can

reach. Without free access to the markets of the world, the prospect for an outlet for his maximum capacity seems almost hopeless.

Like all of us, in every line of activity, the farmer was deceived by high values in the time of his prosperity. In a well-intentioned, but what now seems at least an unfortunate venture, the Government provided abundant credit facilities for the farmers' use. These facilities were supplemented by other large and liberal lending agencies which, likewise, were misled by land values. The result was that millions of farmers assumed obligations out of all proportion to any possible normal farm income. All of us interested in farm activity and farm finance must assume our share of responsibility for this situation. We are learning our lesson and will have to take our medicine with the farmer himself. For this mistake, time and hard work seem to be the only remedy. Certainly, more credit will not solve the problem.

I wish I could possess prophetic vision that I might see the way by which the agricultural industry could be relieved of its distress and started on a course of well-being and profit. God has not given me that power, but I think there is a remedy which the farmer himself can apply. That remedy will start him on the only course which, experience and observation convince me, any of us can hopefully anticipate: the making of a comfortable livelihood. When we find that on approximately 20 per cent of the farms in the United States there is not a milch cow nor a chicken, and that on more than 30 per cent there is not a hog, and on approximately 90 per cent not a sheep; when we know, further, that on many farms in our large agricultural States, no gardens are kept and almost every article of food is purchased at the store, we are forced to the conclusion that the farmer, by and large, is not farming as he should. I know that there are certain sections where some or all of these means of increasing farm income cannot be applied, but, so far as possible, every farmer should produce his own milk and dairy products, his own meat, and his own poultry, raise his own garden truck, and can the fruit and vegetables he requires for winter use. Until he obtains from his farm every item for personal consumption which it is humanly possible for

him to produce, he has not done his job properly. Pigs and chickens and cows are worth more to the individual farmer than all the government relief programs that may possibly be conceived. Once the farmer lives at home, then I believe that whatever kind of money crop he may produce, whether it be large or small, the price high or low, his major difficulty will be solved and his margin of income for the necessities and luxuries he so much deserves will be greatly increased.

There is no romance about farming. If it is successfully done, I know it means hard work day in and day out. But so does any other business successfully performed. I know the privations of farm life. They are much less now than they were thirty years ago. I should like to see every farm home equipped with the modern conveniences of urban life. I should like to see every farmer with an automobile, a radio and all other modern inventions which have contributed so much to social welfare. No one is more entitled to these advantages than the farmer; but the farmer, like everyone else, should have them only when he can pay for them. The income for such purposes will be largely determined by the extent to which the farmer exhausts every possible means of supplying his necessities from the farm itself. The way out for the farmer is not an easy one. Neither is the course smooth for industry, finance, or government, and the problem in one sphere is little less difficult than in any other.

Concluding Statement

I realize full well that this brief summary may be justly considered an indulgence in hindsight rather than foresight. Looking backward is always somewhat unpopular, but I accept the responsibility, because I believe that without a proper appraisal of our conduct in a given situation in the past, we are likely to follow the same course when similar circumstances come again. In what I have said there is no element of criticism, no spirit of "we should have known better." There is, however, an urgent appeal to those in responsible positions in every major field of business endeavor to take account of the element of human conduct in economic affairs. I believe that without the proper education and direction of human conduct, economic de-

pressions will inevitably continue to recur with ever-increasing social and political disaster. We cannot afford to assume the responsibility for such misbehaviour.

Relief from world distress, the cure for economic ills, does not lie in the domain of political action. Wherever legislative programs have been undertaken for the cure of economic ills, state socialism with failure immeasurably worse has been the result. Governments cannot effectively or efficiently suspend the operation of economic laws, as witness failure after failure in the field of price regulation, and most recently, the almost complete breakdown of economic conditions in Australia and New Zealand where government ownership and operation have had their most universal application. We must not travel that path. Government cooperation is imperative, but leadership must come from business.

It is an encouraging sign, in the field of industry in particular, that management is more and more adding social welfare to its management problems. A final and proper adjustment of economic and social conditions cannot be attained without the closest cooperation between all factors, including the government. I believe, however, that economic stability and order can be achieved, and to that end I urge leadership in every field to dedicate its untiring, unprejudiced and unselfish effort. The imperative need of the world is a sense of security, founded upon economic stability:

For the worker, economic stability means security against unemployment, loss of income and fear of the future.

For capital, it means security of investment, the certainty of reasonable return and courage for new venture.

For government, it means security against revolution, disorder and defeat.

For the world, it holds the only hope of enduring peace, the avoidance of war, and the preservation of civilization.

These are the problems; these are the issues which confront world leadership. They constitute the most vital equation in economic crises and in social welfare. The need is for leadership, sympathetic in its understanding, tolerant in its viewpoint and dynamic in its courage. This is the challenge. Let us answer with vision, faith and hard work.

A Challenge to Business Men

By WILLIAM KIXMILLER

President, Commerce Clearing House, Inc.

JOHN, seven years old, was attending his first class in geography. The teacher asked, "Who can describe the shape of the world?" John held up his hand, and the teacher responded with, "Yes, John, you tell us the shape of the world." His answer had a confident ring since he had no less an authority than his father. "Daddy says the world is in bad shape."

For the present we all no doubt agree with this definition. Business men and capitalism are blamed by many. This message is in the nature of a defense, but its primary purpose is to present a challenge.

Man has been more than monkey for at least two million years. But men have preyed upon men down to today. All historical cultures were built upon slavery. Aristotle said no civilization could exist without this base. Rome was rich, not because it produced but because it plundered. Herbert Spencer wrote that the history of nations is a record of robbery, treachery, murder and national suicide.

Therefore it might well be the most significant event in recent thousands of years when men stop pilfering each other. Is this epochal event immediately ahead of us? Are we the last of the barbarians? The law of group self-preservation is the first law of man. Where does this instinctive law fit into this new scheme?

Until recently most wealth gathering was a racket. Now only a part can be so described and happily that part stands out and hurts like a sore thumb. World forces are so shaping themselves that the law of self-preservation, the first law of man, now requires that men cooperate and not fight and filch each other. Mankind may soon change its habits of millions of years, based heretofore on the dog-eat-dog principle, and for the first time men will become conscious, not of a group, but of humanity.

If this is true, men living today, by the humble use of business as the handmaid of science, are bringing about one of the biggest things in all social development. If

this is true, in the future, history will be divided into two parts, the first recording the conduct of peoples, tribes and nations who lived by war, the animal way, and the second that of people who lived by cooperation, the human way. So quietly and without display has come the beginnings of this startling phenomenon that only a few are aware of it and its significance. If this vision is not a mirage, remote generations will discover its emergence not in the proceedings of political peace conventions, but the future historian will get his data from the records of the United States Chamber of Commerce, from the minutes of the meetings of the International Chamber of Commerce, and he will sense its early import in the "service feel" of the International Rotary Clubs.

You ask what are the developments whose results are so significant. They are two. (1) There must be an adequate flow of purchasing power to the producer so that as consumer he can buy the products of industry. (2) World business is essentially a bartering process, and prosperity requires that both sides buy and profit. The two principles may be combined into one; advancement of self can come only through the advancement of the whole.

It will be truly said that this is nothing new, and that these principles are as old as civilization. But significance lies in their application to the new economics. And so fundamental or basic is this as to warrant the statement that success or failure in the application will determine the future course of mankind.

A third fact is tied up with the principles laid down. This third phenomenon grows out of the same process which makes the first two. It is this: Because men have conquered the forces of nature to such an extent that they can now in the struggle for existence completely destroy one another through war, solidarity must henceforth dominate the affairs of men.

But how will this come about? It is difficult for men on moral grounds to change impulses and instincts born out of millions of years of struggle for subsistence. Human nature changes slowly, very slowly. A dependence upon moral improvements only will result in failure; the process is too slow. Hope at this moment lies in the fact that men can satisfy the age-long individualistic instincts and impulses through cooperative action. At last we see a convergence of the moral law and the law of the struggle for existence. The ethics of Kant: "Treat every man as an end and not as a means" can now be and must now be practically applied to affairs domestic and foreign. "Am I my brother's keeper?" The positive answer to this question has for centuries been religious teaching, but now has become natural economic law.

It appears that the new economics of production which compels an equivalent in consumptive powers will lead to a new attainment, because the individual best realizes self by working for the whole. The realization of social values and individual values now depends upon the balancing of these values. Already, there is no all-containing unit, no self-containing system; each man, each group or each nation must function as a complement one to the other. The structure of our new ongoing relationship requires a balancing of those forces affecting production and consumption. Science, the machine and business have made such extraordinary changes that at last we are compelled by the very nature of things to seek an energizing equilibrium to maintain life as a whole, not only within a nation, but within the entire world.

The law of self-preservation now requires more than national faith, more than race feeling: it requires world consciousness and integration or there will be catastrophe. The future society of mankind will be one living organism which moves together if it moves at all. The evolutionary process of civilization will henceforth be a total performance or no show at all. How will this be accomplished?

A tinsmith gets the bump out of a sheet of metal by hammering around the bump and not by hitting it directly. Owing to the fact that men can destroy each other completely, war, the instrument of a nation seeking its own ends, has become the great

bump problem of humanity. We can literally smudge out one another. The next war, if it comes, may mean the destruction of civilization. This is so often repeated and is so obvious that the statement is trite. We all know that we must now grow out of tribal or group consciousness into humanity consciousness. We all appreciate the bump of war and are striving to correct the evil.

But we are hammering too much on the bump when we should be pounding around it. To eliminate war we must take peace for granted by a dependence upon those institutions which have universal qualities, which will most quickly give all peoples a common ground of understanding, a community of interest, thereby cultivating the conception of the unity of the world. The races must arrive naturally at that unified consciousness which is a requisite to the end of war.

The institution of "business" through its ability to capitalize science for the welfare of all is one institution having those universal characteristics necessary to bind men together. Other cultural characteristics are extremely diversified and woven in the traditions and prejudices of bygone ages. Most of life is held by the dead hand of the past. Industrialism is new, governed by ideas and not memorials, and its quality of universalism requires that all humanity be served. Universalism is a part of it as visibility is a part of light.

To illustrate, foreign trade is not warfare and describing it in militarized vocabulary is a wrong conception of its nature. When men appreciate the importance of an ever-increasing universal standard of living the question of relative portions in foreign trade will be as inconsequential as it is today between New York State and Pennsylvania. There will be not so much the tension of completion as the extension of the area and the volume of the market, the gross increase of wealth as a whole. A standard of living twice our own for all the world is entirely possible, but only as a coordinated, peaceful, evolutionary operation free of tariffs and other artificial, legalistic, nationalistic barriers.

In a world of economic solidarity there will be no worry over the monopolistic control of raw materials. People will not be concerned about the division of land; they will be concerned about the division of

labor. The land-problem idea is a hang-over from times when the question of subsistence was not an economic problem, but one solved by migration and conquest. To-day, Chicago is not worried because it derives its paper from Canada, coal from Pennsylvania, oil from Texas or steel from Gary, Indiana, and not from Illinois. In a world where business flows freely, Japan with its teeming millions will not have a land problem, that is an emigration problem. Because of comparatively unrestricted trade and a high standard of living, Manhattan Island with a much greater population per square mile does not have a land problem. With the standard of living equal only to that we now have, Japan should not have even an employment problem. With a rising standard of living a rapidly decreasing percentage of people is required on the soil and an increasing percentage is required to make goods and render service. Given science, people will not so much live on the land as on the ability of their business men.

Population problems, land problems, emigration problems, raw material problems, access-to-the-sea problems are not business problems—they are war problems. There is no solution to these except through a new consciousness that looks beyond political frontiers to an economic sense of the whole of reality. This will come when the state mind gives way to the economic mind; when territorial aggrandizement gives way to business aggrandizement, the latter distinguished by power to serve rather than power to compel service.

Governments are rooted in the traditions of hundreds of years and cannot as integers serve the universal economic mind. This does not mean that they will disappear. On the contrary, because of the increasing contacts of men, they will grow in their usefulness, but they will lose in significance. Our attitudes with respect to national states are changing. They signify something different from that of so late a period as the recent Great War. Instead of occupying exalted positions living in and for themselves, each a whole in itself, they are becoming parts of a greater, more universal activity. We are beginning to consider them not as major-domos, but as institutions of service satisfying collective wants—

the postmen carrying some of the useful loads of ongoing affairs. President Lincoln and General Grant had the proper place of government when they composed the greatest peace treaty ever delivered by victor to vanquished: "Go back to work. Keep your horses, you will need them for the spring plowing."

Walled cities were once integers—dependent wholes. Now these cities are parts of the larger communities in which they find themselves. Immediately following the Revolutionary War, many of the first citizens of Virginia, including Patrick Henry, strenuously opposed the Union on the ground that a Virginian could not be a good citizen of a larger community.

There was a time when European peoples thought of themselves as the subjects of their church and religious organizations actually possessed sovereign rights. Gradually the church lost this meaning and the nation became the way a given people gave expression to the group idea. The church did not cease to exist but became an organ in the larger community.

Until recently the national state had become so significant in the minds of some people that they were unable to place themselves in relation to the rest of the world in any other fashion. The Germans, for instance, prior to the war could not give any other expression of themselves except as a unity personified in the Kaiser, despite the fact that their real power, which has since become demonstrated, existed for a number of years prior in their economic integration.

I understand that in India even today many intelligent natives are quite willing to allow Englishmen the run of the government. To them the government is that organization which takes care of the streets, the lights, the sewers, the postal facilities, the telegraph and the schools, a useful agency of social welfare performing a bewildering variety of service in the process of satisfying collective wants.

The awakening of China, Russia and the so-called backward peoples does not lie in the promise of any particular form of government but in the promise of the new industrial civilization. All races, black, yellow, brown and white, now sense the lately discovered principle that the world will prosper only as a unit, and that the new

economic civilization is the heritage of humanity and not of groups of men. They all want the good things of life. And who can blame them? The good things of life for most people are still food, clothing, housing and other material values. The struggle for subsistence is even today the pressing problem, appalling fierce and fearful. At this moment "Give us this day our daily bread" is no figure of speech, but an agonizing petition for millions of men.

Accordingly, the age of materialism is only at its dawn. The high noon is fifty to one hundred years away with a world standard of well-being several times our own. When mankind has gained economic freedom through the scientific technic of modern production, has solved the problem of unrestricted distribution and has balanced production and consumption, only then will wealth be taken for granted and man will find greater value in nonmaterial pursuits. Ours is properly the materialistic age. We will let the future generations build a new universal culture on this foundation.

It follows that governments cannot in the future maintain exclusively their own ends. Because all peoples are awakening to a new commercial consciousness and the need for world prosperity, the state will decline in its significance in favor of a new organism which will include the state as one of its tools for the operation of those facilities of social welfare which the state logically conduct; and as controlling apparatus, for instance as an umpire, in that most difficult task of establishing an equilibrium between supply and demand.

The issue therefore today is much more fundamental than that of a particular kind of legalistic superframework. From now on the whole of mankind wants to live its life to the full in material satisfactions and, strange to say, because of the very phenomena which are awakening mankind everywhere to a new appreciation of its inherent possibilities for a better standard of living, exactly because of these selfsame forces, namely the growing power of men over nature, no group can withhold the right to consumption from any other people. Henceforth, states must correlate themselves within the framework of a new totality, expressing a higher state of inte-

gration than that conceived on legalistic levels.

This development is certain. There is no alternative. We have gone too far on the road of science, industrialism and business to turn back. Take only two examples of irreconcilable national conflicts.

There is the one involving the freedom of the seas. Because of modern scientific technic of production the old idea of free neutral commerce from the military point of view does not work. In terms of England's security versus American commerce, the problem is insoluble; there is a hopeless clash of vital interests. The issue cannot be solved, but it can be dismissed in a new conception of unity.

Again, the western nations have vast colonial possessions containing much of the raw materials upon which to a large extent industrialism is based. What can be done about this situation in terms of nationalism? Is there inevitable conflict ahead? We cannot do without these raw materials. If we have to fight to retain them, the cost may be too great. Does the age-old law of group survival fail here? No! The new group is humanity. The problem cannot be solved as a political problem. The solution lies only through a gradual disappearance of the difficulty.

What now appears as an impasse will, as we go along, lead into the broad valley of peace because the issues become inconsequential through the emergence of new conditions. The new economic forces will not be confined in the framework of old political imperialism. Imperialism and its enemies will disappear in the operation of new ways of cooperation. The startling break-up of the English Empire and the formation of the British Commonwealth of Nations, owing no legal allegiance to the common sovereign but held together by economic habits of cooperation, is an example of this new method. There should be no objection to a multiplicity of sovereignties, provided they lose in significance.

Even the Soviet system is primarily a big business venture and its future lies solely in its ability to give the long-hungry people of Russia food, clothing and shelter. Our job with respect to Russia is to see it in its proper relation to the rest of the world, namely as a vast business institution and to

become less afraid of it. If we continue to be afraid they continue in their appalling fear, this may lead to that next human holocaust which many people now predict. In business we all hang together or we will all hang separately. Despite present incompatibility in our different ideas and ideals, we must work this thing out with Russia. Friendship is as inherent to international business as is juice to an orange. The concept of force cannot apply within its domain.

I devoutly believe in the capitalistic order. I believe in its strength and am not afraid of its contacts anywhere. I believe in capitalistic experimentalism; through this process life is a laboratory not only for those at the top, but for each individual, and only through this method lies progress and satisfaction. I am here reminded of a story. Mussolini, so the tale goes, was playing bridge with three of his citizens. The dealer, having distributed the cards, looked at Mussolini and hesitatingly said "I pass." The next man looked at Mussolini and hesitatingly said "I pass." The third did the same when Mussolini roared "No you won't! You will bid three spades and I'll double you!" I believe that if strong men must will to power, and apparently they must, humanity will fare better under capitalism than under any other system. Compare the effect of Ford and Mussolini on the peace of the world.

I believe in the necessity for balancing individual values and social values, by which method alone true values can be determined. All progress depends upon proper equilibrium being established between opposites. Can a plane fly in a vacuum? Can an automobile run on smooth ice? The grip of life requires equilibrium resulting from traction and tension, and these, with respect to the mind, are dependent upon the necessity of choice in values. An ever deeper comprehension and growth depends upon the proper awareness of values, not only on the part of leaders but on the part of each person, and this can come only through trial and error. Through the capitalistic order each partakes up to his capacity of absorption in the values society has attained, and each contributes up to his capacity in the policy and direction of the ongoing activity of all.

Finally, I believe in the healing forces of a rising standard of living. I am convinced that the business men of America, depending exclusively upon the righteous power of capitalism and the soothing efficacy of a constantly increasing standard of well-being can become the leaders in solving the problems now torturing mankind. Business men, by example and through the experimental way, by the exercise of ordinary integrity and faith can remake the world. And looking at it strictly from the individualistic point of view, has it not been written "The meek shall inherit the earth"?

We are in a transition from a political to an economic world and there is a cross-pull of these forces. The business depression comes from international political distrust everywhere. But we cannot get together politically. The only solution is to forget political mechanism and depend upon economic mechanism, upon which the whole universe is in fundamental accord. International political diplomacy is bankrupt because the pay dirt of Machiavelianism is all washed out; but the pay dirt of international industrialism lies all about in great abundance ready for economic statesmen big enough and bold enough to work it.

What to do? To begin with, no political entanglements attempting to dictate peace, but plenty of action tantamount to living peace. We will live peace by means of commercial treaties, trustification and cartelization of business by men intelligent enough to synthesize individual and social idealism; men big enough to build an international trade in volume of which today we only dream. In like manner we will live peace through international banking consortiums, balancing the functions of gold, credit and general finance and bold enough to lend billions where millions were loaned before, exclusively for economic uses. We will live peace by a great multiplicity of voluntary organizations which have sponged out political frontiers, thus developing new habits of mind which disregard legalistic abstractions as does a transcontinental traveler crossing the states from coast to coast. We will live peace through international associations of scientists, doctors, lawyers, teachers, philosophers and writers, through international business corporations,

and corporations with stockholders all over the world and through international partnerships, selling agencies, agricultural societies and service clubs. We will live peace by all sorts of nonpolitical intercourse motivated by the desire for mutual advancement, a pluralistic society, held together through natural order because constant improvement in well-being is the lot of all. Thus the powers and capacities of men will be so increased by cooperation that entirely new relative values, spiritual as well as material, will come into existence.

The business man of this country is unique in history—*novus homo*—marking a new age of mankind in geologic time. Business men are fairly free of racial and class fears, hatreds and traditions. They are essentially not political but commercial. They have the resources. What is most important, they have the metal. Question is have they the mettle? Destiny thus far has been kind; it has placed in their hands an opportunity which is as a pyramid to a pigmy when compared to all other opportunities of prior ages. But it takes daring, vision and pioneering. It takes leaders, but it also takes a following of understanding men. The crest cannot go beyond the surging wave. Will business men accept the challenge?

The promise of business universalism is logical in more ways than one. Although it is true that instincts, still rooted in savagery, respond slowly, very slowly, to intellectual conclusions, yet conduct, being largely a matter of conditioning, what starts out to be one form of behavior may quickly change into another, through the emergence of new responses to old instincts. This can be depended upon. Experiences we have in common are becoming more important than the things which divide us. Business is giving meaning to those activities which apply to the total relationships. We are beginning to appreciate in a spirit of tolerance that only when we consider peoples as a whole do we get a tolerable ideal. The new habit of cooperation making all nations complementary within the framework of a higher synthesis gives a new aim, and therefore, a new sense of reality and significance which naturally develops a new

type of self-respect in which superiority is dependent upon values with integrating characteristics rather than upon those values exclusive to race or nation. Business men can win by a bold reliance on these influences of their activities.

The methods by which mankind goes forward are indirect, like pioneering a new trail up a mountain side. At the start, afar off, the climber sees the top and travels toward it. Again and again he finds he has taken the wrong road and for long distances loses complete sight of the goal. Despite discouragements, however, and because of constant effort, he has the great satisfaction of realizing that he is on the way and surprising and splendid visions of the distant summit become visible again and again. Apparently sensing the truth and struggling for its realization is a law of life. Truth and living, in the sense of social organism, are a composite. Truth cannot dictate to men and groups of men cannot be dogmatic about the path human society will follow.

There is a process in chemistry known as catalytic action. When platinum is present, oxygen and sulphur form sulphurous acid, an entirely new combination. The platinum itself is not transformed and is not reduced in the slightest. The platinum seems not to have concerned itself with what is going on and yet it is the all-powerful agent producing results not possible except for its presence. Business men by their activity are a powerful agent in that greatest experiment ever conducted by man, namely the process of eliminating poverty from the earth. If this is progressively accomplished they will bring into play the principles of world solidarity through a higher force of social organism which will include states, a world society ruled from within itself, obeying the natural laws of cooperative existence which are so obvious and which in themselves have such attraction as rules of proper conduct that they need no external enforcement. Good-will and peace will come upon the earth not because of rhetoric, emotional appeal, nor even because of advocacy, intellectual persuasion, nor because of fiat, governmental decree, but because for the races this becomes the preferable form of behavior.

The Austro-German Economic Agreement

By EDGAR L. G. PROCHNIK

Austrian Minister to the United States

THE Austro-German agreement for closer economic cooperation is part of the widespread movement toward a Pan-European Union, inspired by instinct of self-preservation. In the sensorium of all European nations lies subconsciously a realization of the fact that Europe's future solely hinges on its ability or inability to form a unified, solid front against depredations on economic welfare, caused less by the natural consequences of the last Great War than by an evolution through which life on our globe is passing just now. A rapid expansion of human ingenuity has placed mankind before new and intricate problems. Man has entered into a new era, the era of mechanization which makes it necessary for him to adapt his entire mode of living to radical changes.

Modern economic development, so distinctly traced in the life of the United States, has no use for particularism nor for productive activities on a small scale confined within microscopic geographical units. In our machine age, economy is based on larger foundations.

Though fully conscious of this state of affairs and thoroughly convinced as to the only possible solution, Europe seems to be paralyzed in face of a threatening disaster. An almost incomprehensible lethargy seems to lame any move toward salvation. The idea of an European Union was enthusiastically acclaimed everywhere, and yet not a single step was taken toward its realization.

Apparently the task was too big, too heavily fraught with all kinds of difficulties and obstacles, to be accomplished in one sweep. Leading European statesmen and economists began to realize that an European Union would have to pass preliminarily through a stage of regional agreements between countries with more affiliated interests.

Austria was among the very first of the European nations who believed in the

necessity of closer economic cooperation. Her aspirations in this respect go far back to a period antedating the outbreak of the War, and gained momentum, of course, with the disintegration of the dual monarchy.

No other nation in the world suffered more than Austria from wanton destruction of its economic fabric, from lack of adequate means and from a complete exhaustion of resources. With the utmost exertion of their own willpower and strength and with the sympathetic aid of friendly nations the Austrians honestly and conscientiously went to work to rebuild their country; but with every step forward it became more and more apparent that the Republic's future could only be secured by incorporation into a bigger economic body.

Then the world-wide depression came and opened our eyes. We realized more than ever that doom was threatening our continent, divided in armed camps, ready to fight in war, and fighting meanwhile even in peace time with economic weapons behind strong and high custom walls, disrupting trade and free communication and slowly starving in an effort to eke out a living for overcrowded populations from tiny, well-guarded, individual garden patches.

Austria felt the throttling grip more intensely than her other sister nations in Europe; and that is the reason why she moved first—moved before the last breath was taken out of her. Austria's fate, of course, is closely linked with that of Europe. She will faithfully stand, therefore, with the whole of Europe in its struggle for the maintenance of its position in the world; but she fights at an outpost closest to danger and destruction, and, therefore, is more aware of the menace.

To accuse Austria of some surreptitious scheme and design in her struggle for mere existence adds to the tragedy of the situa-

tion. No; Austria's statesmen have not lost their minds. They had ample opportunity to train themselves to a habit of keeping a cool head in critical moments. Governments have changed frequently in Austria since peace was declared; but there was not one of them, no matter of whatever political orientation, that did not restrict its program exclusively to economic problems.

The Anschluss, of course, is in the heart of the Austrian people, and always has been since the Peace Treaty of St. Germain had carefully carved out of the former dual monarchy a country, which geographically, ethnologically, culturally and historically is purer German than old Austria ever could realize. The Peace Treaty of St. Germain has carefully removed from the Alpine Republic all that could obscure the German character of the nation. In fact it has taught us what we really are, a chip off the German block. St Germain has re-awakened in the Austrian people their national spirit which was dormant until then, and this is the greatest and only benefit Austria derived from that treaty.

But with all these natural agencies working, Austria does not pursue a policy dictated by the heart but by the head. She realizes more than any other European nation that this is not an appropriate time to stir up troubles with political aspirations. This is a time of dire necessity, a time exclusively to be given to substance and not alone to ideals.

Why then does Austria raise suspicion by starting a move, professedly aimed at economic cooperation of the whole of Europe, just with Germany? The answer is easy. Besides cultural and economic affiliations, it was the only open door after all other countries with possibly closer economic relationship to us had quickly

slammed and doubly barred their doors in our face when we approached them with a suggestion of economic cooperation.

There is another reason why Austria and Germany were more ready and could sooner start on the way toward an economically United Europe. That is their present state of disarmament. Armed nations are naturally hampered in the pursuit of their economic policies by considerations of military efficiency and most effective armed alliances. They are bound to at least coordinate, if not subordinate, economic problems to political reasons. If Austria entertains any fear for her economic aspirations, which aim far beyond the frontiers of the Reich, it is on account of slow progress in disarmament. She realizes that a Europe bristling with arms could only cling to its old policy of balancing powers, in which policy, of course, international economic cooperation and confederation would find no room.

Dire necessity started Austria on the road toward Pan-European economic cooperation and federation by a regional agreement with Germany. This agreement is, after all, not more than an expression of willingness to cooperate and to restrict this cooperation to purely economic problems. Besides, it is an open invitation for all nations to join.

The Austro-German agreement explicitly provides for strict observance of national sovereignty and international obligations. It is proof-tried and can stand any scrutiny from a legal or moral standpoint before any court of international equity and justice. It is a general call in an economic shipwreck to make for shore. There is a winning chance for all, especially for those who divest themselves of superfluous incumbrances and are not weighted down by heavy armor.

NOTICE

Members of American Peace Society not having sent their ballots on the World Court are asked to do so *at once!*

An International Justice of the Peace and His Constable

By OSCAR T. CROSBY

Former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; President, Inter-Ally Council on War Purchases and Finance; Author, "International War, Its Causes and Its Cure"

TO A distinguished United States Senator I recently chanced to say that I expected to renew certain activities of propaganda in favor of the establishment of an International Force as a sanction for the decrees of an International Tribunal. In surprise, he answered: "What! An International Force?" The very words seemed to shock him. But, being an open-minded, liberal and highly intelligent man, he listened patiently to a few words of explanation.

In more complete form and to a larger audience such an explanation is now presented.

French Position

That my American compatriots may not deem the subject one of such novelty as to preclude its serious consideration, let me quote the words of Gaston Doumergue, President of France. They were uttered on April 9th, 1931, in a speech delivered at Nice. They were impressive enough to seize our attention:

" 'Tis only good sense," he said, "that so long as France is exposed to cruel surprises and so long as a solid International Force has not been organized, she must not allow herself to be led into the reduction of her own material force below the limit essential for the needs of her security and the integrity of her national and colonial domain, for which the present generation is accountable to the next."

To this quotation, the *New York Times* reporter adds the following significant remark:

"The President's preoccupation with 'security' in the form of an International Force is only the reflection of a doctrine which is taking an ever firmer hold in French minds."

The French Government thus seems to be ready to renew the proposition urged by their delegates at the Peace Conference in

1919. President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George were not willing to accept it. America has forgotten it. Europe has not.

Only a few weeks ago, in conversation with two eminent French statesmen, Senator DeJouvenel and M. Paul Boncour, I heard similar sentiments pointedly expressed. Important private organizations enroll the names of thousands of citizens espousing the cause.

Our Position

I shall not dwell here upon the wide difference in the sense of security which may be indulged by us, as compared with that sense of insecurity which besets thoughtful men of every European nation. We may, of course, wrap around us our starry flag as a cloak of isolation, and be relatively indifferent to foreign perturbations. That procedure has its charms.

Yet three of our Presidents, Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson, declared themselves in favor of an International Force available to coerce nations recalcitrant against the decisions of such central authority as might by agreement be endowed with the right to settle grave international disputes. Some obscurity is found in their utterances as to whether the force in question should be merely national forces promised by treaty, or should be a body permanently and directly under the orders of the Central Authority. In the former case separate national judgment would determine the occasions for combined effort, and the magnitude of armaments supplied. In the latter case, central authority would determine both of these facts.

However we may construe the utterances of the leaders just named, it is clear that they all approved the principle of a force sanction operative against nations refusing to submit to Central Authority.

Since the death of these men, we have entered, with others, into schemes of armament limitation, and shall be thus further engaged in a very important meeting set for February, 1932. Unless we decide to avoid altogether any discussion of international force, we should equally avoid such meetings, for almost certainly at the conference in question, the question will arise in serious debate. So long as we continue to deal with arms limitation, we must recognize that an intimate relation is made to exist between our armaments and those of foreign countries; while these, in turn, must be fixed in relation to the international political mechanisms, such as a great tribunal and a central force, probably to be established with or without our cooperation, and deliberately planned to affect all national armaments.

The World Court

Moreover, we have gone far toward accepting the jurisdiction of an international tribunal for the settlement of threatening disputes. There seems to be a likelihood that, in some way, we shall link ourselves to the Permanent Court of International Justice whose statutes have so long been pending in our Senate. Several European nations have definitely adopted this Court.

Their adherence to it is not as conclusive as a hasty reading of texts might lead one to suppose. These texts seem to say that all disputes of whatever kind will be submitted for settlement to the Court. But closer reading discloses the fact that there are various reservations, limitations and exclusions firmly set forth. The exclusions, therefore, are so important that the adherences are somewhat illusory. However, the trend of events is such that a reversal of policy in this respect will probably be forced upon the adhering governments—and the Court will be charged with the whole responsibility of keeping the world away from war. In any case, the French thesis favoring an international force available in connection with the Court, must be always henceforth in the foreground of discussion concerning this matter. If we are not to drop the issue entirely, all topics relating to the elimination of war become proper topics of interested discussion in American politics.

The Paris Pact

Nor should we forget that we have signed the Briand-Kellogg Treaty, pledging ourselves not to resort to war as an instrument of public policy—but to seek settlement of all our international quarrels by peaceful means.

I have elsewhere criticized that treaty as being largely deceptive, once we admit the universally held reservation that in a public policy of self-defense we are not bound to keep the peace. All men know that war-makers are never self-confessed aggressors. Even the wolf found his righteous *casus belli* in the upstream or downstream drinking by the lamb.

So the thing smells of hypocrisy. Yet it might, in fact, be "made an honest woman," if we would institute proper means for keeping the peace and for securing defense of our rights, as those rights may be determined and enforced by a suitable, impartial, international organism. The incompleteness of the Paris Pact renders it nugatory—even offensive—to our sense of an honorable responsibility for a pledged word.

Now it is quite possible for a diffused democracy like ours to be careless about such things. It is everybody's and nobody's business to square our real intentions with our surface pretensions. The price of stocks, the business slump—these are of more acute interest. Yet surely some of us would prefer to cancel the treaty so long as we are unwilling to make it workable by creating the necessary substitute for war as the final arbiter between angry governments.

Doubtful Points

Long before the present International Court was created a few men had already addressed themselves to the study of this great subject. Indeed, pregnant suggestions concerning it have appeared sporadically during several centuries past. My own work began in 1909, when I published a pamphlet setting forth specific plans for the establishment of an international tribunal backed by an International Force. This was enlarged into a considerable volume appearing in 1919. Perhaps what I have written goes more into detail than the general reader demands. But it is not my purpose now to argue about the merits of one plan or another. It will be sufficient to indi-

cate a few points of discussion among proponents of the general plan in question.

Role of the League of Nations

Some there are who see in the League Council and Assembly two excellent safety valves for small nation dissatisfactions and ambitions. It is thought they may serve also to bring together responsible statesmen not usually in contact. And indeed this function may have a certain importance until aeroplane mobility shall have put us all in a great racial melting pot. Meanwhile, those Leaguers who at the same time stand for the organization we now consider, recognize that the greater power—the final authority—must absorb the weaker. It has never seemed to me that the loosely jointed Council and Assembly, not directly controlling a coercive force, could be of much use in a storm period of national passions. These half-formed organs will doubtless atrophy from lack of use, when a centralized judgment seat shall have been created.

World Parliament

Nor do I agree with those who urge the creation of a distinct legislative body. "The parliament of man," makes a good line in poetry; but in our time it would be, I think, ineffective—perhaps dangerous. If we endow a tribunal with powers, both judicial and arbitral, its decisions will gradually establish a body of precedent having true legislative value. That form of law making is inherent in the long continued action of all courts, even when they are supposed to apply themselves only to the interpretation of existing codes or voluntary contracts.

In this manner English and American judges have certainly exerted a powerful influence on the development of law. If now we add arbitral functions to interpretative functions, we shall have a yet greater growth of judge-made law than has been noted in the past. It will be quite enough to tax the digestion of savage sovereignties now awkwardly groping their way toward central control of violence. Let us stop at that for the present.

Justiciable Question

A minor issue is raised by those who urge that judiciable disputes are to be distin-

guishable from the non-judiciable variety, and that separate tribunals should be established for these two classes of cases. Such an arrangement would involve delay—when delay might be fatal—for certainly there will be many cases set in a twilight zone of doubt. It has seemed to me wiser to create but one tribunal, some of whose members should be jurists or lawyers. A panel of these members could then be formed within the larger body, and to it the technical cases might go. But for big matters, the professional legalists would not be necessary. George Washington was not a lawyer, but he would make as good a man for the great tribunal as John Marshall. This issue does not present an insuperable difficulty to either side. An international convention may decide it one way or the other without committing an overwhelming error.

International Executive

Another moot question among those who agree as to the importance of this central authority (if we really want to stop war) has to do with the relation between the tribunal and the executive. Some propose an independent executive sworn to enforce the tribunal's decrees, but not receiving orders from it. Others, among whom I count myself, prefer that the tribunal shall appoint and direct its own executive.

This issue is merely stated here. It will be easily settled in convention.

Epitome of Plan

Let us epitomize the proposed system as *a centralized judgment seat backed by a centralized force-sanction*. Its American proponents, when they excite in their compatriots any interest whatever, generally meet with a series of objections. Men high in our national councils either pooh-poooh a proposition that to Europeans is most serious, or they undertake to destroy it. That is quite to be expected. These adversaries are conscientiously opposed to the great renunciation of the Paris Pact, if it is to be effectively made. War is familiar. Its elations and heroisms are consecrated in our histories and in our songs. It flatters a sense of independence, of self-determination. Peace, and especially enforced peace, is a novelty. We distrust novelties.

Objections to the Plan

Let us review some of the objections.

Nonresistance: First, there are the ultra-pacifists. While enjoying the protection of centralized force against internal violence, they find it possible to attain a splendid inconsistency in repelling the same guaranty of peace between nations. Many women are in the pseudo-nonresistance ranks. These are a peculiar people, somewhat mystic, therefore scarcely open to argument. The rest of us will therefore leave them to dwell under the shield of force, while they oppose its exercise.

Waiting for a code: More formidable are certain shining legalistic lights. Their cry is "No code, no court! Let us form an all-including set of laws ere we lay down the competitive sword." In other words, let us put off all war remedies to the Greek Kalends. For who can codify in clear terms the rules that a merely judicial tribunal would have applied to our quarrel with Spain, with Mexico? And who will fix definitely the "rights of retaliation" when neutral rights are invaded by one belligerent claiming neglect of those rights by the sufferer in his relations with the other belligerent? Yet this plea of retaliation is the defense made, against our protests, in 1812 by the British and in 1916-17 by the Germans. And what code would control a sovereign power in fixing one, or fourteen, or forty years as a preliminary term of residence, ere citizenship be granted to aliens? Yet see the British allegations on this subject just before their war with the Boers. And who will clearly codify the right of nations to make maneuvers merging into mobilization so long as national armies still constitute the last arguments in international quarrels? And who will fix clear limits to the dread powers of tariff making and of other commercial aggressions in time of peace?

Nay, we have fought about the imponderables, about honor and prestige and expansion and "places under the sun," et cetera.

Rarely have we fought about the things that can be clearly codified. And if we are not ready to let judgments be made about these great but evasive things, then very simply we are not ready to cease from war. Perhaps we are far from that deter-

mination. My object is not to assert that nations can now see the light; but to hold that if they really want to be judged into peace, they must be content to do so without waiting for a code which can predict and penalize all the offensive vagaries of sovereignties in their relations with each other. To that decision the governments have been carried who have recently accepted the "general act" of submission to the existing Court. They do not pretend that a code will be available as a fixed guide to the determinations of an arbitral tribunal. It is chiefly in our own land of ocean-guarded security that such a judicial puritanism is found in high places, and it must come down if we are to "make good" in the Kellogg Pact.

I am reminded by our eminent lawyers of my companion in an exploration in unknown wastes of the Tibetan Plateau. He was unhappy because I felt it necessary to follow the indications of mountain ranges or vanishing watercourses. He repeated many times: "We must travel according to the compass direction pointing toward the next known spot on the maps, let the obstacles be what they may." That would have meant death for us all, as the event proved. So our lawyers must learn, in the unknown realm of international peace search, to travel without the constant guide of a code. Our compass will register where we have been. It can not predict where we must go.

Nonintercourse compulsion.—A rather widespread error, is supported by those who propose that a recalcitrant nation may be coerced through blockades of its ports, or through embargoes laid upon the commercial activities of the citizens of law-abiding states, forbidding all intercourse with the recalcitrants—all this, presumably, without the use of force. Yet very obviously a blockade is a forceful action of the bo-constrictor type. It works against women and children. It can not be maintained by pleasure yachts. The blockading vessels must be ready to shoot, otherwise the whole thing becomes farcical. As to embargo laid upon one's own citizens, well, imagine this method applied to millions of men in fifty countries. Bootlegging would become a giant enterprise, and *force* on a great scale would be required against freebooters all over the world, unless their operations be checked by a blockade of the country

under punishment. This reduces case number two to case number one, and without the use of force the circle of futility is completed.

Why play with words in a big question?

Example of our Supreme Court: A more serious obstacle to the establishment of an International Police Force is found in the widely held theory that our Supreme Court gives an example applicable in the international case of a great tribunal whose decrees are observed in spite of the alleged absence of a force sanction, and with the sole support of public opinion.

This erroneous doctrine must be examined.

(a) First, let me express complete agreement with the opinion of Mr. Charles Warren appearing in his writings respecting the point that the Court does not directly enforce its own decrees. Enforcement is the duty (under our Constitution) of the Executive. The instruments of enforcement must be supplied to the Executive by the legislative branch. And this is generally true in other systems of government. The essential unity of the legislative, executive and judicial is clearly implied in all constitutions which give life, and apparent independence, to these three organs of social order.

There is, indeed, a show of judicial independence in minor matters when the marshals attached to a court execute its mandates. But even in such case the physical force acts in the name of the Executive, and, in fact, is its agent. The important thesis to be understood is this, that the Executive is under obligation, set forth in his oath of office, to see to the enforcement of the laws of the country, and that the decrees of the Court embody the final and most solemn expression of those laws. Failure of the Executive to apply force when necessary is, *pro tanto*, a break-down of the system of government of which he is a part. Such a failure is recorded in the story of Georgia's successful resistance to Supreme Court action, Andrew Jackson being considered by some historians as the betrayer of the Constitution. The remedy against the President is, with us, impeachment, a remedy left wholly in the hands of Congress. And, similarly, a failure of Congress to supply the Executive with necessary instrumentalities for enforcement, is

a break-down of the system. For this no remedy exists save in future elections.

Our governmental trinity: Once we recognize this solidarity of the trinity—legislative, executive, judicial—we may then confidently state that, force is available as a sanction for the decrees of our Supreme Court when the Government of which it is a part is working according to plan. Let us add that since the decision in the case of Virginia *vs.* West Virginia, the conclusion thus stated is the conclusion reached by the Court itself. Chief Justice White sums up in this point by saying "That judicial power essentially involves the right to enforce the results of its exertion, is elementary. And that this applies to the exertion of such power in controversies between states as the result of the exercise of original jurisdiction conferred upon this Court by the Constitution is therefore certain." Elsewhere in the same decision it is clear that the Chief Justice identified the coercive power attributed to the Court, in the sentence just quoted, with the "ultimate power of final agreement," vested in Congress. No reference is made to the direct and unaided power of the Executive in such case, probably because of an implicit recognition of the ultimate necessity of executive action for the application of the legislative or judicial will and the ultimate dependence of Executive enforcement upon the supply by Congress of necessary means thereto. Some critics hold that the words above cited from White's decision constitute only an *obiter dictum*, though one of great force.

With this decision before us we may refrain from citing all the data, judicial and others, which usually appear in arguments as to the existence or nonexistence of a force sanction for Supreme Court decisions. It remains only to note that several of our Presidents have moved promptly to the actual use, or threat, of force in cases of disturbance which prevented the orderly functioning of Courts. The Executive possessed already the necessary means, and acted simply in compliance with an oath of office.

(b) *Character of our States:* But there is another line of argument adopted by those who still hold that no force sanction is necessary for enforcement of decrees directed against States. It is repeated that,

in fact, though after considerable delays, all adverse decrees have been accepted by the losing party.

In connection with this statement it is important to remember that our so-called sovereign States are not only under contract with each other to submit to the decrees of a supreme tribunal, but are bound up into a union constituting the only national activity in which they participate. They never enjoyed, in practice, complete sovereignty, save in the very act of voluntarily yielding the principal functions of sovereignty to a superposed entity created by themselves. They were not nations in the colonial period, and they wove the ligaments which diminished any theoretical separate independence when they united to fight for their liberation from British control. When their first efforts to make a workable union had been demonstrated to be insufficient for united national existence, they then resumed, for a moment, a separate sovereignty only to submerge it in the adoption of our present Constitution. Even before that event they were shorn, under the Articles of Confederation, of the major marks of true sovereignty. They could not make war; they could not lay export or import duties. They could not treat with foreign nations. They were indeed jealous of any central power; they dreaded its possible excesses, incident to any government; they deceived themselves with use of the sweet word "sovereignty," but they instinctively drew together, fearing the outside world more than they feared the child of their own creation. It is needless to dwell upon all the play of conflicting motives that animated our forefathers in those days of fateful germinations. It is sufficient for our present purposes to note that resistance to the central authority by a state, whenever expressed, was assumed to be justified by alleged flagrant violations of the Constitution. When the Treaty of Ghent ended New England's complaints, the threats of the Hartford Convention fell flat. When lowered tariffs and Federal show of force had conciliated and intimidated South Carolina, her Nullification Acts fell flat.

Slavery, the powder magazine that lay at the foundations of union through many decades, finally exploded. In the crater formed by this explosion were buried the lives and fortunes of millions of men.

When the debris left by the havoc of civil war was cleared away, when the passions of the dread reconstruction period had cooled away, the crater was filled and its surface smoothed. The Union was founded again on a solid, newly compacted mass. The claim of a legal right of secession was no more heard in the land.

Only the unrepealable "fight of revolution" remained immortal, as in all human societies.

It follows from what has been said in respect to the emasculated sovereignty of our States, that the central Government, in all its branches, has to deal in domestic matters, with units having no tradition of war-making independence and having, on the other hand, a thousand ties of common commercial interest, based on a century and a half of interstate free trade subject to Federal regulation. Hence the inspiration to resistance and the possibility of making resistance to central authority is not comparable to that which might be reasonably expected in considering the operations of an international tribunal, dealing with states long habituated to an independence of action freed from any limitation save that imposed by war.

(c) *Value of delay:* Another argument launched against the need of a coercive force for establishment of decree observance in our system, is found in the emollient effect of delay. Mr. Warren justly points out the value of this process in its application to our domestic disputes. The cases have been dragged out; the Court has suspended, in effect, the issue of final decrees fixing the possible methods of enforcement. Meanwhile, Time, the great healer, does his beneficial work. True. And we may place much reliance on such dilatory process in such small caliber interstate quarrels as may yet be presented for settlement.

A glance at the cases actually determined by the Supreme Court reveals the fact that no irreparable injury would have resulted to the successful claimant even if the delays had been longer than they were. Because of the facts above stated as to the intimacy of interstate activities and the very limited scope of State powers, we do not develop acute and vital interstate questions. But this situation can not be presumed to exist in mechanisms designed to prevent international war. Here we deal

with sovereignties that will have yielded up only the right to make war on each other. We deal with excessive sensibilities rooted in centuries of hostility, of misunderstanding, of cramped boundaries, of different languages. From all this welter of discordance has grown up a spirit of corroding suspicion. One feels it now when one discusses international matters with European friends. And the twin sister of this sentiment is fear—not cowardly fear. They are all brave enough on the battlefield. But legitimate fear that destructive war may again burst upon every frontier and sweep over every land.

Indeed it is this present fear that now urges European people to lead (where we merely follow) in a striving for security. It is difficult for us to embody this fear in our daily thought. Its absence makes us seem unsympathetic, selfish—even arrogant.

In connection with national frontiers it is very important to note that no grave interstate contest on this question can now arise, and that in the early cases they were devoid of strategic significance. Under our present system—indeed, under the Articles of Confederation, also—interstate war is simply obliterated from consideration. It does not figure in public opinion.

Habit of submission: But years of tranquility will be required to develop in Europe an acceptance of peace as the natural order between states. Even when all disputes shall by agreement be referable to an impartial tribunal, there will be lurking suspicion of sudden attack. In such case the habit of quick blows for self-defense will result in national action if there be no international force available to secure those who are threatened, (or who believe themselves threatened) by an inimical power.

It must be remembered also that decrees will sometimes be made which, to the loser, will seem vilely unjust and disastrous, as measured by the value put upon the lost privileges or possessions.

Delay as a remedy: And there will be disputes over the interpretation of decrees. Some of them, in order to be effective, must be promptly executed. It is a common error to suppose that delay—time to “cool off,” to think it over—will prove a solution of the problem.

Mr. Warren, while loath to yield the example of our Supreme Court's present

growth working through procrastination, yet cites, with semiapproval, words written years ago by me in my work “International War, Its Cause and Its Cure.” In a note appended to his “The Supreme Court and Sovereign States,” he quotes me, thus:

“In many disputes mere delay will actually constitute forfeiture of the claim of one of the parties; and, further, mere delay is often believed to carry with it the forfeiture of the claims of both parties.

“Consequently to admit delay beyond that which has usually preceded the failure of diplomatic efforts, will be considered by one or both parties as a yielding of the matter at issue. A whole category of international irritants—normally the rights and wrongs of neutrals and belligerents—fairly bristles with occasions in which delay means surrender.”

These words, as written, refer to the destructive effects of a delay, presumed to precede an endeavor to settle disputes by reference to an arbitration body. But they apply equally to delay in the execution of a decree handed down by any tribunal, after settlement. The whole value of such a decree to the successful litigant may be defeated by procrastination of the nominal loser. Sometimes this procrastination may be pursued by a strong established government, covertly or openly rebellious against central authority. But also there will be cases of provisional governments, born out of domestic or foreign complications, and unable, or unwilling, to execute decrees flowing from the acts of their predecessors.

There will be rival bodies, each claiming to be the rightful government of some distracted country and meanwhile paralyzing all continuous and orderly operations within its borders. Hence, in all these cases, it may occur that decrees requiring evacuation of territory, or correction of abusive treatment of foreign citizens, or payment of adjudged claims, or cessation of injurious and illegal commercial practices, or rendition of furtive war materials—all these outgrowths of man's contentions and folly—may require prompt and forceful measures in order to protect the adjudicated rights of one contestant, involving thus the integrity of a central control, presumed to have been established for the whole world's benefit.

Case of Russia: And there is the special case of Russia. No man knows the future

of that great people, and no man can be indifferent to it. We do know enough to fear that from that lowering cloud may burst a thunderbolt of war admitting no delay. Shall Germany be left to meet the possible storm alone? Or Poland? Or these two together? Suppose they prefer to bend, rather than to be broken? What of western Europe? Surely, an International Force is indicated for this dread possibility. We may hope the danger will pass—that the Russian people will join with others in the bonds of peace—but until that happy end is assured, national disarmament in Europe can be wisely reached only through international armament.

National Rights

To the patriot his national claims and aspirations appear as obvious justice, as naked right. Such was the conception of President Harding when he declared that "America will never demand that which is not her right—and that, by the heavens, she shall have!"

That narrow vision presents a world of bloody contest as we have known it. That declaration is in fact a general declaration of potential war. Harding, speaking indeed for many millions in all lands, failed to consider that what *is* our right, is the very thing in question when we dispute with another. It is the very thing concerning which we have cut each others' throats for a thousand and ten thousand years. And if we are not willing to have our claims of right determined by an indicated tribunal, then we are not ready to do away with war. So it has ever been with individuals, with families, with tribes, with groups within every sovereign nation. Independent judgment as to the rights of individuals, of families, of tribes, of groups, has been eventually surrendered as the fabrics of order and civilization are slowly evolved. And always this evolution has rested upon a single formula—the *justice of the peace and his constable*.

We have found it necessary to create a power over ourselves, out of ourselves, that may react against ourselves. The justice of the peace alone is a ladylike show to which in times of passion nobody pays attention. The constable alone is brute force and chaos. Marry the two, and we have the true order of civilization. The character of these two organs is not changed when

the former becomes a supreme court—a great international tribunal—and the latter becomes an armed force of thousands; all proportioned to the resistance that may be expected. Their continual co-existence, even without frequent action, finally produces a habit of submission, and thus gradually, the constable element shrinks to a mere fraction of first magnitudes.

To sum up the situation: In our domestic situation it may be said that decisions of the Supreme Court will generally be operative without force sanction. In the international situation, assuming the creation of a great tribunal, we would be naive indeed to start a national disarmament, unless we establish simultaneously an international force sanction. The French formula imposes itself.

Methods

It remains to meet the oft-repeated questions: "Who will command the centralized forces? How will they be organized, armed, and where stationed? And can you expect men to fight against their own country in case it should be a rebel against the tribunal's decrees?"

To many persons, almost persuaded as partisans of the new peace crusade, these questions seem fearsome indeed. Yet to those who have long pondered the matter, they seem harmless enough. Let us answer them.

Command

(a) The central force will be commanded by a general selected by the tribunal or by an executive committee of the adhering powers. I prefer the former method, some of my associates prefer the latter. You may prefer a third method. I shall hereafter designate "Central Authority" whatever controlling body or bodies the adherents may establish, specifying only that actual judging of disputes is to be done only by the tribunal or tribunals. Whatever method be adopted for fixing the command, it may be provided that a commander, happening to be of the nationality under correction, may be superseded by one of another nationality.

Organization

The Force will be organized in the three familiar branches—army, navy and air

service. They will be of such magnitude as the Central Authority may determine from time to time by allotments of so many from each adherent. In reaching the total, consideration would be given to the number and strength of nations in or out of the peace-keeping circle. The personnel may be obtained by volunteer service, or by demands of the Central Authority for drafting men. So also the funds for maintaining the forces and the necessary civil staff are to be demanded by the Central Authority, as of right flowing from the statutes establishing it.

How to Arm

I have indicated in my earlier writings that armaments are to be had, in the first instance, by demand that adherents shall turn over to Central Authority all surface ships above a specified number and tonnage, all submarines of every kind, all artillery and aeroplanes above a specified number and type. Those not wanted will be disposed of by Central Authority through destruction, or otherwise. Thereafter, the International Force shall be constantly equipped with most modern arms.

In a recent compendious work, "Problems of the Twentieth Century," Colonel David Davies, former Member of Parliament, suggests that only inferior arms—say, those familiar before the Great War—may be used by such limited domestic and colonial forces as international agreements shall fix. To this principle of differentiation he attaches much importance. Superior strength can thus be given to an International Force at relatively small cost. (Colonel Davies is now an ardent proponent of the "I. P. F." ideas. He and I are associated in propaganda work.)

Where Stationed

As to where the forces will be stationed, the answer is: Wherever determined by Central Authority, which may demand the necessary forts, garrisons, et cetera. It would require dismantlement of fortifications not needed for its own purposes or for colonial use.

It is to be understood that all *demands* of Central Authority, made in conformity with the basic agreement, shall be enforceable, even as decrees of the tribunal are to be enforceable.

Fighting Against Native Country

Concerning the possibility of fighting against one's own country, a wise use of central force would probably make this unnecessary. But there should be no doubt about the fact that all persons serving in the International Force are to make oath of loyalty and obedience to Central Authority. Without such understanding they would be merely contingents lent to that authority by their respective nations. That is the vice inherent in the arrangements appearing in the Covenant of the League. They constitute but a broken staff upon which no new order of peace can securely lean. And may we not reasonably assume that in the very hearts of men a new loyalty may arise, a loyalty to all the nations that pledge themselves to a real fulfilment of the Paris Pact? May not a man become the world's soldier, the world's policeman? Do we not now depend upon the loyalty of our street police to serve all classes of society, though for the most part they belong to the modest stratum of society having little direct part in the enjoyments of the upper ten? A steady habit of discipline, a steady sense of duty have led many a man to go where his heart's emotions would forbid him.

Precedents in Our History

In respect to this whole series of questions one may find many ready answers by turning to the discussions and the decisions of our forefathers, gathered in 1787 to make the great house of peace in which we live.

Failure

And lastly, one is asked: "But may it not fail? May not disunion and secession bring it all to naught?" And the answer is, "Yes, it may fail." No human institution is absolutely secure. Were there not four tragic years of failure for our own wonderful experiment? It failed because of the exercise of legislative functions such as are not included in the international scheme of peace here considered. But, while we still mourn over those millions of lives and fortunes blasted by the fall of our ancestral house, is there yet one of us who does not rejoice that it was built and rebuilt? May we not then courageously and hopefully contemplate the establishment of a great international tribunal,

armed for the enforcement of its decrees, armed until the habit and the sweet fruit of peace shall give a validity so prized by all, that none will question it?

We Are Not Immune

And let us not imagine that possible wars in other lands will leave us secure and nationally prosperous. We have learned that ours is a passionate people, easily excited, readily convinced that we have a "mission." Even the coolest heads among us must realize that a few men in high places, burning with zeal, may "put us in the war," gathering to their support millions of those who least suspected that they would be made to cry out praises to the great god Mars.

Nor can we be assured that policy and passion in Europe and Asia may not direct against us alone some tremendous combined blow. By such a blow we can not perhaps be conquered but it would not be pleasant to be attacked.

And again, though we should stand aside, secure and prosperous, yet a great European war must always react powerfully upon our commercial, political and moral system. Wherever the conflict may be waged, that necessary monster, government, will fatten upon the shed blood, and wound our personal liberty.

We are perceptibly nearer Moscow than we were in 1913. Perhaps all nations are fated to make the Muscovite experiment. Many of us, however, desire to slacken the pace, to lengthen the road leading away from all our past, though that past embodies the folly, as well as the wisdom, of our ancestors. Because I am among those who would put on the brakes, while being ever conscious of the drift, I now appeal to Americans that they should give weight to all things tending to restrain government to its indicated role of checking competitive violence, and keeping open the peaceful paths of commerce.

Future Problems

For those who yearn for lives of effort, of risk, or struggle, let me say that even when international violence shall have been curbed and bitted, there will remain a thousand problems pressing for solution—problems of property, of class, of education, of public morals. These problems indeed affect the general weal far more directly and intimately than do many of the ghostly questions about which we make war. Let us then prepare to solve vast domestic, social difficulties by trying the great experiment of peace (enforced when necessary) between the nations.

Inter-Parliamentary Union

Convocation of the 37th Conference

BY DECISION of the Inter-Parliamentary Council, the 37th Conference of the Union will be held in Bucharest, Rumania, from Thursday, October 1, to Wednesday, October 7, 1931.

The invitation of the Rumanian Group, which was presented with the full support of the Government, was unanimously accepted by the Council on July 15, 1930, in London. The sittings will be held in the Chamber of Deputies. The Conference will be opened on Thursday, October 1, at 10 a. m., punctually.

Agenda of the Conference

1. Election of the President and Vice-Presidents of the Conference.

2. General debate on the report of the Secretary General.

3. Ratification by the Conference of the resolution adopted by the Inter-Parliamentary Council on April 13, 1931, concerning the preparation of the General Disarmament Conference. Report to be presented by the Subcommittee for the Reduction of Armaments.

4. Protection of mothers and children.

(a) Protection of mother and child before, during and after childbirth, including the first year of the child.

Rapporteur: Frau Louise Schroeder (Germany), member of the Reichstag.

(b) Situation and protection, in the dif-

ferent countries, of illegitimate and of destitute children.

Rapporteur: Frau Olga Rudel-Zeynek (Austria), member of the Federal Council.

5. (a) Activity of the national groups.

(b) Amendments to Articles 3, 7, 10, 12, 14 and 16 of the Statutes of the Union.

Rapporteur: M. Jean Debski (Poland), former Deputy.

6. Agricultural questions.

Rapporteurs: M. HÉLÉRI Queuille (France), Deputy, former Minister; Baron Szterenyi (Hungary), Member of the Upper House, former Minister.

7. European Federal Union.

Rapporteur: Count Carton de Wiart (Belgium), Deputy, Minister of State, President of the Belgian Inter-Parliamentary Group.

8. Communication of the names of the delegates of the Groups to the Inter-Parliamentary Council from the 37th to the 38th Conference.

9. Election of a member of the Executive Committee to take the place of Herr Paul Loebe (Germany), President of the Reichstag, the retiring member.

Time-table of the Conference

The sittings will be held daily from 10 a. m. to 1 p. m. and from 3 p. m. onwards. Thursday, October 1:

Morning: Opening sitting. General debate on the report of the Secretary General.

Afternoon: Continuation of the general debate.

Friday, October 2:

Morning: Continuation and conclusion of the general debate.

Afternoon: Ratification by the Conference of the resolution of the Council concerning the General Disarmament Conference.

Saturday, October 3:

Meetings of the permanent Committees of the Union. (Preparation of the program of next year's Conference.)

Sunday, October 4:

Excursion.

Monday, October 5:

Morning: Protection of mothers and children.

Afternoon: Activity of the national Groups. Amendments to the Statutes of the Union.

Tuesday, October 6:

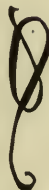
Morning and afternoon: Agricultural questions.

Wednesday, October 7:

Morning: European Federal Union.

Afternoon: Continuation and conclusion of the debate on the European Federal Union. Elections. Close of the Conference.

As usual, the Inter-Parliamentary Council will meet on the day before the opening of the Conference (Wednesday, September 30); the Committees which do not meet on Saturday, October 3, will sit on Thursday, October 8.



INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

The Austro-German Customs Union

THE preliminary convention, providing for the establishing of a Customs Union between Germany and Austria, was announced in Vienna, March 23. It was said that the convention had been approved by the German Austrian cabinets, by an exchange of notes under date of March 19. Because of the interest aroused by this convention, especially in France and her associates, a translation of the preliminary agreement and of the related sections of the Treaty of St. Germain follow:

Protocol

In the course of the conversations which took place in Vienna at the beginning of March, 1931, the German Government and the Austrian Government agreed to enter forthwith into negotiations for a treaty to assimilate the tariff and economic policies of their respective countries on the basis and within the limits of the following principles.

I

(1) The treaty is destined to mark the beginning of a new order of European economic conditions on lines of regional agreements, the independence of the two countries being fully maintained and due respect being paid to the obligations undertaken by them towards third states.

(2) More especially both parties will in the treaty declare their willingness to enter into negotiations for a similar agreement with any other country expressing such a desire.

II

(1) Germany and Austria will agree on a tariff law and a customs tariff which shall be put into force in both customs territories concurrently with the treaty and for the period of its validity.

(2) During the validity of the treaty amendments to the tariff law and the customs tariff may only be effected in virtue of an agreement of both parties.

III

(1) As long as the treaty remains in force the exchange of goods between the two countries shall not be subject to any import or export duties.

(2) The two Governments shall agree in the treaty whether provisional tariffs will be necessary, and, if so, for which specified categories of goods and for which period.

IV

(1) The two Governments shall agree to stipulations in the treaty concerning a provisional arrangement regarding interchange in respect of the turnover tax and as to such goods for which, at the present time, monopolies or excise duties are in existence in either of the two countries.

V

(1) The Customs Administration of each of the two countries shall be independent of that of the other and shall remain under the exclusive control of the Government of its respective country. Furthermore each country shall bear the expenses of its own Customs Administration.

(2) Both Governments whilst fully respecting the above principle, will assure by special measures of a technical character the uniform execution of the tariff law, the customs tariff and the other tariff regulations.

VI

(1) In the German customs territory the customs duties shall be levied by the German customs authorities and in the Austrian customs territory by the Austrian customs authorities.

(2) After deducting the special expenses arising out of the application of the treaty the amount of the duties received shall be apportioned between the two countries according to a quota.

(3) In the agreements to be made regarding this point care will be taken not to prejudice the liens on customs revenues existing in either country.

VII

(1) No import, export or transit prohibitions shall exist between Germany and Austria. Such exceptions as may prove to be necessary for reasons of public security, public health or similar grounds shall be specified in the treaty as precisely as possible.

(2) In place of the Convention on Animal Disease concluded between Germany and Austria on 12th July, 1924, the two Governments will conclude as soon as possible, not later than one

year after the entry into operation of the treaty, and put into force a fresh agreement regulating the traffic of animals and animal products between Germany and Austria under the same conditions in accordance with the same regulations as govern internal traffic in Germany and Austria.

VIII

The rights appertaining to individuals and juridical persons of the one party in the territory of the other in respect of settlement, industry, taxation, et cetera, shall be regulated in the treaty on the basis of the relevant provisions of the Austro-German Commercial Treaty now in force. On the same basis regulations shall also be agreed upon concerning railway and shipping traffic between the two parties.

IX

(1) Each of the two Governments, even after the entry into force of the treaty, shall retain in principle the right to conclude commercial treaties with third states on their own behalf.

(2) In such negotiations with third states, the German and the Austrian Governments will take heed that the interests of the other contracting party are not infringed by the text and object of the treaty to be concluded.

(3) So far as it seems opportune and possible with a view to effecting a simple, speedy and uniform settlement of the commercial relations with third states, the German Government and the Austrian Government will conduct joint negotiations for the conclusion of commercial treaties with third states. Even in this case, however, Germany and Austria will each sign and ratify a separate commercial treaty on their own behalf, and will only arrange together for a simultaneous exchange of the ratifications with the third state in question.

X

The two Governments will take the necessary steps in due time to bring into accord with one another and with the contents and object of the treaty, the existing commercial treaties concluded by Germany and Austria with third states so far as they contain obligations respecting customs tariff rates or so far as they might impair the execution of the existing import and export prohibitions and other regulations on the exchange of goods.

XI

(1) To insure a smooth working of the treaty an Arbitral Committee shall be provided for therein composed on the lines of complete parity of members of the two parties. This Committee

will have to deal with the following matters:

(a) Settlement by arbitration of differences of opinion arising between both parties as to the interpretation and application of the treaty;

(b) To bring about a compromise in such cases where the treaty provides for a special agreement between both parties or in which according to the text of the treaty the realisation of the intention of the one party depends upon the consent of the other, provided that in such cases agreement cannot be reached between the two parties.

(2) A decision of the Arbitral Committee in cases (a) and (b) referred to above shall have binding effect on both parties, a majority of votes being sufficient. The President of the Committee shall have a casting vote. Complete parity in choosing the President from time to time shall be provided for in the treaty.

(3) Should either of the two Governments be of the opinion that the decision of the Arbitral Committee in any of the cases mentioned under 1 (b) infringes its vital economic interests, it shall be entitled to terminate the treaty at any time on giving six months' notice. Such notice of termination may also be given during the first period of three years mentioned under XII (2).

XII

(1) The treaty to be concluded shall be ratified and shall enter into operation at the end of a period to be fixed in the treaty which extends from the date of the exchange of ratification.

(2) The treaty may be denounced at any time upon one year's notice, but not before the end of the third year after its entry into force except in the case mentioned under XI (3).

(3) Notice may only be given in virtue of a law to be enacted by the country denouncing the treaty.

Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye

The following is the text of Articles 217-220 of this Treaty:

ARTICLE 217

Austria undertakes that goods the produce or manufacture of any one of the Allied or Associated States imported into Austrian territory, from whatsoever place arriving, shall not be subjected to other or higher duties or charges (including internal charges) than those to which the like goods the produce or manufacture of any other such state or of any other foreign country are subject.

Austria will not maintain or impose any prohibition or restriction on the importation into Austrian territory of any goods the produce or manufacture of the territories of any one of the Allied or Associated States, from whatsoever place arriv-

ing, which shall not equally extend to the importation of the like goods the produce or manufacture of any other such state or of any other foreign country.

ARTICLE 218

Austria further undertakes that, in the matter of the régime applicable on importation, no discrimination against the commerce of any of the Allied and Associated States as compared with any other of the said states or any other foreign country shall be made, even by indirect means, such as customs regulations or procedure, methods of verification or analysis, conditions of payment of duties, tariff classification or interpretation, or the operation of monopolies.

ARTICLE 219

In all that concerns exportation, Austria undertakes that goods, natural products or manufactured articles, exported from Austrian territory to the territories of any one of the Allied or Associated States, shall not be subjected to other or higher duties or charges (including internal charges) than those paid on the like goods exported to any other such state or to any other foreign country.

Austria will not maintain or impose any prohibition or restriction on the exportation of any goods sent from her territory to any one of the Allied or Associated States which shall not equally extend to the exportation of the like goods, natural products or manufactured articles, sent to any other such state or to any other foreign country.

ARTICLE 220

Every favor, immunity, or privilege in regard to the importation, exportation or transit of goods granted by Austria to any Allied or Associated State or to any other foreign country whatever shall simultaneously and unconditionally, without request and without compensation, be extended to all the Allied and Associated States.

News in Brief

RADIO TECHNICIANS and scientists are holding their second world congress at Copenhagen, May 20 to June 8. Twelve of the 137 delegates go from the United States. Thirty-two other nations

are represented. The question of radio disturbances is among the topics for discussion and comparison.

APRIL 14 was proclaimed Pan-American Day by President Hoover in accordance with a resolution passed by the governing board of the Pan American Union last spring. The date marks the anniversary of the adoption of the resolution creating the Union. Seventeen other American republics observed the day with appropriate programs. In this country concerts of Pan-American music were given and broadcast during the day and evening.

A GESTURE of friendliness in the shape of a Pan-American flower show occurred at Miami Beach, Florida, in March. With the cooperation of several organizations, including the Department of Agriculture, forest, field and garden flowers were brought by airplane from 22 countries in the western hemisphere, arriving fresh and beautiful for the exhibition.

A CZECHOSLOVAK Committee for Peace through the Maintenance of the Peace Treaties was recently constituted at Prague as a branch of the Anti-revision League.

THE FIRST World Congress on Social Economic Planning will convene in Amsterdam, Holland, August 23, for a week. The congress is called by the Council of the International Industrial Relations Association, whose headquarters are at the Hague. The Association is composed of four members from each of 29 nations, and includes representatives of management, labor, social science, and education. All participants in the congress will speak as individuals and not as official representatives.

THE NEW GERMAN "pocket battleship" was awaiting her launching on May 19. Chancellor Bruening was making the address preceding President Hindenberg's christening ceremony. Herr Bruening, half-way through a magnificent German sentence, with most of the verbs yet to come, mentioned the League of Nations. Instantly the ship started down the ways, six minutes ahead of schedule. The assembled throng of sixty thousand gazed in silent astonishment. "Deutschland be thy name!" called President Hindenburg to the swiftly receding bows. A few scattered "Hochs" and the singing of "Deutschland über Alles" completed the ceremonies. But the battleship of the new type had, like Charlemagne, crowned herself.

THE INTERNATIONAL ROAD TRAFFIC CONFERENCE which met in Geneva in March furthered the ease of foreign touring by its discussions and conventions. On several points it prepared draft conventions, pending action by the individual states.

THE SECOND All Nations Press Exhibition will take place this year in Tiflis, Republic of Georgia, Soviet Republics. The first exhibit was held in Cologne in 1928.

A PRESS CONGRESS OF THE WORLD will meet in regional session in Mexico City, August 10 to 14.

A MEMORIAL FUND for world peace is being raised in honor of Eva Clark Waid by the Council of Women for Home Missions with headquarters in New York City.

"HELLO, WASHINGTON," 'phoned a London schoolboy to a group of American youths in Washington on Good-Will Day, May 18th. The English boy then conveyed friendly messages which he had received for this purpose from all over the British Empire. The American schoolboy, spokesman for the group gathered in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee room, then transmitted, for American school children, good-will greetings which had traveled 10,000 miles between the 48 States of the Union, to be relayed to all parts of the British Empire.

JAPAN'S CONTRIBUTION of beauty to Washington in the form of a magnificent avenue of cherry trees along the Potomac has done much to stimulate in American hearts the love of flowers, so typical of the Japanese. Recently a similar gesture was made when the Japanese newspaper *Asahi* sent to Geneva fifty young cherry trees, which were planted there on March 6, in the grounds of the International Labor Office.

A CENSUS of Palestine, the first count in nine years, will be taken this year under the direction of the assistant chief secretary of the Palastine Government.

A NEW SCHOOL, called the Institute of Human Relations, was dedicated at Yale University on May 9. The Institute is devised to effect the co-operation of men whose work in existing departments of the university bears upon the knowledge of human nature and the social order.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH UNIVERSAL PEACE CONGRESS conducted by the Bureau International de la Paix, Geneva, is scheduled for July 5 to 10

in Brussels. Main topics for discussion will be disarmament and European Union.

HILMI, DEPOSED khedive of Egypt, has formally recognized King Fuad and the present régime. He was persuaded to do this for the good of Egypt. Hilmi ruled Egypt as khedive for some 22 years, but has been in exile for 17 years.

CLOSER INTELLECTUAL BONDS between Italy and the United States is the purpose of a committee lately formed of Italian and American publishers, men of letters and representatives of universities and learned societies. The committee will attend the congress of publishers of Italy next fall and formulate further plans to bring the literary and art interests of the two countries together.

JUDGE MINEITCIRO ADATSI of Japan is now President of the World Court. His previous work on the League of Nations Council and in the Assembly has been marked for its thoroughness and impartiality.

LABOR CASES in the World Court at the Hague will be heard by the American Judge, Frank B. Kellogg, who has been elected a member of that chamber. Mr. Kellogg is also a substitute member of the Chamber for Transit and Communications cases.

A NEW MOVING-PICTURE FILM was lately advertised by the League of Nations Information Bureau in New York City. It is put out to show how the League is building up understanding and social betterment in the Orient, in Europe and in other portions of the earth.

SEÑOR DE MADARIAGA, at times a sharp critic of the United States, and always a propagandist for the League of Nations, has been declared by this government acceptable as ambassador from republican Spain to the United States.

THREADS OF COMMUNICATION in China are at last spinning out in many directions. A motor highway between Suiyang and the far west, over which American-made buses are to run, will soon be open. The railway administration plans to extend and link together several railroads. The telegraph and internal waterway transit are the special study of M. Robert Haas, expert on communications, invited by China from the League of Nations. The air over China is already carrying an increasing stream of airplane traffic, and radio is rapidly weaving its invisible web of communications.

PORTO RICO is the country selected by the Committee on World Friendship this year. School children in America will send friendship chests to the children in Porto Rico.

A SPECIAL 2-cent postage stamp was placed on sale by the Post Office Department on May 21 to mark the fiftieth birthday of the American Red Cross. The anniversary was signalized by local and headquarters celebrations, radio broadcasts and other appropriate festivities.

A NEW CONCRETE highway between Mexico and the United States was opened with appropriate ceremonies on May 12. It runs from Laredo, Texas, to Mexico City.

MORE ADEQUATE FACILITIES for handling modern shipping will be provided within fifteen months at Havre, France. The harbor will be dredged and much enlarged so that the greatest liners can dock there. Shore accommodations will permit four complete boat trains, sheltered from the weather, to be loaded at once for Paris. A new basin will accommodate the smaller craft in the estuary of the Seine.

CALENDAR REFORM, another non-political subject calculated to improve social dealings, is engaging the attention of all nations. Of the 108 plans of reform received by the League of Nations committee on this subject, two were selected as feasible. One divides the year into thirteen months, with allowance for an extra day on leap year. The less radical plan—probably therefore easier to adopt—divides the year into quarters of equal length with months of thirty, thirty and thirty-one days, and two extra days, one inserted at the end of June, the other one after December. In both cases week days would fall on the same dates in successive years. The question will be discussed at the meeting of the League's Communications and Transit Commission in October.

ARGENTINA AND CHILE are now to share the benefits of the Guggenheim Memorial Foundation established in 1925 for foreign study and research. In the beginning only scholars from the United States benefited from the fund. Then funds were enlarged to set up a plan for Latin-American

exchange fellowships. Mexico was the first Latin-American country to be allowed fellows. Lately, four students have been appointed from Chile and three from Argentina to study in the United States.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND POLICIES are becoming increasingly a subject of study in colleges. Summer schools, especially, are this year offering courses on the policies of peace. Haverford offers, June 8 to 20, a two weeks' school for peace workers, which it calls the Institute of International Relations. Typical of another method of approach is the Institute of Public Affairs, June 28 to July 11, at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville. In addition to our own American problems the courses on Latin-American relations lead to a better understanding of our immediate neighbors.

A MOVEMENT FOR WORLD FRIENDSHIP based on child education, "understanding, tolerance and justice," is initiated this year by the United States Flag Association, of which Col. James A. Moss, U.S.A., retired, is president. Winners in a contest which has been carried on among school-children, will visit France and England this summer as "Envoys of Friendship." They will sail on June 17 from New York.

THE GENEVA WORLD CONFERENCE on the Limitation of the Manufacture of Narcotic Drugs, beginning May 27, will be attended by official representatives of the United States. They are John K. Caldwell, of the State Department, who has for four years participated in the League Opium Advisory Committee; Henry J. Anslinger, Commissioner of Narcotics; W. L. Treadway, of the public Health Service, and Sanborn Young, chairman of the California Narcotic Commission.

GOVERNMENTS THAT HAVE CHANGED from monarchies to republics since the World War are: Russia, March 12, 1917; Estonia, 1917; Germany, November 9, 1918; Austria, November 12, 1918; Czechoslovakia, November 14, 1918; Finland, July 17, 1919; Poland, November 9, 1918; Latvia, November 18, 1918; Lithuania, July 12, 1920; Turkey, October 29, 1923; Greece, April 13, 1924; Spain, April 14, 1931.

Book Reviews

THE FIGHT FOR PEACE, by *Devere Allen*. Pp. 716 and index. Macmillan, New York, 1931. Price, \$5.

THE HISTORY OF PEACE, by *A. C. F. Beales*. Pp. 344 and index. C. Bell & Sons, Ltd., London. 1931. Price, 16s, net.

Again the conflict between the two attitudes toward methods of securing world peace is illustrated; the first book above shows it in the radical absolutism of the author; the second in the facts of the story, itself, impartially told from an English point of view. Both Mr. Allen and Mr. Beales have patiently studied the history of the peace movement. The former, particularly well steeped in the literature of the American peace movement, is fired by crusading ardor for the non-resistant theory. Nevertheless his chapter on "Trial and Error," detailing faithfully the story of the peace workers, even including the Quaker Whittier, who, in the Civil War, were led to support war rather than slavery, is actually an object lesson showing the age-long dilemma of peace lovers when injustice has already precipitated war, a dilemma which might so easily happen again unless war can be prevented. But in Mr. Allen's thinking there is an absolutism in the ideal of peace before which all other loyalties should bow. He does, therefore, scant justice to the America Peace Society and its official actions during war times.

As in the days of Ladd, Beckwith and Burritt, however, the place where all peace workers can meet and labor together is in the construction of better international organs through which disputes can be solved in the elimination of causes of international friction and in fostering a spirit of interpretive and tolerant understanding, not only between nations, but also between peace workers.

Mr. Allen's final chapter sounds a moving call to all such cooperative labors. "Can the peace forces," he asks, "wrest from war the least excuse for being by grappling with the world as it is and shaping it to serve a more exacting race?"

Mr. Beales' rather ambitious title is modified in the subtitle to "a short account of the organized movement for international peace." Its atmosphere is academic and correspondingly dependable. He divides the theme, after an introductory survey of early peace plans, into the peace movement in its beginnings from 1815 to 1867; its expansion up to 1889; its status at the close of the World War and the international community since the war. He finds a change between conditions in the world of 1815 and 1915, making war less of an apparent necessity of late and tries to find how far "peace mongers" have been responsible for the change.

All the way through he differentiates between the philosophy of peace, with its "fanatical consistency" more widely accepted in the British, Quaker-led peace movement, and the practical schemes which were better developed, he finds, in America.

It will be interesting to members of this Society, founded by William Ladd, to notice Mr. Beales' final paragraph in which he speaks of enlightened self-interest as the one quality which men of all nations have now in common and sees ahead a world of "automatic checks and balances." "And this," he concludes, "is no more nor less than Ladd's Congress of Nations."

COLLOSSAL BLUNDERS OF THE WAR, by *William Seaver Woods*. Pp. 269 and index. Macmillan, New York, 1930. Price, \$2.50.

It is at least encouraging to see that in this intensive study of blunders America spreads over only 40 pages, as against 70 for England and France together, 74 for Germany and 80 for those blunders which drove Russia Bolshevik. The main error so far as the United States is concerned seems to have been lack of preparation for war, on the theory, of course, that it is better to be ready and not have to go, than to go and not be ready.

The facts which Mr. Woods utilizes so brilliantly are well documented. His lens becomes a burning glass. The indictments are no less than scorching. His hope is that similar blunders may be avoided in another war if they are pitilessly acknowledged now. In fact, he says that already certain mistakes of those years are corrected in our Army training.

Admitting that all Mr. Woods' indictments are true, logic would seem to lead still further and supplement the four parts here dealing with segments of the question to arrive at the most colossal of all blunders, that of the war itself. To the ordinary practical mind preventive measures might be pursued more profitably here than anywhere else. It is evident that the author, too, feels some such truth, for, in the case of Germany's failure to make pre-war peace plans possible, he says, "Even if we should grant the German claim the 'the war was forced upon us,' it still remains probable that with Germany's active aid, peace could have been forced upon Europe, and it is now clear as daylight that that was the only wise plan. The other was fatal."

Prevention of war is itself a task to engage all the wisdom and foresight of all the race. For when we have eliminated all those losses of life and property due to faulty generalship or insufficient training and supplies there still remain those terrific losses incident to any modern war, however expertly waged, losses which are, seemingly, just as unnecessary as any that are due to faulty technique.

POLITICAL HANDBOOK OF THE WORLD.—PARLIAMENTS, PARTIES AND PRESS, AS OF JANUARY, 1931, edited by *Walter H. Mallory*. Pp. 200. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1931. Price, \$2.50.

The Council on Foreign Relations, with offices at 45 East 65th Street, New York City, has been issuing these reference books annually since 1928. They are invaluable tools when used for the current year, or reliable history for the past season. The countries of the world are alphabetically arranged; their political officials-listed, party programs and leaders described.

A most valuable service to the reader of foreign news is the listing of foreign newspapers, with editors and party affiliations. The new volume has been enlarged to include the organization and personnel of the League of Nations.

THE AMERICAN YEAR BOOK, edited by *Albert Bushnell Hart* and *William Schuyler*. Pp. 866 and index. New York Times Co., New York, 1931. Price, \$7.50.

Again this useful compendium of American progress during the year just passed comes to our library. Under its competent editorship and with the cooperation of 47 learned societies, factual articles have been gathered covering the following fields: Historical; American Government; governmental functions; economics and business; social conditions and aims; science, principles and application, and the humanities.

Readers of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* will doubtless find particularly interesting Division II of the historical section, which deals with international situations affecting the United States. The intent in these essays—which treat of such things as the London Naval Conference, the United States and the World Court, Latin-American relations and so on—is to avoid argument and opinion, but to summarize the country's operations during the year. It is doubtless impossible for persons known to be strongly opposed to the stand of the government on any question, to maintain an attitude of strict impartiality. Authors here are no exception to the rule. Yet the purpose to be factual is quite clear and therefore the summaries are valuable, since all are by recognized experts in their several fields. Fortunately, the book is thoroughly indexed.

RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO, by *Charles S. Braden*. Pp. 338 and index. Duke University Press, N. C., 1930. Price \$3.50.

The Conquistadors who penetrated into the western world have long been known by their discoveries and conquests. Though most often pictured with the cross in one hand and the sword in the other, it is usually only the work of the sword that has been studied. Professor Braden of Northwestern University does in this book what has not been attempted before in English—he tells the story of the religious side of that conquest, at least as it applies to Mexico in the 16th century. It is an interesting work, done in the spirit of detached scholarship and enriched with numerous quotations from sources contemporary with the period.

The story begins with the state of religion in Spain at the time of the conquest and the religion in Mexico at the same time, having, as it did, evidences of some unknown earlier Christian influence. The personality of Cortez flashes out, human and dramatic at many points. His letter to his sovereign asking for missionaries contrasts the native priesthood, "honorable and chaste," with the vicious and profane prelates who might be sent from Spain. His request for really devoted missionaries was granted and the character of the monks who first came to Mexico was of a high type. Narrow and fanatical they

were by modern standards, but truly devoted and holy in life.

The conversion of the Indians, the developing of the native church, and its relations to civil affairs are pertinent to any study of the same questions today in Mexico. For the crown determinedly kept church control in the hands of foreign preists. This old policy is still a force in Mexican politics. It is also proved—and this makes the study peculiarly interesting for those interested in Mexico—that traces of ancient cults still survive there and thus make the Mexican church different from the same church in Europe today.

THE AMERICAN LEVIATHAN—THE REPUBLIC IN THE MACHINE AGE, by *Charles A. Beard* and *William Beard*. Pp. 798 and index. Macmillan Co., New York, 1930. Price \$5.

The Government of the United States and its operation is no longer a matter for purely legal or political study. The Constitution itself has had to spread its feathers enormously to accommodate the brood of chicks now under its wings. Dr. Beard the political scientist and his son, a technologist, have collaborated in this study of the influence of modern science and industry upon the Government of the United States.

We find this Government a highly complex structure today, perhaps fitly called a Leviathan, after Hobbes' "State." So many technical qualifications are now required for carrying on executive departments that the idea of direct Democratic control seems an anachronism. So much of foreign intercourse now depends upon knowledge of sociology, commerce, even upon advertising, that the common man can surely not expect to follow or dictate all the moves. In fact it becomes more and more evident that all the public can do is to name the ends to be attained, and not the methods of reaching them.

It is a pragmatic study, this by the Beards, father and son. It begins with the Constitution itself, and then, pursuing the rapid factual-summary method, goes on to show how the Government operates, what functions have been added to it with the rapid growth of complicated industrialism.

They show not only the original work of the executive departments, but how the Government has affected transportation, business, labor and immigration, agriculture, reclamation, public welfare, relations with our own States and with foreign states. They appraise, without bias, the war machine in peace time and in war time, and the present trend toward peace as it affects the Government.

An unusual feature of the book is a list for each chapter, of illustrative moving pictures, as well as the more usual bibliography.

Such a book as this finds itself in perfect accord with the present development in technology, with the present tendency to base all thought upon evidence, and all hope for the future of the world upon economics. It gives, too, a comprehensive picture of this vast Government machine, busy at its work with the new tools and in the new mode.

FACING THE ISSUE SQUARELY, by *Robert C. Hall*. Pp. 190. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1930. Price \$1.75.

The subtitle of this book, "A Plea for the Supremacy of Law Over Violence," is most inviting. You settle down for a good read. How smoothly everything is reduced to simple formulas! Why have we made such a to-do over world peace and its difficulties? It looks so easy as to be unavoidable by common-sense peoples. But somehow it is too easy. You begin to suspect that some facts exist which have not been counted. Can Mr. Hall have made a thorough study of the reasons for things? At last you come upon it. International force to be used against nations, evoked by the worn analogy of governments and individual law-breakers. The author seemingly knows only some of the reasons why America has held together. After all, there is sense as well as authority in "holding fast to that which is good." Meanwhile, of course, and except in this one field of promised international force, America has no fear of foreign entanglements. She is already busy along thousands of lines.

REALISM IN ROMANTIC JAPAN, by *Miriam Beard*. Pp. 521. Macmillan, New York, 1931. Price, \$5.

Strange to the imagination is the juxtaposition of lotus and dynamo. Yet this is modern Japan. And in her book *Miriam Beard* helps us sense the inner soul of an ancient culture combining today with the new. Will Japan, mayhap, adopt industrial modernism without losing her sense of beauty, balance and simplicity? Almost we are persuaded to believe it.

We see the Japanese as colorful and ceremonious; group-minded, withal, and as hero-worshipping as ourselves. We see into merchants' villas and peasants' or laborers' huts, finding neither overornamentation in the one nor tawdry ugliness in the other. Direct simplicity, a touch of grace characterizes both. Persons typical of many classes appear; officials, a Buddhist abbott, geisha girls, coolies, peasants, water gypsies, merchants, Samurai—all are understandingly interpreted for the foreigner.

More and more are Japanese men, says Mrs. Beard, like their western brethren, plunging into business and leaving more of the gentler arts in the hands of their wives. Therefore, consciously or unconsciously, the housewife is modifying standards of all kinds. "So when we say Japan must guard its ancient taste; or Japan must progress in living conditions, in reality we mean this demure being, whose sleeves bulge with purchases, must do these things."

It is perhaps in her delineations of the rulers of Japan that the author is most entertaining. The cheery, rowdy side of Japanese nature displays itself in many incidents in and out of the Diet. "As a matter of fact," says the author, "the Japanese Government is a chip off the same block as other governments. It is, after all, not

really a machine. It is a contraption." And the men who run this contraption have, as elsewhere, a large mixture of aristocrat and plebian. With a different cultural background, they have many of the same traits as officials the world around.

All in all, one leaves this interpretation of cities and byways, temples and homes, gardens, customs, newspapers and industries, and above all, of types and personalities, with a feeling that Japan is still unique, but that here in the East one may recognize the oneness of the "spinning world upon which he rides—a world that defies the bookish division into hemispheres." Further, one wishes to share somewhat the grace of the old civilization even while spreading the utilities of the new.

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY OF TANGIER, by *Graham H. Stuart*. Pp. 316, including appendixes and index. Stanford University Press. Price, \$4. (Reviewed by Jackson H. Ralston.)

This book furnishes, it is not too much to say, the only complete up-to-date review of the political situation of one of the two international cities of the world, the other city being Shanghai.

In succession the author presents and discusses the city of Tangier, historically; its international problems; international rivalries in Morocco; internationalization of Tangier; Tangier and the World War; the statute of 1923 governing Tangier; the revised statute of 1928; Tangier's international government; its administration; its courts and its codes, with the conclusions of the author. An extended bibliography is furnished, with appendixes including and relating to the statute of 1928.

Professor Stuart very skilfully and completely develops the history and government of one of the most interesting jurisdictions in the world. He traces the growth of its international government from minor beginnings relating to health regulations and the establishment of an internationally managed lighthouse at Cape Spartel to an elaborate government in which several foreign nations and representatives of the local Mohammedan and Jewish populations take part. The United States can avail itself of a right to join, as indeed it does contribute to maintain the Cape Spartel lighthouse, but so far has preferred not to do so.

The weakness of the government seems to Professor Stuart to lie in the fact that the local population, while in a manner represented, can take no part whatsoever in choosing its rulers. Nevertheless we are led to believe that, laying aside what one may call the great political "overhead," the affairs of Tangier are fairly well conducted.

The significant thing about it all is that representatives of nations as far apart as France, Spain, Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Portugal (with the assistance of Mohammedans and Jews), can work with an eye single to the good of a city in which their international interests are largely lacking.

Professor Stuart has done a good piece of work and one in the interest of international peace and understanding.

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

POLICY

The development of justice between States through "pacific means" called for in the Kellogg Pact, by the extension of agencies suggested by the following outline:

Laws

Rights

Duties

Contracts

Treaties,

etc.

Judicial Processes

Arbitration

Courts

Agencies of Cooperation

League of Nations

Interparliamentary Union

Pan American Union

Conferences, etc.

Officials

Diplomacy

Direct Negotiation

Conciliation

Mediation

Special Commissions

Commercial Practices, etc.

Public Opinion

Facts

Principles

Credit

Honor

Good Faith,

etc.

PROGRAM

The development of a service through agencies indicated in outline by the following

SCHEDULE

Research

Education

Surveys

Six Commissions

Referenda Information Service

Conferences

Pacific Means

Causes of War

Peace Movement

International

Law

Economics, etc.

Industry

Education

Social Work

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American Peace Society

Its Beginnings

At a meeting of the Maine Peace Society at Minot, February 10, 1826, a motion was carried to form a national peace society. Minot was the home of William Ladd. The first constitution for a national peace society was drawn by this illustrious man, at the time corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society. The constitution was provisionally adopted with alterations, February 18, 1828; but the society was finally and officially organized, through the influence of Mr. Ladd and with the aid of David Low Dodge, in New York City, May 8, 1828. Mr. Dodge wrote, in the minutes of the New York Peace Society: "The New York Peace Society resolved to be merged in the American Peace Society . . . which, in fact, was a dissolution of the old New York Peace Society, formed 16 August, 1815, and the American, May, 1828, was substituted in its place."

Its Purpose

The purpose of the American Peace Society shall be to promote permanent international peace through justice; and to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world.

—*Constitution of the
American Peace Society
Article II.*

ADVOCATE OF

PEACE

THROUGH JUSTICE



GERMAN TROUBLES

THE MORATORIUM DOCUMENTS

ESTIMATING THE FRENCH REACTION

OUR FEELING OF RESPONSIBILITY

PACIFIC SETTLEMENTS IN SOUTH AMERICA

THE WASHINGTON BICENTENNIAL

ONE-HUNDRED-THIRD BIRTHDAY

OF

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ADVOCATE OF PEACE

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Editor

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ADVOCATE OF PEACE

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Our American Perspective

WORLD peace can be achieved by no one nation, not even by the United States. It is an international problem. It is but natural, therefore, that thoughtful people among us should frequently wonder how far we of the United States are responsible when international difficulties arise in other parts of the world. They soon learn that the weathervane of peace is never fixed for long. In the dispute now going on between England and India, our Government has not thought it wise to interfere directly or indirectly. Most of us would agree, probably, that the attitude of our Government toward that issue has been wise. We joined other nations to fight Germany only fourteen years ago, and whatever we may think now, we of America thought at the time that that was just. Now we have just been trying to straighten out financial difficulties in Germany. Our Government has sat down with representatives of other Governments in Paris and in London quite as if we never heard of Jefferson's advice to avoid foreign entanglements. In the pursuit of our national interests, we are rarely long on a straight course.

There are many troublesome issues in Europe over which some of us find it difficult not to get disturbed. There are, for example, groups among us who feel keenly the will to a greater freedom in Macedonia, a question threatening the peaceful relations between Bulgaria and Jugo-Slavia, two nations friendly to the United States. Two rather sharply defined groups in our coun-

try are at loggerheads over the role of Mussolini in Italy and elsewhere. While there seems to be no clearly defined opinion in America as to Mr. Briand's plan for a Federation of Europe, opinions there are. There was a time when our Government felt a very deep interest in the development of democratic forms of government elsewhere, in Greece, in Hungary, in Prussia, in France, especially in South America. There are dictators today in Italy, in Poland, in Jugo-Slavia, in Russia, in various lands throughout Africa, and in a lesser degree in other sections of the world; yet, for some reason, our passion for freedom seems to remain untouched. And now, for some reason, Mr. Hoover's proposal of June 20, proposing the postponement during one year of all payments on international debts aroused us more than any other event since the Armistice of November 18, 1918. An economic situation facing the world may blind us for a time to other dangers threatening the peace among nations; but it will not be for long.

There are other and more difficult problems. There is the specially troublesome problem in Europe, involving the territory about the size of our State of New Hampshire, called the Polish Corridor. That stretch of territory follows in a general way the course of the river Vistula, from the former Polish boundary through West Prussia to the Baltic. Here is an issue, indeed! That Corridor was established in conformity with Mr. Wilson's Fourteen Points by the Treaty of Versailles, for the purpose of

giving to the newly created Poland an outlet to the sea. It was formerly an integral part of the German territory known as West Prussia. The port for that section has been for centuries the ancient West Prussian city of Danzig. Historically, the Corridor territory belonged to the Germans for over a century, following the year 1300; then to Poland for over three hundred years; again to Germany from 1771 to 1919, when it was turned back to Poland. Since 1919, when there were over a million Germans in that section, many have left; until now there are approximately only one hundred thousand Germans throughout the section known as the Corridor. And yet, throughout the region, racial and religious antagonisms are bitter. Poland insists that she must retain the Corridor as her own territorial approach to the sea. Germany insists, on the other hand, that she should have a territorial right of way to her own East Prussia. Thus, as will appear from the accompanying map, the two countries are faced with what appears to be an irreconcilable conflict of interests. Danzig is thoroughly German. It is at the mouth of the Vistula. As has been pointed out, it is to the Vistula what New Orleans is to the Mississippi. The people of Danzig, a Free City under the Aegis of the League of Nations, wish to retain their entity as a city of Germans. Poland insists that her port on the Baltic must be Polish. Unable thus far to win the political allegiance of Danzig, Poland is building a port of her own on the site of the little fishing village a dozen miles west of Danzig, a port now known as Gdynia, and connecting it, furthermore, to the hinterland by a new railroad. This new port has already developed within the last five years from a population of about 300 to 45,000. Danzig is naturally greatly disturbed, for the question facing her is, "Shall we remain German and lose our trade, or lose our nationality and keep our business?" Here is a situa-

tion thought by many careful observers to be more threatening than any other to the peace of Europe; more threatening than tariffs, than armaments, than Russia, than debts.

Yet, the attention of our people seems to be wholly concentrated upon debts. Those for the moment seem to be our only international question, in spite of the fact that they are but factors in a much larger problem.

Germany's Cause for Anxiety

BUT there is a world issue destined to be more bitterly fought over than tariffs, than armaments, than Russia, than debts, than the Corridor. It is not, the estrangement between France and the rest of the world, the League of Nations, the World Court, the differences between the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Pact of Paris, the Balkans, the economic depression. None need to belittle the importance of any of these. Indeed, they are not entirely separate problems; for there are interrelations that tie them more or less into one common world situation, complicated as it is disturbing.

The real issue in Europe, however, of which all these are but parts, is the treaty signed at Versailles on the twenty-eighth of June, 1919. Look at the map and see what Germany asks.

The Treaty of Versailles contains fifteen parts, the first of which is known as the Covenant of the League of Nations. In spite of that Covenant, framed to "promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security," nearly every nation in Europe feels less secure today than in 1913. Notwithstanding the recognition in Article 8 of the Covenant that "the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the low-



New York Times

Some of Germany's Troubles

est point consistent with the national safety," there are more men under arms in Europe than ever before. True, the economic situation in all European lands, France included, is dire; but that is only an expression of other and disquieting causes. The Paris Pact, for example, is quite out of step with the Covenant, for there are many treaties now in force which provide, under given circumstances, for the waging of war, as in the case of the Little Entente, the military alliances, the Treaties of Locarno, even the Covenant of the League of Nations itself. Such arrangements may maintain an armistice; they cannot be counted as permanent contributions to the cause of peace between nations.

Under one section of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany lost 13 per cent of her

former territory. Under Part 8, Section I, keystone of the treaty, all responsibility for the World War is laid upon Germany. Under Part 5, Germany undertook to observe the treaty "in order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations." There has been no such general limitation of armaments. Because of the treaty, Germany lost nearly 30,000 square miles of her territory, 5,606 square miles in Alsace-Lorraine, with a population of 1,700,000, to France; 16,378 square miles in the Corridor, with a population of 2,934,000, to Poland; 1,441 square miles in Upper Silesia, with a population of 1,124,000, to Poland, and 122 square miles, with a population of 48,000, to Czechoslovakia; 726 square miles in the Saar Basin, with a

population of 793,000, to the League of Nations; 739 square miles of West Prussia, with a population of 330,000, to the Danzig Free State; 1,542 square miles of North Schleswig, with a population of 166,000, to Denmark; 1,026 square miles of the Memel District, with a population of 145,000, to Lithuania; 400 square miles of Eupen-Malmédy, with a population of 60,000, to Belgium.

While Germany recognizes that she is a defeated nation, there is an outspoken demand throughout the land for a new deal. Germany may be expected to demand further revisions of the payments under the Treaty of Versailles as modified by the Dawes Plan, later by the Young Plan, and now by the Hoover proposal; but we may expect also an increasing demand for the rearrangement of her eastern frontiers both along the Corridor and Upper Silesia; the return of the Saar; the recovery of Danzig; union with Austria, and either the increase of her military force or the decrease of the military strength of others, especially France and Poland.

Of course Germany is not the only interested party. Under the general terms of the Treaty of Versailles and of the supplementary Treaty of St. Germain of 1919, Austrian territory, known as the South Tyrol with its 250,230 Germans, Trieste, Istria, Zara, and certain islands of the sea, have all been turned over to Italy; Galicia has been given to Poland; Bohemia, Moravia and part of Silesia, with over three million Germans, have been given to Czechoslovakia; Carniola, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina have been handed over to Yugoslavia, and Bukowina to Rumania. Under the terms of this treaty, also, and of the supplementary Treaty of Neuilly, of 1919, Bulgaria lost 8 per cent of her territory.

Under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles and the later treaty known as the Treaty of Trianon of 1920, Hungary is

today less than one-third her former size. Hungary has lost over three million Hungarians; one-half million to Yugoslavia; three-quarters of a million to Czechoslovakia; 1,700,000 through Transylvania to Rumania, and 65,000 to Austria. Of her former total population, three and one-half million have gone to Czechoslovakia and over four million to Yugoslavia and Rumania. Of the twenty million in erstwhile Greater Hungary, thirteen and one-half million are gone. It is not without interest, furthermore, to note that the Hungarian army is now 35,000; the Czechoslovakian army, 160,000; the Rumanian, 232,000, and the Yugoslavian, 150,000 men. The proud Magyars of a thousand years are existing under the regency of Admiral Horthy, the control of Count Bethlen, and complaining the while that they are denied the right of self-determination. They resent their lot, especially because, as they claim, Hungary was in no sense guilty of starting the war; indeed, as they insist, Count Tisza—their only representative at the conference which brought Hungary into the conflict—flatly objected to the war.

Thus it will be seen, the Treaty of Versailles bristles with difficulties. Shall Prussia be allowed to take over Polish Pomerania in her efforts to get a territorial link with East Prussia? Is Alsace-Lorraine to be left alone? Shall Austria regain the Adige from Italy? Shall Hungary be allowed to take back Transylvania? Must England be made to get out of Palestine and of the valleys of the Euphrates and the Tigris? Has the time come for France, Belgium and Italy to be denied further funds for reparations throughout the areas devastated by German armies?

Thus the basic issue in Europe is, Shall the Treaty of Versailles and the supplementary treaties of St. Germain, of Neuilly, and of Trianon, be revised?

There is a powerful group of states, each pleading for revision. These states are

Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, all seemingly supported by Italy. The states opposed to revision are France, Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania, the last three of which compose the rather formidable Little Entente. The revisionists not only complain of the injustices of the treaties; they point out that, following 1815, peace was maintained throughout Europe by the gradual modification of the Treaty of Vienna, and that, therefore, from now on, peace will have to be maintained by the gradual modification of the Treaty of Versailles. The anti-revisionists, on the other hand, take the ground that the treaty cannot be revised because history has shown that whenever "Germany is given an inch she will take an ell." All the beneficiaries of the Treaty of Versailles realize that if Germany is found guiltless of the war, her guilt being firmly established in the Treaty of Versailles, the whole fabric of the treaties will break down. That would spell for Europe nothing but anarchy.

So there it remains, the issue of issues in Europe. Over it hover all the angers and bitternesses associated with the lost German colonies, the Alto Adige, the Polish Corridor, Gdynia and Danzig, war guilt, debts, and the rest. Is the Treaty of Versailles to be changed? That is the issue.

When it is charged that the treaty is humiliating to Germany, to Austria, to Hungary, it is replied that the Treaty of 1815 and the Treaty of 1871 were humiliating to France; the Treaty of 1866 was humiliating to regal Austria; the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, of 1917, was humiliating to Poland. To the agitating minorities calling for revision of the treaties, it is pointed out that while there were twenty million discontented minorities in Europe before the Treaty of Versailles, there are now less than one hundred million of these disturbing portions of the populations.

Shall the treaty be changed? It has been changed. Those portions relating to the trial of the Kaiser, to the assessment of reparations, the evacuation of the Rhineland, have been changed. It will be impossible to stop modifications for the future. Change is the law of life. As Emerson points out in his essay on "Compensation": "The changes which break up at short intervals the prosperity of men are advertisements of a nature whose law is growth." So the question is not, after all, Shall the Treaty of Versailles be changed? The question is, How much further shall it be changed? That, in our judgment, is the most serious political question facing the world. Germany may be counted on to see that the question is not forgotten.

An Estimate of the French Position

THE writer of these lines has been in France since the war many times. He has many highly valued acquaintances among the French people. He dares to set forth, therefore, what he believes to be a considerable public opinion in that land, about the Hoover moratorium and the present financial crisis in Europe.

There is a sizeable belief in France that we are trying to play horse with her, our translation of "*L'Amerique se fiche de nous.*" French people understand that President Hoover's activities may well work to the advantage of Germany; but many Frenchmen fail to see how they will be of help to France. The French see themselves as more heavily taxed than any other people. They live only by the strictest economy, giving up almost all luxuries and even comforts. Therefore, why, they ask, should they pay for Germany's follies? Why shouldn't other nations help Germany in proportion to their actual resources? When they are charged that the French are courting bankruptcy for their enemies, they

reply that the interests of their own people must come first, especially just now when firms are running at a loss, cost of living climbing, social discontent following in the wake of increasing unemployment. There is a feeling throughout France that Mr. Hoover has been guilty of a gross lack of tact in the way he launched his proposal, and the French are not slow to call attention to the fact that France is not accustomed to swallow such proceedings unquestioningly, especially when she is expected to foot the bill. It is not generally believed in France that the German people are suffering as they would have the world believe; they just haven't retrenched as much as the French. They point out that in 1926, France, faced by a similar situation, tightened her belt and saved herself. It is natural for the French to believe, therefore, that the Germans should first help themselves. "Why should we be expected to mend all the breakage of our enemies?" they ask.

For France to lose \$89,150,000 at this time, as provided in the Hoover plans, is serious. Life is becoming increasingly difficult in France. Industries are closing. Bread, which was twenty centimes before the War, is now two francs and forty centimes; sugar has increased from sixty centimes to four francs, butter from one franc sixty centimes to fourteen francs. Taxes are slowly stifling everyone. In spite of the fact that France has more gold than any other country except the United States, the banks are slow to lend it because of the unsettled conditions. There is a growing bitterness in the nation. The bourgeoisie, gradually being crushed out, incriminates Briand and his politics, charging that he is always making concessions to foreign states, betraying his own nation the while. The lower classes are beginning to fear for their daily bread, in consequence of which they accuse the whole of the social machine, and because of the many fears and

disillusions, communism is slowly rising. Where it will all end, no one claims to know; but there is a fear of the worst. An informed correspondent writes: "There is a sort of growling in the crowd everywhere; every man looks upon his neighbor as a possible enemy." Even Paris is changing. There are fewer flowers. The number of automobiles has been reduced by a third. The big hotels are practically empty; the shops also. Everybody is reducing expenses to the bone. The average shareholder has lost about two-thirds of his fortune. The new fashions allow the reshaping of last year's dresses and hats. The new novels appear in cheap editions. Second-hand cars are the vogue. There is a rush on small flats, one room and a kitchen, which are rare and dear; the big flats remain empty. The Colonial Exhibition is very well organized, but it will not be a success financially. As one Frenchman puts it: "Few people come except Germans, who seem to be able to travel for pleasure. It all gives one a queer, creepy feeling." It appears that only two-thirds of last year's quantity of corn land has been tilled this summer, which is looked upon as a specially ominous sign.

The French remember. They have concrete reasons for remembering. They consider it rather strange that other peoples forget so easily that the world was happy enough before Germany's "unqualifiable aggression." The French are always conscious that there can be no distress in Germany comparable to the four years of torture in the devastated and occupied regions of France. Most of us will surely have to admit that.

In a recent French publication there is a cartoon representing President Hoover as nurse, speaking to Marianne. The nurse says: "My girl, you must give to little Willy all those biscuits you have put by, for he has thrown his in the mud and has none left, you see." Marianne replies:

"Why don't you give him some out of your big box?" Of course that is unjust to the United States, who stands to lose \$246,000,000 the first year; and to Belgium, particularly, among the rest.

The French are realists. They know all about the military activities in Germany, the "Deutschland," the "*Casques d'acier*." They are quite willing to help people who acknowledge their mistakes; but they consider Germany's cocksureness and insolence as really too much. They see "America, blind as always," fully unaware that she is encouraging Germany to insolence toward France. A correspondent writes: "Of course we must help; but why should we be expected to do more than anyone else just because we have worked, saved, and economized more?" Many of the French look upon Germany's attitude toward France as well nigh intolerable. Germany seems to say: "Help us, dog, you can't do otherwise, for the rest of the world would break you; we don't have to have any gratefulness toward you, for you can't struggle against our friends America and England." These French realists look upon the Hoover proposition as dictated solely for the protection of American funds in Germany. They recognize that they will be obliged to yield and to take up once more the load of the wide world; but that it will all go to prove that, "the Anglo-Saxon American race is, in its heart, the worst enemy of France." "Hoover? Wilson! Has President Hoover any right to assume responsibilities? Don't forget that already, and not so long ago, the United States failed to ratify President Wilson's engagements." As these Frenchmen see the situation, the more they give, the more there is expected; and that so long as the situation is grave, no one will help them if they come to grief.

And all this is heaped upon France, so they believe, to enable Germany to begin another war. While all the nations are interwoven, the failure of one causing the

failure in whole or in part of the others, the French, as they see it, must now give up part of their substance to those who have squandered wilfully their own, a situation applying to the whole just now as well as to France. But France firmly believes that Germany plans to regain her losses if need be by war.

But the feeling in France runs deeper still. "A thief is a thief; a murderer is a murderer, and no after misfortune can clean either of his stains." That is the feeling of many Frenchmen. As these Frenchmen see it, therefore, President Hoover had no right to launch his thunderbolt without preliminary conversations with France, for it was France who had to take up the heaviest load. One leading Frenchman describes to us the Hoover proposition as "the impulsive gesture of an untrained and an uneducated child."

Thus the French position may be summarized as follows: No one in France is pleased. Everyone is hurt by the way the proposition was launched. The French fear that they will not be able to weather the storm. The people, already taxed to the very limit, wonder how they will manage with this additional burden. The French do not trust Germany, and they are exasperated by her debtor insolence. A few recognize the necessity of helping the Reich; but they look upon the necessity as smelling very bad. It is not pleasant to think of France as doing something against her will because of pressure from the United States, or because they consider it the lesser of two evils. It is not comfortable to contemplate the French Government, severely shaken, charged with weakness, accused of anti-patriot leanings. Thoughtful Frenchmen seem to distrust Germany today quite as if the War were not yet over. But there is something deeper still in the French mind at this time. It seems to say, "France finds it easier to divide her last crust of bread with an enemy than to accept insults, how-

ever hidden; and she finds it difficult to ignore a slight from an erstwhile friend." These are some of the things that should sink in, as we in America contemplate trying to straighten out the affairs of Europe. No American will view with complacency the possibility of the alienation of France, our first and only ally.

American Responsibility

WITH a wisdom not infrequent in the history of our country, we refused to be a party to the Treaty of Versailles, or to any of its supplementary treaties. We are happily in position, therefore, to be friends to all parties to any European dispute, be it over debts or whatsoever. We owe it to men in our Congress that we are in this detached, yet friendly position.

And now that the Congress is not in session, it would not be unfitting to utter a word of truth about that body. In the first place, carking criticisms against our United States in general, and of our Congress in particular, recurrently rampant throughout our country, are not the most hopeful ways for improving our foreign policy or for advancing the cause of peace between nations. Recent press announcements quote a distinguished speaker as charging that, "We are the one country in the world, except Mexico, Russia and Turkey, which insists that there be no orderly machinery for the settlement of international differences," and that "our country is practicing international anarchy in insisting on an isolation that requires fleets and armaments to maintain." Again, according to the press, another charges our Senators with opinions that "it would be a slur upon the intelligence of childhood to describe as infantile." Of course that kind of talk is simply hitting below the belt. None of these criticisms is just. Why make it?

Evidently, we need to remind ourselves that our American achievements in foreign

policy are dependent upon the President of the United States, upon the advice and consent of the Senate, and, where money is involved, upon the approval of the House of Representatives. There is no other way, therefore, to advance the agencies of peaceful settlement between nations than by the initiative of the President with the cooperation of the Congress. Therefore, fellow peace-workers, why not try for a while working with the Congress?

Congressmen are not a bad lot. It has been the fortune of the writer of these lines to live in the city of Washington for nearly twenty years. He is not only Secretary of the American Peace Society; for the last dozen years he has been the Executive Secretary of the American Group of the Inter-parliamentary Union. As such he has had to work with not a few members of the Congress, to associate with them in America, aboard ships, in conferences in foreign lands, often in rather intimate ways. He can't forget that those 96 men have become Senators, that those 431 men and women have become Representatives, because they have braved public examination—the most difficult of all examinations—faced it and "passed." Those people on Capitol Hill are our 531 chosen ones, not figuratively but actually. As a whole they are able and high-minded men and women. They are industrious and patriotic men and women. There is no "graft" in the United States Congress. There is no "racketeering" in our National Government. No "gangster" has his hand on the purse of Uncle Sam. No "crook" can get started up there, for every one of those persons is watched by 530 others. They want to do the right thing, for votes' sake if for no other reason. What they crave is not mere blasts of opinion, but statements of the facts. They are more anxious to do what is right than we are to have them, for upon them rests the responsibility for the outcome of what they do. These things should be said, for they are

very substantially true. They are also germane, especially when we recall that whatever we do to help Europe will have to be done by the President with the advice and consent of these members of our Congress.

Congressmen are not unaware of America's achievements in government, especially since the second week of May, 1787. They know that those achievements are the marvel and in certain respects the hope of the world. They know that the greatest peace conference of all time, measured by results, was the Federal Convention of 1787, presided over by George Washington, of Virginia, and attended by over fifty of the founders of this Republic. They know that those founders faced and solved the problems of the relations between large and small States, of the settlement of judicial and political controversies, of the coercion of States, and of setting up a Government of laws and not of men.

Fortunately, Congressmen are familiar with the experience that teaches America the folly of taking part politically in broils such as are now disturbing the equanimity of Europe. They know that if we become too intimately associated with Europe politically we shall find ourselves, from time to time, obliged to take sides, possibly in some major dispute, with the result that we shall surely find ourselves alienating peoples whose friendship we crave, whittling off now here now there such influence as we might otherwise have. By such a course we can arouse only embarrassing enmities. That is why President Hoover found it necessary recently to caution our representatives in Europe to avoid all discussion of political questions facing our European brethren.

The greatest peace society in America—with no blushing apologies to the American Peace Society, now 103 years old—is our Government itself, with its Executive Committee known as our Department of State.

The Government is a peace society that works at the job, twenty-four hours a day, with every government around the world—a peace society that settles every day many a dispute, and, while we sleep, actually keeps us out of war. After a good many years of tinkering at this peace business, we are convinced that the strategy for those concerned to get results on any international plane is to kick less and help more the men whom we have placed in positions of trial and responsibility. The policy of trying to get them to do our will by first calling them bad names is poor technique, to say the least.

We may well cling to our basic American principles of law and justice for ourselves and for all men. We should, of course, leave no stone unturned to find additional pacific means for the settlement of international disputes. We must define and advertise as best we may the rights and duties of states.

Our attitude toward the situation in Europe, is to stand by the principles of morality and justice as best we can. We must speak carefully when asked for our opinions about the specific issues left over by the Treaty of Versailles. That treaty, as admitted by M. Poincaré, rests upon the fundamental thesis that Germany was guilty for starting the war. If we were to take the position that Germany was not guilty, we would alienate France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Italy. If we were to agree that Germany was guilty, we would alienate Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria. It would serve no righteous purpose by taking sides on such a controversial question to alienate either of these groups. When it is recalled that the Treaty of Versailles is being sustained by force; that the League of Nations is the backbone of French policy, that knowing this, both Germany and Italy threaten from time to time to withdraw; that the French insistence upon security is

based upon her will to protect herself against the movement for revenge not altogether absent from German politics; recalling these facts, it is but natural that the United States should speak of these matters only in terms of principles—principles of international morality, of law, of justice—and of the necessary machinery for the creation and protection of these. There, in all political questions affecting European relations, our responsibility appears to end.

The American Peace Society

EVEN a cursory view of international relations convinces one of the truth stated by Charles Evans Hughes before the American Society of International Law, in April, 1929, when he said, "The building of the institutions of peace is the most distinctive enterprise of our time." It is for the rearing of such "institutions" that the American Peace Society exists. Elsewhere in these columns is the Annual Report of the Society's Board of Directors, a report that is worth more than a passing notice.

From this report, it is apparent that the Society wishes to strengthen all of its Departments: its Department of Business; its Circulation Department; its publications, including this magazine; its Library; its financial resources. There are some in the Society who think that the name of this magazine, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, should be changed, and it is suggested by some that a referendum vote be taken among the members of the Society as to whether or not this should be done. Some suggest that another referendum vote should be taken among the members of the Society on the question, How should the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* be changed in form and content to the advantage of the Society's aims? Members of the Society are giving no little attention to the general problem of selecting

timely questions affecting war and peace, questions considered suitable for special study and report at this time. The Society may be too vague as to the relations that should be established between it and its members, and between it and kindred organizations. Friends of the Society will do well to study its aims, its methods, its results, with the view of enriching all its activities.

True, the American Peace Society is a nonpartisan, nonsectarian, nonprofit corporation, operating under the laws of the State of Massachusetts. It sets for itself the task of *research* and *education* in the realm of international relations, perhaps the most fateful of all fields of human endeavor. Persons interested to advance the *processes of right* in the behavior of nations will naturally wish to support the American Peace Society. If they believe in the importance of *surveys*, of *study commissions*, of *referenda*, of establishing and enlarging an effective *information service*, the American Peace Society is their opportunity. The Society's magazine, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, published regularly since 1828, awaits the improvements and extensions found to be necessary by qualified expert opinion. If one believes in frequent *conferences* of our ablest leaders in thought and action, in *justice* between nations, in going about the business with the friendliest *cooperation of governments*, one would naturally wish to associate oneself with this altogether worthy organization with its honored past, its long view for the future, its self-explanatory plan for teamwork, its natural appeal to men of affairs. If, with George Washington, one believes that "Truth will ultimately prevail where there is pains taken to bring it to light," one will find a congenial body of fellow-workers within the folds of the American Peace Society.

The Society is bent on strengthening the scientific quality of its work. An acceptable service to world peace is its goal. The ques-

tion is not, What is the Society doing? The question is not, What is the Society planning to do? The question now is, To what can the Society point as something it has done? The future reputation of the Society will be measured by the number of projects it worthily accomplishes. Because of the vastness of the field, these projects can never be both thorough and many. To be worth while, the work will have to be limited; and the work, whatever it is, will have to be truly international and timely. The future of the American Peace Society hangs on its services to world peace. These services will be enriched by relating more closely the art and science of research to the business of international conduct, allying education and foreign behaviour, making the facts familiar, as far as possible, to the general public. It is not an easy business. There are many obstacles to overcome, inertia, traditionalism, conflicts of interests, some selfishness, and no little ignorance. The Society's problem is to disarm such enemies by the power of truth, clearly and fearlessly stated.

The work of the American Peace Society, therefore, must be aided by a technical staff of efficient and scientific persons, agreeably organized and wholly responsible to the Board of Directors; a competent staff with no political axes to grind, a staff distinguished by ability and integrity, capable of collaborative effort in behalf of international plans for the guidance of voluntary action.

When Mr. Hughes said that "The building of the institutions of peace is the most distinctive enterprise of our time," he went on to say: "We are still in the preliminary stages, engaged in the study of architectural drawings and blueprints, with much disagreement. . . . We shall have to build and rebuild and then mayhap build again, but *the constructive processes must go on.*" (The italics are ours.) It is in that spirit that the American Peace Society will have to go about the task of improving its service.

The Classics in France

A STUDY of the classics, especially of Latin and Greek, has been going downhill in America, indeed in other parts of the world. They still have a friendly backing, however, in France. The French Senate has recently insisted that professors of languages must be familiar with the classics; and Monsieur L. Blum, Minister of Public Instruction, is taking the steps necessary to demand of the teachers of modern languages, of history and of philosophy, that they know Greek, Latin and French humanities.

M. Blum takes up the cudgel for the classics in an article appearing recently under the title, "*Les Langues Vivantes et l'Education Secondaire,*" in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. He finds that the decline of interest in the classics goes back to 1841; but, he argues that, "We give our children the dead languages to teach them to think, the living languages to teach them to talk." The Minister favors one modern language in the curriculum; but he does not favor substituting a second for one of the classics. He is of the opinion that the modern "direct method" of teaching languages is futile, charging that it "cultivates the young minds to inexactitude, hit-or-miss methods, scorn of precise thinking or even of thinking at all." He looks upon Latin and Greek as pure poetry, eloquence, history, morals, science, philosophy. Throughout his studies in the classics, the pupil is continually on the heights, associated with moral and intellectual conceptions worth while. One cannot understand one's own language without first knowing the classics. "As a substitute, modern humanities are only a sop to the ignorant, an easy way out for the stupid, or, at best, a training for commercial travelers." With the exception of his views of the "direct method" of instruction, we agree with the French Minister of Education.

While the cult of pragmatism and quantity production may dwell too heavily within us to permit of any wide acceptance of his ideas in America at this time, it is interesting to note that a new magazine called *Auxilium Latinum* has just appeared out of Brooklyn, New York. Evidently the protesters against dropping Latin and Greek from the entrance requirements of a number of our colleges are strong enough to sit up. Since they have organized around their "Latin Aid" Magazine an "Association for the Promotion of the Study of Latin," it appears that there are still ties uniting us to France.

THE six thousand American students, pursuing courses in Paris, are, thanks to the generosity of Mr. Edward Tuck, to have a Social Center with a library, medical clinic, swimming pool, ballroom, chapel, and other features found in some of our best American universities.

Upon the suggestion of M. Edouard Renard, Prefect of the Department of the Seine, the municipality of Paris has made available 5,000 square meters of departmental grounds on the Rue Denfert-Rochereau upon which the Social Center is being built. Cardinal Verdier, tenant of these grounds, willingly relinquished that portion of his lease acquired for the enterprise.

WE SALUTE Count Albert Apponyi, grand old man of Hungary, conspicuous figure of the Interparliamentary Union, and at many of the gatherings in Geneva, who has just celebrated his 85th birthday. He has sat in the Hungarian Parliament representing the constituency of Jaszbereny for fifty years without interruption. While throughout his career he has been a member chiefly of opposition parties, the Hungarian Parliament, meeting in special session to honor him, gave him \$45,000 and a pension corresponding to that of a Prime Minister for the rest of his life. Years ago

Count Apponyi was the first foreigner, as we recall, to be granted the privileges of the floor in our House of Representatives.

THE International Relations Clubs, according to the Carnegie Endowment, for International Peace, increased by 74 during the past year. The number has now reached 262. Various subjects are considered by the clubs, western students studying chiefly problems of the Pacific, and those of the East devoting more time to European questions. The study of international relations in our schools and colleges, under proper guidance, can't fail to mean much to the generation just before us.

THE All Nations Press Exhibition, being held this summer in the city of Tiflis of the Georgia Republic, U. S. S. R., will last into next year. The Exhibition, representing 172 different languages, represents on a world's stage an education in the techniques of world life as expressed in the various forms of printing. Exhibitors are permitted to show the historical development of their publications. It is planned to send the exhibition to other countries. The first International Press Exhibition was held in Cologne in 1928.

HUNTER MILLER, Esquire, of New York City, succeeded Dr. Tyler Dennett as Historical Advisor to the Department of State, on May 1, 1931. Mr. Miller will continue the editing of the treaties on which he has been engaged since October 1, 1929, the second volume of which has already appeared. Dr. Dennett will take up his work as a member of the faculty at Princeton University in the fall.

VOLUME TWO of the new treaty edition of the Department of State, an edition destined to run into at least ten volumes, came from the press in April. The

new edition is entitled, "Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America." Since Volume One is to be devoted entirely to descriptive matter, lists of documents, tables and the like, relating to the entire edition, it will be the last volume to appear, save in a preliminary and incomplete form. Volume Two is, therefore, the first to be printed. Mr. Miller has prepared, as editor, a statement setting forth the plan and purposes of the series. It appears that the arrangement of the treaties and other international agreements is to be chronological throughout. Volume Two covers the period from the Declaration of Independence, through the year 1818, the earliest treaties being those with France on February 6, 1778, and the latest that with Great Britain on October 20, 1818. The price of Volume Two has been fixed by the Superintendent of Documents at \$4, including postage.

VOLUME TWO of the new treaty edition is of importance to every student of international relations. It covers some of the most important treaties in the history of the United States, such as the French Alliance of 1778, which had so much to do with the success of the Revolutionary War; the treaties of peace with Great Britain of 1782 and 1783; the other European treaties of the Continental Congress period, those with the Netherlands of 1782, with Sweden of 1783, and with Prussia of 1785, which were the basis of many later treaties; the celebrated and then highly unpopular Jay Treaty with Great Britain of 1794; Pinckney's treaty with Spain of 1795, fixing our then frontier with the Floridas; the convention with France of 1800, which composed the relations between the two countries; the treaty for the cession of Louisiana by Napoleon in 1803; the Treaty of Ghent of 1814, the treaty of peace following the War of 1812; the com-

mercial treaty of 1815 with Great Britain, which was destined to be the basis of relations between the two countries for generations to come; the famous agreement of 1817 for disarmament on the American lakes, which exists to this day; and the Convention of 1818 with Great Britain, which adjusted the northern boundary as far west as the Rocky Mountains.

MR. MILLER arouses interest in these texts. The agreements have been collated, it appears, with the original documents, literally reproduced, as far as it is possible to reproduce handwriting in type. The texts are identical with the originals even in such matters as spelling, punctuation and capitalization, and accordingly they show any errors and slips that were made by the scribes. In the case of certain of these agreements at least, no wholly exact text has heretofore been printed.

Two agreements which have not heretofore been included in treaty collections are contained in this volume: an exchange of notes with France of 1784 and the Cartel for the Exchange of Prisoners of War with Great Britain during the War of 1812.

Each agreement is reproduced in whatever language or languages it was written. In cases of no English text the translation made by this Government at the time is printed; but all these translations have been examined and, while not revised throughout, attention has been called to obvious and grave errors, some of which have been consistently reproduced even in official publications heretofore; for example, in the loan contract with France of 1782, the French "quinze" or "fifteen" has always been printed as "five" in the Statutes at Large and elsewhere.

Following the text of each treaty are notes relating to the treaty. These notes are in general of a textual or procedural nature; they relate to the documents and to the making of the agreements; but they

do not, in general, give any account of the diplomatic history of the treaties or of the judicial and other decisions of courts and other tribunals based on them. Volumes containing diplomatic and juridical notes are included in the plan of the edition, but these will not appear until the publication of the document volumes is completed.

CURIOUS gaps, in some cases errors, have been discovered to exist in our treaty records, and as a part of the work of preparing Volume Two facsimiles of documents in foreign archives have been obtained in order to complete the files as far as possible.

It has been found that there is no signed original in the archives of the Department of State of the preliminary treaty of peace with Great Britain of November 30, 1782, although there is a copy made at the time, certified by Benjamin Franklin and bearing his seal, which is over the original blue ribbon which still binds the sheets together. The absence of the original document in this case is not to be explained satisfactorily, although it seems likely that no original was ever received here. A facsimile of the original in the British archives is now in the treaty file.

Still more surprising, perhaps, is the fact that there is not, and apparently has not been since 1795, a signed original of the famous Jay Treaty in the Department of State archives. That Jay sent originals in duplicate to this country from London, where the treaty was signed, and that one of those was lost at sea, is known. The other original, which arrived here and which was sent to the Senate, was mistakenly sent back to London as a part of the United States instrument of ratification. The treaty file now includes a photostat of that document which is described in the notes.

The original texts of such early treaties as were written in Oriental languages have also been reproduced, but by photographic

process. Six of the treaties with the Barbary States, which were written originally in Arabic or Turkish, appear in this volume. These texts have been retranslated by eminent Orientalists with some startling results.

In Article 11 of the treaty with Tripoli of 1796 appears, according to the English translation made at the time (the translation which has been printed ever since), the famous phrase, "The Government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion." It is now learned that neither this phrase nor anything in the remotest degree resembling it is to be found in the original Arabic. Indeed, in the Arabic there is no equivalent whatever of Article 11 of that treaty with Tripoli. The Arabic text opposite that article in the original treaty book is in form a letter, crude and flamboyant and withal quite unimportant, written by the Dey of Algiers to the Pasha of Tripoli. How that script ever came to be written and to be regarded, as in the early translation, as Article 11 of the treaty as there written, is a mystery. Nothing in the diplomatic correspondence of the time throws any light whatever on the point; and it is perhaps an equal mystery why attention has never heretofore been called to the complete discrepancy between the original and the supposed translation. Ever since 1800 or thereabouts there has been in the archives of the Department of State an Italian translation of the Arabic which, generally speaking, is a reasonably fair equivalent of the Arabic text. The most casual examination of that Italian translation shows that in respect of Article 11 it does not bear the slightest resemblance to the supposed English translation; and on that Italian translation is written a statement to the effect that the English translation of the time was extremely erroneous; that statement was written by James Leander Cathcart, who was one of the American cap-

tives in Algiers for more than ten years, from 1785 to 1796, and who for twenty years thereafter was a representative of the United States abroad at various posts in North Africa and elsewhere.

THE "Treaties and Other International Acts," does not include unperfected treaties, as they are generally called, or, in other words, treaties which for one reason or another failed to go into force after signature. Those unperfected treaties include not only treaties rejected by the Senate, but treaties which failed for other reasons, such as disapproval by the President or by another Government. "It is planned later, however, to publish the texts of the unperfected treaties, many of which are of great historic importance," says Mr. Miller. Unperfected treaties date from a very early period. The first of them was the Consular Convention with France of 1784, which the Continental Congress did not ratify; the next was a treaty with Great Britain of 1803, which the Senate amended by striking out an article dealing with what is now the Canadian boundary in Minnesota, an amendment which the British Government refused to accept. It may be said that that article which the Senate struck out ran the frontier in Minnesota west from Lake Itasca rather than along the 49th parallel; or, in other words, some 125 miles south of the existing line. Indian treaties and postal conventions are not included among the documents in the treaty edition; but all other treaties that have ever gone into force, whether now in force or not, are included. Thus it is apparent that the Department of State of the United States is laying new foundations for the structures of peace, serviceable because of their reality.

THERE are 386,272 citizens of the United States living in other lands. This estimate, by our Department of State as of April 9 last, includes only those whose

residence abroad has a permanent character, not tourists or other transitory persons. Of this number, 13,724 are in South America; 19,012 in Mexico and Central America; 20,798 in the West Indies and Bermuda; 218,502 in Canada; 215 in Newfoundland; 88,309 in Europe; 3,470 in Africa; 20,286 in Asia; 1,629 in Australia; and 327 in New Zealand. In South America, over 3,000 are in Argentina; nearly 3,000 in Brazil. Over 11,000 are in Mexico; over 7,000 in Cuba; over 98,000 in Alberta; nearly 26,000 in France; over 17,000 in Portugal, and nearly 9,000 in China. Thus we are represented by our citizens living in ninety-five of the other countries of the world.

THE Department of State, learning that in celebration of Arbor Day the authorities of the city of Retalhuleu, Guatemala, adopted resolutions in honor of Bryan Untiedt—our hero-lad who saved his school-mates from freezing—wisely thought it of sufficient importance to mention publicly. The resolution read:

Sole Article. To take occasion, during the celebration of the Festival of the Tree, to render homage, in the primary schools, to the young hero Bryan Untiedt in the following form:

a. Reading of these resolutions.

b. Dr. Antonio Castillo Vega, licensed in law, will give a lecture concerning the heroic act of Bryan Untiedt.

c. During the month of June, in the daily roll call at the Boys' School in every grade the name of the youthful hero Bryan Untiedt shall be called, and the student standing highest in his class, as selected by the respective teachers, shall answer to the name.

d. A certified copy of these resolutions shall be sent to Master Bryan Untiedt.

Done at Retalhuleu on the 31st day of May, 1931.

(Signed) M. Ydigoras Fuentes,
Chief Civil Executive.

Retalhuleu is a city of about thirty thousand inhabitants in the western part of Guatemala. The Department received for transmission to young Untiedt a letter from

Colonel M. Ydigoras Fuentes, the Jefe Politico of Retalhuleu. The Department transmitted the letter.

NEARLY every day brings to our desk a new "war preventive". Charles L. Delbridge, "author of mathematical books", offers one that for us is new and unique. Pointing out that it costs \$37,000 to kill a soldier in war, he suggests that if two nations were at war and one or both should say to the soldiers of the other: "We will pay \$1,000 to every one of you enemy soldiers who deserts, surrenders or contrives to be captured, and 100 cents on the dollar for everything you bring over in the way of equipment, not excepting airplanes, battle-ships or submarines," the war would go to pieces. Respectfully submitted to our War Department for study and report.

THE next elections in Nicaragua will be the municipal elections to be held in October. Our two recent American electoral missions in Nicaragua have not supervised municipal elections; but it has been decided that an American electoral official should be present in Nicaragua during the October election. Our Government has designated Major Charles F. B. Price, of the United States Marine Corps, as our electoral observer. Major Price, after observing these elections, will make recommendations and plans for the Presidential election in 1932. The encouraging thing about our Government's attitude is that it hopes by this preparation Nicaragua will be in position to conduct free and fair elections without assistance after 1932.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

The War Debt Holiday

ON JUNE 20, President Hoover electrified the world by a proposal that all payments on account of intergovernmental debts resulting from the World War be adjourned for one year, starting with July 1. The proposal covered three categories of obligations: the inter-Allied debts contracted during the war; the relief and reconstruction loans made during the early post-war years; and the reparation payments imposed upon the defeated powers. Since most of the powers involved are creditors as well as debtors, the carrying out of the proposal required its adoption by these powers. With the only important exception of France, all the other powers agreed to the proposal. France, however, made reservations of a sufficiently serious nature to require prolonged negotiations. Partly as a result of this delay, serious financial trouble developed in Germany. Assistance to that country had to be provided in order to keep it from collapse, and

such assistance on an international scale was arranged for at a conference of the principal powers held in London. We give below a summary of the events and developments connected with the war debt holiday. In the *International Documents* section of issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* the reader will find the text of all the documents pertaining to the problem.

The Background of the Hoover Proposal

Germany's patent inability to meet her reparation payments under the Young Plan was the principal factor in bringing about the year's moratorium on all intergovernmental war debts. Almost twenty nations are involved in this debt situation, but of these only six play a rôle of real importance. They are Germany, the United States, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Belgium. Germany is the largest single debtor. Her annual payments at present amount to approximately \$400,000,000, of

which the last four of the countries mentioned above receive over 90 per cent. The United States is the largest single creditor. Our annual receipts from our creditors amount at present to something like \$250,000,000, of which over 90 per cent comes from Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium. On the balance, our principal creditors receive from Germany (and in the case of Great Britain, from her principal war creditors, France and Italy) more than they themselves have to pay out. The whole situation, therefore, reduces itself to this: German reparation payments are now considered as the key to the whole situation; in the final analysis, practically all of the other debt payments are made out of her payments.

It has been Germany that has recently shown signs of collapse under the burden of the debt payments. The possible need of cessation of all or at least a substantial part of the German payments was under discussion for some time prior to the Hoover proposal. It was talked about at the May meeting of the International Chamber of Commerce in Washington. It was the subject of conversation between the British and German ministers at Chequers at the beginning of June. The obvious difficulties of doing something about the matter reacted unfavorably on the German financial situation, which was steadily going from bad to worse. A large and dramatic gesture was necessary, and such a gesture could only have come from the United States.

There was in this country a growing realization that something had to be done. On June 19 President Hoover issued the following statement:

Since my return yesterday from the Central West I have conferred with those leaders of both political parties who are at present in Washington with respect to certain steps we might take to assist in economic recovery, both here and abroad. These conversations have been particularly directed towards strengthening the situation in Germany. No definite plans or conclusions have yet been arrived at, but the response I have met with from the leaders of both parties is most gratifying. Any statement of any plan or method is wholly speculative, and is not warranted by the facts.

Then, on the next day, with unexpected suddenness, the President announced his debt holiday plan.

The Hoover Proposal

The Hoover proposal involves a complete adjournment of all payments on account of intergovernmental debts resulting from the war. In this respect, it introduces a vital modification into the existing debt settlements under which the payments have so far been made. Under these settlements, each debtor enjoyed the privilege of postponing a portion of his payments. The Hoover plan postpones all payments.

The President motivated his action by references to the existing profound economic depression through which the world is passing. He said:

The purpose of this action is to give the forthcoming year to the economic recovery of the world, and to help free the recuperative forces already in motion in the United States from retarding influences from abroad. The world-wide depression has affected the countries of Europe more severely than our own. Some of these countries are feeling to a serious extent the drain of this depression on the national economy. The fabric of intergovernmental debts, supportable in normal times, weighs heavily in the midst of this depression.

After referring to the difficulties abroad which "diminish buying power for our exports and in a measure are a cause of our continued unemployment and continued lower prices to our farmers," the President said:

Wise and timely action should contribute to relieve the pressure of these adverse forces in foreign countries, and should assist in the reestablishment of confidence, thus forwarding political peace and economic stability in the world.

Adjournment of all intergovernmental debt payments, argued the President, constitutes precisely such action.

French Reservations

The Hoover proposal was quickly accepted by all the principal countries concerned, with the sole important exception of France. In its note of acceptance, the French Government, while emphasizing the adherence of France to the principle of complete postponement of debt payments enunciated by the President, proposed certain modifications of detail.

The principal French objection to the Hoover proposal was that it violated the

Young Plan. Under that Plan, the German reparation annuity was divided into two parts: the nonpostponable and the postponable. The nonpostponable part, which at present constitutes over one-third of the total and of which France receives almost five-sixths, was defined in the Plan as "payable without any right of postponement of any kind." This provision of the Plan the French were not willing to violate. The French note on this point read as follows:

But in view of the nature of the engagements freely undertaken, and only recently signed, under the Young Plan, and the solemnity with which it recognized the final and nonpostponable annuities, by which the necessary permanence of the principle of reparations was shown, there would be a grave risk of shaking confidence in the value of signatures and contracts, and thus of frustrating the end in view, if, in the proposed suspension of payments, the nonpostponable annuity were treated in the same way as the conditional annuity. * * *

The government therefore feels that moral considerations of the highest order demand that, even during the period of delay suggested by President Hoover, the payment of the unconditional annuity shall in no way be deferred.

However, while insisting on the preservation of the legal position, the French Government expressed its willingness "to ask the French Parliament—reference to which is indispensable, as its authority is sovereign—that France shall refrain, as a provisional measure and during a period of one year, from retaining any payment it shall receive from the Reich."

This France was prepared to do by placing at the disposal of the Bank for International Settlements a sum equivalent to her share of the nonpostponable annuity for the purpose of turning the amount back to Germany in the form of loans.

The French reply also raised the following two important points:

The French Government also considers that all necessary precautions should be taken that these sums, as well as those savings which result from reductions in the budget of the Reich as the result of the year's suspension, shall be used only for economic purposes, measures being taken to prevent the financing of dumping. Finally, it would be advisable to arrange before the expiry of the period of one year that there should be an examination of the measures to be taken by Germany for the resumption of payments

Franco-American Agreement

The French reservations proved to be unacceptable to the American Government, and a series of negotiations were inaugurated in Paris, in which the United States was represented by Secretary of the Treasury Mellon and Ambassador Edge. In the course of these negotiations a number of other differences developed, and in the end agreement was reached only on the basic issues involved.

The United States agreed to the French plan that payments on account of the nonpostponable portion of the reparation annuity should be continued by Germany, but that the amounts should be turned back to the Reich through the instrumentality of the German railways. France agreed to drop her demand that of the amount made available by these payments, approximately one-sixth should be used for loans to other Central European countries and the remainder returned to Germany in the form of credit. A compromise was reached on the period during which Germany would be required to repay the loans and the postponed payments. The French insisted on a short period, America on a long one. They compromised on ten years.

On three technical points no agreement was reached. They were concerned with an alternative method of providing credit relief to other Central European countries than Germany, the guarantee fund required from France under the terms of the Young Plan, and the continuation of contracts already concluded for deliveries in kind. These questions, it was decided, would be placed in the hands of a committee of experts.

Profit and Loss Account

With the conclusion of the Franco-American negotiations, the Hoover plan went into effect. The following table shows what it involves, in the way of gains or losses for the principal countries concerned. The figures do not include German payments on account of the Dawes and the Young loans (about \$38,500,000 for the moratorium year) which are specifically excepted from the moratorium plan as constituting government payments to private individuals, rather than to other governments.

German Reparations

Great Britain.....	\$82,500,000
France	192,100,000
Italy	44,800,000
Belgium (exclusive of mark claim) ..	24,700,000
Roumania	2,900,000
Jugo-Slavia	18,800,000
Greece	1,600,000
Portugal	3,100,000
Japan	3,000,000
Poland	100,000
Total reparations exclusive of Belgian marks claim	
\$373,600,000, of which \$130,600,000 is unconditional; \$243,000,000 conditional.	
Belgian mark claim, left out of the above,	
\$5,100,000.	
Outside of all these reparations agreements Germany has its settlement with the United States for Army costs and for claims, \$15,700,000.	
<i>Grand total net gain for Germany..</i>	<i>\$394,400,000</i>

The United States Loses

From Britain	\$159,927,000
From France	39,994,000
From Germany	15,700,000
From Italy	14,602,000
From others (approx.)	15,500,000
<i>Approximate total net loss.....</i>	<i>246,000,000</i>

France Loses

From Germany	\$192,100,000
From others	1,834,000
Total	\$193,934,000

France Gains by Not Paying

To Britain	\$64,790,000
To the United States	39,994,000
Total	\$104,784,000
<i>Net Loss for France</i>	<i>89,150,000</i>

Britain Loses

From France	\$64,790,000
From Germany	82,500,000
From Italy	22,820,000
From others	6,860,000
Total	\$176,970,000

Britain Gains by Not Paying

To Italy	\$1,215,000
To the United States	150,927,000
Total	\$161,142,000
<i>Net loss to Britain (not including remission of debts to British dependencies)</i>	<i>15,828,000</i>

Italy Loses

From Britain	\$1,215,000
From Germany	44,800,000
Total	\$46,015,000

Italy Gains by Not Paying

To Britain	\$22,819,000
To the United States	14,602,000
Total	\$37,420,000
<i>Net Loss to Italy.....</i>	<i>8,595,000</i>

The London Conference

Delay in the inauguration of the Hoover plan, combined with other factors, resulted in the development of an acute financial crisis in Germany, which came to a head about the middle of July with the closing down of one of the largest German commercial banks, a sharp accentuation of flight of capital from the country, and increased withdrawals of foreign short-term funds. The panic was partly precipitated by the failure on the part of the German Government to obtain adequate foreign support. The President of the Reichsbank, Dr. Hans Luther, was sent abroad for the purpose of negotiating new credits. He was told in France that no new credits would be forthcoming unless they were accompanied by political guarantees on the part of Germany. The German Government refused to consider the question of guarantees. It introduced a series of drastic measures and for the time being staved off collapse.

However, it was perfectly apparent that the future stability of Germany depended largely on her ability to come to friendly terms with France, one of the world's principal money markets. Moreover, it was felt that the whole situation was serious enough to call for consultation among responsible representatives of the principal powers. Accordingly, on the invitation of the British Government, the representatives of seven countries—Great Britain, the United States, Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, and Japan—met in London on July 20. The United States was represented by Secretary of State Stimson.

The London conference was preceded by a meeting between the principal Ministers of France and Germany, which took place on July 18 and 19 in Paris. At the conclusion of these conversations, the following statement was issued:

In a recent message the Chancellor of the German state expressed a desire to establish direct contact with the French Government with the view of seeking means of working in common for improvement of the relations of the two countries.

The head of the French Government spontaneously replied that he viewed with satisfaction such an interview, the realization of which has been made all the more opportune by events which have affected the economic and financial situation of Germany and by the repercussion of that on other European states.

In consequence, the representatives of the two governments met in Paris on July 18 and 19, 1931. They were in agreement in recognizing the importance of this meeting and in affirming that it should mark the beginning of a trusting collaboration.

The German Chancellor set forth the different aspects of the crisis from which his country is suffering. Representatives of the French Government, recognizing the gravity of this crisis, declared that, under the reserve of certain financial guarantees and measures of political appeasement, it would be ready later to discuss the terms of financial cooperation within an international framework.

Right now the representatives of the two governments have desired to underline their desire to create between them, in every possible measure, conditions favorable to effective collaboration in both the political and economic fields; and they have agreed to begin associating their efforts so that credit and confidence may be restored in an atmosphere of calm and security.

The Paris meeting no doubt contributed greatly to the success of the London conference, which, while it did not result in any startling proposals, did adopt a far-reaching plan of international assistance for Germany.

International Aid for Germany

The plan of aid for Germany adopted in London was based on an American proposal, transmitted to the conference through Secretary of State Stimson. In this proposal, principal emphasis was placed on the need of not withdrawing any more foreign short-term credits from Germany as the key to a reestablishment of stability in that country. The London conference accepted this proposition, and made a number of recommendations for the purpose of putting it into effect.

Under the agreement reached in London, the participating governments undertook to urge their respective banking communities

to grant Germany an extension for three months on the 100-million-dollar credit recently granted to Germany under the auspices of the Bank for International Settlements and to maintain the present volume of short-term credits to Germany. They also undertook to arrange with the Bank for International Settlements to set up a committee which would determine what additional credits Germany requires and work out a plan for converting some of the existing short-term credits into long-term obligations.

The communique issued by the conference ended with the statement that "the conference considers that if these measures are carried through, they will form a basis for more permanent action to follow."

Steps Still to Be Taken

At the present time (end of July), two important actions are still to be taken to bring the Hoover debt holiday plan into complete operation. First, the committee of experts set up under the Franco-American agreement met in London on July 17, but adjourned pending the conclusion of the conference of Ministers. It is still to resume its work on the various minor points of disagreement. And second, the Congress of the United States is still to pass on the Hoover plan.

In making his proposal, President Hoover stated that he did so "subject to confirmation by Congress." Such confirmation is necessary because the American debt settlements provide for only partial, rather than complete, postponement of payments of the kind called for in the Hoover plan. Congress is to pass on the plan at its next session in December. Since, however, the proposal, before its announcement, had been submitted by the President to a group of influential leaders in both houses of Congress and approved by them, there seems little doubt that the body as a whole will give its approval.

The International Chamber of Commerce

Resolution Giving Views on Arms, Debts and Tariffs

THE general resolution adopted by the International Chamber of Commerce on May 9, contained the following paragraphs:

1. The International Chamber has repeatedly emphasized the fact that war is

the greatest barrier to social and economic progress, and the establishment of higher living standards is dependent primarily on the maintenance of peace. The Chamber commends the efforts being made by the

governments of the world to reduce armaments to the lowest possible limit, and urges not only that there should be no relaxation of this effort, but rather that it should be redoubled. The attainment of this objective would relieve the peoples of all nations of heavy burdens of taxation.

2. International obligations have been made definite in amount and in terms as between nations. The integrity of such obligations is always fundamental to the maintenance of international credit and to the expansion of commerce and industry. The observance of this essential principle, however, is not inconsistent with an impartial examination of the effects of these obliga-

tion on international trade, if warranted by changed economic conditions, such examination to be based on the principles laid down by the International Chamber of Commerce at its congresses.

3. National and international trade should be encouraged by the removal of every obstacle possible. Tariffs should not discriminate unfairly between nations. Embargoes should be exercised only against dumping or other unfair practices. The machinery provided by some countries for the adjustment of tariff inequalities should be utilized without delay, and all nations should unite in an effort to remove all unjustifiable restrictions.

League of Nations Activities

RECENT activities in Geneva have included the 63d session of the Council of the League, the Commission of Inquiry for European Union, the Conference for the Limitation of Drug Manufacture, the Health Committee, the Financial Committee, the Transit Committee, the Fiscal Committee, and the committee studying the general convention for improving means for preventing war.

The 63d session of the Council was held at Geneva from May 18 to 23, with the German Foreign Minister, Dr. Curtius, in the Chair. Of the fourteen members, nine were represented by their Foreign Ministers, namely, Great Britain, Germany, France, Irish Free State, Italy, Norway, Poland, Spain, and Yugoslavia. The principal questions dealt with at this session concerned the Austro-German Protocol for a Customs Union, the preparation of the disarmament conference, the protection of minorities in Poland, the relations between Poland and Danzig, Polish-Lithuanian relations, and the position of the Memel territory.

The Council was able to place on record the formal accession of Great Britain, Australia, India, New Zealand, and France to the General Act for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, and the promise of the Italian Government to accede shortly.

At the request of the Chinese Government, the Council authorized the League Technical Organizations to collaborate with China.

Another important decision concerned the final approval of the Convention and Charter of the International Agricultural Mortgage Credit Company. The Convention was signed by sixteen states at the final meeting of the European Commission of Inquiry.

The European Commission of Inquiry proceeded to a thorough discussion of the world economic depression, insofar as it affects Europe as a whole. It appointed a series of subcommittees which are meeting during the summer to study various questions submitted.

The Health Committee met at the beginning of the month, when it reviewed the work of the health organization from October to March.

The Fiscal Committee met, as usual, shortly before the Council, mainly to perfect a scheme for the creation of the International Agricultural Mortgage Credit Company.

The committee for the preparation of a general convention for improving means of preventing war also met before the Council and succeeded in drawing up a text which will be submitted to the next Assembly.

The Transit Committee, the Fiscal Committee, and the Conference for the Limitation of Drug Manufacture lasted into the month of June.

The Austro-German Protocol for the establishment of a Customs Union aroused no little discussion in the Council, a number of the states considering it contrary to the

stipulations set forth in existing treaties. Upon the motion of Mr. Henderson of Great Britain, the matter was settled for the moment by referring the following question to the Permanent Court of International Justice:

Would a regime established between Germany and Austria on the basis and within the limits of the principles laid down by the Protocol of March 19, 1931, the text of which is annexed to the present request, be compatible with Article 88 of the Treaty of St. Germain and with Protocol No. 1 signed at Geneva on October 4, 1923?

This question has been submitted for an advisory opinion to the Court, and the Court now has it under consideration.

The Commission of Inquiry for European Union has appointed a Subcommittee on Procedure and Drafting to prepare methods to be adopted for the establishment of definite and practical proposals in the light of the various suggestions submitted. The Committee agreed on thirteen resolutions, and adjourned to meet again on September 3.

The Permanent Court of International Justice ended its twenty-first session on May 15. Another extraordinary session convened in July. On May 15 the Court gave an advisory opinion on the question:

Can the children who were excluded from the German minority schools on the basis of the language tests provided for in the Council's resolution

of March 12, 1927, be now, by reason of the circumstance, refused access to these schools?"

By eleven votes to one the Court answered this question in the negative.

The acting President of the Council has summoned the Twelfth Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva on Monday September 7, 1931, at 10.30 a.m. The provisional agenda includes the following items: The report of the Secretary-General on the work of the League since the last Assembly; the report of the Commission of Inquiry for a European Union; the report of the special committee for drawing up a general convention to improve the means of preventing war; the codification of international law; procedure to be followed in the case of conventions negotiated under the auspices of the League; amendments of the Covenant to bring it into harmony with the Paris Pact; the proposal of the Finnish Government to give the Permanent Court of International Justice jurisdiction as a tribunal of appeal in respect to arbitral tribunals; reports of various committees on technical organizations, on opium, on the protection and welfare of children, on intellectual cooperation, on slavery, on penal administration, on the International Nansen Office for Refugees.

The Assembly will elect, concurrently with the Council, three nonpermanent members to succeed Spain, Persia and Venezuela, whose terms of office expire in 1931. Only Spain has been authorized to stand for reelection.

A DECLARATION.

By JOHN RUSKIN (1819-1900)

I trust in the nobleness of human nature, in the majesty of its faculties, the fulness of its mercy, and the joy of its love.

And I will strive to love my neighbor as myself, and even when I cannot, will act as if I did.

I will not kill or hurt any living creature needlessly, nor destroy any beautiful thing, but will strive to save and comfort all gentle life and guard and perfect all natural beauty on earth.

I will strive to raise my own body and soul daily into all the higher powers of duty and happiness, not in rivalry or contention with others, but for the help, delight, and honor of others, and for the joy and peace of my own life.

The Progress of International Pacific Settlement on the South American Continent

By JAMES OLIVER MURDOCK

Assistant Solicitor of the Department of State

“THE South American Republics—Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Brazil, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay and Argentina—enjoy a unique place in the history and development of international pacific settlement. Unlike Europe, where most international problems were approached until after 1918 in a spirit of militarism and the balance of power, the South American Republics have relied principally on pacific adjustment. They have been guided by the precept that ‘war is the most cruel, the most fruitless and most dangerous expedient for the settlement of international differences.’ They have not entertained the illusion that war is an alternative to pacific settlement. Rather, they have realized that war is waged to secure an objective, be it right or wrong. Pacific settlement, on the other hand, rests upon the firm foundation of justice and reason.” These are the words with which I began my address before the Institute of Public Affairs, July 3, at the University of Virginia. Upon the request of the Editor of the *Advocate of Peace*, I am glad to restate here other facts and views which I ventured to set forth on that occasion.

An outstanding anomaly in the progress of civilization has been the development of the judicial process within national boundaries as contrasted with the preservation of the right to use unbridled force in the conduct of international relations. While nations have required their citizens to resort to courts to settle their disputes, they have been slow to submit the rights and duties of the state in its relations with other states to the judicial process. The South American Republics early realized that nations should resort to courts as well as their citizens. Happily most of the nations of the world have now renounced war as an instrument of national policy. The signatories of the multilateral Anti-War Treaty also agree that the settlement of all

disputes shall never be sought except by pacific means. This is the positive, constructive article of the treaty.

Pacific Settlement

In its essentials, international pacific settlement does not differ materially from pacific settlement between man and man. If two men are unable to compose their differences by direct negotiations, they resort to a neutral, a judge, or a court. So with nations who desire to adjust their differences amicably. The principles and analogies taken over bodily from municipal law into international law far outnumber the principles of international law which are unique. The state is but the highest form of legal or corporate entity. In international law, it has rights and duties like corporations and individuals in municipal law. The South American Republics, with their common background of Iberian law, have developed a keen appreciation of this fact.

Numerous boundary disputes were inherited by South American countries, due to vague old Spanish grants and inadequate surveys. These disputes have been settled in most cases by resort to arbitration. One of the outstanding cases involved the boundary between Argentina and Chile. The long Andean boundary between the two states had been difficult to determine. It was the subject of unsuccessful arbitrations under conventions of April 17, 1896, and November 2, 1898. By 1902 national feeling was running high. Rivalry in the building of fleets was depleting the national budgets of both countries. Argentina took the initiative and through its Minister to Chile proposed a general and obligatory arbitration treaty and an agreement for the limitation of armament. Conventions were signed on May 28, 1902, limiting armaments for five years and providing for general arbitration for all controversies. The limitation of armament convention was

fully executed and friendly relations were restored, which have resulted in receding naval strength in both countries. The arbitration of the Andean boundary was successful. To commemorate these events a statue of Christ, the Prince of Peace, was unveiled on March 13, 1904, under the auspices of both countries. It stands on a pinnacle of the Andes, 14,000 feet above the sea, on the boundary line. An inspiring replica of the Christ of the Andes has been placed in the Peace Palace at The Hague, where the Permanent Court of Arbitration and the Permanent Court of International Justice hold their sessions.

In addition to numerous boundary disputes, the South American countries have from time to time due to revolutions been confronted with claims of foreign countries for the injury to the person and property of their citizens. Revolutionary disturbances have caused serious injury to the interests of nationals of various countries. Damages were substantial and the foreigner and his government were frequently unwilling to accept the decisions of local tribunals respecting the damages involved. This created a situation where foreign governments espoused the claims of their nationals and demanded an international adjudication of the claims.

Mixed Claims Commissions were organized pursuant to international agreements for the purpose of determining if there was state responsibility for the injury to foreigners, and if so the amount of damages which should be paid. These claims commissions have adjudicated a large number of claims, and political intervention has been avoided. The establishment of claims commissions was originally accepted by South American states as a way out of awkward situations. Later they came to resent this method of taking cases of indemnity out of the jurisdiction of national courts. Since the middle of the 19th century there has been a persistent effort on the part of South American States to establish rules of international law which would curtail international interposition.

The purpose of the Calvo Doctrine was to preclude a foreigner, who had a contract with a South American State, from resorting to international reclamation in the event of a dispute regarding the contract. While most powers have been unwilling to accept the full implications of this doctrine,

it has nevertheless served to emphasize the rule that international interposition may not be resorted to until after the exhaustion of local judicial remedies. Interposition should then only take place in the event that there has been a denial of justice in the local courts.

The Drago Doctrine was based on the principle "that the public debt cannot occasion armed intervention nor even the actual occupation of the territory of American nations by a European power." This doctrine finally led to The Hague Convention on the limitation of force in the collection of contract debts. This convention provided the alternative of arbitration and submission to the award. This solution was accepted with alacrity by the South American Republics, because of their great devotion to international arbitration.

Practically all international controversies of prime importance, which have arisen on the South American continent have been settled by pacific means. Arbitration is today a deep rooted and fundamental principle of national policy of the South American Republics. Several of their constitutions provided that arbitration must be resorted to before war can be declared.

Pacific Settlement Treaties

The vast majority of disputes which are handled through foreign offices are disposed of by direct negotiations. Only a small proportion of differences which arise between states require adjudication by international tribunals. The situation is not unlike that which prevails in the ordinary intercourse between individuals. It is the unusual or doubtful case which requires judicial settlement. The foreign office of a government is its department of peace. Its primary function is to adjust international difficulties amicably. When war breaks out, the reason is frequently given that diplomacy has failed.

The foreign offices of the South American Republics have appreciated their high mission of preserving international peace. They have realized that, when cases arise which defy solutions through direct negotiations, it is most convenient to have readily at hand an obligatory arbitration or conciliation treaty which may be invoked. An obligatory treaty provides for arbitration or conciliation generally, before disputes arise. It is dangerous for states in time of

tranquility and friendly relations to fail to provide orderly processes for the adjustment of differences which may arise in the future. When an acute controversy is pending, time may not be available to negotiate treaties before there is a breach of the peace.

Treaties providing for pacific settlement of a general character between South American States have approached the subject from three different angles:

1. Treaties providing for commissions of inquiry.
2. Treaties providing for inquiry and conciliation.
3. Treaties providing for arbitration.

Gondra Treaty

The most important agreement between South American States providing for commissions of inquiry is the Gondra Treaty, signed at the Fifth Pan-American Conference at Santiago, Chile, on May 3, 1923. It provides that all disputes shall be submitted for investigation and report, which it has been impossible to submit to arbitration in accordance with existing treaties. It excludes questions which affected the constitutions of the parties having no general treaties of arbitration. It also excluded questions already settled by other treaties, provided that cases shall be submitted in which circumstances render all negotiations between the parties impossible and where there is imminent danger of armed conflict. In order to submit a case to investigation and report under this commission of inquiry treaty, it is not necessary for both parties to agree to the submission.

The shortcomings of the Gondra Treaty are not only the questions which are excepted from its jurisdiction, but there is the further fact that it provided only for inquiry and report. It failed to make provision for the commissions to exercise conciliatory functions. This rendered the commissions of inquiry impotent to use their good offices to bring the parties to a dispute into agreement. This omission caused many of the delegates to the International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration which met in Washington in December, 1928, to feel that the Gondra Treaty required amplification.

General Convention of Inter-American Conciliation

The International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration was confronted with the problem of extending the scope of the Gondra inquiry treaty of 1923 and avoiding multiplicity of international commissions. The Gondra Treaty had already been ratified by fifteen states. To provide for independent commissions of conciliation would unnecessarily complicate the machinery of pacific settlement. Therefore, the happy plan was seized upon of preparing a conciliation convention supplementary to the 1923 commission of inquiry treaty.

The General Convention of Inter-American conciliation signed at the Washington conference provides that the commissions of inquiry under the Gondra Treaty shall have conciliatory powers in all cases which may have arisen or may arise.

Article 3 of the Conciliation Convention provides that the permanent commissions, created by the Gondra Treaty and consisting of the three senior American diplomatic agents in Montevideo and Washington, shall also exercise conciliatory functions. Some delicacy was felt about conferring upon the permanent commissions the conciliatory function, because of the fear that they might inject themselves unnecessarily into the ordinary conduct of diplomatic relations between states. A clause was therefore inserted in Article 3 which provides that the two permanent commissions shall act on their own motion only when it appears that there is a "prospect of disturbance of peaceful relations."

One of the principal values of the Gondra inquiry treaty as supplemented by the Conciliation Convention is that they provide an ample cooling-off time for the parties, so that their mature judgments may prevail over their emotions. In all, the parties to a dispute may be obligated to delay a period of at least two years before recovering liberty of action.

The advantage of the inquiry and conciliation commission is that it may be entrusted with delicate questions of a political nature, without loss of prestige or ultimate liberty of action to the parties. The disadvantage is that the parties to a dispute are not bound to accept the recommendations of the commission and the ques-

tion may remain unsettled. However, the arrangement has potentialities for the solution of questions of a non-legal nature.

Bilateral Arbitration Treaties

The South American States have been active throughout the past century in the negotiation of arbitration treaties. Bilateral treaties may be conveniently classified according to the questions which are excepted from arbitration. For example, in a treaty between Chile and Uruguay, signed on February 27, 1915, provision is made for commissions of inquiry and for arbitration. However, questions which affect the sovereignty, honor or vital interests of either country, constitutional provisions or interests of third states are excepted from the treaty. Such nebulous concepts as sovereignty, national honor and vital interests form the bases for disputes as to their meaning and are illusory.

On May 18, 1899, Brazil and Chile signed a liberal treaty, which provides for the arbitration of all disputes of a legal nature. This treaty covers the appropriate field of arbitration, if the arbitral process is to be considered as assimilated to law.

The Argentine Republic has signed treaties with Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, Chile, Brazil and Colombia which provide for the arbitration of all disputes which do not affect the constitution of either party. While such a treaty may appear to be broad in its scope, it is nevertheless illusory. Either party may by the expedient of changing its own constitution except questions from the arbitral field.

The broadest possible form of arbitration treaties have been signed between Bolivia and Peru, Ecuador, Uruguay, Colombia and Venezuela and between Uruguay and Brazil, Peru and Venezuela, and between Brazil and Peru. This form of treaty provides that all disputes shall be submitted to arbitration. It is noteworthy that this broad form of bilateral arbitration treaty is the most numerous type at present in vogue on the South American continent. No distinction is drawn between legal and political disputes. The treaty is apparently based upon the premise that international law controls the entire field of international relations. This is indeed a forward looking treaty. It demonstrates the devotion to arbitral settlement of the South American Republics.

General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration

While bilateral treaties have formed the principal bases for the development of arbitration between the South American States, each Pan-American Conference has made an effort to further the cause of international arbitration. At the 1889 conference, an arbitration treaty was prepared which was not ratified by the signatory powers. At the second conference in 1902 in Mexico City another unsuccessful attempt was made to prepare a multilateral arbitration treaty. A protocol of adherence by the American Republics to The Hague Convention of 1899 for the pacific settlement of international disputes was signed at the Mexico City conference. This conference also prepared a treaty for the arbitration of pecuniary claims. At the fourth conference in Buenos Aires in 1910 the pecuniary claims convention was reenacted by a new convention to remain in force indefinitely. In 1923 at the fifth conference in Santiago, a resolution was adopted, favoring the development of conciliation, judicial settlement and arbitration.

When the sixth Pan-American Conference met in Havana in 1927, the report of the subcommittee on pacific settlement was presented only a few days before the time fixed for the adjournment of the conference. Rather than attempt to deal with this important question in a summary manner, the Havana conference adopted a resolution providing for the calling of a special conference with an agenda limited to conciliation and arbitration. The resolution also contains specific provisions regarding the scope of the proposed treaties. Pursuant to the above resolution the Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration met in Washington on December 10, 1928.

Part of the work of this conference has already been described in discussing the General Convention of Inter-American Conciliation. The conference also signed a general treaty of inter-American arbitration. The purpose of this treaty was to provide for the solution of legal disputes.

The scope of this treaty is defined in Article 1. It provides for the submission to arbitration of all differences of an international character which have arisen or may arise between the parties by virtue of

the claim of right made by one against the other under treaty or otherwise. In addition to the above definition of a judicial question, the following categories of questions of a judicial character were enumerated:

- (a) The interpretation of a treaty.
- (b) Any question of international law.
- (c) The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation.
- (d) The nature and extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

It is interesting to note that the same categories of judicial questions are enumerated in Article 36 of the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Questions which are excepted from the provisions of the treaty are described in Article 2. However, Article 1 of the treaty excepts by definition those questions which are not juridical in their nature, thereby leaving all political questions, which in their nature are not susceptible to arbitral settlement, to settlement by conciliatory procedure. Subsection (a) of Article 2 excepts questions that are within the domestic jurisdiction of any of the parties to the dispute and are not controlled by international law. To simply exclude domestic questions generally would have resulted in a failure to recognize the fact that certain angles of so-called domestic questions may have been brought within the control of international law through treaty or otherwise. The exception is thus limited by existing international law at the time a case arises. Subsection (b) of Article 2 excepts those controversies which affect the interest or refer to the action of a state not a party to the treaty.

The two definite exceptions made in the treaty are a splendid commentary on the development of the international mind in the last two decades. Catch-all exceptions such as vital interest, national honor, sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence, and constitutional questions, were happily omitted.

Article 3 of the treaty makes provision for the selection of a court. The parties may agree upon any tribunal. They may consequently refer a case to the Permanent Court of International Justice. Considerations which may commend such a selection are the continuity of judicial responsibility

of the World Court, the fact that eleven independent jurists decide each case, and the further consideration that the Court is a permanently organized institution. If the parties fail to agree upon a tribunal provision is made for the selection of a special court, the fifth arbitrator being selected by jurists instead of by political means. Article 4 provides for the negotiation of a special agreement to arbitrate a specific case. No provision is made for the reference of the special agreement to legislative bodies with a view to securing their advice and consent to ratification. This procedure is in accord with the trend of international arbitration.

Article 7 of the general treaty of inter-American arbitration provides that the award settles the dispute definitively and without appeal. Such a provision constitutes one of the principal differences between conciliatory proceedings and judicial settlement.

In signing the treaty a number of states appended reservations. Most of these reservations provided that local remedies of foreign claimants must be exhausted in the national courts before resort can be had to international arbitration. This is a well-recognized rule of international law.

Certain nations reserved as to questions which have their origin in situations antedating the treaty, while other nations made reservations as to matters controlled by international agreements now in force. Bolivia and Paraguay made reservations regarding territorial controversies.

In order to facilitate the withdrawal of these reservations by unilateral action, a protocol of progressive arbitration was signed at the Washington conference. It provides that any party to the treaty may at any time by an appropriate instrument abandon in whole or in part stipulated exceptions in the treaty or reservations attached by it thereto. This flexible provision renders it possible to broaden the scope of obligatory arbitration without the necessity of a new treaty.

The work of the International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration demonstrates the advantages of an international legislative body with a limited agenda. The conciliation and arbitration treaties signed at the Washington conference represents the intensive work of most competent jurists of

the western hemisphere. These treaties merit the greatest consideration and it is to be hoped that they will receive the ratification of all of the American Republics.

Provided both instruments are adopted by all the American Republics, these two multilateral treaties will serve the purpose of 420 bilateral agreements.

Archbishop Söderblom—Nobel Peace Prize Winner

By NABOTH HEDIN

Archbishop Söderblom died at Upsala, July 12. The following article written some weeks ago—descriptive of "Scandinavia's most beloved churchman," leading exponent of church unity in the interest of universal peace, is therefore peculiarly appropriate at this time.—EDITOR.

AMONG the winners of the Nobel Peace Prize during the past thirty years, Archbishop Söderblom of Sweden is the first clergyman, and to my mind the most surprising thing about him is that he is an archbishop. With that title I somehow associate a rather pompous, almost unreal personality, with "the lugubrious remoteness of spiritual superiority," to quote a Swedish writer; whereas Nathan Söderblom, or just "Nathan," as he is called by his friends in Sweden, is so human and so full of understanding for ordinary people, that one wonders how he became a prince of the church.

Friendliness

While working for his doctor's degree at the Sorbonne more than thirty years ago, he was also pastor of the Swedish Church in Paris as well as missionary to the Swedish sailors in the ports of Calais, Boulogne and Dunkirk. Among his parishioners in Paris were the officials of the Swedish Legation and such distinguished painters as Anders Zorn and Nils Forsberg; but he also had to serve as spiritual and sometimes temporal adviser to the Swedish denizens of the Latin quarter, and they often rivaled the sailors in their exigencies.

Once he helped a Swedish seamstress by inducing the wives of the Swedish diplomats to buy their corsets of her; and at another time he obtained a loan out of the church funds for a young Swedish dancer, so she could buy a spangled skirt. Was she not also an artist and in need of the implements of her profession? His home was one of the Swedish art centers in Paris; and one summer he bucked up the character of a failing Swedish painter by spend-

ing his vacation with him in a little house near Calais, at the same time getting him a commission to paint a new altar piece for the church. Begging for others is one of his habits, whether for missionaries or war prisoners; and having been brought up in a poor country minister's home in northern Sweden, the oldest of many children, he knows the feel of Nature's pain.

Peace Interests

Among his parishioners in Paris was also Alfred Nobel, the inventor of dynamite and the donor of the prizes. In his address of acceptance at Oslo, Archbishop Söderblom said he was probably the first winner of a prize who had known the founder personally. In fact, he officiated at his funeral. It was known that Nobel dispensed an extensive charity; and it is probable that Reverend Söderblom interceded with him for worthy applicants.

"The Peace Prize was not to be an atonement for his high explosives," said Dr. Söderblom in his Nobel address at Oslo. "On the contrary, he believed that the perfection of them would render war so destructive as to make it impossible—a hope in which he was grievously deceived. But he also understood that real peace must come from within and that it needs to be encouraged and fostered by positive as well as by negative means. He therefore specified in his will that the peace prize should be awarded to workers for the fraternization of the peoples and specifically to the organizers of international peace congresses."

In this respect Archbishop Söderblom has earned the honor by reason of his labors for church unity and in particular by his

arduous efforts to get the various denominations together at international conferences. Such a one was held in Stockholm in 1925; and it will be repeated in London in 1935. At the Stockholm conference he was not only the chief host, but also the guiding spirit; and though nothing revolutionary resulted, a permanent organization was set up, so that the machinery for the next meeting is already at work.

Universality

It is probable that no Protestant clergyman of our times has so many contacts and so many interests in all parts of the world as Archbishop Söderblom. As a tribute to his leadership and zeal for church unity he has been called sometimes the "Protestant Pope" and sometimes a "Modern Luther." Few men of our age are more learned or more effective in popular appeal. He speaks several languages fluently, and besides the doctor's degree from the Sorbonne, holds honorary degrees from nearly a dozen European universities, including Berlin and Oxford. For two years before his elevation to the archbishopric at Upsala, he was professor of Comparative History of Religions at the University of Leipzig, and his writings on professional topics have been published in several languages. He is a member of the Swedish Academy which awards the Nobel Prize in Literature, and has been pro-chancellor of the University of Upsala. While in the United States in 1923, he preached at such American universities as Harvard, Yale, Columbia and the University of Chicago. If there ever was an internationally minded man, Archbishop Söderblom is one.

Romantic Color

But greater than all these honors and feats of learning is the man himself, a picturesque, warm-blooded individual, a truly romantic figure in a mechanistic age. In the succession of bishops at Upsala, he is the 70th and the 62nd archbishop; and among his predecessors have been several colorful personalities, such as Jöns Bengtsson Oxenstierna, of whom I read as a boy that at the beginning of the 16th century he led a rebellion against the king. He was himself of noble birth, relatively wealthy and as administrator of the episcopal estates able to equip and order out a

respectable force of horsemen. These he commanded himself; and dropping his surplice and chasuble, he appeared before the altar at the Upsala Cathedral in full armor to say the farewell mass. In battle he was defeated and came to an evil end. Otherwise, he might have made himself king.

Even in my own childhood there was an archbishop at Upsala who was a member of the national parliament; and thanks to his forceful personality he became so powerful politically that at one time he was thought of as a candidate for the premiership. Of his autocratic manners and unconventional repartee, there are still many amusing anecdotes current in Sweden.

Not that Archbishop Söderblom himself is a subdued personality or unconscious of the dignity of his office. On the contrary, being a true son of the north, he likes colorful vestments and ornate rituals. In recent years he has done much to rescue the Swedish Lutheran Church service from the bleakness that in my youth threatened to rival the gloom of the Puritans. Like most successful clergymen he is a consummate actor and a skillful stage manager. His temperament is that of an artist. His manners and gestures lively; his voice agreeable and his personal charm irresistible. His profession he regards as closely allied to that of the artist, and when professor of theology at Upsala he urged his students to take inspiration from the workers in the fine arts.

In America

As a university student at the age of twenty-four he visited the United States on his first trip abroad, being a Swedish delegate to one of the first international Christian Student Conferences at Northfield, Massachusetts, where he met the great American revivalist, Dwight L. Moody, whom he greatly admired. To this day he likes to sing the Sankey hymns. He also made short visits to both Yale and Harvard. Dr. John R. Mott has been his lifelong friend since then.

When I first saw him he was on his second visit to the United States, a propaganda trip in the interest of church unity and international peace. After having preached at Appleton Chapel at Harvard in the morning, he was scheduled to speak

at Tremont Temple in Boston in the afternoon. My motive for attending, I confess, was pure curiosity. I had read about his titles and his honors, but I knew nothing about the man. To tell the truth, my expectations were not high. In France I had heard such orators as René Viviani and Aristide Briand, to say nothing of men like Lloyd George and President Wilson. The Swedish archbishop would probably be a stilted speaker and a bore, I thought.

But I soon had my awakening. There were some preliminary numbers of local talent, a hymn or two, a prayer and some choral singing, and then the Archbishop himself arose. Perhaps I ought to say he leaped into the center of the platform, with such agility did he move. He wore no vestments; only the conventional black of a cleric, his only ornament being his episcopal insignia, a large gilt cross, dangling from his throat.

Now a Swedish-American audience anywhere is apt to be respectful and attentive, but not exactly exuberant or volatile, at least not in Boston; and yet the Archbishop had hardly spoken his first sentence, before I could feel that he had the entire crowd as though hypnotized. It was not formal oratory, and yet it was something so eloquent that it seemed bewitching. When he had spoken for a few minutes he suddenly began to read a formal proclamation or greeting from the king of Sweden, and instantaneously as though the crowded Tremont Temple had been a country church in Sweden, everybody rose with a sort of military vim. The speed of it surprised me. I had seen no sign to rise from the Archbishop. It was his tone of voice, I suppose.

He spoke first in Swedish to the old-timers and then to the younger generation in English. He used no flattery; but on the contrary was at times quite severe, yet also light and humorous, for relief. I once heard General Ballington Booth address a Salvation Army meeting in Brooklyn, and I found Archbishop Söderblom his equal in popular appeal. Like the rest, I drank in every word as though it had been a stimulating beverage and with every sentence, I wondered what he would say next.

"What a political spellbinder he would have been," I reflected, as my mind wandered back to the final "Bull Moose" ral-

lies in the old Madison Square Garden in New York and to the turbulent sessions I had witnessed from the press gallery in the French Chamber of Deputies. His predecessor, Jöns Bengtsson Oxenstierna, may have been a doughty leader of men; but in these days of general suffrage and representative government, an orator like Dr. Söderblom has at least equal potentiality for political power. When he finished, I could not resist the impulse to climb up on the platform and shake his hand.

"When history finally decides who has most stirred the imagination of the Swedish people in recent years—Hjalmar Branting or Nathan Söderblom—" writes Dr. Lydia Wahlström in a recent issue of a Swedish periodical, "I wonder whether it will not be the latter who will carry the decision."

In Paris, before and during the Peace Conference, I had also met the Swedish socialist statesman, Mr. Branting, who was one of the founders of the League of Nations; and though I never heard him speak in public, I am inclined to agree with Dr. Wahlström. Mr. Branting may have been more intellectual, but I believe he lacked the romantic glow of Archbishop Söderblom. In 1922 the Norwegian Parliament also honored Hjalmar Branting with a Nobel Peace Prize, but only half a share, as had been the case with K. P. Arnoldsson in 1908, the only other Swedish winner; so that Archbishop Söderblom is the first Swedish recipient of a full award.

Backgrounds

His full name is "Lars Olof Jonathan (Nathan) Söderblom"; and he was born January 15, 1866, near the east coast of northern Sweden in the province of Hel-singland, a rugged country with a vigorous population, that is sometimes inclined to violence. On his father's side his ancestry consists of sturdy farmers, and as far back as the records go they have been the owners of the same land. In the Archbishop's features as well as in his temperament the genealogists have traced other than Swedish influences—at least a mixture of races. On the Swedish east coast are many signs of an earlier immigration from Finland, and students of racial biology believe that on his father's side there may be a Finnish strain. His will power and determination to go ahead despite all obstacles and discouragement

ments support this idea, for the Finns are a stubborn race.

His mother, on the other hand, was not Swedish at all. Her father was a Danish physician, who moved over to Malmö, a Swedish city opposite to Copenhagen, at the time of a cholera epidemic in 1836. His name was Blume, which in turn suggests German antecedents, while his wife was born a Koefod, which is distinctly Danish. The German background may be responsible for the sentimental, romantic strain in the archbishop's make-up. On the other hand, his friends remark that he is prompt in his decisions as an Englishman, energetic as an American and artistic as a Frenchman. In his youth he was a noted singer, having a fine second tenor voice, and he still loves music and singing. Altogether he is one of the most gifted men in Sweden, his brilliancy being so marked that once he had chosen the clerical profession, he inevitably rose to the top.

His father was also a clergyman, but he was not much known outside of his own diocese. His preaching was of the evangelistic type, and the discipline in the home was of the strictest. But he was also eager to have his sons educated, and began teaching Latin to Nathan, when the latter was but five years old. In Sweden the country ministers receive part of their salary in the form of a small farm, which they often have to help cultivate themselves, and thus the future archbishop learned farming as well as Latin when he was a small boy. This familiarity with the rude facts of country life has been a help to him not only in his sermons and appeals to the Swedish people, but also in his scholarly work, particularly his interpretation of the Avesta language in old Persian religious manuscripts, on which his doctor's thesis at Paris was based. At the same time he likes modern aids to progress and was one of the first air passengers to and from Sweden—perhaps the first bishop to fly anywhere.

When he had obtained his degree in theology at Paris he was immediately appointed professor of Religious History of his own university, Upsala, in Sweden. There he stayed for twelve years and may be said to have revolutionized the instruction in the theological school. At the same time he served as rector of a local church and as a member of the Cathedral Chapter. In 1912 he obtained leave of absence to serve as professor at the University of Leipzig, an appointment by the Saxon Government, and while there was elected Archbishop of Sweden on May 20, 1914.

His Main Achievement

Before he could leave Germany, the World War had broken out; but thanks to his many contacts in France as well as England, he was able to grasp more than one side of the controversy. Hardly had he been consecrated on November 8, 1914, before he launched an appeal to the clergy of all nations to cooperate for the early termination of the war. The replies from the countries that were not neutral were discouraging indeed. Each side took God to witness that their national cause was just. But Archbishop Söderblom was not to be repressed. As soon as the peace treaty was signed he renewed his agitation for church cooperation in preserving peace, and in 1925 he saw his work crowned to the extent that delegates from every denomination in the world, except the Roman Catholic, and from practically every country met in Stockholm. "The chief result of our meeting is that we have met," he admitted when it was over, but to get so many antagonistic factions together was no small feat. The Nobel Peace Prize is partly a reward for this work; but it is also a token of the neighborly feeling that now prevails between Sweden and Norway, and no other Swede so well symbolizes the irenic aspirations of his country as Archbishop Nathan Söderblom.





This is from a photograph of the famous Houdon Bust of George Washington made from life at Mount Vernon by the great French sculptor in 1785. It has never been away from that shrine. This bust has been selected by the Portrait Committee of the Commission as the official picture of the Father of His Country for the Bicentennial Celebration of his birth in 1932.

The George Washington Bicentennial Celebration

By HON. SOL BLOOM

Member of Congress from New York and Associate Director of the United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission. Mr. Bloom is chief executive officer of the Commission.—EDITOR.

FOR almost ten months in 1932 the United States and all of the nations of the earth will join in celebrating the George Washington Bicentennial. To my mind it would be difficult to think of anything which would be more conducive than this to good feeling among the peoples of the world.

In observing with ceremony and festivity the 200th anniversary of the greatest of all Americans, the world will have its attention fixed upon the principles and achievements of the irreproachable man, the ideal patriot, the lifelong worker in behalf of human rights and human happiness.

George Washington is a figure to whom all peoples can look for inspiration. So free from blame was the life he lived, so impossible of criticism the principles by which he was guided in both his private and his public conduct, that his history offers only the best guidance for both individuals and nations in trying to find a solution for their problems.

Now as regards the celebration. The United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission, created by special act of Congress in 1924, is charged with three principal duties:

First, to arouse interest in the Bicentennial.

Second, to formulate and disseminate plans for its successful celebration.

Third, to collect and communicate to the public as much information as possible on the personality and career of George Washington.

President Hoover is chairman of the Commission. Its membership includes the Vice-President of the United States, the Speaker of the national House of Representatives, eight distinguished members of Congress and eight eminent men and women appointed by the President from the different sections of the country.

The object of its work, as defined by Congress, is to bring the people into such intimate knowledge of the life of George

Washington that they and succeeding generations will be better citizens.

According to unofficial advices from most of the diplomats stationed in Washington, the foreign governments of the world will participate in the commemoration. Americans residing abroad will also celebrate the event. In all the world capitals and many other foreign cities they have already set up Bicentennial committees which are now planning exercises appropriate to observance of the Bicentennial.

In this country the celebration will be confined to no one place and to no one date. The Commission has decreed that it shall continue from February 22, 1932, until Thanksgiving Day of that year. By this we mean that every community shall designate, within the specified celebration period, a number of patriotic dates on which it will have ceremonies and festivities marking the Bicentennial.

In this way the commemoration will cover the entire United States; every town and rural community will be an essential part of the observance; and for almost ten months popular attention will be focused upon George Washington and what he stood for.

Already more than 4,000 American cities and towns have appointed their local Bicentennial commissions to cooperate with the national Commission in making the event a success.

While the celebration is to be in the home towns of the people, this Nation's Capital will naturally be the scene of certain outstanding ceremonies in connection with the Bicentennial; and, because of its associations with Washington and its geographical nearness to his home, it will be a mecca for tourists from all parts of this country and the world at large.

It was due more to Washington than any other man that the District of Columbia was located where it now is. It was due to his vision and his influence that the Cap-

tal City was conceived and laid out in such a way as to make it the thing of beauty it is today. It was Washington who laid the cornerstone of the Capital Building. It was at old Georgetown, now a part of the northwest section of the city, that Washington held many business conferences and visited many friends.

Just across the river is the city of Alexandria where much of his business and social life was spent, where he attended church for many years, and where he served as a member of the town council. Nine miles from Alexandria is Mount Vernon, that stately residence on a hill which, thanks to the patriotism and industry of American womanhood, is now preserved and furnished exactly as it was when he made it his home.

Obviously, as I have said, with the interest of the nation and the world fixed upon the founder of this Republic, these scenes in which he was a familiar and dominant figure will draw multitudes of visitors. But we can not emphasize too strongly the fact that the real commemoration and its success will depend upon the enthusiasm with which the American people and their friends abroad observe it in their own home towns.

The celebration will begin on the birthday, February 22, 1932, when Mr. Hoover, President of the United States, will broadcast an address on George Washington. Mr. Hoover will be followed on the air by a mammoth chorus singing "The Star-Spangled Banner" to the accompaniment of the United States Marine Band—an organization which, by the way, was in existence in Washington's day as a fife and drum corps on the battlefield.

This music will go all over the world by means of a gigantic hook-up; and Americans, wherever they may be, at home or abroad, are expected to get in through their loud speakers and join in the singing. The simultaneous singing of our national hymn, a globe-girdling chorus, conveys better than anything else I can think of the vision which this Commission entertains of the celebration as it should be—in the hearts and homes of the people everywhere.

That is, it is our purpose and hope that every American adult and child, joined by our foreign neighbors, will become parts of the Bicentennial observance.

It is our observation that, whenever people know the real Washington, they become enthusiastic about his character and career. It is for this reason that we have made such exhaustive efforts to acquaint everybody with him. To this end we are making use of every known channel of publicity: the newspapers, the magazines, public speakers, the pulpit, the motion picture and the radio.

In addition to this we take pleasure in giving writers, artists, scholars and all other interested persons access to the tremendous store of Washingtoniana which this Commission has assembled. Also, we are glad to extend every possible aid to organizations and communities seeking advice as to how they may best plan their Bicentennial ceremonies and festivities.

To anybody applying to the United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission, Washington Building, Washington, D. C., we will gladly send a comprehensive list of suggestions covering this work, together with any other special information desired or any data on the life of George Washington.

Among other things the national Commission is doing to promote interest in the celebration and disseminate information about Washington are:

Publication of sixteen pamphlets, edited by the distinguished Harvard historian, Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart, dealing with the personality, achievements and times of Washington; issuance of a definitive, memorial edition in 25 volumes of the "Writings of Washington," one-fourth of whose contents will consist of hitherto unpublished documents from the pen of our first President; a campaign in cooperation with the American Tree Planting Association to have at least 10,000,000 Washington trees set out in this country by municipalities and organizations by Thanksgiving Day, 1932; distributing 1,000,000 photographic portraits of George Washington to the public schools and other organizations; and collecting the music of Washington's time.

We are particularly eager that every locality, building and monument throughout the world associated in any way with George Washington and his history shall be made a part of the Bicentennial celebration. Wherever in foreign lands there is a statue of Washington, or a statue of

any of those great foreigners who were his friends and who came to his assistance in fighting the Revolutionary War, wherever there is a street, a park or a building bearing his name or the names of his associates, it should be hung with the United States flag and decorated with red, white and blue bunting during the celebration period. In addition to this there should be public meetings at such points, with addresses delivered on some phase of Washington's life.

Consequently the Commission will appreciate it if both foreigners and Americans residing abroad will make it a point to write to us telling us the locations of such monu-

ments or other points of interest connected in any way with George Washington.

In other countries as in this, our ideal and our earnest purpose is that no opportunity shall be missed to impress upon the people's minds the goodness and the greatness of Washington. This can be done by festivals as well as by solemn ceremonies.

In fact everywhere there should be this combination of reverent prayer and song, and festive holiday-making, the means by which people throughout the history of the world have expressed their admiration of great men and their gratitude that such lives have been lived for the inspiration and guidance of posterity.

Geneva

By PHILIP MARSHALL BROWN

(Professor Brown, who believes that the United States is rendering a greater service to world peace than by entering the League, sends us this vignette of the League while under immediate impressions during a recent stay in Geneva. —Editor.)

GENEVA as an international center has two sides, the one vocal and voluble, the other silent and eloquent. The Assembly of the League of Nations represents the publicity side; the Secretariat, the working side. The Council represents both sides.

The main value of the Assembly lies in its annual expression of opinions concerning matters of international importance. Its chief weakness is an inferiority complex. It cannot forbear from autumnal oratory exalting its own influence and asserting the triumphs of the League.

The Council completely overshadows the Assembly. It likewise tries to conceal a certain scepticism by praising the achievements of the League and sounding a strident optimism. But the Council, acting as a board of directors, expedites a great deal of business, some important and much that is of a routine nature. It is most impressive and awe-inspiring when it thunders against Lithuania and Liberia. It is most effective when it settles serious disputes in private and announces the results in public.

The most valuable work of the Council is its secret diplomacy. The moment an embarrassing question arises in a public session, the Council goes into a private session. If the discussion *in camera* fails to reach a settlement of the matter the Council then resorts to private conversations. These

personal and informal discussions of the foreign representatives give the Council its greatest force. In this way such delicate and menacing controversies as that between Germany and Poland at the January meeting of the Council over the treatment of Germans in Upper Silesia find a solution, if only of a temporary nature.

It is evident that the secret diplomacy of the Council is controlled by the representatives of the four great powers: France, Great Britain, Italy and Japan. The smaller powers do not count for much except when represented by men of such exceptional ability as M. Politis of Greece and M. Benes of Czecho-Slovakia. But the smaller powers do not always readily acquiesce in the decisions of the Big Four as was illustrated by the refusal of Lithuania at the January meeting to accept their admonitions regarding the German complaints with respect to Memel.

Among the Big Four, France has achieved a commanding influence, largely because of the personality of M. Briand. Geneva furnishes M. Briand with the ideal stage and sympathetic atmosphere for the display of his extraordinary talents as an oratorical virtuoso and kindly guardian of the peace. One may well be skeptical of the altruism of M. Briand but admire his consummate skill in creating a friendly working atmosphere for the Council, and in finding "transac-

tions" and formulas to settle or bridge over disputes.

M. Briand was peculiarly interesting in his handling of the Commission on European Union which was attended by ministers for foreign affairs from some 25 nations. It is not clear that he has ever had a definite, concrete project for such a Union. No agenda was ready for the meeting of his Commission in January. The basic problem of organization was not even mentioned. The Commission was completely preoccupied with the universal economic depression and dominated by a most unfortunate pessimism. It reached no conclusions but agreed to continue its investigations into the economic problem in order to resume discussions at the next session in May.

The "Grand Dessin" of Briand is most intriguing. It is hard to divine what he may have had in mind or how the idea of an European Union may evolve. There would appear to be a possibility of the creation of a useful agency for the nations of Europe alongside of the League. The Commission very much suggested a kind of "Committee of the Whole," where members of the League could discuss freely, informally and without any commitments, matters of great importance which may require definite, formal action by the League. It may also prove a liaison between the League and non-members, such as the Soviet Republic and Turkey, which were invited by the Commission to collaborate for specific purposes.

The public activities of the League are of lesser importance than these opportunities afforded by sessions of the Council, the Assembly and the Commission on European Union for the friendly encounters and intercourse of the statesmen of Europe. They are no longer under the necessity, as in former times, of issuing formal and misleading communiques explaining why they exchange visits and enter into private conferences. Geneva and its environs provides an ideal rendezvous for diplomatic flirtations. Many urgent matters, other than those immediately before the League, may be discussed and arranged between foreign ministers, without the knowledge of the general public. In spite of protests and protestations by those who know, and by those who do not know, secret diplomacy is stronger than ever, and doubtless more efficacious because of Geneva.

While the Council and the Assembly enjoy, or suffer, according as one may view it, from great publicity, the Secretariat of the League accomplishes its work with eloquent silence and high efficiency. When the Council or the Assembly is in session, its agenda is prepared with unequaled thoroughness, it is supplied promptly with all necessary documents and facilities. When decisions are to be taken, some unobtrusive member of the Secretariat is at hand to suggest the proper disposition of routine matters. If resolutions are to be adopted or notes to be sent, someone is usually ready with a draft most carefully thought out and phrased with all due concern for precedents and sensibilities.

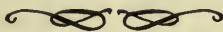
It would be extremely difficult to find anywhere else, either in public administration or in private organization, as efficient a clerical staff as that of the Secretariat. Organized and administered since the very beginning of the League, under the direction of Sir Eric Drummond, the Secretariat is an eloquent tribute to Anglo-Saxon thoroughness and honesty of methods. It has developed a technique *sui generis* which cannot fail to evoke the most genuine admiration. The sound sense, fine tact and rare courtesy of its members must deeply impress all who have occasion to deal with the Secretariat. They are marked, moreover, with an intense, serious loyalty, devotion and an international mindedness of a generous, elevated character that is inspiring.

In the course of the slow evolution of the League, the Secretariat has accumulated an amazing variety of functions. Its work has become so exacting and heavy that many of the members of the Secretariat are compelled to remain in their offices from ten to twelve hours a day.

It is now evident that, through the development of the Secretariat and the gradual accretion of its functions, the League has become a formidable international organization on which the nations of Europe depend for the carrying on of essential interests. Some of these interests are political in character, such as the administration of the Saar Basin, Dantzig, and certain matters in Upper Silesia. But for the most part these interests are non-political, relating to economic and social conditions. These activities are too well known and too numerous to be recounted. They are so important,

and the facilities afforded by the Secretariat for their administration, as well as for the study and the discussion of many other matters of international interest, are so perfect that it would be difficult to imagine the suspension or the termination of the functions of the Secretariat. Whatever might

happen to the League itself; no matter if the Council and the Assembly should seem to fail to accomplish very much for disarmament or for the settlement of political disputes, the Secretariat would seem to have made itself absolutely indispensable. It is the very heart of the League.



INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

The War Debt Holiday

I. The Hoover Proposal

Of June 30, 1931

THE American Government proposes the postponement during one year of all payments on intergovernmental debts, reparations and relief debts, both principal and interest, of course, not including obligations of governments held by private parties. Subject to confirmation by Congress, the American Government will postpone all payments upon the debts of foreign governments to the American Government payable during the fiscal year beginning July 1, next, conditional on a like postponement for one year on all payments on intergovernmental debts owing the important creditor powers.

This course of action has been approved by the following Senators:

Henry F. Ashurst, Hiram Bingham, William E. Borah, James F. Byrnes, Arthur Capper, Simeon D. Fess, Duncan U. Fletcher, Carter Glass, William J. Harris, Pat Harrison, Cordell Hull, William H. King, Dwight W. Morrow, George H. Moses, David A. Reed, Claude A. Swanson, Arthur Vandenberg, Robert F. Wagner, David I. Walsh, James E. Watson.

And by the following Representatives:

Isaac Bacharach, Joseph W. Byrnes, Carl R. Chindbloom, Frank C. Rother, James W. Collier, Charles R. Crisp, Thomas H. Cullen, George P. Darrow, Harry A. Estep, Willis C. Hawley, Carl E. Mapes, J. C. McLaughlin, Earl C. Michener, C. William Ramseyer, Bertrand H. Snell, John Q. Tilson, Allen T. Treadway and Will R. Wood.

It has been approved by Ambassador Charles G. Dawes and by Mr. Owen D. Young.

The purpose of this action is to give the forthcoming year to the economic recovery of the world and to help free the recuperative forces already in motion in the United States from retarding influences from abroad.

The world-wide depression has affected the countries of Europe more severely than our own. Some of these countries are feeling to a serious extent the drain of this depression on national economy. The fabric of intergovernmental debts, supportable in normal times, weighs heavily in the midst of this depression.

From a variety of causes arising out of the depression, such as the fall in the price of foreign commodities and the lack of confidence in economic and political stability abroad, there is an abnormal movement of gold into the United States which is lowering the credit stability of many foreign countries. These and the other difficulties abroad diminish buying power for our exports and in a measure are the cause of our continued unemployment and continued lower prices to our farmers.

Wise and timely action should contribute to relieve the pressure of these adverse forces in foreign countries and should assist in the reestablishment of confidence, thus forwarding political peace and economic stability in the world.

Authority of the President to deal with this problem is limited, as this action must be supported by the Congress. It has been assured the cordial support of leading members of both parties in the Senate and the House. The essence of this proposition is to give time to permit debtor governments to recover their national prosperity. I am suggesting to the American people that they

be wise creditors in their own interest and be good neighbors.

I wish to take this occasion also to frankly state my views upon our relations to German reparations and the debts owed to us by the allied governments of Europe. Our government has not been a party to, or exercised any voice in, domination of reparation obligations. We purposely did not participate in either general reparation or the division of colonies or property. The repayment of debts due to us from the Allies for the advances for war and reconstruction was settled upon a basis not contingent upon German reparations or related thereto. Therefore, reparations is necessarily wholly a European problem with which we have no relation.

I do not approve in any remote sense of the cancellation of the debts to us. World confidence would not be enhanced by such action. None of our debtor nations has ever suggested it. But as the basis of the settlement of these debts was the capacity under normal conditions of the debtor to pay, we should be consistent with our own policies and principles if we take into account the abnormal situation now existing in the world. I am sure the American people have no desire to attempt to extract any sum beyond the capacity of any debtor to pay, and it is our view that broad vision requires that our government should recognize the situation as it exists.

This course of action is entirely consistent with the policy which we have hitherto pursued. We are not involved in the discussion of strictly European problems, of which the payment of German reparations is one. It represents our willingness to make a contribution to the early restoration of world prosperity in which our own people have so deep an interest.

I wish further to add that while this action has no bearing on the conference for limitation of land armaments to be held next February, inasmuch as the burden of competitive armaments has contributed to bring about this depression, we trust that by this evidence of our desire to assist we shall have contributed to the good-will which is so necessary to the solution of this major question.

II. The French Reply

Of June 24, 1931

The French Government has examined with keen interest the proposal of the President of the United States, and declares itself in cordial agreement with the lofty sentiments which inspired the said proposal.

The French Government more than any other is desirous of seeing affirmed, in action for the economic reconstruction of the world, a solidarity with which it has always been inspired, both in accepting the successive reductions in the German debt and in executing in advance the evacuation of the third Rhineland zone in exchange for a complete and definitive settlement of the program of reparations decided upon at Geneva, September 16, 1928.

It desires to emphasize before world opinion the extent of the new sacrifice which is asked of France after all those to which she has already consented.

In response to President Hoover's proposal, the French Government is prepared to ask the French Parliament, whose intervention is indispensable and whose decision is sovereign, that France provisionally, and for a period of one year, forego the retention of any payment made by the Reich.

But, in view of the character of the freely accepted and recently signed engagements of the Young Plan, the solemnity with which was recognized the definitive and nonpostponable character of the unconditional annuities which express the permanent necessity of the principle of reparations, there would be great risk of shaking confidence in the value of signatures and contracts and thus of proceeding contrary to the aim in view, if in the proposed suspension of payments the nonpostponable annuity should be treated like the conditional annuity.

The French Government emphasizes, in particular, that a formal assimilation has been established between the private debts of the Reich (Young and Kreuger loans) and the unconditional annuity not yet mobilized.

To suspend the payment by Germany of the unconditional annuity, while permitting that the Young loan disposed of to the public should continue to be serviced, would go directly against a fundamental principle and express stipulations.

The French Government, therefore, considers that there is a moral interest of the first order in not postponing in any way the payment of the unconditional annuity, even during the period contemplated by President Hoover.

The French Government being desirous of collaborating fully in every effort made to attenuate the consequences of the present crisis, believes that it should point out, in the very interest of the success of this effort, that the mere general suspension of payments would furnish an inadequate remedy. The dangers now threatening German economy and, more generally, European economy, have another origin and are especially due to important restrictions of credit and withdrawals of foreign funds.

The solution of the German crisis, therefore, does not appear to lie only in the diminution of the charges on the budget of the Reich but in an extension of credit.

That is why the French Government declares its readiness, subject to the approval of Parliament, to place at the disposal of the Bank of International Settlements a sum equal to its share for one year of the nonpostponable annuity with the sole exception of the amounts necessary to execution of the balances of the current contracts for payments in kind, a proceeding which, moreover, is advantageous to German economy.

In making this proposal, the French Government expects that the other beneficiaries under the Young Plan will adopt the same decisions, and it even hopes that other measures may be taken to favor the beneficial restoration of credit and confidence in the world.

The sums thus turned over to the Bank of International Settlements could be utilized at once for improving credit in Germany as well as in countries of Central Europe, and especially those in which the suspension of the execution of the Young Plan during one year might create financial or economic disturbance. It goes without saying that the amounts so employed would again become available at the expiration of the period of one year contemplated as the limit of the provisional suspension of the Young Plan.

The French Government also believes that all necessary precautions should be taken in order that these sums, as well as those to be derived from the easing of the budget of the Reich as a result of the suspension of the Young Plan payments for one year, may only be used for economic purposes, all danger of financing or dumping being eliminated.

Lastly, it will be advisable to contemplate before the expiration of the period of one year an examination of measures to be taken by Germany for the resumption of her payments.

The proposals of the French Government and the adjustment, which will be suggested by the application of the American offer and which will necessarily be the subject of a subsequent exchange of views, thus appear to be perfectly compatible with the dominant idea of President Hoover's proposal.

In placing at the disposal of the Bank of International Settlements, on the conditions contemplated above, her part in the unconditional annuity, France is deprived, during the suspension period, of what had been allotted to her on account of the charges which she has to meet for the reconstruction of her devastated regions.

Without wishing to insist on the difference between the sums which she has received and the sums which she would have received, France re-

calls that the amount of her public debt is about four times that of the debt of the Reich and that her effort at financial restoration carried on and accomplished by her own means barely four years ago should not be endangered.

The French Government can, therefore, affirm the solidarity of the French Republic and of the Republic of the United States at the moment when, faithful to their traditions, the two countries are cooperating in precautionary measures in a crisis which is considered grave. They have a right to hope that a response will be made to their international good-will, by respect for treaties, and by the restoration of confidence between peoples, on which the future of peace depends. BRIAND.

III. American Note to France

Of July 1

The American Government recognizes with appreciation the cordial spirit of the French reply to the President's proposal of June 20, and now desires to review the situation which has grown out of the American proposal, the French Government's note in reply of June 24, and the subsequent negotiations which have taken place between Ambassador Edge, Secretary Mellon and the French Ministers.

While the President's offer was the direct result of the crisis in Germany, which from all reports appeared imminent and is still imminent, I am sure the French Government will realize that the purpose of the United States was to give general relief to the world.

The President believed that it would prove an important step in advancing world recovery from the present economic depression. The plain purpose was, by relieving one element of strain in world economy, to give the forthcoming year to economic recovery, and to help free the recuperative forces already in motion, thereby contributing to the relief of unemployment throughout the world, and to lighten the burdens of unduly low prices to agriculture.

The offer met with a world-wide response. What it meant in the way of restoring confidence is reflected in the rise of commodity and security prices throughout the markets of the world.

All of the interested governments have signified their acquiescence. France, however, suggests certain conditions which, if we understand their import, seem to us to withhold the intended relief to Germany and not to conform to the spirit of the President's proposal which contemplated a complete suspension of all payments on intergovernmental debts during a period of one year.

In order that we may now cover one point left open in the original proposal, we may add that it is our view that all postponed payments should be funded over a long period of say 25 years, and to bear interest at the average rate paid by the creditor governments on their own public debt at the end of the preceding fiscal year.

It is, of course, an essential part of the President's proposal that payments under all existing agreements shall be resumed at the end of the year. Thus the continuing force of these agreements is in no way impaired.

In this proposal to postpone for the forthcoming year the payments due under its own international agreements, the American Government will be contributing a total of \$262,000,000, which is the largest contribution made by any government. It recognizes, however, that substantial sacrifices will be called for by other governments, including that of France.

It is obvious that on the success of the plan Germany will be the largest immediate beneficiary, since the payments which she is obligated to make during the coming year on account of intergovernmental debts are about \$400,000,000. Other nations and dominions will also benefit by various sums in addition to the \$400,000,000. It must be remembered, however, that Germany is in the most difficult economic situation of any country.

We feel that in a larger sense all the nations will benefit from the improvement in their economic life which will follow the adoption of the President's program.

Our Government welcomed the statement of France on the 24th of June expressing her keen desire to collaborate and especially the specific statement that France "would abstain as a provisional measure and during a period of one year from retaining any payment sent by the German Government." In this connection we emphasize again the "provisional" character of the President's plan.

The French Government insists, however, as a matter of principle, that unconditional reparations amounting to approximately \$131,000,000 for the year should be paid, in order that there might be no interruption of the continuity of the payment of unconditional annuities. Our Government is willing to recognize this point of view to the extent of agreeing that the payments should be made to the Bank of International Settlements, provided they be immediately reloaned to the German Government.

This would maintain the principle of continuity of payments and at the same time constitute no drain on the German general economy.

We seem then to be agreed on two all-important points:

First, that France will forego the retention of any payments from Germany for the period of one year, and

Second, that the principle of continuity of payment of unconditional annuities is recognized while complete relief to Germany is afforded.

There would seem to remain four points of difference:

First, we understand that the French Government desired to have the B. I. S. reloan the sums paid to German industrial and finance concerns rather than to the German Government. We feel this would be incompatible with the President's proposal of relief to governments, as the French suggestion would give no direct relief to the German Government.

Second, the French Government suggests that \$25,000,000 of the unconditional payments paid into the B. I. S. should be made available for loans to Central European countries, more particularly those whose budgets are affected by the suspension of reparations payments.

The diversion of this sum from Germany is a violation of the broad proposal of the President to suspend all payments of intergovernmental debts.

Moreover, the practical disadvantage of this exception to the President's proposal is that if any of the other countries who have already accepted the President's proposal should make a similar suggestion with reference to loans to particular countries, the reconciliation of all these differences would be practically impossible.

Could not the principle of the President's proposal be preserved and this relatively small amount of relief be given to particular countries through cooperative action of the central banks or through the B. I. S.?

Third, the two governments differ as to the time over which the suspended payments should be funded. Without at this time modifying our suggestion that 25 years is the proper length of time, we do not believe that it would be impossible to reach an agreement on this point provided the other questions could be disposed of, especially if no repayments are to be made in the next two years, as suggested by the French Government. But, of course, the same length of time will apply to the payment on account of the American debt.

Fourth, the question involving the greatest difficulty is that referring to the guarantee fund. We recognize that under the terms of the Young Plan France is obligated in case of suspension by Germany of conditional reparations to pay into the Bank of International Settlements on demand the sum of approximately \$120,000,000, to be applied

in part to increasing payments to be received by other creditors during the period of suspension.

There are two aspects of the suggestion of France with reference to the guarantee fund:

(A) France desires to be sure that the suspension of payments during the forthcoming year shall not throw upon her the obligation to pay into the Bank for International Settlements the guarantee fund.

We sympathize with France in this aspect of the question. We think this fear is groundless because if all governments agree to the American proposal, then there can be no demand of a creditor government for payment. If France, however, has a real fear on this subject, then the other governments concerned should expressly free France from this anxiety.

(B) The other aspect, however, of the question with reference to the guarantee fund is more serious.

Not only the spirit of the President's proposal but the express provision thereof is that the offer of the American Government is conditional on a like postponement for one year of all payments on intergovernmental debts owing the important creditor powers. It appears to us also to seriously impair the spirit of the declaration of France to the effect that she wishes no benefits from the payments.

The French Government apparently desires her postponement of unconditional payments to take the form of a payment into the B. I. S. and a loan back to Germany. This naturally contemplates that those loans back to Germany should be on the same footing so far as length of time of postponement, et cetera, as similar arrangements made by any other government.

When, however, the French Government couples with this suggestion the further suggestion that the loans back to Germany shall be considered exactly as though cash payments had been made by Germany to France and cash loans had been made back by France to Germany and that these loans should be considered in all future times as funds available to France to reduce or satisfy her guarantee as to subsequent years, she is departing substantially from not only the spirit but the substance of the President's offer.

To state the problem a little differently, France appears to be insisting that the funds paid by Germany into the B. I. S. during the year of suspension and loaned to Germany must be credited to the guarantee fund just as if France herself had actually made the deposit, thus relieving France of any future obligation in respect of the guarantee fund.

This seems to us to be inconsistent with the suggestion that the payment by Germany into

the B. I. S. during the period of suspension is a mere matter of form in order to assure the continuity of unconditional payment. What was regarded as a matter of form in the first instance is now evidently to be treated as an actual payment.

In any event, it seems clear that this particular proposal involves a modification of the Young Plan, which we understand the French Government was particularly anxious to avoid. The American Government, not being a signatory, of course cannot undertake to negotiate a change.

The American Government feels that perhaps there is some misunderstanding on the part of France as to the sacrifices which would be required from her under the plan proposed. We must assume that with the present situation in Germany and the failure of the American proposals, then Germany will unquestionably give notice for the postponement of all conditional reparations as provided in the Young Plan and that this portion of intergovernmental payments will not be forthcoming.

Therefore, in measuring the sacrifices necessary there can only be considered the effect of the unconditional payments if Germany is able to find a foreign exchange necessary to meet these payments.

If the American proposal shall fail and if conditional payments are postponed under the provision of the Young Plan, and even assuming that unconditional payments are maintained, France would receive from these unconditional payments, after priorities have been accepted, approximately \$105,000,000. She would be obliged to pay:

(a) The guarantee fund of \$106,000,000 under the Young Plan.

(b) \$110,000,000 to Great Britain and the United States, approximately.

Whereas, her receipts from the unconditional reparations, even if they be maintained, would be less than one-half of this sum. Thus if the American proposal should fail and the suspension provisions of the Young Plan be invoked by Germany then France will be the loser during the forthcoming year of general postponement by over \$100,000,000.

There is no escaping the fact that the world will not emerge from the present depression without temporary sacrifices by all. Our Government believes that cooperative action in the carrying out of a well-conceived and agreed-on program will not only diminish the burden but contribute materially to the restoration of normal conditions which all of the nations so earnestly hope for.

In the light of this major objective the American Government hopes that the French Govern-

ment, whose cooperation is so essential, will find a method to reconcile existing differences so as to permit a concerted effort by all in the carrying out of the President's program.

IV. Franco-American Agreement

Of July 6

After an exchange of views the French Government states that it is in agreement with the United States on the essential principle of President Hoover's proposal and on the following propositions, which may be expressed thus:

1. The payment of intergovernmental debts is postponed from July 1, 1931, to June 30, 1932.

2. However, the Reich will pay the amount of unconditional annuity. The French Government agrees, in so far as it is concerned, that the payments thus made by the Reich shall be placed by the Bank for International Settlements in guaranteed bonds of the German railroads.

3. All suspended payments shall be subject to interest in accordance with the conditions suggested by the American Government, payable in ten annual instalments beginning with July 1, 1933.

4. The same conditions shall apply to the bonds to be issued by the German railroads. On the three points which it is recognized do not directly concern the American Government the French Government makes the following observations:

(A) A common action by the principal central banks acting through the medium of the Bank for International Settlements shall be organized to assist the countries of Europe which would be particularly affected by the postponement of the payment as proposed.

(B) A preliminary understanding should take place between France and the Bank for International Settlements in order that France shall not supply the guarantee fund provided for in the Young Plan in the event of a moratorium except by monthly payments in accordance with the needs of the Bank for International Settlements after actual transfer of payments by Germany.

(C) The question of deliveries in kind and the various modifications which will become necessary as a result of the application of the American proposal and the present agreement shall be studied by a committee of experts named by the interested powers which shall reconcile the material necessities with the spirit of President Hoover's proposal. France reserves the right to request of the German Government indispensable assurances concerning the utilization for exclusively economic purposes the sums freed to the Reich budget.

V. Statement by President Hoover

Of July 6

I am glad to announce that the American proposal for one year's postponement of all intergovernmental debts and reparations has now been accepted in principle by all of the important creditor governments.

The terms of acceptance by the French Government are, of course, subject to the approval of the other interested powers, for whom the American Government naturally cannot speak. Without going into technical terms, while certain payments are made by Germany for reparations account, the substance of the President's proposal is retained as the sums so paid are immediately reallocated to Germany.

The technical difficulties arising from many complicated international agreements which involve the aggregate payment between governments of over \$800,000,000 per annum are now in the course of solution by the good-will and earnest cooperation of governmental leaders everywhere.

The American part of the plan is, of course, subject to the approval by Congress, but I have received the individual assurances of support from a very large majority of the members of both Senate and House, irrespective of political affiliations.

The acceptance of this proposal has meant sacrifices by the American people and by the allied governments, who are with all others suffering from world-wide depression and deficits in governmental budgets. The economic load most seriously oppressing the peoples of Germany and Central Europe will be immensely lightened.

While the plan is particularly aimed to economic relief, yet economic relief means the swinging of men's minds from fear to confidence, the swinging of nations from the apprehension of disorder and governmental collapse to hope and confidence of the future. It means tangible aid to unemployment and agriculture.

The almost unanimous support in the United States is again profound evidence of the sincere humanity of the American people. And in this year, devoted to economic upbuilding, the world has need of solemn thought on the causes which have contributed to the depression. I need not repeat that one of these causes is the burden imposed and the fears aroused by competitive armaments.

Contemplation of the past few weeks should bring a realization that we must find relief from these fundamental burdens which today amount to several times the amount of intergovernmental debts.

VI. Premier Laval's Statement

Of July 6

An accord has been concluded.

President Hoover has given his approval to the text, the terms of which had been decided in to-night's Council of Ministers.

It is an important decision which involves a severe sacrifice for my country. It will be readily understood that the government desired to maintain Franco-American solidarity, on which more than ever is contingent the work of international cooperation for peace. It will be observed that the French Government has not permitted France's inviolable right to reparations to be limited.

If the accord which has been reached gives rise to the rebirth of confidence in the world, our gesture will not have been in vain, and if Germany understands the extent and meaning of our generous attitude, a new era will be opened for these two peoples.

VII. Germany's Decree Against Flight of Capital

IN A telegram, dated July 19, from Berlin, Germany, Ambassador Sackett furnished the following summary of the decree of the German Government against the flight of capital from Germany and concerning tax evasion. The presidential decree was issued late in the evening of July 19.

1. The obligation is put upon all persons to offer to the Reichsbank all foreign media of payment; the same to foreign securities purchased subsequent to July 12. Exceptions are made for the legitimate needs of importers. Violations of this decree are subject to imprisonment and heavy fines.

2. Provides for tax amnesty to persons now declaring taxable property which they had previously failed to declare. For this purpose, supplementary tax declarations may be entertained made up to July 31, 1931. Failure to declare previous tax evasions subject to severe punishment and heavy fines.

3. Deals with tax supervision and provides that persons hitherto not obliged to keep books and who have a certain income must hereafter keep books. The investigation of the books of stock companies, et cetera, may extend to the investigation of employees of the respective organizations.

Presidential decree issued July 18 provides for the payment of an additional passport fee for foreign travel. Decree effective July 22 and expires October 1, 1931.

The governmental regulation, issued late July 18, providing for the further relaxation of the

bank holiday regulations and resumption of limited bank payments, is regarded as the first step toward the restoration of normal banking conditions. In substance the decree regulates payments by banks from July 20 to July 23 inclusive. On these four days banks may pay to depositors no more than five per cent of deposited amount, and in no case more than 100 marks. Payments on savings banks deposits are limited to 20 marks, on letters of credit to 100 marks. Payments may now also be made to meet freight charges. With respect to all other payments these four days are regarded as legal bank holidays. Drafts may not be protested from July 22 to July 24. Failure to meet obligations due to above restrictions furnishes no basis for legal claims. The postoffice, Reichsbank and Gold Discount Bank are not subject to these restrictions.

VIII. President Hoover's Proposal Sent to Secretaries Stimson and Mellon at London, July 21, 1931.

THE essence of the problem is the restoration of confidence in Germany's economic life, both in Germany and abroad.

1. On the political side the United States hopes that, through mutual good-will and understanding, the European nations may eliminate all friction so that the world may rely upon the political stability of Europe.

2. On the economic side, the present emergency is strictly a short-term credit crisis. Fundamental pressure upon German economy during the period of depression has been relieved by the joint action of the creditor powers in suspending all payments upon governmental debts during the period of one year. But Germany has financed her economic activities to a very great extent through the medium of short-term foreign credits. There is no reason to doubt the soundness of the basis upon which these credits rest, but the general uncertainty which has prevailed for the last few weeks resulted in such a loss of confidence that the German banking and credit structure was subjected to a very severe strain. This strain took two very definite forms, both of which resulted in a drain of banking resources and the depletion of German gold and foreign exchange holdings.

In the first place there was a flight from the mark within Germany. In the second place there was a withdrawal of foreign deposits and a curtailment on the part of foreign banks of outstanding lines of credit.

Fundamentally there is nothing to justify these movements and if, through cooperative action, they can be arrested, there is no reason why the present

emergency can not be immediately and definitely surmounted.

(a) As to the first, namely, the internal flight from the mark, this can be and is being successfully combatted by the vigorous action of the German Government and the Reichsbank. Once unreasonable fear has been eliminated, it is certain that the patriotism of the German people can be relied on to prevent the destruction of the credit of their own country.

(b) As to the external credits, we believe that the first approach to this problem is the development of a program that will permit the maintenance for an adequate period of time of the present outstanding lines of credit. In this connection it is our understanding that this volume of credit together with the freed reparations and the natural gain from the allayment of the panic should be adequate to meet the needs of German economic life for the immediate moment. On the other hand, it must be apparent that, unless provision is made for the maintenance of these credits, an attempt to provide new ones, whether of a short or long-term character, would be ineffective. In the development of such a program, the governments of the countries having principal banking centers, including the United States, Belgium, France, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, Japan and Switzerland, and other important banking centers, might well undertake to encourage their bankers so to organize as to permit the maintenance for an adequate period of time of present-day outstanding lines of credit to Germany. The responsibility for working out the details of such a program and the methods of making it effective with due regard to the protection of the banks and the needs of German economy should be left to the banking communities of the respective countries and the central banks could, we believe, be relied on to furnish the necessary leadership, cooperation and direction.

Such voluntary arrangements should be supplemented, for the time being, by strict control of all foreign exchange transactions by the Reichsbank, so that the integrity of the program can be maintained and the banks that are participating can be assured that there would be no arbitrary withdrawal either from within or without Germany.

3. It is our belief that if such a program could be made promptly effective it would result in an immediate restoration of confidence and that in a comparatively short time the necessity for restrictions of this character would disappear and normal conditions would once more prevail. There is all the more ground for faith in such a result in view of the fact that the United States debt-suspension program has now become effective and that the events which succeeded the announcement of that

program clearly demonstrate that relief from payment of intergovernmental debts established in the minds of the business world the basis for renewed confidence.

4. A committee should be selected by the Bank for International Settlements or created by some other appropriate method to secure cooperation on the following question:

A. In consultation with the banking interests in the different countries to provide for the renewal of the present volume of outstanding short-term credits from those countries.

B. In making an enquiry into the immediate further credit needs of Germany.

C. In the development during the course of the next six or eight months of plans for a conversion of some proportion of the short-term credits into long-term credits.

IX. Text of London Agreement

The following is the text of the communiqué issued July 23 at the close of the seven-power conference:

THE recent excessive withdrawals of capital from Germany have created an acute financial crisis. These withdrawals have been caused by a lack of confidence which is not justified by the economic and budgetary situation of the country.

In order to insure maintenance of the financial stability of Germany, which is essential in the interests of the whole world, the governments represented at the conference are ready to cooperate so far as lies within their power to restore confidence.

The governments represented at the conference are ready to recommend for the consideration of the financial institutions in their respective countries the following proposals for relieving the immediate situation:

First, that the central bank credit of \$100,000,000 recently granted to the Reichsbank under the auspices of the Bank for International Settlements be renewed at maturity for a period of three months.

Secondly, that concerted measures should be taken by the financial institutions in the different countries with a view to maintaining the volume of credits they have already extended to Germany.

The conference recommends that the Bank for International Settlements should be invited to set up without delay a committee of representatives nominated by the governors of the central banks interested to inquire into the immediate further credit needs of Germany and to study the possi-

bilities of converting a portion of the short-time credits into long-term credits.

The conference noted with interest a communication from Dr. Bruening relative to the joint guarantee recently placed by German industry at the disposal of the Gold Discount Bank. The conference is of the opinion a guarantee of this description should make it possible to provide a sound basis for the resumption of normal operations of international credit.

The conference considers that if these measures are carried through they will form a basis for more permanent action to follow.

The conference also decided that a committee of experts should proceed with an elaboration of the detailed measures required for giving effect to President Hoover's proposal for a year's suspension of intergovernmental debts.

News In Brief

THE 22D ROTARY INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION was held in Vienna from June 22 to 26. More than four thousand Rotarians from all parts of the world came together for the purpose of demonstrating their faith in "this great venture for international understanding." Sixty-one countries were represented, more than half from Anglo-Saxon lands.

THE CZECHOSLOVAK GROUP of the Interparliamentary Union held a meeting in the Chamber of Deputies in Prague on July 1, when Lord Cecil of Chelwood, a specially invited guest, addressed them on "Disarmament." Lord Cecil was the guest of President Masaryk during his stay in Prague.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA has conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws upon the Czechoslovak Minister to the United States, M. Ferdinand Veverka, because of his services to the cause of international understanding.

THE RHAETO-ROMANIC LEAGUE in Switzerland has offered, and the University of Geneva has accepted, a chair of Rhaeto-Romanic languages for three years. This group of languages includes Romanisch, the fourth tongue of Switzerland, which is spoken in the Engadine and neighboring high Alpine valleys. The occupant of the chair will be Dr. Antoine Velleman, long a student and writer on these languages, a lecturer in

several tongues and a member of the corps of interpreters of the League of Nations.

A SPECIAL SERVICE was held in the Church of St. Sepulchre, Holland, June 21, to commemorate the tercentenary of the death of Captain John Smith, one-time Governor of Virginia, who is buried in that church.

ON THE AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE DAY, July 4, there was unveiled in Poznan, Poland, a statue of Woodrow Wilson. The monument was designed by Gutzon Borglum and presented to his country by Poland's first President, Ignace Paderewski. Mr. Paderewski himself was unable to be present at the unveiling; but since it was due largely to his statesmanship in America that the liberation of Poland was included as Number 13 in President Wilson's famous "Fourteen Points," the enthusiastic crowds at the ceremonies paid tribute to Paderewski as well as to President Wilson.

SIR ERIC DRUMMOND, Secretary General of the League of Nations, was awarded the Wateler Peace Prize for 1931. Sir Eric requested that the \$12,500 be given to some institution that is furthering the work of the League. It was accordingly placed at the disposal of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies in Brussels.

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION of Colonial Art will be held in Rome during the last three months of 1931. American artists have been asked, through the Department of State, to contribute. The exhibition will include all forms of art illustrative of colonial life and scenery in any part of the world. No restrictions of style or school are imposed, and the artists need not confine themselves to colonies of their own countries.

THE NON-POLITICAL English-Speaking Union of the British Empire announces that members of the English-Speaking Union of the United States will find at Dartmouth House, Berkeley Square, London, which is the British headquarters, many interesting contacts. A Common Interests Committee undertakes to put visitors in touch with any fields of activity in which they are interested. A small fee for maintenance of the house is asked if visitors wish to use its facilities more than three days.

MANY FOREMOST MEN of science, representing twenty-four countries assembled in London, June 29, for an international Congress on the "History of Science and Technology." America sent a strong delegation.

THE INAUGURATION of the Institute of Germanic Studies at the University of Paris last winter is celebrated by a special bulletin lately brought out by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. In it are translated the addresses, French and German, given at the opening. Attention is also called to the similar institute in the University of Strasbourg, and the chair of peace recently established in the University of Lyon.

A NEW AND VERY SUCCESSFUL means for making telegraphic or wireless transmissions in secret was described on July 6 to the French Academy of Sciences by Gen. Gustave Ferrié of the French Institute. The system is expected to prove valuable to newspapers as well as the diplomatic and military arms of governments.

THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS passed its eighth birthday on July 6. There were no festivities to mark the occasion, but a few newspapers called attention to the anniversary.

A MONUMENT to Gustave Stresemann, former foreign minister of Germany, was unveiled at Mainz, July 5. In the ceremonies of dedication, he was hailed as the liberator of the Rhineland. The exercises were broadcast over all Germany.

CONTRARY TO THE FEARS of Premier Mussolini, the Italian birth-rate increased between 1921 and 1931 by 6.1 per cent. The population of Rome increased 45 per cent since 1921, now lacking only a few thousands of the million mark.

THE INTER-PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU, international headquarters, has moved from 5 Place Clapere de to 6 rue Constantin, Geneva.

BING AND GRONDAHL, porcelain makers of Copenhagen, have turned out the largest piece of porcelain in the world. It is a fountain two meters high, weighing 999 kilograms. It was exhibited at Barcelona and at Paris in 1930. France, which rarely buys works of art of foreign origin, purchased it for the space facing the Tuilleries, in front of the Museum "Jeu de Paume."

ENGLISH-SPEAKING UNIVERSITY GRADUATES residing in Tokyo are considering the organization of a club to occupy quarters in the proposed Pan-Pacific Union Clubhouse there. Main objects of the club would be to stimulate and preserve international friendships and otherwise contribute to world peace.

A DRAFT CONSTITUTION for the consideration of the new Spanish Cortes was issued by the government on June 29. On July 14, the Constituent Cortes, first republican assembly in Spain since 1873, was called to order in Madrid. Cheering throngs greeted the peoples' delegates, who are to proceed with the making of a constitution. The President of the Cortes, unanimously elected, was Julian Besteiro, socialist party leader.

THE OFFICIAL PAPERS of the territories of the United States, now in the archives of the State Department, are to be collected and edited by Dr. Clarence E. Carter, professor of history at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. An act of Congress in 1925, amended in 1929, authorizes the State Department to publish these territorial papers. Dr. Carter begins his work in mid-August.

THE CHINESE MINISTRY of Industry, Commerce and Labor has completed plans for the construction of a modern machine shop in Shanghai, which will require a capital of over \$3,000,000. It is stated that a portion of the British Boxer indemnity funds will be appropriated, while the remainder of the capital will be supplied by arrangement with the National Products Bank in China.

THE MEMORY OF JAMES MONROE, fifth President of the United States, was honored on July 4, the hundredth anniversary of his death, under the auspices of the University of Virginia Institute of Public Affairs. William R. Castle, acting Secretary of State, in an address in which he defended the Monroe Doctrine, said, "It remains as an assurance of our unswerving friendship toward Latin America." He also denied that it gave authority for intervention in behalf of American citizens.

PRESIDENT MASARYK gave a reception in June to the foreign holders of scholarships in Czechoslovak universities, and students sent by foreign governments to study there. Fifty students from twenty different European and American states attended.

THE 28TH UNIVERSAL PEACE CONGRESS was held in Brussels July 5 and 6.

THE 13TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE of the International Confederation of Students will take place August 28 to September 2, in Bucharest.

IMPROVING THE HEALTH of 400,000 residents of a rural county in China and inauguration of health

education have been undertaken recently by the Chinese National Association of the Mass Education Movement with financial aid from the Milbank Memorial Fund in the United States. The experiment is to be conducted in Ting Hsien, not very far from Peiping, where, since 1927, the Association, under the leadership of James Yen, has been engaged in a program of agricultural extension, industrial education, social surveys, and research in methods of teaching.

THE JAPAN COMMITTEE of the World Conference for International Peace Through Religion held a conference on May 18, good-will day, when some 350 Shinto, Buddhist and Christian leaders discussed and adopted ten resolutions relating to amity between nations, to be forwarded to the World Conference.

"WORLD ECONOMIC PLANNING" will be the chief topic of discussion at the Williamstown Institute of Politics this summer. Economic organization under the individualistic capitalist system, the communist system and the fascist system will be discussed, with prominent representatives of each to deliver lectures. The session, eleventh in the series, will be held July 30 to August 27.

AN INTERESTING LINE of work not yet five years old and designed to promote international understanding is the publication of a quarterly called "Books Abroad," by the University of Oklahoma. It is free to students and libraries and contains short articles on contemporary writers and literary movements all over the world, and short comments on recent foreign publications. Books are classified under countries and subjects.

THE WORLD ALLIANCE for International Friendship through the Churches will hold its 16th annual meeting in Chicago, November 10 to 12.

THE FIFTH CONGRESS and fourth biennial of the World Federation of Education Associations met in Denver, July 27 to August 1.

Book Reviews

THE END OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE, by *Michael T. Florinsky*. Pp. 266 and index. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1931. Price, \$3.

After assisting the late Professor Vinogradoff, of Oxford, in collecting data for an article on

Russia in the new Encyclopedia Britannica, Dr. Florinsky accepted the assistant editorship, under Vinogradoff, of the Russian series of the "Economic and Social History of the War," which was undertaken by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, under the general editorship of Professor Shotwell. Professor Vinogradoff died in 1925 and Dr. Florinsky continued the editing of the ten volumes on Russia, which are now off the press. This book by Florinsky constitutes the final study of the series, and is in reality a sort of synthesis of the preceding volumes. It boils down the facts and in a manner popularizes the subject. It is, however, Dr. Florinsky's own survey of the political and economic era in fields hitherto largely neglected. His conclusions and comments in some cases differ from those of the authors of the other books.

It is in any event a scholarly book written with fine restraint, condensed and orderly in its presentation. Russia on the eve of war, the degree of modernization, which, though trailing far behind the rest of Europe, she had achieved, the coming of the war under which "the obsolescence and imperfections of her political, social and economic structure could no longer be concealed or ignored," the boiling up of long-time discontent and anarchy below the surface, the two revolutions and the beginning of Bolshevist rule—all these are followed in a straight-forward narrative.

It appears more and more clearly that with a people so hopelessly divided into classes aloof from each other, so large a percentage of illiterates and no training whatever for democratic control, it was inevitable that the autocracy of one class should be succeeded by that of another.

Within the framework of the story are fresh and convincing portraits of the Tsar and Tsarina, the latter superstitious and dominating her weak husband; sketches of Rasputin, the demagog; Stolypin with his plans for reform; the statesman, Count Witte, and others of whom it is well to read. The volume is interesting and also a much-needed preliminary to any understanding of the Russia of today.

THE LAST STAND, AN INTERPRETATION OF THE SOVIET FIVE-YEAR PLAN, by *Edmund A. Walsh*. Pp. 326 and index. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1931. Price, \$3.

Father Walsh of Georgetown University speaks about Russia from a background of long study, writing and lecturing on the subject. He was in Russia during a crucial part of her history, administering Catholic famine relief. He has been for eight years engaged in producing chapters in a chronicle of the consequences of the Russian revolution. No lover of Bolshevism, he sees in the much-advertized five-year plan, however, something significant. It is necessary, he says, to understand its intention and its working out in order to comprehend the rôle of Bolshevism in the world.

Nothing in history is better documented than the Bolshevist revolution and the subsequent events in that experiment. Eliminating guesswork, therefore, he draws evidence from official sources, publications and statements of officials who have broken with Moscow. Most illuminating of all are the many posters now flooding Russia in support of the Soviet plans.

Father Walsh makes no prediction as to success or failure of the five-year plan. The scales he thinks hang now just about even.

A fact which other nations must recognize in their dealing with the Soviet republic, is the Bolshevik admission that its program justifies every policy necessary, from evasion to assassination. Noncommunists need to remember that the code of morals usually accepted among honorable men has no weight with communists if the revolution would not profit thereby. In fact the government last year announced the abolition of the Department of Justice, and the substitution of the Commissariat for the Preservation of the Revolutionary Order.

Father Walsh writes from a fund of documented and accurate knowledge, in the magnetic style of the platform speaker who is both brilliant and suave. Frequent flashes of irony light the story. Added to the chapters directly considering the Russian plan are two especially noteworthy ones on related topics. That on the American idea of government is especially beautiful and penetrating, and the last, on our recognition of the Soviet government, keenly analyzes the diplomatic and legal reasons why he thinks recognition should be withheld.

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF SOVIET RUSSIA. by *Calvin B. Hoover*. Pp. 353 and index. Macmillan, New York, 1931. Price, \$3.

The dominance of the communist party in Russia is, of course, inextricably tied up with the economic scheme it connotes. Any study of political Russia, therefore, means a study of economics, and a study of her economics naturally leads to political inquiries as well. Professor Hoover of Duke University, holding a fellowship of the Social Science Research Council of the United States, made in 1929-30 an intensive study of the economics of Soviet Russia. His work was carried on in a scientific spirit, looking for the facts squarely as they are. He surveys trade, foreign and domestic, the banking system, agriculture, labor, industry, productivity and capital investment. He does not hesitate, on occasion to comment upon his observations in regard to social, human results of the communist program. Here he finds extreme and increasing poverty and deprivation; no increased spirit of brotherliness; and the struggle for power seems more bitter than any struggle for money which it has displaced. Worse than all to our mind, is his statement that the mind and spirit of man is robbed of freedom and dignity under Bolshevik regime. Professor Hoover closes his study with two "ifs," very important to all the world outside Russia. "If the present crisis is passed the Soviet Union, within a decade will be in a position to offer a standard of living which will compare favorably with that of the more poorly paid manual workers in capitalist countries. Unless in the meantime capitalism has notably improved its technique of marketing and distribution, so that underconsumption and unemployment can be prevented, and unless the standard of living of such workers in the capitalist world shall have been materially raised, the world revolution will begin to make rapid strides."

THE MYSTERIOUS UNIVERSE, by *Sir James Jeans*. Pp. 160 and index. Macmillan, New York, 1930. Price, \$2.25.

Full of romance, mystery and grandeur, the universe about us is a challenge to our understanding. The mind that can understand even so much as is known about the physical world, however, must be a trained mind. Therefore it is a boon when a scientist with a ready pen attempts to explain in simple terms and in a definitely human way, the theories at present current about this cosmos in which we drift, "clinging on to a fragment of a grain of sand, until we are frozen off." "Is this all that life amounts to," he asks, "to strut our tiny hour on our tiny stage, with the knowledge that our achievements must perish with our race, leaving the universe as though we had never been?"

In order to approach an answer to this question Sir James leads us away from the astronomical facts that suggest this query into the realm of modern physical science. Paying due respect to vital scientific theories in the past, he leads us graphically along the most recent hypotheses until we begin to suspect that we live in a universe of waves and nothing but waves. Matter, relative to the ether become thoughts because he relates them with things we already apprehend. In the fifth chapter, "into the deep waters," the mathematical will find it indeed difficult to touch with reality. But we do get a hand at intervals and emerge with the conviction the universe is a world of pure thought, the final truth about a phenomenon resides in the mathematical description of it, that the controlling power therein seems to have something in common with the mind of man. His ability to think—"for want of a better word—mathematically." Thus we find ourselves at length somewhat akin to this fragment of "sand" to which we cling.

Then after this long journey through the calculations and tests of scientific inquiry we note the beautiful modesty of science—where the mathematical explanation may prove to be the final nor the simplest possible, we can unhesitatingly say that it is the simplest and most complete so far found, so that, relative to our present knowledge, it has the greatest chance of being the explanation which lies nearest to the truth."

AMERICAN SOCIETY, by *Charles Franklin Thwing*. Pp. 263 and index. Macmillan, New York, 1931. Price, \$2.25.

President Thwing of Western Reserve University has long been an observer and writer on education in this and other countries. As an educator he has a vision of the progress which it would be desirable for the generations to make as they pass along the educational paths. In this book he evaluates the society which has thus far evolved in America. The chapters are apparently separate lectures; all are interesting, and one, that called "Tests of a Nation's Civilization," especially worthwhile. The topics are linked by two threads of thought, which he designates intellectual liberty—the "independence of the individual"; the other, "the worth of education."

He measures the life and mind of America, past, present and future, in many particulars, but in them all liberty and the value of education are assumed as permanent values. If at times President Thwing idealizes this country, he also questions sharply and criticizes deeply. He believes however that America unites those necessary opposites, stability and flexibility. Therefore "the present condition of American society is one of experimentation—political, social and educational. Man, the experimenter, wishes for and is determined to have the best. No conclusion therefore is to be regarded as final and conclusive."

IN THE SENATE, by *George Wharton Pepper*. Pp. 148 and index. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1930. Price, \$2.

This is not primarily biography, though Mr. Pepper writes of his own political experiences. It is particularly an inside view of the United States Senate, how one gets into it and how one works efficiently, when there. The book is obviously the work of a high-minded statesman and, incidentally, illustrates the old truth that a man who takes a middle course between two extremes often, at temporarily, alienates both extremes.

Pepper frankly discusses many debatable questions which have come up in Senate discussions. Whether one agrees with his conclusions or not, the book is an interesting presentation of facts and reasons. He discusses the filibuster, the question of prohibition and the attitude which the United States should take in foreign policies of various kinds. In summing up the questions of entry into the League of Nations and the World Court he concludes that we should not join them and says: "The foreign policy thus summarized is usually characterized by people who have what is called an international mind as a policy of provincial aloofness from world affairs. By Americans it is recognized as the course of national conduct most likely to preserve the peace of the world."

MANDATES UNDER THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, by *Lucy Wright*. Pp. 762 and index. University of Chicago Press, 1930. Price, \$6.

The system of mandates, says Professor Wright is not a product of disinterested juristic thought or of detached scientific investigation. It was a compromise invented by Versailles statesmen to meet an immediate dilemma. The idea put in practice by the new-born League was, no more than that international body, a wholly new idea. Mr. Wright makes a brief study of its origins in

history, the things in the past usage of nations which suggested this system. He then, by a careful study of documents and events, proceeds to list and describe the steps in its working out.

Dr. A. M. Margalith last year published an excellent but shorter outline of the mandates, their background and some conclusions. This, however, by Professor Wright is much more exhaustive in its use of reference material and in its thorough, legalistic study of the mandates system. It is, as far as we know, the first comprehensive and masterly survey of the whole field in relation to past and present.

FROM STEERAGE TO CONGRESS, by *Richard Bartholdt*. Pp. 441 and index. Dorrance Co., Philadelphia, 1930. Price, \$4.

Human interest stories have perennial appeal, and for the past few years biography and autobiography have held the center of the stage. When the subject of an autobiography has had something of a struggle to rise to prominence; and when, too, the life story is typical of that of many foreigners who have come into and become a part of this land of promise the natural interest is increased.

Mr. Bartholdt's experiences as printer, writer, editor and finally as Congressman are quite subordinate here to his careful interpretation of the German character in American environment. Long an earnest worker for peace, Mr. Bartholdt naturally suffered misinterpretation during the World War, with his fatherland opposed to America, the land of his adoption and loyalty. The book, however, clearly demonstrates his consistency through very many years of peace work and his patriotism as well.

The story of his part in the organization of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union and the early activities of the Union supplies a good personal interpretation of its connection with the peace movement.

Finally Mr. Bartholdt's interpretation of the new Germany, at the end of the book, combines the outlook of a lover of Germany, a lover of America and a lover of peace.

FELLOWSHIP, by *Albert Field Gilmore*. Pp. 281 and index. Stratford Co., Boston, 1930. Price, \$3.50.

There is a certain stiff formality in the writing of the book, which detracts a little from the effect. Nevertheless it is cheering reading to be told of a man who, like Mr. Howard, bases his ideas upon the ethics of practical religion, and puts them in practice in his own business and, too, in all his various civic activities.

LA PARABOLE INTERNATIONALE

Little Emily ran in the house, crying as though her heart would break.

"What's wrong, dear?" asked her mother.

"My dolly—Billy broke it," she sobbed.

"How did he break it, dear?"

"I hit him on the head with it."

The One-Hundred-Third Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors of The American Peace Society, May 29, 1931

The One-Hundred-Third Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society was held at the office of the President, 736 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C., May 29, 1931, at 3 o'clock p. m. Those present were: President Esch, Messrs. Thomas E. Green, David Jayne Hill, George M. Morris, Lester H. Woolsey, George W. White, Arthur Deerin Call, Lacey C. Zapf.

Upon the motion of Mr. Call, seconded by Mr. Hill, it was voted that the minutes of the last meeting be approved and placed on file.

Members of the Board standing, the Secretary read the names of the members who died during the year, as follows: Walter Scott Penfield, Esquire; President S. P. Brooks, and Mr. Hiram W. Ricker.

Announcements and Communications

The Secretary read an invitation from the World Federation of Education Associations, asking the President of the American Peace Society to attend the Fourth Bi-Annual Conference of the Federation, to be held in Denver, Colorado, from July 7 to August 1, 1931. A letter was read from the Executive Secretary of the League of Nations Association in Illinois, inquiring as to the attitude of the American Peace Society toward the League of Nations. A number of letters from members of the Board, unable to attend the meeting, were also read; also the following self-explanatory communication from Thomas H. Russell, Esquire, Treasurer of the Permanent Peace Fund.

Permanent Peace Fund

MY DEAR MR. CALL:

The Trustees of the Permanent Peace Fund held their annual meeting yesterday and I enclose the formal report herewith showing a net income of \$5699.24, for which I enclose check. Will you kindly send us a receipt for our files.

Our societies, I suppose, cannot expect to escape entirely unscathed from the effects of the general business depression, but the decrease of about \$350 in our net income is not a bad showing considering all the circumstances.

With kind regards, I am

Very truly yours,

(Signed) THOMAS H. RUSSELL,

(Report enclosed.)

TO THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY:

The Treasurer of the Trustees of the Permanent Peace Fund submits the following annual report for the period May 1, 1930, to May 1, 1931:

Gross income received by the Trustees from real estate, bonds, stocks and all other investments	\$8844.26
Gross expenses paid for repairs and taxes on real estate, water rates, salary of bookkeeper and agents, telephone, office rent, supplies, stationery, safe deposit box, insurance, services of trustees attending meetings and expenses, etc.	3145.02

Net income from the fund for the year. . . \$5699.24

Check herewith to the order of the American Peace Society for the net income to date as per vote of Trustees.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) THOMAS H. RUSSELL.

Treasurer.

President's Report

May 29, 1931

To the Members of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society:

There is little to add to the reports to be submitted by the Secretary, Treasurer and Business Manager with reference to the activities of the American Peace Society for the past year. However, two leading features of the year's work are the Refer-

endum upon the World Court and the inauguration of a plan for an Abraham Lincoln Conference to be held in Louisville, Kentucky, October 4-6, 1931.

As the Society's Constitution and By-Laws provide for the taking of referenda upon questions of wide-spread interest relating to the promotion of peace among nations and as President Hoover in his message to the last Congress had asked for consideration by the Senate of the three World Court treaties or protocols, it was decided to hold a membership referendum on the question "Should the United States of America Join the Permanent Court of International Justice?" A bipartisan committee of 13 members with your President as Chairman and Dr. Call as Secretary was created and a questionnaire accompanied by a report containing certain arguments in favor and certain arguments against ratification was prepared and together with a statement in favor of American adherence by Philip C. Jessup of Columbia University, and a statement opposed to American adherence by Senator Dill of Washington was circulated to the membership in January of this year. The Secretary will give the result of the referendum. As action by the Senate at the coming session may again be urged, it is suggested that further action be taken to secure the votes of members who have not as yet responded.

The other important matter which has engaged the attention of the Society is the Abraham Lincoln Conference at which would be stressed An American Conference on World Peace and Justice and the ideals of Abraham Lincoln and his policies of conciliation.

The Conference is to be under the auspices of Governor Flem D. Sampson of Kentucky and the American Peace Society with national headquarters here in Washington. A program covering celebrations at Frankfort, Hodgenville and Louisville, Kentucky, covering October 4, 5, and 6, 1931, has been prepared by officers of the Society and also the necessary budget covering the expenses. Both program and budget have been approved by Governor Sampson. Mr. O. B. Phillips, the personal representative of the Governor, has been cooperating with officers of the Society in doing field work for the solicitation of funds. Owing to the depression the results

thus far have not been satisfactory. Under the agreement with Governor Sampson the Society is in no way financially obligated. Whatever money is raised for the Conference is kept in a separate fund. Up to date an Advisory Council to aid in carrying out the object of the Conference consisting of over one hundred prominent and influential citizens has been created.

In order to maintain interest in the Society and to widen participation in its objects it is desirable that projects like the referendum and the Abraham Lincoln Conference be undertaken. Such activities, if carried out to successful conclusions, will revive interest in the Society and add to its membership. Such was the result of the One Hundredth Anniversary celebration of the Society at Cleveland, Ohio, in 1928. I bespeak, therefore, for these two projects the earnest support of all members of the Society.

While these two major projects have engaged much of the attention of your officers, the routine work of the Society has not been neglected; on the contrary, a vigorous effort has been made to increase subscriptions as will be indicated by the Business Manager in his report.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee held June 27, 1930, it was proposed to hold a World Conference on International Justice in 1932 in connection with the Washington Bi-Centennial Celebration here in Washington. Plans for such a Conference, together with a budget, have been prepared in tentative form and several conferences have been held with the officials of the Bi-Centennial. Little or no progress has been made in recent months.

The financial condition of the Society will be presented in the Treasurer's report. The officers of the Society have striven in every way to effect economies, and have lived within the budget.

There will be submitted to you a report by the Audit and Budget Committee of which Mr. McWhirter is Chairman. This report is based upon a study of the Society's affairs over a period of several years. Its findings and recommendations should be given careful consideration by both the Executive Committee and the Society. I quote the following from the report:

"The Society must be active in a way to give its members an opportunity to know that it is doing worthwhile things; that it is

alive and accomplishing good. Members must be given frequent opportunity to have a part in some public way in the affairs of the Society. If the Society is to gain new supporters it must do worthy things to attract attention. It is recommended that a more determined effort be made to use the referendum tool effectively as a means of achieving membership interest, or, at least, that some plan be evolved along that line. . . ."

The Committee makes further recommendations with reference to the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, suggesting that prominent and recognized leaders of thought, experts or specialists, contribute articles to the magazine, and that effort be made to make the magazine a source of revenue to the Society.

A committee to study the problems connected with the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* has been appointed and a meeting has been held with the Executive Committee. Valuable suggestions were offered; but as some of these involved large expenditures they could not at present be carried out. However, your president is of the opinion that some improvements could be made with little or no additional expense and the above Committee should at the earliest practicable date submit its recommendations to the Executive Committee for action, and in this connection it should consider the findings and recommendations of the Audit and Budget Committee.

The Society has large lists of members of prominent and influential citizens located in every state of the Union upon its Directory and Advisory and other Committees. It would be desirable that these lists be more than mere names, that through personal contacts, so far as our funds will permit, we arouse greater interest and a more active participation in the work of the Society and the raising of money to meet our current and future needs.

A word in reference to the officials seems appropriate. Our Secretary and Editor, Dr. Call, with this year closes twenty-five years of service with the Society. No one has been more closely identified with or has better knowledge of its history, its aims and traditions than has he. His wide acquaintance with men identified with the peace movement here and abroad and the contacts he has made with leading statesmen in Europe and America through his connec-

tion with the Interparliamentary Union has been an asset to the Society and to the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

Mrs. Call, without remuneration, has served as librarian and in her card indexing, cataloging and book review work and attendant correspondence has made the library of great value to many people. We herewith express genuine appreciation of her work.

Our Business Manager, Mr. Zapf, with his experience and wide acquaintance among leading business and professional men throughout the United States acquired through his connection with the United States Chamber of Commerce, has fitted himself for the responsible duties imposed upon him by the Constitution and By-Laws. Although eager to promote the interests of the Society, his activities in many ways have been limited by the funds available, notwithstanding efforts and proposals of plans to increase them.

As President I wish to express my appreciation of the fine spirit of cooperation which has been shown by these officers and also by members of the clerical staff.

In conclusion, it may be justly stated that in face of one of the most widespread and persistent periods of depression our country has ever experienced, affecting as it does all classes and conditions of men, our record for the past year is not one of discouragement. On the contrary, we should feel strengthened to carry on during the coming year with renewed hope and a firmer faith in the great purposes of the Society for the promotion of World Peace through justice.

Respectfully submitted,
JOHN J. ESCH, President.

Upon the motion of Mr. Green, seconded by Mr. Morris, it was voted that the President's report be accepted and placed on file.

Secretary's Report

GENTLEMEN:

At the Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society it has long been the custom for the Secretary to devote the major part of his report to a survey of world conditions affecting war

and peace. Because of certain current phases of the Society, and because, as President Esch has been kind enough to mention, this year happens to mark the twenty-fifth during which your Secretary has been officially associated with it, he begs the privilege of confining his remarks at this time to two or three aspects of this historic and worthy organization which we are met here to serve.

Your Secretary looks back across his twenty-five years of association with the American Peace Society with mingled feelings of frustration, gratification and gratitude. He recalls high minded men passing from life with their hearts broken on the wheel of effort to promote the purposes of the Society:—a clergyman, head of our Central West Department; another minister, Director of our South Atlantic States Department; a college professor, Director of our New York and New Jersey Department; the Society's Secretary for twenty-two years, swept mentally and physically away by the shock of the World War.

He recalls other earnest believers in and supporters of the Society dropping from its ranks, some because of the Secretary's attitude toward this or that international situation, some because of acts or failures to act by our Board of Directors, some for other reasons. During those twenty-five years, your Secretary was held responsible for carrying the flag of the Society through the years of the devastating World War, and to face aftermaths of fears, irritations, ill-wills and economic disruptions. For sixteen years it has been his privilege to edit the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, a lantern, he hopes, in the window for the wandering world, a little light that has not ceased to burn for now three years more than a century.

While your Secretary has labored at these matters, he has also wandered around America and Europe, listening to men wiser than he telling how war may be banished from the earth. Through it all, there have been times when he has lost faith in certain of his fellows, sometimes in himself. He has never wavered, however, in his loyalty to the things stood for by the American Peace Society. He knows that the Society has weathered many delusions and many depressions. He is not exalted by its successes; neither is he discouraged by its fail-

ures. If the Society has become disillusioned by some of the peace efforts, ranging through emotionalisms often to mere quackery, it may be comforted by the fact that disillusionments often tend to promote sanity. The peace movement rests on enduring ground. One cannot recall the exaltations of November 11, 1918, and escape the belief that those exaltations were very real. Those spontaneous bursts of peace acclaim came out of the heart in man. They will come forth again, when there is anything worth being exalted about. The American Peace Society represents that genuine aspiration of all peoples to establish the enduring values peculiar only to a world at peace.

Nothing in his experience leads your Secretary to be concerned that the control of our foreign policies shall be taken out of the hands of the executive and legislative branches of our Government, or that the American Peace Society should aim to dictate the activities of statesmen. He accepts, however, the principle that the nature of any public policies, peace or otherwise, rests ultimately with the people. Hence, in a democracy such as ours, investigating bodies devoted to research and the dissemination of information are essential to discriminating discussion and action. That is why there is a place for the American Peace Society, with its spirit of calm and realistic analysis, its efforts at exactitude, its struggles for truth. That is why, after a quarter of a century of official relations with the American Peace Society, your Secretary finds himself desiring no easy task, but craving only the strength to carry on more worthily while his candle holds out to burn. That is why, in spite of all the misunderstanding and financial embarrassments, he goes on believing unequivocally in the future of the American Peace Society.

The American Peace Society is neither static nor reactionary. When your Secretary first associated himself with it, the Society, true to its traditional devotion to the principles of law and justice as the enduring hope of world peace, was carrying on a program of public education to overcome ill-will and injustice between nations, to avoid irrational and ruinous preparations for war; but, particularly, to encourage and advance the hopeful labors begun in the Peace Conference at the Hague in 1899,

labors about to be carried further in the second Hague Conference of 1907.

Since that time there have been evidences of advance in the aims of the Society. In 1916, the Society adopted a Declaration of Rights and Duties of Nations, which had just been accepted by the American Institute of International Law at its first session in the City of Washington, January 6, of that year. January 22, 1917, the Society adopted a series of ten Recommendations, which were also adopted the next day by the American Institute of International Law at its Second Session in the city of Habana, Cuba, a statement now known as "The Recommendations of Habana." On May 27, 1921, the Society adopted a series of Suggestions for a Governed World, which it was your Secretary's privilege to draft. On November 30, 1925, the Society adopted a platform, which it called "The Foundations of Peace Between Nations," which it was also your Secretary's pleasure to prepare.

Your Secretary will not review these instruments further than to recall that in 1925 the Society found itself specifically on record as still favoring recurring, preferably periodic, conferences of duly appointed delegates, acting under instructions, for the purpose of restating, amending, reconciling, declaring, and progressively codifying those rules of international law shown to be necessary or useful to the best interests of civilized states; and the adherence of all states to a permanent court of international justice mutually acceptable, sustained, and made use of for the determination of controversies between nations involving legal rights. That was the program of the Society in 1925. It was quite in line with the Society's program at its beginning in 1828.

In these latter years, however, the Society, clinging still to the American principles of law and justice for ourselves and for all men, has taken, because of certain achievements in international affairs, a further and advanced position. It now holds that we must find additional pacific means for the settlement of international disputes, that we must further define and advertise the rights and duties of states, that we must labor for the extension of treaties and judicial processes, that we must favor the utmost cooperation of nations, that we must

encourage improvement in governmental procedures affecting the powers, and that we must help to enlighten public opinion as to all these vital phases of group activities.

The Society remains a non-partisan, non-sectarian, non-profit corporation, setting for itself the task of research and education in this the most fateful of all fields of human endeavor. It would associate itself in spirit with the labors of our modern research organizations devoting themselves to creative scholarship. It would improve its technique with the view of getting as far as possible the peace picture as a whole, of further discovering difficulties hindering the progress of states, of reducing those difficulties, of establishing a record of available data, of stimulating better research, of spreading the facts and avoiding duplication.

The problem of world peace is a humanistic problem. The American Peace Society would play its part, therefore, in making its humanistic science as worthy as the natural sciences. There are undiscovered roads to human happiness. The American Peace Society strives to do its share to discover some of them. The Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins University, the Institute of Research and Social Sciences at the University of South Carolina, the fifteen member organizations of the American Council of Learned Societies devoted to Humanistic Studies, the Research Institutes, Councils, and Bureaus, developing widely, are opening the way. The American Peace Society cannot afford to ignore these labors in the interest of productive scholarship. Research is an expression of man's wish to know more of himself and of the universe in which he lives. It is a conscious, deliberate inquiry for the double purpose of acquiring new knowledge and of improving the use of that knowledge. The peace movement should not be discredited by its sentimentalities nor by a too much "day-to-dayness" in its outlook. If any human interest requires foresight and intelligence, it would appear that it must be man's interest to substitute for the destructive methods of war the creative activities of peace. It is a business for brains.

Thus, the American Peace Society may well base its activities on research. In that way it would stand before the world as a peace organization of acknowledged merit, willing to hear and to present both sides of

any controversial question affecting the relations of nations, a group of persons determined to pursue the truth wherever facts will lead. It is an evidence of advance, your Secretary firmly believes, that the American Peace Society has shown this new method of approach by its program and statement of policy; by its interest to advance justice between states through the recognized agencies of law, contract, judicial process, existing organs of co-operation, government officials and public opinion; by its program of research, and education—research through surveys and commissions, and education through referenda, information services and conferences.

Every enterprise, to be successful, has to depend, of course, upon a combination of salesmanship and production. While salesmanship is a secondary factor, it is important. For the American Peace Society, salesmanship must mean the services of honest, self-respecting, qualified persons who believe in the peace movement, and who know how to write, to speak, to interest, and to convince others that they should join, subscribe, and contribute to the work of the American Peace Society.

Your Secretary urges, therefore, upon the Directors the importance of strengthening our Business Department, employing a Circulation Manager, and promoting a dignified publicity. He lays before the Directorate the importance of returning the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* to a monthly basis, and of issuing a weekly news sheet. The Society needs a Librarian regularly employed. Your Secretary doubts the possibility of making the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* into a popular magazine at this time; but he recommends the further study of our periodical with that purpose in view. The Directorate is urged to aid its officers in their attempts to increase the working capital of the Society. The survey and study commissions should be put to work at once, with the funds necessary to make their work possible. The Society's education program, including its referenda, information, and conference services, should not be stopped for the want of funds. The Society's Committee on Finance, therefore, should be enlarged and instructed to aid the Business Manager to develop by systematic solicitations the following sources of revenue: Memberships and subscriptions, contributions, special gifts,

legacies. The By-Laws should be amended by adding a standing committee as follows:

"There shall be an Endowment Funds Committee of five to be appointed annually by the President with the approval of the Executive Committee, charged to establish an *American Peace Society Endowment Funds*, only the income from which shall be used for the Society's current expenses. Income from legacies, unless otherwise directed, shall be credited to these Endowment Funds. This Committee, under the supervision of the Board of Directors, shall be charged with the administration of the Endowment Funds, the development of these Funds, and the recommendation of appropriate recognition of special contributors to them."

There should be a standing Committee on Research appointed annually by the President with the approval of the Executive Committee, to study and to report on the American Peace Society as an organization for Research. There should be a standing Committee on Education, of five appointed annually by the President with the approval of the Executive Committee, to study and report on the American Peace Society as an organization for Education. It is not necessary to elaborate the fact that both Research and Education carry highly technical qualities and possibilities, requiring carefullest analysis by persons qualified in these fields. They are, of course, basic to any worthy program for promoting the cause of peace.

Without production, however, salesmanship is footless. Organization is essential to achievement. Any organization, however, to be successful, must be based upon exact information carefully sifted, clearly presented and intelligently applied. Furthermore, officers, qualified and devoted, paid and volunteer, are also essential. The American Peace Society is no mere business, as is farming, banking, manufacturing. On the other hand, it is not merely a religious or philosophical body of searchers for the Absolute. The American Peace Society will rise or fall, depending less upon the form of its organization than upon the mental attitude of its officers.

The first essential, therefore, is a united dedication to a common vision. Pythagoras required of his initiates, before they could begin the business of philosophy, a year of silence. He held that there was nothing to talk about until the beginner had learned

to see the invisible. So, after all, the main question is not, How can we get support for the American Peace Society? It is, rather, What sort of thing is the American Peace Society? Producers in the American Peace Society must believe, and act on the belief, that privilege to possess creates an obligation to share; that the development of any enterprise depends more upon its services than upon its greeds; that the brotherhood of man, in part a fact, is increasingly possible and desirable; that to ease the pain of some other, especially by the application of justice, mercy and faith, brings riches without which one is poor indeed; that men must organize to promote the righteous settlement of international disputes, and strive increasingly and patiently to discover what "righteous settlement" means in principle and in practice.

Men who believe these things, and act upon their beliefs, will achieve greatly, especially through the contagion of association and fellowship. They will be the Society's producers.

The world is always shifting its point of view, especially just now. In his introduction to Wallace Brett Donham's "*Business Adrift*," Professor Alfred North Whitehead lays before us these mindful observations:

"The mere compulsion of tradition has lost its force. It is the business of philosophers, students and practical men to recreate and reëact a vision of the world, conservative and radical, including those elements of reverence and ardor without which society lapses into riot, a vision penetrated through and through with unflinching rationality. Such a vision is the knowledge which Plato identified with virtue.

"Epochs for which, within the limits of their developments, this vision has been widespread, are the epochs unfading in the memory of mankind. There is now no choice before us; either we must succeed in providing a rational coordination of impulses and thoughts, or for centuries civilization will sink into a mere welter of minor excitements. We must produce a great age, or see the collapse of the upward striving of our race."

Evidently the peace-movement cannot rely for its success exclusively on tradition. It must move forward to a richer rationality. The struggle must take the forms of a more enlightened self-interest, a more hopeful coördination of impulses towards the greater age that must yet be born. Mr. Chief Justice Hughes reminds us that "The building of the institutions of peace is the most distinctive enterprise of our time." The question facing us, therefore, is, Do we

really sense with convincing fullness the meaning of our task? It is a business to live for; if we be sufficiently privileged, gentlemen, to die for!

Yours truly,

ARTHUR D. CALL.

May 29, 1931.

Upon the motion of Mr. Morris, seconded by Mr. Woolsey, it was voted that the recommendations in the Secretary's report be referred to the Executive Committee for consideration with power to act.

It was moved by Mr. Green, seconded by Mr. Morris, that the Secretary's Report be accepted and placed on file. Dr. Hill moved to amend the motion by adding the following:

"We think it insufficient simply to accept and file Dr. Call's Report for the last year. His statement recalls the achievements of the American Peace Society during the last twenty-five years, and reminds us of struggles through which the Society has passed.

"More than this, it brings to our mind the patience, the courage, the fidelity and indefatigable zeal with which Dr. Call has, during this long period, carried on its work. No one but he could write this report. Indirectly it reveals the indebtedness of the Society to the labors of its Secretary, and we accept it, the Report, with an expression of thanks and of appreciation for the long and faithful services of Dr. Call to the cause of international peace."

The motion, as amended, was unanimously carried.

Treasurer's Report

Report of the Treasurer for the fiscal year ended April 30, 1931:

Receipts

General Fund:

Surplus as of April 30, 1930. \$1,345.45

Receipts:

Books and pamphlets, history	\$8.00	
Books and pamphlets, miscellaneous	67.70	
Contributions	3,335.50	
Interest	232.87	
Members, New	1,435.00	
Members, Renewed	2,935.00	
Miscellaneous	140.58	
Permanent Peace Fund	6,052.06	
Sale of Securities	4,000.00	
Subscription, New	86.45	
Subscriptions, Renewed	410.65	18,703.81

\$20,049.26

Expenditures

Field work:		
Secretaries	\$1,473.00	
Call	8.50	
Zapf—Travel and subsist- ance	1,135.20	
Letter service	57.24	
Library	17.25	
Miscellaneous	74.69	
Office Help	100.90	
Office Rent	1,200.00	
Office Supplies	26.39	
Postage	260.68	
Printing magazine	944.22	
Printing, miscellaneous	373.00	
Salaries	11,157.50	
United States Certificates of Indebtedness	2,500.00	
Telegrams and Cabbles	16.02	
Telephone	101.19	
Titus, Miss Elmina	23.00	
Taxes	12.82	
Insurance:		
Fire	32.15	
Workmen's Compensation	14.23	
Stock and Fixtures	26.15	19,554.13
		<u>\$495.13</u>

Assets

Treasury bonds	\$1,500.00
Checking account	319.05
Call	66.50
Zapf	85.87
Savings account	17.75
Petty cash	5.96
	<u>495.13</u>
Total resources as of April 30, 1931 ..	\$1,995.13

Investment Account

Received

May 1, 1930—From Organization Special Fund Number 1, three Treasury Certificates, par value	\$3,000
June 16, 1930—Treasury Certi- ficates purchased	2,500
Total	<u>\$5,500</u>

Sold

October 11, 1930—Sold Treasury Bonds	\$1,500
December 30, 1930—Sold Treas- ury Bond	1,000
March 14, 1931—Sold Treasury Bond	1,000
April 30, 1931—Sold Treasury Bond	500
Total	<u>\$4,000</u>
Balance in Investment Account as of April 30, 1931	\$1,500.00

Indebtedness as of April 30, 1931

Judd & Detweiler:	
Printing November 1930 Ad- vocate of Peace	\$409.02
Printing February 1931 Ad- vocate of Peace	439.46

Printing World Court Refer-
endum 150.51

Total indebtedness.....\$998.99

Net working balance as of April 30, 1931 ..\$996.14

(Signed) GEORGE W. WHITE, *Treasurer*

Auditor's Certificate

R. G. RANKIN & CO.

CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS:

Home Office: 1 Cedar Street, New York

Chicago, Ill., Buffalo, N. Y., Washington, D. C.

May 27, 1931.

MR. GEORGE W. WHITE, *Treasurer*,
The American Peace Society,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR:

We have examined the records of the American Peace Society for the year ended April 30, 1931, and submit herewith the following Exhibits and Comments:

Exhibit "A"—Summary of Assets as at April 30, 1931.

Exhibit "B"—Cash Account for the year ended April 30, 1931.

The income for the year was accepted as shown by the records and the Expenditures were checked to supporting vouchers.

Cash on Deposit was verified by direct correspondence with the bank and Cash on Hand was accepted as shown by the books.

Investments were verified by inspection.

We hereby certify, subject to the foregoing comments, that the accompanying summary of Assets reflects the resources of the Society and the Cash Account reflects accurately the Cash Receipts and Disbursements as shown by the records for the year ended April 30, 1931.

Respectfully submitted,

R. G. RANKIN & Co.,
Certified Public Accountants.

Upon the motion of Mr. Call, seconded by Mr. Hill, it was voted that the report of the Treasurer be accepted and placed on file.

It was announced that two legacies, now being probated, will soon be available to the Society. One of these legacies is provided in the will of Anna Maud Washburn, Portland, Maine, for the amount of two hundred dollars; the other in the will of Louise M. Sweet, of New Hampshire, the estimated net income to the Society being between \$4500 and \$5000.

From the Report of the Librarian

May, 1931.

The number of catalogued books as of May, 1930 3243
Accessions, 1930-31 114

Total catalogued books, May, 1931 3357

During the year the Librarian made a scrap-book of clippings relating to the Society's former President, Senator Theodore E. Burton, at the time of his death.

To increase the library and in behalf of the magazine, the Librarian has asked for worth-while books from publishers, reviewed them in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, and catalogued those of reference value.

During the year, the Librarian indexed the magazine for 1930. The card index of the early years of the magazine is now completed up to March, 1852.

The Librarian has written many letters in answer to students and teachers.

Due, it is believed, to the Society's fewer reprints of articles dealing with up-to-date questions, the sales of pamphlets during the year have declined as compared with previous years. The inability to circularize our lists of publication as hitherto has been a factor in the decrease of sales.

Indexes of past years of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* have been sent to many schools, colleges, and public libraries. On request, indexes of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* for 1920-21 were sent to the World War Collection of Magazines and Newspapers of Mr. Joseph Broadman of New York City.

At the request of the Joint Committee on Material for Research of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, the Librarian wrote a detailed report of the Society's peace material, especially historical documents.

At the request of the New Jersey Federation of Women's Clubs, the Librarian sent an exhibit of books and pamphlets to their Annual Conference, which resulted in some sales.

During the year, the Librarian has reviewed fifty-one books, written News in Brief and helped with the proof-reading and make-up of the magazine.

Business Manager's Report

May 29, 1931.

To the Board of Directors,
American Peace Society:

The Treasurer's report for the year ending April 30, 1931, shows income of \$18,703.81 for the year, compared with \$14,698.26 for the same period last year. The increase is \$4,005.55.

The report reveals our expenditures for the year amounted to \$19,554.15. The outgo for the twelve months of last year was \$14,718.07. The increase over last year is \$4,836.06. The excess is due largely to items of expense for traveling and salary for the Business Manager and \$2,500 invested in U. S. Certificates of Indebtedness. The expenses of the Business Manager were paid last year out of the Special Organization Fund and did not appear in the regular account records of the Society.

The income for the year just closed was \$850.34 less than the outgo, while the outgo for the preceding year exceeded the income by \$19.81.

The assets of the Society on April 30, 1930, were \$1,345.45, cash, and \$3,000.00 in securities. The cash balance this year was \$495.13, with \$1500 in securities.

The Society is indebted to Judd & Detweiler \$409.02 for printing the November, 1930, issue of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, \$439.46 for the February issue, and \$150.51 for the referendum on the World Court. If we deduct the total of these items from our total assets, we have a working balance of \$996.14.

In spite of the economic crisis, our income from contributions this year exceeded contributions of last year by \$387.50, and is \$814.50 more than we estimated from this source for the year. Revenue from new members this year exceeded that of last year by \$950. Renewals dropped \$995 below the income of last year. Some of this is merely suspended. We hope some will be renewed.

The estimated income for the present fiscal year is \$17,600. The estimated budget for expenditures amounts to \$16,978.30, a possible excess of income over outgo of \$620.70.

The estimate of revenue income is based largely upon interest that should be aroused by the Abraham Lincoln Conference. If the George Washington Centennial plans

are carried through, or some similar gathering can be arranged during the year, we may expect additional contributions, new members and renewals.

In the estimate of expenditures for the year, there is an increase of \$26.15 over the budget of last year for fire insurance. There are no other increases over the outgo budget for last year.

Unless there is improvement, at a fairly early date, in the business and financial world, it would perhaps be unwise to undertake a campaign for new members and contributors. I recommend that we concentrate all our energies to make the most, from an income point of view, from the Abraham Lincoln Conference. I further recommend that a special effort be made this year to induce all of our officers, members of the Board and members of the Council to become members or at least make contributions to the Society.

As a further means of attracting good persons to the support of the Society, I recommend that we create a "The Women's Auxiliary Council." The duties of the Women's Auxiliary Council will be the same as those for the National Advisory Council. So that this Council may be recruited rapidly, I suggest that the Board authorize the Membership Committee to make nominations for this Council and that the President be authorized to extend the invitations.

I recommend the following estimated outgo budget for the fiscal year ending April 30, 1932:

Expenditures	Estimate for 1931-32
Field Work:	
Call, A. D. (Travel).....	\$200.00
Zapf, L. C. (Travel).....	1,200.00
Miscellaneous (expense)	50.00
Letter Service	150.00
Library	50.00
Miscellaneous	100.00
Office Rent	1,200.00
Office Supplies	50.00
Postage	225.00
Printing—Magazine	1,800.00
Printing—Miscellaneous	375.00
Printing—Pamphlets	100.00
Salaries	11,240.00
Telegrams and Cables.....	25.00
Telephone	100.00
Titus, Miss Elmina	25.00
Taxes	15.00
Insurance: Fire	58.30
Workmen's Compensation	15.00
Total	\$16,978.30

Directors and Councillors

Upon the motion of Mr. Zapf, seconded by Mr. Woolsey, it was voted that a special effort be made to induce members of the Board and Council of the Society to contribute more liberally where possible.

Women's Auxiliary Council

Upon the motion of Mr. Zapf, seconded by Mr. Morris, it was voted that a "Women's Auxiliary Council" be set up; that the duties of the Women's Auxiliary Council shall be the same as those for the National Advisory Council; and that the Board authorize the Membership Committee to nominate and the President to invite the members of this Council.

Audit and Budget Committee

Upon the motion of Mr. Green, seconded by Mr. Morris, it was voted that because the report submitted by Mr. McWhirter had not been signed by a majority of the members of the Audit and Budget Committee, it be returned to the Chairman of the Committee by President Esch with request that the Committee be prepared to report at the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

Election of Officers

Upon the motion of Mr. Zapf, seconded by Mr. Morris, it was voted that the following persons be re-elected to the Board of Directors:

DIRECTORS

(Asterisk indicates Member of Executive Committee)

- *JOHN J. ESCH, President, Washington, D. C. Formerly Chairman, Interstate Commerce Commission.
- HUBBARD F. ALEXANDER, President, Pacific Steamship Co., Seattle, Wash.
- BRIGADIER GENERAL AVERY D. ANDREWS. Formerly Chairman of Board, The Shell Company, New York City.
- ELBERT H. BAKER, Chairman of Board, Cleveland Plain Dealer, Cleveland, Ohio.
- ISAAC P. BAKER, Benton Transportation Company, Bismarck, N. D.
- ARTHUR D. BALDWIN, Attorney, Cleveland, Ohio.
- JOSEPH BANCROFT, Wilmington, Del.
- ASA G. BRIGGS, Attorney, St. Paul, Minn. Director, Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

- GEORGE S. BROWN, Attorney, Reno, Nev.
 PHILIP MARSHALL BROWN, Professor of International Law, Princeton University.
- *ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Secretary and Editor Advocate of Peace. Executive Secretary, American Group, Interparliamentary Union.
- *IRA A. CAMPBELL, Attorney, New York.
 P. P. CLAXTON, President, Austin Peay Normal School, Clarksville, Tenn.
- WALTER C. COLE, Vice-President, Union League of Michigan, Detroit, Mich.
- JOSEPH B. COTTON, Attorney, Duluth and New York.
- JOHN M. CRAWFORD, President, Parkersburg Rig & Reel Company, Parkersburg, W. Va. Past Director, Chamber of Commerce of the United States.
- J. J. CULBERTSON, Vice-President, Southern Cotton Oil Company, Paris, Tex. Member of National Foreign Trade Council.
- BRONSON M. CUTTING, U. S. Senator from N. M.
 JOHN E. EDGERTON, President, Lebanon Woolen Mills, Lebanon, Tenn. President, National Association of Manufacturers.
- HAROLD H. EMMONS, Attorney, Detroit. Formerly President, Michigan Manufacturers Association.
- EDWARD J. FLANNIGAN, Attorney, Phoenix, Ariz. Formerly Judge Supreme Court of Arizona.
- HENRY P. FLETCHER, Chairman, United States Tariff Commission, Washington, D. C.
- WILLIAM FORTUNE, Indianapolis, Ind.
- BURTON L. FRENCH, Representative in Congress from Idaho.
- FRANK J. FROST, Washington, D. C. Formerly Treasurer Standard Oil Company of New York.
- PERCY W. GARDNER, Attorney, Providence, R. I.
 HARRY A. GARFIELD, President, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
- WILLIAM T. GRANT, Chairman of Board, W. T. Grant Company, New York City.
- *THOMAS E. GREEN, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.
- WALTER W. HEAD, President, Foreman-State National Bank, Chicago. Formerly President, National Council, Boy Scouts of America.
- *DAVID JAYNE HILL, Washington, D. C. Formerly Ambassador to Germany.
- CLAY H. HOLLISTER, President, Old Kent Bank, Grand Rapids, Mich.
- W. H. HOOVER, President, The Hoover Company, North Canton, Ohio.
- H. L. HORNING, President, Waukesha Motor Company, Waukesha, Wis.
- CLARENCE H. HOWARD, Chairman of Board, General Steel Castings Corporation, Granite City, Ill.; Member, American Committee, International Chamber of Commerce.
- W. M. G. HOWSE, Chairman, Johnston & Larimer Dry Goods Company, Wichita, Kans. Director, United States Chamber of Commerce.
- A. L. HUMPHREY, President, Westinghouse Air Brake Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.
- CHARLES L. HYDE, President, American Exchange Bank, Pierre, S. D.
- JAMES S. KEMPER, President, Lumbermens Mutual Casualty Company, Chicago. Formerly Director, Chamber of Commerce of United States.
- WILLIAM WALLACE KINCAID, President, The Spirella Company, Niagara Falls, N. Y.
- ASHLEY DAY LEAVITT, D.D., Pastor, Harvard (Congregational) Church, Brookline, Mass.
- CHARLES H. MACDOWELL, President, Armour Fertilizer Works, Chicago, Ill.
- THOMAS A. MARLOW, President, National Bank of Montana, Helena, Mont.
- COLONEL DOUGLAS I. MCKAY, President, Standard Coupler Company, New York. Past State Commander American Legion for New York.
- SAMUEL R. MCKELVIE, Former Governor of Nebraska, Lincoln. Formerly Member, Federal Farm Board.
- PAUL V. McNUTT, Dean, Law School, Indiana University, Bloomington. Past National Commander, American Legion.
- *FELIX M. McWHIRTER, President, Peoples State Bank, Indianapolis, Ind. Director, Chamber of Commerce of the United States.
- WALTER A. MORGAN, D.D., Pastor, New First Congregational Church, Chicago, Ill.
- *GEORGE M. MORRIS, Attorney, Washington, D. C.
- *HENRY C. MORRIS, Attorney, Chicago and Washington, D. C.
- EDWIN P. MORROW, United States Board of Mediation, Washington. Formerly Governor of Kentucky.
- *C. F. R. OGILBY, Attorney, Washington, D. C.
- *ROBERT TREAT PAINE, Boston, Mass. Director in business and charitable organizations.
- JOHN M. PARKER, St. Francisville, La. Formerly Governor of Louisiana.
- REGINALD H. PARSONS, President, Parsons Investment Company, Seattle, Wash. Member, American Committee, International Chamber of Commerce.
- OLIVER J. SANDS, President, American Bank & Trust Company, Richmond, Va.
- R. H. SCOTT, President, Reo Motor Car Company, Lansing, Mich.
- *ERNEST N. SMITH, Executive Vice-President, American Automobile Association, Washington, D. C.
- JAY T. STOCKING, D.D., Pastor, Pilgrim Congregational Church, St. Louis, Mo.
- JOHN H. STORER, Member, Board of Incorporators, American Red Cross.
- LOUIS J. TABER, Master, The National Grange, Columbus, Ohio.
- MYRON C. TAYLOR, Chairman, Finance Committee, United States Steel Corporation, New York, N. Y.
- HENRY W. TEMPLE, Congressman from Pennsylvania. Member, House Committee on Foreign Affairs.
- *HUSTON THOMPSON, Attorney, Denver and Washington. Formerly Chairman, Federal Trade Commission.
- V. A. WALLIN, Jenison, Mich. Chairman of Board, American Hair & Felt Company of Chicago.
- CHARLES B. WARREN, Detroit, Mich. Formerly Ambassador to Mexico.
- S. H. WILLIAMS, President, J. B. Williams Company, Glastonbury, Conn.
- W. E. WELLS, Chairman of Board, Homer Laughlin China Company, Newell, W. Va.
- *GEORGE W. WHITE, Treasurer, President, National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.

*LESTER H. WOOLSEY, Attorney, Washington, D. C. Formerly Solicitor, Department of State.

*LACEY C. ZAPP, *Business Manager*. Formerly Secretary, American Section, International Chamber of Commerce.

Upon motion of Mr. Hill, seconded by Mr. Call, it was voted that the following persons be elected to the National Advisory Council:

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

G. R. ACASSIZ, Capitalist, Newport, R. I.
 MAGNUS W. ALEXANDER, President, National Industrial Conference Board, New York City.
 FREDERICK H. ALLEN, Attorney, New York City, Member American Peace Commission in Paris.
 ROBERT L. BACON, Member of Congress from New York.
 RICHARD BARTHOLDT, St. Louis. Formerly Member of Congress from Missouri. Founder, American Group Interparliamentary Union.
 PAUL F. BEICH, President, Paul F. Beich Company, Bloomington, Ill. Formerly President, Illinois Manufacturers' Association.
 RALPH O. BREWSTER, Dexter, Me. Formerly Governor of Maine.
 FRED A. BRITTON, Member of Congress from Illinois.
 GEORGE W. BURTON, President, National Bank of LaCrosse, Wis.
 E. A. CAHOON, President, First National Bank, Roswell, N. Mex.
 COLONEL PATRICK H. CALLAHAN, President, Louisville Varnish Company, Louisville, Ky.
 ASHTON L. CARR, Vice-President, State Street Trust Co., Boston, Mass.
 LOUIS H. CHALMERS, Attorney, Phoenix, Ariz., President, Phoenix National Bank.
 WILLIAM W. COLEMAN, President, Bucyrus-Erie Company, South Milwaukee, Wis.
 GEORGE D. CRABBS, President, The Philip Carey Manufacturing Company, Cincinnati, Ohio.
 OSCAR T. CROSBY, Formerly Assistant Secretary United States Treasury, Warrenton, Va.
 J. S. CULLINAN, Chairman, Advisory Committee, American Republics Corporation, Houston, Texas.
 GEORGE DECAMP, Chairman of the Board, Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, Ohio.
 CLARENCE W. DEKNIGHT, Attorney, Washington, D. C.
 LEWIS W. DOUGLAS, Member of Congress from Arizona.
 MICHAEL F. DOOLEY, Vice-President, Industrial Trust Company, Providence, R. I.
 JOHN FOSTER DULLES, Attorney, New York City.
 JAMES A. EMERY, General Counsel, National Association of Manufacturers, Washington, D. C.
 FRANK L. FAY, State Senator, Greenville, Pa.
 W. S. HADLEY, President, Citizens Building and Loan Association, Wichita, Kans.
 L. M. HANKS, Chairman of Board, First National Bank, Madison, Wis.
 SAMUEL M. HASTINGS, President, Dayton Scale Company, Chicago. Formerly President, Illinois Manufacturers' Association.

HARDIE B. HEARN, Vice-President, City Savings Bank & Trust Company, Shreveport, La.
 RAPHAEL HERMAN, retired business man of Washington, D. C., and Beverly Hills, Calif.
 ALANSON B. HOUGHTON, Washington, D. C. Formerly Ambassador to Germany.
 ANDREW B. HUMPHREY, Honorary Chairman, Saturday Discussions Committee, National Republican Club, New York.
 J. WILLIAM KENYON, Attorney, Washington, D. C.
 PAUL J. KRUESI, President, Southern Ferro Alloys Co., Chattanooga, Tenn. Member National Foreign Trade Council.
 JOHN B. LARNER, President, Washington Loan & Trust Company, Washington, D. C.
 RANDOLPH LEIGH, Director General, International Oratorical Contest, Washington, D. C.
 COL. HENRY D. LINDSLEY, J. W. Lindsley & Co., Dallas, Tex. Past National Commander of American Legion.
 WILLIAM G. MATHER, President, Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company, Cleveland, Ohio.
 JOHN A. McCRARY, President, J. B. McCrary Company, Atlanta, Ga.
 P. J. McCUMBER, Attorney, Washington, D. C. Member, International Joint Commission.
 GEORGE A. MCKINLOCK, retired business man of Chicago.
 ALBERT G. MILBANK, President, Milbank Memorial Fund, New York.
 NATHAN L. MILLER, Attorney, New York. Formerly Governor of New York. Member, Finance Committee, United States Steel Corporation.
 FRED K. NIELSEN, Attorney, Washington, D. C. Member, General Claims Commission.
 THOMAS WALKER PAGE, Washington, D. C. Member, United States Tariff Commission.
 AMOS J. PEASLEE, Attorney, New York. Member, Executive Committee, International Law Assn.
 ORIE L. PHILLIPS, Judge, United States Circuit Court, Albuquerque, N. M.
 WILLIAM A. PRENDERGAST, Formerly Chairman, Public Service Commission of New York.
 PAUL Q. RICHEY, President, Russell Seed Company, Indianapolis.
 DANIEL C. ROPER, Attorney, Washington, D. C. Formerly Commissioner of Internal Revenue.
 ROY B. ROBINETTE, Vice-President, Tropical Paint and Oil Co., Cleveland.
 CUNO H. RUDOLPH, retired banker, Washington, D. C. Formerly Commissioner, District of Columbia.
 JOHN G. SARGENT, Attorney, Ludlow, Vt. Formerly United States Attorney General.
 OTTO L. SCHMIDT, Physician, Chicago.
 C. BASCOM SLEMP, Attorney, Washington, D. C. Formerly Congressman from Virginia and formerly Secretary to President Coolidge.
 GEORGE OTIS SMITH, Chairman, Federal Power Commission, Washington, D. C.
 E. B. STANLEY, President, The American Laundry Machinery Company, Cincinnati, Ohio.
 DECOURCY W. THOM, retired business man of Baltimore, Md.
 GEORGE R. WALES, Member United States Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C.
 HENRY H. WILSON, Attorney, Lincoln, Nebr.

Upon motion of Mr. Hill, seconded by Mr. Morris, it was voted that Judge Esch be reelected as President for another term.

Upon motion of Mr. Morris, seconded by Mr. Hill, it was voted that Arthur D. Call be reelected Secretary, George W. White, Treasurer, and Lacey C. Zapf, Business Manager, for the ensuing year.

The following Vice-Presidents were elected:

WILLIAM C. BREED, Attorney, New York City.
 GEORGE T. BUCKINGHAM, Attorney, Chicago.
 DAVID JAYNE HILL, Washington, D. C.
 ADOLPH LEWISOHN, New York City.
 PAUL V. MCNUTT, Bloomington, Ind.

Honorary Vice-Presidents elected are:

CHANDLER P. ANDERSON, Washington, D. C. American Commissioner, German-American Mixed Claims Commission.
 ELMER ELLSWORTH BROWN, Chancellor, New York University.
 JOHN JOY EDSON, Chairman of the Board, Washington Loan & Trust Company. Director, United States Chamber of Commerce.
 WILLIAM FORTUNE, Indianapolis, Ind. Formerly President, American Peace Society.
 WILLIAM P. GEST, Chairman of Board, Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Company.
 LEROY A. GODDARD, Retired Banker, Chicago, Ill.
 FRANK B. KELLOGG, St. Paul, Minn. Formerly Secretary of State. Member, Permanent Court of International Justice.
 ELWYN G. PRESTON, S. S. Pierce Co., Boston, Mass.
 GEORGE E. ROBERTS, Vice-President, The National City Bank, New York.
 HENRY M. ROBINSON, Chairman of Board, Security-First National Bank, Los Angeles, Calif.
 ELIHU ROOT, Attorney, New York City. Formerly Secretary of State.
 LEO S. ROWE, Director General, The Pan-American Union, Washington, D. C.
 JAMES BROWN SCOTT, Secretary, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D. C.; President, Institute of International Law.
 JAMES R. SHEFFIELD, New York City. Formerly Ambassador to Mexico.
 CHARLES F. THWING, President Emeritus, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.
 THOMAS R. WHITE, Attorney, Philadelphia, Pa.

Unfinished Business

Upon motion of Mr. Hill, seconded by Mr. White, it was voted that the Secretary be authorized to purchase a new Secretary's book.

Upon motion by Mr. Call, seconded by Mr. White, it was voted that the Society's "Policy and Schedule of Action," after revision as to form by the President, Mr. Woolsey, and the Secretary, be printed for general distribution.

The Secretary reported the results of the Referendum on the World Court, as follows: Only 13% of the membership voted; 87% of whom were for our adherence and 13% opposed.

Upon motion of Mr. Zapf, seconded by Mr. Woolsey, it was voted that the Editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* insert "Notices" in the May, August and November numbers of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*; and then, if deemed advisable, a special letter be sent just before Congress opens, requesting all members of the Society, who have not already done so, to send in their ballots on the referendum issued by the Society "Should the United States Join the Permanent Court of International Justice?"

Upon motion of Mr. Morris, seconded by Mr. Hill, it was voted that the Secretary write to Mr. Fortune with the view of obtaining his opinion as to how the Referendum should now best be followed up.

Upon motion of Mr. Hill, seconded by Mr. White, it was voted that the Secretary be given authority to resubscribe to the *London Times Daily* for the period of one year, to begin at once. Dr. Hill, volunteering to contribute five dollars to this expense, later increased his contribution for this purpose to ten dollars. Twenty-five dollars had already been contributed by Mr. Henry C. Morris to this special fund.

The meeting adjourned at five-thirty o'clock.

Respectfully submitted,

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL,

Secretary

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

POLICY

The development of justice between States through "pacific means" called for in the Kellogg Pact, by the extension of agencies suggested by the following outline:

<i>Laws</i>	<i>Contracts</i>
Rights	Treaties,
Duties	etc.
<i>Judicial Processes</i>	<i>Agencies of Cooperation</i>
Arbitration	League of Nations
Courts	Interparliamentary Union
	Pan American Union
	Conferences, etc.
<i>Officials</i>	<i>Public Opinion</i>
Diplomacy	Facts
Direct Negotiation	Principles
Conciliation	Credit
Mediation	Honor
Special Commissions	Good Faith,
Commercial Practices, etc.	etc.

PROGRAM

The development of a service through agencies indicated in outline by the following

SCHEDULE

Research		Education	
<i>Surveys</i>	<i>Six Commissions</i>	<i>Referenda Information Service</i>	<i>Conferences</i>
Pacific Means	Industry	Magazine	Business Men
Causes of War	Education	News Sheet	Bankers
Peace Movement	Social Work	Library	Agriculturists
International	Religion	Bulletins	Labor
Law	Justice	Surveys	Professions
Economics, etc.	Peace Movement	Speakers, etc.	Peace Workers, etc.

American Peace Society

Its Beginnings

At a meeting of the Maine Peace Society at Minot, February 10, 1826, a motion was carried to form a national peace society. Minot was the home of William Ladd. The first constitution for a national peace society was drawn by this illustrious man, at the time corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society. The constitution was provisionally adopted with alterations, February 18, 1828; but the society was finally and officially organized, through the influence of Mr. Ladd and with the aid of David Low Dodge, in New York City, May 8, 1828. Mr. Dodge wrote, in the minutes of the New York Peace Society: "The New York Peace Society resolved to be merged in the American Peace Society . . . which, in fact, was a dissolution of the old New York Peace Society, formed 16 August, 1815, and the American, May, 1828, was substituted in its place."

Its Purpose

The purpose of the American Peace Society shall be to promote permanent international peace through justice; and to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world.

—*Constitution of the
American Peace Society
Article II.*

ADVOCATE OF

PEACE

THROUGH JUSTICE



NEXT MAY

REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS
THE CONGRESS SHOULD ACT
THE MANCHURIAN IMBROGLIO
GEORGE WASHINGTON AND COÖPERATION
OF STATES

TWENTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE
INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION
ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION
YOUTH AND OUR WORLD
GREENLAND
INDIA

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Editor
Published since 1834 by

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Founded 1828 from Societies some of which began in 1815.

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Full responsibility for the contents of this magazine is assumed by the Editor

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thoughtful persons in its plan, through the discussions of the Conference and the work of the Commissions, to clarify the moral, social, business needs of the nation, in the interest of a greater stability, and through an aroused and crystalized public opinion to revalue the foundations of a more enduring peace and to revitalize the sentiment of the nation to renewed efforts for a saner international coöperation.

The President of the Society has announced that consideration will be given to the traditions of foreign policy of the United States; that obstacles retarding the operations of recognized peace machinery will be discussed by leaders in the realms of business and statesmanship; that much thought will be given to the question of security, of international obligations, of commercial arbitration, of various other aspects of intercourse between nations. Foreign trade and investments, movements of capital, exchanges, agriculture, economic crises and their bearing upon business structures, moral and social values of world justice, the coördination of world efforts for peace, all will be as carefully considered as time and ability permit.

The holding of the Conference in Washington at the time of the George Washington Bicentennial will naturally augment interest in its sessions, for George Washington laid the foundations of our foreign policies.

The American Peace Society recognizes the chaos that marks the thinking of America upon many matters affecting the well-being of us all. In this time of marked economic distress, brought on primarily by the scourge of a world war, it conceives that America is faced with no greater need than that of forestalling by an enlightened public opinion the outbreak of another war. There is something of a deeper concern to us in America than the reduction of armaments, important as that may seem to be. In spite of certain envies and jealousies, the world

is vitally concerned to know the views and purposes of America. This Conference called by the American Peace Society will aim to vivify and to advertise to the world the hope and the reasonableness at the heart of the American people. That is worthy business.

Prospects for Reduced Armaments

PEOPLES generally would like to find a way to reduce their armaments. The World War made of this fact a major issue at the Paris Conference in 1918-19. At that Conference the victors forced disarmament upon the defeated nations, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and promised to go about a general reduction and limitation of armaments themselves. This was a pledge by the victors to the vanquished. It was a pledge to the world. The victors have not kept their pledge. The burden of armaments has scandalously increased.

Great efforts have been made to overcome this distressing situation. The League of Nations has looked upon it as perhaps its main problem and kept it constantly before the Council. Indeed, in the first paragraph of Article Eight of the League's Covenant, the members of the League clearly recognized "that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety." In the same article, the Council was instructed to formulate plans for such reduction "for the consideration and action of the several Governments." The signers of the Covenant went further and agreed in writing "that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections." Being present when the Covenant of the League was adopted, we were impressed by the fact that this last statement met with more enthusiastic approval than any other section of the Covenant.

At the First Assembly of the League the whole question of a reduction of armaments came up for general debate. It was then recognized that the work in behalf of reduction must "proceed by successive stages." In February, 1921, the Council formed a Temporary Mixed Commission, to supplement the work of the Permanent Advisory Commission already set up in May, 1920, for the study of the question. The "Third Committee" is a standing committee of the League devoted exclusively to the matter of "Disarmament."

The course of the effort of the League since has been devious but in the main progressive. One of the first results was the proposed Treaty of Mutual Assistance, which failed of adoption by the governments. Then there appeared the "Protocol of 1924," which also failed, largely because of the opposition of the British Government. Then outside the League came the Locarno Agreements of 1925, still in force. In December of the same year, the Council set up the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, with its two subcommissions—one on military questions, and the other on economic questions. It is this Preparatory Commission which has been laboring for six years with the question: with such difficulties as the meaning of words; for example the word "armament," the meaning of the phrase "reduction and limitation of armaments." They have faced questions involved: in the possibilities of measuring the armaments of one country against the armaments of another; in the distinctions between offensive and defensive armaments; in the proper scale of armaments to be allotted; and the like. The technical difficulties have proved to be well-nigh infinite. But in 1929 the Tenth Assembly of the League expressed the hope that the "Preparatory Commission" would be able to frame "a preliminary draft Convention as soon as possible for the reduction and limitation of land, naval and air armaments."

It is out of such a background that the so-called Disarmament Conference has been called to meet in Geneva next February.

It can be argued that the outlook for the Conference is not bright. Indeed, Mr. Borah calls it "dark." The very nature of the Conference is all but buried in technicalities which the layman cannot understand and as to which the technicians themselves are in pathetic disagreement.

It must be admitted that Governments have not been altogether successful in their attempts to reduce armaments; at Geneva, even at the Conferences in Washington and London. Mr. Borah was justified in charging that, "When Governments meet as a body to deal with disarmament, taking them as a whole, they are not for disarmament and never have been." Mr. Borah feels the tragedy of it all. "While millions are on the verge of starvation, growing restless and ugly, nearly \$5,000,000,000 is being annually expended for armaments and from eighty per cent to eighty-five per cent of all taxes extorted from the people go for war purposes. All this is but another name for slow but inevitable national suicide . . . an economic condition in many respects, more cruel, more remorseless, more pitiless, than war itself." That is the way the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Senate put it in his world-wide broadcast on November 27.

We prefer the hopeful view of the coming conference. We realize the French demand for "security." We are quite familiar with the fears of Czechoslovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia, fears that they may lose some of the fruits of the Treaty of Versailles. We do not forget Poland's will to maintain her present integrity, if need be by the force of arms. The demands of Germany are familiar to all. The Russian army is very large.

Yet there are two facts that should make for the success of the Conference. One is that the enormous expenditures of governments have ended in hunger and starvation

for too many millions to be ignored. The second fact is that all the heavy armaments have not produced a feeling of security anywhere. Evidently, therefore, there must be a new deal. That new deal need not, indeed it cannot take the form of "total disarmament," for of course there can be no such thing as the complete disarmament of any healthy man or nation. Eliminate all the guns and battleships, there would remain carpenter and kitchen tools, fists and finger nails. But, for men of good will the limitation of war-like implements on the basis of the equality of States ought not to be an impossibility. Such an arrangement is so desirable it must be possible. Nations are interested to achieve their interests. They are not achieving them now. We still count upon the power of enlightened public opinion to compel their representatives at Geneva, next February, to produce a more sensible reduction and distribution of their swords and pistols than is now the case.

Of course, whatever is done at Geneva must be done with the voluntary advice and consent of France. We have learned that France if sufficiently provoked can dictate to and if need be crush financial structures in Vienna, ending in the bankruptcy of Germany and the flop of the gold standard in England. She will stand resolutely for her security, against invasion from Germany, against attack by Italy, against any onslaught from England, against any jeopardy to her foreign possessions or to her allies, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia. France is the one great European Power that has money. Even Austria and Hungary are now dependent on that money. There is no Power on earth, nor combination of Powers, that can achieve anything at Geneva next February without the consent of France.

We do not view this dependence on France with the misgiving now broadly felt. True, French realism is sometimes too realistic. We believe this to be the fact in her

emphasis upon military force as the only basis of her security. Yet France is intelligent. She wants peace. She has the will to protect her interests. She knows that both her security and interests are dependent upon the good will of other peoples, a fact that applies to us all. She cannot afford to be offensively unreasonable at Geneva. She knows that.

Thus we are down to the one answer to the question, Can nations reduce their armaments? They can if they have a sufficient amount of common sense, tempered by a normal concern for fair play. Geneva will test how far the nations possess these life-saving qualities.

Can Congress Do Anything?

IS THERE anything that Congress can do now to make easier the work of the Delegates of the United States to the Arms Conference in Geneva? This we conceive to be a question of major importance. When our delegates go to international Conferences they are frequently embarrassed by the fact that foreigners have learned, sometimes through rather bitter experiences, that whatever our delegates agree to, their agreements may be wholly undone later by the United States Congress. Our foreign friends now know that even the President of the United States cannot negotiate with them with any finality.

Since this is true, we have been greatly interested in a suggestion made by the Honorable Huston Thompson, former Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, member of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society, in an address in Washington on November 11. After pointing out the limitations upon our Executive in international negotiations, the necessity for the approval of our Congress in such matters, he called attention to the uncertainty frequently faced by our delegates abroad because of their doubts as to how

far they may go. The result has been that foreign powers have "lost confidence in our system of negotiation."

We shall be represented at the Geneva Conference by delegates anxious to do their work well. They should go with some degree of confidence that their work will be supported in the Congress. Addressing himself to this phase of our relations to the Conference, Mr. Thompson said: "We shall have two months intervening between the opening of Congress and the Assembly of the Conference at Geneva. Why not in this interim be bold and fearless and tell the world what we are willing to do. Why not have our *Congress suggest to our President through a joint resolution how far it will support him in his negotiations?*" Mr. Thompson pointed out the importance of a joint action of the House and Senate, as the Senate has the veto power over treaties, and the House similarly where expenditures are involved. He went as far as to express the hope that such a joint resolution might be prepared by the Chairmen of the Foreign Relation Committees of the two Houses and passed possibly before Christmas.

Mr. Thompson went further and suggested possible provisions for the resolution, such as the reduction of our total budget for armaments on land, sea and air, for the next ten years "to any point up to fifty per cent to which the other nations of the world will agree," taking into consideration such items as the purchasing values of the moneys of the several nations as of the date of the opening of the Conference. He suggested the possibilities of authorizing our delegates to negotiate a five year holiday of all armaments with no further capital investment for that period; and of declaring against the use of poison gas and germ warfare forever.

Mr. Thompson argued that such a resolution would be welcomed by the Executive branch of our Government, giving as it would the necessary assurances

to hearten and to guide our delegates in their negotiations. It would be an invitation for action by all the other nations. It would clear away doubts and fears that always accompany uncertainty. Such a plan could meet with no objection by Democrat or Republican, or by the military men, because the reductions would be made alike and on an equitable basis.

Mr. Thompson pointed out what it would mean if the cut were to reach as much as fifty per cent. There would be a total saving of \$17,500,000,000 in ten years to the nations of the world, money that could be used to ease the unemployment situation, pay national debts, check increased taxation and revive business. "In America alone there would be a saving of more than \$300,000,000 a year; in France \$130,000,000 a year; and in England \$280,000,000. With such savings, the nations of the world could then afford to make a reasonable reduction in Germany's reparations, to a point where she could revive and take her place as a solvent nation."

This proposal by Mr. Thompson is as sound in historical background as it is sensible in theory. When in 1911 President Taft wished to get his arbitration treaties adopted by the Senate he tried the method of coercing that body by the force of public opinion. His treaties failed. When later Mr. Bryan, Secretary of State, conceived his plan for "cooling off treaties" he began by enlisting the interest and support of the Congress by quiet and personal persuasion. After he had won the support of Congress he defended these treaties before the public. When finally they came before the Senate, they were adopted, thirty of them, by practical unanimity.

Let Congress say now how far it will support our delegates to the Arms Conference at Geneva, and say it clearly, generously, and with some measure of unanimity. America is faced here with another opportunity to do a great job in a big way.

Our Country and the Manchurian Imbroglia

IS THE issue over which China and Japan are contending now in Manchuria so polygonal that other Powers can do little other than watch developments and keep their hands off? Because of the fact that the Japanese troops are fighting Chinese soldiers in Manchuria, which is China's territory, one's sympathies normally go out to China. It was not unnatural that China should consider the Japanese outbreak of hostilities against China's northeastern forces, late on the night of September 18, as an overt act of war. There seems little doubt that the Japanese operations were begun and carried on according to pre-arranged plans. China has resented these operations and appealed to the Government and people of the United States on the ground that Japan has violated the Briand-Kellogg Pact. Japan has occupied the Capital City of Mukden, and other cities and towns extending to the Korean border; even to the north as far as Tsitsihar beyond the Russian-Chinese Eastern Railway, connecting Russia with Harbin and Vladivostok. One's sympathies are all the more touched by the fact that these operations have been precipitated at a time when China is sorely distressed by floods, famine, and civil war.

The case against Japan can be documented. Under date of December 13, 1921, Japan, together with the United States, the British Empire and France signed a treaty, "with a view to the preservation of the general peace," under the terms of which she agreed in case of a controversy arising out of any Pacific question, not satisfactorily settled by diplomacy and likely to affect the harmonious accord now happily subsisting between them, to invite the other high contracting parties to a joint conference to which the whole subject will be referred for consideration and adjustment.

Too, Japan agreed that if her rights become threatened by the aggressive action of any other power she would communicate with the others fully and frankly in order to arrive at an understanding. Again, on February 6, 1922, Japan, together with eight other powers, signed a treaty designed to safeguard the rights and interests of China, and to promote intercourse between China and the other powers upon the basis of equality of opportunity. In this same treaty, known as the "Nine Power Treaty," she agreed with the other powers, "to respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China; . . . to refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to seek special rights or privileges," etc. Besides these treaties of 1921 and 1922 and the Briand-Kellogg Pact, there is also, of course, the Covenant of the League of Nations to which Japan is a signatory. Japan claims, however, that she has violated none of these treaties.

One's mind leads one to the view that there are various sides to the question. The world knows that China's government, since she became a Republic, has been little better than a picture of change and instability. She has not yet been able sufficiently to suppress banditry, violence, civil war and misrule, to win respect. On the theory that treaty agreements with Japan were obtained under duress, she has frequently felt at liberty to ignore those treaties. Two years ago she undertook to take from Soviet Russia the control of the Chinese-Eastern Railway, a move which Russia successfully resented. Perhaps China should be relieved from the obligations obtained by *force majeure*. We believe she should be so relieved. But it is reasonable to expect that she will win more by consent based on the recognition of justice in the premises than by force or indirection. China will win her way in proportion as she behaves as a responsible civilized nation.

It is probably true that Manchuria would have been Russian territory but for Japan's victory over Russia in 1905. There are now approximately 1,000,000 Japanese in Manchuria. Japan has invested in Manchuria approximately \$1,000,000,000. Japan is in the Liaotung Peninsula and is in charge of the South Manchurian Railroad with China's consent. China is enjoined by treaties to guarantee Japanese life and property in Manchuria. But because of irresponsible troops, bandits, and various political organizations she has not been able to do this. China can't protect her own interests, much less those of Japan.

Now the situation presents China refusing to negotiate with Japan until Japanese troops are withdrawn, and Japan refusing to withdraw until the Chinese pledge themselves to settle all differences in accord with existing treaties and contracts. Japan demands mutual repudiation of aggression, the suppression of subversive organizations, the protection of Japanese subjects, and the observance of Japanese treaty rights in Manchuria. She claims to have no designs upon Chinese territorial integrity. In addition to the withdrawal of Japanese troops, as the first step, China is now demanding reparations, a neutral investigation during and after withdrawal, and a permanent board of arbitration and conciliation for issues arising between China and Japan. It is apparent that China plans to squeeze the Japanese out of Manchuria at any cost. Japan claims a copartnership in Manchuria as the result of her exhausting war with Russia, and thinks of herself as carrying out a "Monroe Doctrine" in the Near East in the interest of civilization.

To the charge that Japan is ruled by her military arm there is one encouraging fact, the supreme power of the Emperor, who subscribes to the doctrine of Meiji, his distinguished grandfather. This doctrine is:

"Simplicity instead of vain display; originality instead of blind imitation; progress in view of this period of evolution, and improvement to keep

pace with advancing civilization; national harmony in purpose and in action; beneficence to all classes of people; and friendship to all nations of the earth: these are the cardinal aims to which our most profound and abiding solicitude is directed."

It would appear that neither China nor Japan is quite willing at the moment to put all her cards on the table: China, that she wants to scrap certain offensive treaties; Japan, that she wishes those treaties to be respected by China and by the Powers. At the Washington Conference, 1920-21, China tried to prove the iniquity of certain treaties she had been obliged to sign. She presented a strong case. Theoretically China should be granted all the rights that belong to every sovereign and responsible nation. China would be in a better position before the bar of world opinion if she were more sovereign and responsible. Neither country can expect to advance its best interests by the methods now at work, for trade, industry, social enterprises, economic and financial stability depend on fair dealings.

Our suggestion is that our country should stand openly for all existing treaties, and offer to both countries, at the proper time, to act as mediator under any terms acceptable to them.

An International Force

WITH the American Group of the Inter-parliamentary Union, we, too, are doubtful of any plan providing for an international force, police or otherwise, to promote the peace of the world. Such a plan for organizing our American States was most carefully considered in Philadelphia, in 1787, by the founders of this Republic, authors of our Constitution, and unanimously disapproved. An international force attempting to coerce a State would not be maintaining peace; it would be conducting war. Of course it is not easy to conceive of a war between nations as a peace between nations. There is no analogy be-

tween the coercion of an individual by a police force and the coercion of a State; for while the coercion of an individual by the police would never be thought of as war, the coercion of a State by force of arms could be called nothing else. There are complexities in any plan for an international police that appear to us at the present too difficult for human solution.

The *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom* is evidently faced with twenty-five of the perplexities involved in this question, for they have just presented that number of "points" on which they "would like information." Since we, too, would like information upon the same "points," we take the liberty of printing them here. They are as follows:

1. How do you conceive the composition of an international Police Force?
2. Should this Force include recruits from all countries?
3. If not, how would you decide which countries to have represented? On what basis?
4. How many recruits would be necessary for the formation of this Force?
5. Would recruiting be compulsory or optional?
6. What would be the basis of recruiting as regards the number of recruits?
7. What action would be taken as regards the countries which are not members of the League of Nations?
8. Would the recruits be used in the regions they come from or would it be preferable to send them to a distance? For instance: would Asiatics be sent to Europe or America and vice versa?
9. How could the difficulties arising through differences in language, customs, climate, etc., be met?
10. Where would the headquarters of this Force be?
11. How would their distribution be worked out?
12. Would it be possible to oblige *all* States to quarter some troops?
13. If so, what would be the basis for establishing the size of the contingents? Would it be proportional to the population of each State?
14. Who would receive the supreme command of this Force?
15. Who would be chosen as the technical "chief"? What would be the procedure in making this choice?

16. How would the nationality of the chief be fixed?
17. What qualities and experience would be necessary in obtaining this post?
18. What would be the functions of the different groups in the Force? Would contingents quartered in different countries be absolutely independent of the national government of the country?
19. What would be the arrangement as regards countries not members of the League of Nations?
20. How would the Force be financed?
21. Who would decide as to eventual intervention against a certain definite State?
22. What would constitute valid reasons for deciding on intervention?
23. What form would such intervention take?
24. How do you conceive of intervention by troops stationed in the country in question?
25. What coercive methods would the Force have at its disposal?

We beg leave to add a twenty-sixth somewhat as follows: How long would it take to get the United States Congress to renounce its duty to protect the states against invasion, abandon its right to declare war, and agree to hand over to a group of foreign men the right under any circumstances to wage war against the United States?

The Journalists' Court of Honor

"THE Court of Honor for Journalists," according to the papers, was inaugurated in the Peace Palace at The Hague before journalists and diplomats, October 12. The institution of the Court was agreed to at the Congress of the International Federation of Journalists a year ago in Berlin. The Judges of the Court are professional journalists presided over by the distinguished jurist Dr. Loder, former President of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The journalists have learned that the civil law protects citizens from libels published in newspapers; but that there is nothing to prevent the newspapers from calling a nation a horde of scoundrals, of lunatics, of thieves. It is the purpose of the new Court to make journalists liable to punishment for libeling a nation.

The jurisdiction of the Court of Honor is to be severely restricted. It will not attempt to punish the pressman who says that country X is a country of thieves because it desires or intends to invade country Y. But it will punish him if he says that the country has such intentions when there is no valid evidence on which to base such a charge.

The Court of Honor should be a deterrent to those journalists who believe that ends justify means, however corrupt or evil or malignant the means may be. Journalists have it in their power to help to promote war. They have it in their power to preserve peace. In neither case is their power absolute. Many other factors enter into the making of war and the preservation of peace. But public opinion is the dominant factor, and public opinion on foreign politics—though not on domestic politics—is formed on the facts related in the newspapers.

Take the hypothetical case of a journalist being obliged to choose between losing his post because he would not make use of fraud, and losing all chance of any further employment in journalism because he had been fraudulent.

The mere fact that there is such a court ought to be sufficient to make journalists keep to the straight path. But the purpose of the code and the court will be more fully carried out if the national organizations of journalists, in addition to the understanding to expel offending members, undertake also to protect all members who, having been tempted to go wrong, have in accordance with the principles of the international code taken their courage in their hands and declined.

Here is justice finding her way in a milieu of first rate importance.

“WHERE our money goes” is a matter that concerns us all. Of course we wish we knew. Anyone who will answer this question with accuracy will receive all

the space he needs in the columns of this magazine. A news agency has just sent to its clients a statement beginning as follows: “None of the peace organizations in Washington will assume the responsibility for divulging comparative facts and figures on armies and armaments maintained by nations, but after delving through the League of Nations’ yearbooks and other authoritative material we can offer these facts.” Here they are:

“The United States spent more money on armaments in 1930 than any other nation, while China maintained the largest army. The United States spent \$707,425,000 for armaments and has an army of 139,374 men. The Chinese were able to keep their vast army of 1,607,400 on \$94,291,650.

“Next in order both from size of army and expenditure ranks Soviet Russia with 700,000 men and an expense account of \$578,942,707.

“Facts and figures for other countries are as follows:

	<i>Army</i>	<i>Budget</i>
France	480,000	\$466,960,000
(One-half in her Colonies)		
British Empire.....	526,072	465,255,000
Italy, regulars.....	230,000	
Fascist militia	350,000	248,946,500
Japan	210,800	236,861,500
Germany	100,000	171,823,040
and unknown number of militia.”		

IN ANY attempt fairly to appraise French opinion, we must take into account the fact that there is a passionate desire for peace among the French people. The University of France, which includes all the schools of every grade throughout the country, is emphasizing the importance of international solidarity. Upon the initiative of the University, the text books for the lower schools have recently been pruned of everything tending to inspire chauvinism. The aim is to promote international toleration. In the higher schools, the teaching of international inter-dependence is a feature of

the instruction in history, geography, and the modern languages. Some ten thousand French boys and girls are exchanging letters with foreign children. There is an active provision for holiday journeys by children to other lands, an exchange of children between families. During the last ten years thousands of French and English families have thus come into intimate contact. Teachers themselves are exchanged, groups of French teachers visiting the schools of England and Germany each year. All these beneficent activities have the cordial backing of the University.

ONE cannot think helpfully and hopefully upon the problems of world peace without first acknowledging the clear cut teachings of experience. For example, it is necessary to admit the importance of the *police power* in the state, defined by Mr. Chief Justice Hughes as "The power to care for the health, safety, morals and welfare of the people," a power that extends, in a general way, "to all the great public needs." Again, there is such a thing as the "law of the land," a phrase as old as Magna Carta, a phrase that became changed in the Fifth Amendment of our Constitution to *due process of law*. These phrases, not too clearly defined at first, have come to express the will to thwart tyranny. Again, we must accept the principle that *no one, not even the Government, is above the law*. Too, it needs to be kept in mind that the Supreme Court of the United States, American both in theory and in practice, has been found necessary to a Government of the Federal type, an indispensable means of preserving the *balance between the States and the Union*, maintained at last by upholding the rights and duties of individuals. These teachings of experience are essential to the mental equipment of any one concerned to work for the promotion of the peaceful settlement of international disputes. On November 11, 1931, the Honorable Francis White, Assistant Secretary of State, found

himself applying the spirit of these principles in an address to the Delegates of Bolivia and Paraguay who had met in Washington to discuss a non-aggression pact. He said: "Good will, moderation, restraint, consideration of the opponent's point of view, and a desire not to win points in a debate but to bring about a settlement truly beneficial to one's country, cannot fail to result in a settlement satisfactory to all concerned. . . . A settlement which is considered a victory by one and a defeat by the other is only a sham victory. That is not what we are seeking here. The victory that we are seeking is an equitable settlement, giving justice to all and respecting the rights of both; an agreement that both parties will be pleased with." The police power of states, due process of law, the supreme power of the law, the equilibrium of States, these essential things enable States to arrive at equitable settlements of their disputes, "giving justice to all." Without them, there can be only chaos.

WHEN assessing the probable attitude of France at the coming disarmament conference, it is well to recall the colossal tasks she has had to face because of the World War. When the armies marched out of France in 1918, 8,000,000 acres throughout ten of her richest provinces lay waste, about 375,000,000 square meters were covered with barbed wire and sliced with trenches; and the population of this area had diminished by over 2,075,067—not to mention the millions of boys throughout the land killed or wounded.

In the Aisne, the Meurthe-et-Moselle and the Vosges, the factories were completely wiped out. Eighty-three per cent of the agricultural land was rendered useless. The mines had been flooded with some 117,000,000 cubic meters of water.

The French people have by courage and work given new life to their broken country. Population in the provinces is back to the normal figure. The water has been pumped

from the mines. Railroads and canals have been repaired. The French Government has spent approximately 85,500,000,000 francs, of which 25,823,998,000 francs have gone to repair personal property and 59,976,002,000 francs to reclaim real property. France naturally remembers what the war has meant for her, and the rest of the world can afford to be considerate still of the people who have passed through such experiences.

THE Second Balkan Conference, held in Constantinople toward the end of October, was participated in by Ministers, members of Parliaments, economic experts and other delegates from all the Balkan States. As with the first Conference held in Athens last year, the purpose was to investigate the possibilities of a closer cooperation between these countries. This Conference expressed the desire for "A Balkans for the Balkans". Each Conference has revealed two outstanding points of view: one insisting upon the elimination of all political problems from the Agenda; the other that there can be no lasting cooperation between the Balkan States without first solving the various political issues, particularly the rights of the Bulgarian minority. So the Conference eliminated from its discussion the irreconcilable differences. At both Conferences no little study was given to the foundations of a Balkan Union, and to the steps necessary to bring it about. At the Conference this year, a Special Committee was charged with the task of submitting a report upon both of these questions. The Conference agreed upon a project for a Balkan Postal Union, for the establishment of a common office for coordinating the production of tobacco, the foundation of a Balkan Cereal Union, the establishment of a Balkan Chamber of Commerce. Attention was given to the possibilities of a Customs Union and to measures for simplifying the tariff system. Other subjects that came up for discussion were transportation and

the unification of civil laws. In the final resolutions, which were unanimously accepted, there was a clause confirming the principle of the Briand-Kellogg Pact, and another recommending two-party arbitration treaties. While this Conference was of a private nature, it may be said to have assumed considerable public importance.

WHAT college students think of the "pacifist" and the "military" drives going on in the country is not without interest. Having no way of being informed at first hand upon the matter, we confess to being interested in the views of the Dean of Men, Pennsylvania State College, who has recently told us that college student bodies are more conservative than formally, that they are turning away from the extremes of the gaudy post-war period to something like an idolization of tolerance and manners. This beneficent change has been going on now for some two or three years. If fathers and mothers of these lads are worried somewhat over the "pacifistic," others over the "militaristic propaganda" that they fear to be at work in the colleges, they may be comforted to have the Dean tell them that the average college student is over impressed by neither. "Strangely enough," the Dean tells us, "extreme militarists drive them toward pacifism and radical pacifists drive them back toward militarism. When some militarist sounds the alarm, the student remarks: 'Somebody ought to tell the old boy that the war is over.' On the other hand, radical pacifist orators, attempting to speak before large student gatherings, run risks—not of being taken out and shot at sunrise, but of being given a 'juicy razzberry.'" And yet, the Dean encourages us to believe that college students are doing some real thinking about world problems and international relations. Of course college students are always "doing some real thinking" about something, or think they are. The point here, however, is that there is usually something in

a healthy person, especially a college boy, that just naturally responds unfavorably to any over-emphatic utterance. We have not yet reached the worrying point in our thoughts about "the youth of America."

FOUR questions are asked us frequently. We state them here together with our answers, for any who may be interested to know our views: (1) "Should the United States favor complete disarmament with or without agreement with other nations?" Answer: We think not. "Complete disarmament" is an impossibility; (2) "Should the United States favor limitation of armaments by civilized nations without consideration of the menace presented by non-civilized nations?" Answer: We are not sure who the "civilized nations" are; nor are we certain which is the greater "menace"—"civilized" or "non-civilized"; (3) "Should the United States favor limitation

of armaments only if and when the civilized nations agree to provide for joint action in case any of their number should be attacked by the non-civilized forces promoting world revolution?" Answer: No. We are opposed to any organized plan for going to war in circumstances not clearly foreseen. Rather let the nations curtail their threatening gestures and materials by mutual agreement as well as they can, and, at the same time, organize their interests in accord with the eternal principles of right as best they are able to agree upon these principles; (4) "What is your attitude toward 'Russian Communism'?" Answer: Our policy is to worry as little as possible about the conduct of other people and to do what we can to make our America the thing we wish her to become, that others, seeing America's good works, may glorify our democracy that is to be.

A National Conference on World Problems

American Action Urgently Necessary

UNSETTLED and unstable conditions of world peace are a cause for grave concern in the United States and urgently demand a clarification and a new expression of American Policy, declared Huston Thompson, formerly Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission and a member of the Executive Board of the American Peace Society, in a recent statement in Washington. For this reason, he expressed the belief that the American Conference on International Justice, contemplated under the auspices of the American Peace Society in Washington during the first week in May, 1932, would be of the farthest reaching consequence in its effect upon the conditions and-aspects of world problems.

Mr. Thompson said:

"The coming American Conference on International Justice in Washington next May should be by every reasonable standard an event of out-

standing world importance. While it will be purely American in its deliberations and point of view, and intended to crystalize the public sentiment of America on the peace outlook of the world, its sessions cannot have other than a far reaching world consequence.

"The moment is opportune for a thorough consideration in America of the security and stability of world peace and of the factors that enter into its endurance and permanency. The subject is of overshadowing importance to our nation and what is said and done about it here must of necessity hold world-wide attention and be of world-wide effect.

"Economic aspects of the world from the standpoint of the safety and security of peace call more emphatically at this time for an appraisal and a clear understanding than at any time since the close of the World War. The world is in the throes of an anti-war climax, economic in its dominant features, but reaching deeply into the

moral and social fiber of every nation. Out of this climax will come the promise either for fresh wars or for a more stable and enduring peace.

"America's part in this situation is a controlling one, but not well understood even in this country. America has changed from a debtor to a creditor nation—the outstanding creditor nation of the world. And what America has not learned, and what it does not understand, is the responsibility which a creditor nation must assume and discharge in exercising the prerogatives which this rôle naturally imposes upon it.

"Many people contend that the causes of war are psychological; that is, that they exist in the minds of the people, rather than in exterior and material conditions. It is readily conceded that a people or a nation may be war-minded, but it should be remembered that wars begin and continue only through the militant possession or use of economic resources. Wars are primarily economic in aspect, and they cannot be successfully waged merely with the implement of a psychological inclination to fight.

"This country as the leading creditor nation of the world has a paramount duty at this time both to appraise and to exert its economic and moral energies in behalf of the security and maintenance of world peace. No nation can launch or successfully wage a war today without access to the vast storehouse of American credit.

"Why is dissatisfaction and economic unrest existing throughout the world? The peoples of many nations are restless under the stress of economic stagnation and look longingly and enviously at the picture of a greater prosperity and comfort on the part of some of their neighbors. They fret under handicaps and obstacles which their leaders urge in some instances can only be alleviated or removed through the process of aggressive warfare.

"Gold, the single monetary standard upon which almost every nation depends for the stability and adequacy of its credit, is concentrated in two large centers—New York and Paris. The result is that the United States and France have comparatively easy money conditions, even though suffering severely from the world condition of economic stress and stagnation. Some countries are suffering nobly in silence. Others are making a great outcry over their hardships when they are far better off than the former group.

"Still some are sorely in need of monetary resources that will afford them adequate credit for the conduct of their business and trade. This condition in itself is full of danger. Equitable access to the credit resources of the world to meet the adequate needs as far as possible of every civilized nation is the first essential to the security and permanency of world peace.

"There is a duty also upon America as a creditor nation to see to it that its credit resources when extended to other nations are not used in the building of unnecessary or provocative armaments. In assisting the world to overcome the effects of economic depression, resulting largely from the effects of the World War, this country should bend its energies definitely toward world disarmament.

"In a short time another disarmament conference will convene in Geneva. Observers are frankly pessimistic beforehand over the outcome, and predictions of futility and failure are many.

"The United States has reason for grave concern over the outcome and result of this conference. For it to result in failure under present conditions would be nothing less than a world disaster, and certainly a signal for piling up additional armaments and adding to the burden of war preparation which the world is carrying at this time.

"America owes it to itself and to the world to assume leadership at this time in the movement for secure and permanent peace. To do this it must lead not only in military but economic disarmament. For this reason the sessions of the coming American Conference on International Justice are of unmeasured importance and certainly will hold the attention of the entire world.

"The hope is that this Conference in May will be a definite and lasting contribution to the promotion and stability of peace, and through the effect and weight of an informed and crystallized American public opinion, exercise a definite and possibly controlling influence in behalf of disarmament, more equitable economic conditions, and toward the solution and removal of those problems and obstacles which today are contributing to friction, misunderstanding and possible causes of future wars."

Send your vote on the *World Court* now, to the American Peace Society, 734 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

George Washington and the Coöperation of States*

By M. W. S. CALL

Introduction

By Albert Bushnell Hart

Commissioner and Historian of the United States Commission for the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of George Washington

THE accompanying helpful study of *George Washington and the Coöperation of States* is one of various evidences that the American people are coming to recognize that Washington was not only a great pioneer, a great soldier and a great administrator, but that his mind was attuned to significant issues of international statecraft. The relation of the new United States to the foreign policy of the government and its attitude toward foreign nations was momentous, not only for the United States but for the world at large. The Revolutionary War, after the first three years, was a war of allies in which the territorial and military interests of the United States and of France were pooled for a joint struggle which lasted five more years. The Congress of the United States considered from the first that as a nation it was entitled to diplomatic relations with other civilized nations of Western Europe. With Spain and with Holland it formed relations of friendship and it sought recognition and respect in Prussia, in Russia, and elsewhere. The point of view of Franklin and Jefferson and Jay and the other American diplomats was that the United States was a new member of the association of civilized nations, entitled to the diplomatic amenities and privileges of current diplomatic intercourse. It sought to become a member of the family of nations and was successful in that purpose.

Long before independence was assured, the Government of the United States in-

sisted that it was entitled to international privileges and immunities in time of peace as well as in time of war, such as were usual among the seafaring nations of the western world. This included the claim to the use of privateers which was admitted directly by our allies and indirectly by other European powers; and their operation in European waters depended largely upon this support.

Another field in which the United States sought to obtain a place in the community of nations was through its insistence on the right of accrediting and sending diplomatic representatives, even to powers which had not recognized the international independence of the United States. Hence the lively protest at the looting of the private papers of William Lee in Prussia. A curious partnership in the Revolution sprang up between the United States and Spain and some other nations with regard to the sailors held as slaves by the Barbary pirates.

As soon as independence was acknowledged by Great Britain in the Treaty of 1783, the United States stepped into the international organization of the time. Exchange of consuls had begun with France during the war; and after the formation of the new Constitution extended to all powers having commercial relations with the United States. So with immigration. The question of indefeasible allegiance was early raised and the United States asserted and has maintained the right of an individual to change his citizenship without the consent of the nation from which he has transferred himself to the United States.

In the great European peace conferences held at intervals from 1793 to 1815, the United States took no part because it had been no party to the Napoleonic Wars.

* This article in pamphlet form may be ordered from the American Peace Society, 374 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

But the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain in 1814 was carried on by what resembled a little International Congress of two powers.

The most remarkable international relation of the United States in its first half century of existence was the laying down of the principle of the Monroe Doctrine which was in effect that European powers were not a part of the organization of the Western hemisphere except for their own direct colonies. Without proclaiming or seeking an American concert of powers, it took and held the ground that no concert of European powers could operate in the western hemisphere. That was one of the first international announcements that there was a principle of Continental nationality which could not be broken down by agreements of third parties.

To this national point of view, which has been of such immense significance during the last century and a half, Washington was one of the principal contributors. His writings are permeated with two ideas—first, that the United States was an independent and sovereign nation, entitled to the status

of such a nation under international law. Second, that the United States recognized the field of international relations and international commerce to which all nations should have access. Hence his urgency that the United States should make no special treaty of alliance with any other nation. General George Washington and President George Washington envisaged the field of national rights and responsibilities, and claimed for his own country a share in the common concerns of mankind and the body of international law and precedence which defined those rights.

Hence I have read the following excellent arrangement of pertinent sayings of George Washington with great interest and approval; for it is a direct and personal message including many principles which apply to the twentieth century as well as to the eighteenth. I wish it may be widely circulated.

—Albert Bushnell Hart.

Washington, D. C.,
December 1, 1931.

George Washington and the Coöperation of States

GEORGE WASHINGTON stated his best-known foreign policies in his Farewell Address, a document which was five years in writing, and upon which he had the counsel of James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and others. He developed these principles of foreign policy from concrete necessities, such as holding the States together, placing the new Republic in a dignified position before the eyes of the world, establishing diplomatic connections with foreign powers, maintaining neutrality for the United States amid the broils and wars of Europe, securing peace for his country at home and abroad. It was out of such difficult problems that Washington fashioned his most familiar opinions as to our foreign relations.

These policies, as set forth in the immortal "Address," may be briefly summarized as follows: (1) Careful and prudent preservation of a united and happy people under the auspices of liberty, guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. (2) Avoidance of inveterate antipathies against or passionate attachment for any particular

nations. (3) Good faith and justice toward all nations; peace and harmony with all. (4) Extension of commercial relations and of liberal intercourse with all nations. (5) As little political connection with foreign nations as possible. (6) Fulfillment of all foreign engagements on the principle that honesty is always the best policy. (7) Abstention from permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world. (8) Maintenance by suitable establishments of a respectable defensive posture, avoiding overgrown military establishments, regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. (9) Expectation of no real favors from any nation. (10) Escape from the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, and from the impostures of pretended patriotism. These are the teachings of Washington most quoted by those interested in the foreign policies of the United States.

Washington hammered out of his unparalleled experience and inherent wisdom, however, certain other policies and principles which, not yet conspicuous in the histories, show how he looked to coöpera-

tion between States and between peoples for the achievement of the ends which nations should unitedly seek. These beliefs, also related for the most part to concrete situations, are seen to be worthy of thoughtful consideration by seekers for peace among nations, especially in this time of world-wide storm and stress.

Necessity for United Effort

April 5, 1783, hostilities of the American Revolution nearly ended, Washington wrote to his friend Lafayette expressing certain hopes and doubts as follows:

We stand now an independent people, and have yet to learn political tactics. We are placed among the nations of the earth, and have a character to establish; but how we shall acquit ourselves time must discover. The probability (at least I fear it) is that local or state politics will interfere too much with the more liberal and extensive plan of government, which wisdom and foresight, freed from the mist of prejudice, would dictate; and that we shall be guilty of many blunders in treading this boundless theatre before we shall have arrived at any perfection in this art; . . . To avert these evils, to form a Constitution that will give consistency, stability and dignity to the Union . . . is a duty which is incumbent upon every man, who wishes well to his country, and will meet with my aid as far as it can be rendered in the private walks of life.¹

June 8 of the same year he wrote a circular letter to the governors of the States—a document urging the same spirit of accommodation and good will:

There are four things, which I humbly conceive are essential to the well-being, I may even venture to say, to the existence of the United States as an independent power: First; an indissoluble union of the States under one federal head; Secondly; a sacred regard to public justice; Thirdly; the adoption of a proper peace establishment; and, Fourthly; the prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies; to make those mutual concessions, which are requisite to the general prosperity; and in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community.²

In 1785 he wrote to James Warren:

That we have it in our power to become one of the most respectable nations upon earth, admits,

in my humble opinion, of no doubt, if we would but pursue a wise, just and liberal policy towards one another and keep good faith with the rest of the world.³

Surely such high expressions of statesmanship are not without meaning for our present interdependent world of larger but similarly disturbed States.

Education for Coöperation

Washington saw the necessity of bringing the youth of the country together in the interest of unifying the coming generations. Writing to Alexander Hamilton of his interest in a University for the Capital City, then under construction, he said, September 1, 1796:

That which would render it of the highest importance, in my opinion is, that during the juvenal period of life, when friendships are formed, and habits established, that will stick by one, the youth or young men from the different parts of the United States would be assembled together, and would by degrees discover that there was not that cause for those jealousies and prejudices which one part of the Union had imbibed against another part; of course sentiments of more liberality in the general policy of the country would result from it. What but the mixing of people from different parts of the United States during the war rubbed off these impressions? A century in the ordinary intercourse would not have accomplished what the seven years' association in arms did; but that ceasing, prejudices are beginning to revive again, and never will be eradicated so effectually by any other means as the intimate intercourse of characters in early life—who in all probability will be at the head of the counsels of this country in a more advanced stage of it.⁴

Yet Washington saw, too, the need of a thorough grounding of youth in the principles of their own government before throwing them into other environments. On March 16, 1795, he wrote to Robert Brooke:

It is with indescribable regret, that I have seen the youth of the United States migrating to foreign countries, in order to acquire the higher branches of erudition, and to obtain a knowledge of the sciences. Although it would be injustice to many to pronounce the certainty of their imbibing maxims not congenial with republicanism, it must nevertheless be admitted, that a serious danger is encountered by sending abroad among other political systems, those who have not well learned the value of their own.⁵

In the same year he wrote to the Commissioners of the Federal District:

For this reason I have greatly wished to see a plan adopted by which the arts, sciences and belles-lettres could be taught in their *fullest* extent . . . and . . . by assembling the youth from the different parts of this rising republic, contributing from their intercourse and interchange of information to the removal of prejudices, which might perhaps sometimes arise from local circumstances.⁹

Such views of education, including preliminary instruction in the value of one's own political system, are quite modern and in key with efforts already well under way throughout our educational world.

Having always in mind the preservation of the American Union and of the special principles upon which it was founded, Washington considered a suggestion to import an entire faculty from Geneva University to guide the destinies of a proposed University for the new Federal City. The principles which he enunciated here are interesting still, not only educationally, but as bearing upon immigration in general. Writing to John Adams, November 15, 1794, he expressed some doubts as to the advisability of transplanting an entire "Seminary of Foreigners who may not understand our language," and continued:

My opinion with respect to emigration is that except of useful mechanics, and some particular descriptions of men or professions, there is no need of encouragement; while the policy or advantage of its taking place in a body (I mean the settling of them in a body) may be much questioned; for by so doing they retain the language, habits and principles (good or bad) which they bring with them. Whereas by an intermixture with our people they or their descendants get assimilated to our customs, measures and laws: in a word soon become one people.⁷

Closely allied to the education of youth in public matters, Washington saw the need of accurate information for the people at large in the interest of an enlightened public opinion. Writing to Timothy Pickering, February, 1799, he said:

The crisis in my opinion calls loudly for plain dealing; that the citizens at large may be well informed, and decide with respect to public measures upon a thorough knowledge of facts. *Concealment* is a species of misinformation . . .⁸

Coöperation by Delegates

Washington had also trenchant things to say on the freedom of delegates to interstate conferences. For example, his nephew, Bushrod Washington, had written asking his opinions of a local patriotic society and its proposed principle definitely to instruct all delegates. The reply, written September 30, 1786, included the following sentences:

To me it appears much wiser and more politic to choose able and honest representatives, and leave them, in all national questions to determine from the evidence of reason, and the facts which shall be adduced, when internal and external information is given them in a collective state. What certainty is there that societies in a corner or remote part of a State can possess that knowledge which is necessary for them to decide on many important questions which may come before an assembly? . . . What figure, then, must a delegate make, who comes there with his hands tied, and his judgment forestalled? His very instructors, perhaps, if they had nothing sinister in view, were they present at all the information and arguments . . . might be the first to change sentiments. Hurried as this letter is, I am sensible I am writing to you upon a very important subject.⁹

In a second letter, written in November, Washington further elucidated his opinions, as follows:

That representatives ought to be the mouth of their constituents I do not deny; nor do I mean to call in question the right of the latter to instruct them. . . . In local matters, which concern the district or things which respect the internal policy of the State there may be nothing amiss in instructions. In national matters, also, the *sense* but not the law of the district may be given, leaving the delegates to judge from the nature of the case, and the evidence before them.¹⁰

Thus again Washington's ideas are seen to have their modern application, if nations are to work together through bodies of delegates. This wisdom was further demonstrated by the Federal Convention of 1787, and by the Constitution which those representatives of the States hammered out, under his presiding genius.

Just before this Convention, on March 31, 1787, he wrote to James Madison:

It gives me great pleasure to hear that there is a probability of a full representation of the

States in convention; but if the delegates come to it under fetters, the salutary ends proposed will, in my opinion be greatly embarrassed and retarded, if not altogether defeated.¹¹

Commercial Coöperation

In spite, however, of Washington's often expressed desire to maintain neutrality during European disputes and his insistence, then necessary, upon developing and maintaining the American nation as an entity in itself uninfluenced by other Powers, there was one field in which he saw a method of coöperation, mutually beneficial. This was the field of commerce. His interest in trade was lifelong and far-reaching.

Like most workable ideas, this, too, grew out of concrete experiences, tested and emphasized by the principles of honor and dignity which seemed to be inherent in Washington's mental processes. He had early traversed trails into the new West when, as a mere lad, he had surveyed Lord Fairfax's estates in the Shenandoah Valley; when at 21 he had conveyed Dinwiddie's warning to the French at Fort Le Boeuf; and again two years later when he went with the ill-fated expedition of Braddock against Duquesne.

He became himself a planter and exporter. His early experience as soldier and surveyor in the Ohio Valley had given him a keen sense of the value to each other of the West and the East. He had purchased extensive lands in the West, because of this vision of its future importance. But to open all this great territory to the sea, was, he saw, of the utmost moment, not only to individuals but especially also to the whole country. Waterways were his favorite plan to unite East and West. His interest in this business and his consciousness that it had unifying possibilities are outlined in a letter to Thomas Jefferson, in March, 1784:

My opinion coincides perfectly with yours respecting the practicability of an easy and short communication between the waters of the Ohio and Potomac, of the advantages of that communication and the preference it has over all others, and of the policy there would be in this State of Maryland to adopt and render it facile. . . . More than ten years ago I was struck with the importance of it; and despairing of any aids from the public, I became a principal mover of a bill to empower a number of subscribers to undertake at their own expense, on

conditions which were expressed, the extension of the navigation from tidewater to Will's Creek. . . . To get this business in motion, I was obliged even upon that ground to comprehend James River, in order to remove jealousies, which arose from the attempt to extend the navigation of the Potomac. The plan, however, was in tolerably good train, when I set out for Cambridge in 1775, and would have been in excellent way, had it not been for the difficulties, which were met with in the Maryland Assembly. . . . It appears to me that the interest and policy of Maryland are proportionably concerned with those of Virginia to remove obstructions, and to invite the trade of the western country into the channel you have mentioned.¹²

Washington saw clearly that the Mississippi route, if the only one open to the trade of our new western settlements, would inevitably create ties of self-interest binding the West with Spain, who then dominated the Mississippi Valley. The English, too, still held posts at Niagara, Detroit and Oswego, and might easily open avenues of commerce toward the Great Lakes. He recognized the power of those interests that follow trade and wished to utilize them for the consolidation of the weak, young country. Indeed, as early as 1772 he had secured an act from the Virginia House of Burgesses for the development of a waterway to the West. In July, 1785, he wrote to David Humphreys, expressing his appreciation of the political importance of an easy trade route to the West as follows:

My attention is more immediately engaged in a project which I think big with great political, as well as commercial consequences to these States, especially the middle ones; it is by removing the obstructions and extending the inland navigation of our rivers, to bring the States on the Atlantic in close connexion with those forming to the westward, by a short and easy transportation. Without this, I can easily conceive they will have different views, separate interests, and other connexions. I may be singular in my ideas, but they are these: that to open a door to and make easy the way for those settlers to the westward . . . before we make any stir about the navigation of the Mississippi, and before our settlements are far advanced toward that river, would be our true line of policy.¹³

Multiplication of difficulties led to one outstanding result. Washington's plans for

improved waterways met with many obstacles, due to inactivity and jealousies between the States. Interstate tariffs, too, and other impediments to trade became insufferable. Congress had no authority to introduce interstate commercial regulations. Maryland and Virginia, confronted with these difficulties, especially on the Potomac and James Rivers' and on Chesapeake Bay, sent commissions to confer together in March, 1785. They met at Alexandria, adjourning, on Washington's invitation, to Mount Vernon. It was immediately perceived that nothing sufficiently far-reaching could be done between two States alone. The exigencies of trade became then the basis upon which, guided by the broad vision of Washington and Madison, another conference was called to meet at Annapolis in the fall of 1786, to which nine States accepted invitations. Only five of these finally attended, but these five shortly decided that not only commerce but many other matters as well ought to be submitted to some sort of unified control. Thus it came about, primarily because of the need of commerce regulation, that the Federal Convention of 1787 was called to meet at Philadelphia. What was there done in framing the American Constitution is a well-known story of no little international importance still.

Washington's desire for a greater trade cooperation among the States was frequently expressed. On October 7, 1785, writing to James Warren, he said:

We have abundant reason to be convinced that the spirit of trade, which pervades these States is not to be restrained . . . and this, any more than other matters of national concern, cannot be done by thirteen heads differently constructed and organized. The necessity, therefore of a controlling power is obvious; and why it should be withheld is beyond my comprehension.¹⁴

In the same letter Washington expressed himself as to the advantage of comparing experiences in agriculture:

The Agricultural Society, lately established in Philadelphia, promises extensive usefulness, if it is prosecuted with spirit. I wish most sincerely, that every State in the Union would institute similar ones: and that these societies would correspond fully and freely with each other, and communicate all useful discoveries founded on practice with a due attention to climate, soil and seasons, to the public.¹⁵

In 1788, while the Constitution was still under debate, Washington wrote to Lafayette, as follows:

I notice with pleasure the additional immunities and facilities in trade which France has granted by the late Royal *arret* to the United States. . . . From the productions and wants of the two countries, their trade with each other is certainly capable of great amelioration . . . At present, or under our existing form of confederation, it would be idle to think of making commercial regulations on our part. One State passes a prohibitory law respecting some article, another State opens wide the avenue for its admission. One Assembly makes a system, another Assembly unmakes it. Virginia, in the very last session of her Legislature, was about to have passed some of the most extravagant and preposterous edicts on the subject of trade that ever stained the leaves of a legislative code. It is in vain to hope for a remedy of these, and innumerable other evils, until a general government shall be adopted.¹⁶

After the adoption of the Constitution, Washington's mind turned more definitely to foreign commerce. Writing to Sir Edward Newenham, July 20, 1788, he said:

I hope that the United States of America will be able to keep disengaged from the labyrinth of European politics and wars; and that before long they will, by the adoption of a good national government, have become respectable in the eyes of the world, so that none of the maritime powers, especially none of those who hold possessions in the New World or the West Indies, shall presume to treat them with insult or contempt. It should be the policy of the United States to administer to their wants without being engaged in their quarrels.¹⁷

February 7, 1788, he wrote to Lafayette:

It gives me great pleasure to learn that the present ministry of France are friendly to America, and that Mr. Jefferson and yourself have a prospect of accomplishing measures, which will mutually benefit and improve the commercial intercourse between the two nations.¹⁸

To Lafayette, in August, 1786, he wrote:

I am happy in a conviction that there may be established between France and the United States such a mutual intercourse of good offices and reciprocal interests as cannot fail to be attended

with the happiest consequences. Nations are not influenced, as individuals may be, by disinterested friendships; but when it is their interest to live in amity, we have little reason to apprehend any rupture. This principle of union can hardly exist in a more distinguished manner between two nations, than it does between France and the United States.¹⁹

In March, 1788, he expressed to the French minister, Count de Moustier, his belief that commerce should be a tie between nations:

I am happy to learn, that your Excellency is meditating to strengthen the commercial ties that connect the two nations, and that your ideas of effecting it, by placing the arrangement upon the basis of mutual advantage, coincide exactly with my own. Treaties, which are not built upon reciprocal benefits, are not likely to be of long duration.²⁰

Again in August he wrote:

The maritime genius of this country is now steering our vessels in every ocean.²¹

And still later, in December, he wrote to Count de Moustier again:

. . . and upon further reflection it seems obvious to me, that there are articles enough in France, which are wanted here, and others in turn produced here which are wanted in France, to form the basis of a beneficial, extensive and durable commerce.²²

In his Farewell Address, published September 19, 1796, Washington further explains, for the benefit of his countrymen, his ideas on commerce evolved through long experience. He says:

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with Powers so disposed—in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the Government to support them—conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit; but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate.²³

As prosperity increased in America, Washington frequently connected this state of things with improved commerce. For instance, in 1793 he wrote to David Humphreys:

All our late accounts from Europe hold up the expectation of a general war in that quarter. For the sake of humanity, I hope such an event will not take place; but if it should, I trust that we shall have too just a sense of our own interest to originate any cause that may involve us in it. And I ardently wish we may not be forced into it by the conduct of other nations. If we are permitted to improve without interruption the great advantages which nature and circumstances have placed within our reach, many years will not revolve before we may be ranked . . . among the happiest people on this globe. . . . A spirit of improvement displays itself in every quarter, and principally in objects of the greatest public utility such as opening inland navigation, . . . improving the old roads and making new ones, building bridges and houses, and, in short, pursuing those things, which seem eminently calculated to promote the advantage and accommodations of the people at large.²⁴

And in his last letter to his old friend, Sally Fairfax, long in England, he tells of the projected Capital of the United States, in—

. . . a situation not excelled for commanding prospect, good water, salubrious air, and safe harbour, by any in the world.

Alexandria has, he says, improved much and he continues:

This show of prosperity, you will readily conceive, is owing to its commerce. . . . In a word, if this country can steer clear of European politics, stand firm on its bottom and be wise and temperate in its government, it bids fair to be one of the greatest and happiest nations in the world.²⁵

For the American States, therefore, Washington saw commerce as an indispensable binding force for union and prosperity. He saw the need of general laws governing both internal and external commerce.

It is not probable that he envisaged an exactly parallel course as between nations; but he did see the need for mutual advantages in commercial treaties, and liked to think of America as a just and impartial Power, maintaining a neutral commerce

among all the nations. The phrase "carrier for all," or its equivalent, occurs in many of his remarks on other phases of international relations.

World Peace

From his lifelong devotion to the ideas of economic coöperation and trade as indispensable requisites for union and prosperity for his own country and as a binding tie with other nations, perhaps as much as from his own military experience flowed quite naturally Washington's desire for the elimination of war. He did not conceive that this might be an immediate and permanent condition of the world, but he was very positive that for at least a period of some twenty years it was imperative for the establishment of the United States of America that they should remain at peace with each other and with foreign Powers. To the Earl of Buchan he wrote, April 22, 1793:

I believe it is the sincere wish of United America to have nothing to do with political intrigues or the squabbles of European nations; but on the contrary, to exchange commodities and live in peace and amity with all the inhabitants of the earth.²⁶

December 22, 1795, he wrote to Gouverneur Morris:

It is well known that peace (to borrow a modern phrase) has been the order of the day with me since the disturbances in Europe first commenced. My policy has been and will continue to be, while I have the honor to remain in the administration of the government, to be upon friendly terms with, but independent of, all nations of the earth; to share in the broils of none; to fulfil our own engagements; to supply the wants and be carrier for them all; being thoroughly convinced that it is our policy and interest to do so. Nothing short of self-respect, and that justice which is essential to a national character, ought to involve us in war; for sure I am, if this country is preserved in tranquillity twenty years longer, it may bid defiance in a just cause to any power whatever; such in that time will be its population, wealth and resources.²⁷

Washington's desire for a permanent state of peace between nations is, however, obvious from many of his letters and statements.

To David Humphreys, Secretary of the Commission sent abroad in 1784 to negoti-

ate treaties of commerce with foreign Powers, he wrote:

My first wish is to see this plague to mankind [war] banished from off the earth, and the sons and daughters of this world employed in more pleasing and innocent amusements than in preparing implements and exercising them for the destruction of mankind.²⁸

October 7, 1785, he wrote to the Marquis de la Rouerie:

At present everything in America is tranquil and I hope will long remain so. It is not our interest to seek new broils and I hope our neighbors will not commence them. . . . I never expect to draw my sword again, I can scarcely conceive the cause that would induce me to do it. But if, contrary to all expectations, such an event should take place, I should think it a fortunate circumstance, and myself highly honored, to have it supported by yours. . . . My first wish is, although it is against the profession of arms—and would clip the wings of some of your young soldiers who are soaring after glory—to see the whole world in peace; and the inhabitants of it as one band of brothers striving who should contribute most to the happiness of mankind.²⁹

In a letter to Lafayette, January 10, 1788, he wrote:

I heartily wish the attempt of that singular great character, the Empress of Russia, to form a universal Dictionary, may be attended with the merited success. To know the affinity of tongues, seems to be one step toward promoting the affinity of nations. Would to God the harmony of nations was an object that lay nearest to the hearts of Sovereigns; and that the incentives to peace, (of which commerce and the facility of understanding each other are not the most inconsiderable) might be daily increased!³⁰

To the Marquis de Chastellux, who had just announced his marriage, Washington wrote in April, 1788:

. . . the great personages of the North [of Europe] have been making war under the . . . infatuation of Mars. Now, for my part, I humbly conceive you have had much the best and wisest of the bargain. For certainly it is more consonant to all the principles of reason and religion (natural and revealed) to replenish the earth with inhabitants rather than to depopulate it by killing those already in existence; besides it is time for the age of knight-errantry and mad-

heroism to be at an end. Your young military men, who want to reap the harvest of laurels, don't care (I suppose) how many seeds of war are sown; but for the sake of humanity it is devoutly to be wished that the manly employment of agriculture and the humanizing benefits of commerce would supersede the waste of war and the rage of conquest; and the swords might be turned into ploughshares, the spears into pruninghooks, and, as the Scriptures express it, "the nations learn war no more."³¹

June 18, 1788, he wrote again to Lafayette:

There seems to be a great deal of bloody work cut out for this summer in the north of Europe. If war, want and plague are to desolate those huge armies that are assembled, who, that has the feelings of a man can refrain from shedding a tear over the miserable victims of regal ambition? It is really a strange thing that there should not be room enough in the world for men to live without cutting one another's throats.³²

In his letter of July 20, 1788, to Sir Edward Newenham, previously quoted, he also said:

But what shall I say of wars and the appearances of wars in the rest of the world? Mankind are not yet ripe for the millennial state.³³

In August, 1788, he wrote to Thomas Jefferson:

In whatever manner the nations of Europe shall endeavor to keep up their prowess in war and their balance of power in peace, it will be obviously our policy to cultivate tranquillity at home and abroad, and to extend our agriculture and commerce as far as possible.³⁴

In November, 1788, he wrote to the Count de Rochambeau:

On your side of the Atlantic, I am sorry to find that there is some probability of a general war. You will, I know, my dear Count, applaud the wish which humanity makes to prevent the effusion of blood; even though you are a military man and might have a better chance than most others to gather fresh laurels on the field of death.³⁵

In January of the following year he wrote again to Rochambeau:

Notwithstanding it might probably, in a commercial view, be greatly for the advantage of America that a war should rage on the other side

of the Atlantic; yet I shall never so far divest myself of the feelings of a man interested in the happiness of his fellowman, as to wish my country's prosperity might be built on the ruins of that of other nations. On the contrary, I cannot but hope, that the Independence of America, to which you have so gloriously contributed, will prove a blessing to mankind. It is thus you see, my dear Count, in retirement upon my farm, I speculate on the fate of nations; amusing myself with innocent reveries, that mankind will, one day, grow happier and better.³⁶

October 26, 1799, he wrote to William Vans Murray:

My own wish is, to see everything settled upon the best and surest foundation for the Peace and happiness of mankind, without regard to this, that or the other nation. A more destructive sword never was drawn (at least in modern times) than this war has produced. It is time to sheathe it and give Peace to mankind.³⁷

In December of the previous year Washington had expressed himself to Lafayette regarding his withholding of opinion on the French Revolution. He summed up his theories as follows:

My politics are plain and simple. I think every nation has a right to establish that form of government under which it conceives it shall live most happy, provided it infracts no right, or is not dangerous to others; and that no governments ought to interfere with the internal concerns of another, except for the security of what is due to themselves.³⁸

That Washington had visions of a better coöperation among States in the interest of a firmly established and organized peace appears from these and from other utterances throughout his public life. The phrase, "The Republic of Humanity," found in the following extract, shows where his mind was tending. It was written to Lafayette in 1786:

. . . as the member of an infant empire, as a philanthropist by character, and, (if I may be allowed the expression), as a citizen of the great republic of humanity at large, I cannot help turning my attention, sometimes, to this subject. I would be understood to mean, I cannot avoid reflecting with pleasure, on the probable influence that commerce may hereafter have on human manners, and society in general. On these occasions I consider how mankind may be connected, like

one great family, in fraternal ties. I indulge a fond, perhaps an enthusiastic idea that, as the world is evidently much less barbarous than it has been, its melioration must still be progressive; that nations are becoming more humanized in their policy; that the subjects of ambition and causes for hostility are daily diminishing; and in fine, that the period is not very remote when the benefits of a liberal and free commerce will pretty generally succeed to the devastation and horrors of war.³⁹

At another time he wrote:

I most sincerely and devoutly wish that the exertions of those having this object in view, may effect what human nature cries for—a General Peace.⁴⁰

Thus in the fields of a "liberal policy" among States, of wide contacts in education, of informed public opinion, of coöperative action through unfettered delegates, of mutual benefits flowing from economic ties between States, and, finally, in his hopes for a world at peace, Washington had many sapient things to say. His words on these themes were laden with wisdom for his time. They are astonishingly pertinent to major problems perplexing modern thought and aspiration.

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The Approaching "Disarmament Conference"

Has the Picture Changed?

By BURTON L. FRENCH

(Mr. French is a member of the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives and for eight years has been chairman of the committee that has prepared the Naval Appropriations bill. He is a member of the council for the United States of the Interparliamentary Union.)

IN JANUARY, 1931, it was definitely planned that the long-discussed "disarmament conference"—more properly reduction of armaments conference—of world powers would be held, commencing the second Tuesday in February, 1932.

While the specific call was made by the Council of the League of Nations, it was made upon concurrence of all the great world powers whether members of the League or not.

The immediate step was taken in fulfillment of the pledge made to mankind following the World War in the Versailles Treaty, signed by the allied and associated powers and by Germany and Austria and in the separate treaty with Germany made by the United States.

The Versailles Treaty recites (Part V, Military, Naval and Air Clauses):

"In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Germany undertakes strictly to observe the military, naval and air clauses which follow."

This specific provision was taken over and made part of the treaty between the United States and Germany.

As though to clarify the meaning of the language above quoted, a document was prepared by the Allied and Associated Powers at the time of the drafting of the treaty which interpreted the thought that was in the minds of the spokesmen for the great powers embodied in the pledge. This document contains these words ("Part V, Military, Naval and Air Clauses. Section 1, Military Clauses I):

"The Allied and Associated Powers wish to make it clear that their requirements in regard to German armaments were not made solely with the object of rendering it impossible for Germany to resume her policy of military aggression. They are

also the first steps towards that general reduction and limitation of armaments which they seek to bring about as one of the most fruitful preventives of war, and which it will be one of the first duties of the League of Nations to promote."

Entirely apart, however, from this solemn covenant, the same principle has been iterated and reiterated by peoples of all the great powers, speaking through their administrative spokesmen of highest responsibility.

The Interparliamentary Union which held its last convention in Bucharest, Rumania, in October last, and which was made up of chosen representatives of the parliaments of most of the world's greatest powers, without a dissenting vote recommended radical reduction of military establishments and suggested as a first step a program that, if realized, would mean a saving of not less than \$1,125,000,000 to the treasuries of already over-burdened nations.

The repeated professions of faith and purpose in reduction of armaments have rested essentially upon two major factors:

A. The removal of one of the most fruitful causes of war; and

B. The reduction of the enormous budgetary burdens incident to the maintenance of large military establishments.

As we approach the date of assembling of the "Disarmament Conference," he is blind who does not recognize that there is widespread, subtle, yet definite propaganda against the program for reduction. The chief weapon used to defeat the purpose of the conference is the weapon of fear, through the sowing of seeds of suspicion and doubt within the soil of every nation which has a possible rival. "Better wait." "Better delay." "Better have more explicit understandings on our problem first." "Better postpone until the situation between X and Y nations may be adjusted," etc., etc. False

tales are being told of the plans and purposes of rival powers. Notwithstanding the fact that treaties touching naval programs have been adopted between several nations, those who opposed their adoption and endeavored to bring about their defeat now are urging programs that in effect would scuttle the treaties by forcing construction as though it were mandatory and that would make difficult or impossible further reductions upon the expiration of present agreements. They are urging programs that would mean the expansion of navy yards, aircraft and munition factories and other industries whose personnel and the communities where located would fight reduction. If they are successful, it will mean the saddling of still more officers and enlisted personnel upon the world, whose personal interests would not be served by contraction. It will mean, of course, that rivalry will be engendered further among nations, and thereby more fears, due to the heavy building programs upon the part of one nation when viewed by another, will disturb the world and end perhaps in the defeat in whole or in large part of gains that were believed made through treaties touching naval armaments.

But Has the Picture Really Changed?

Both before and after the World War thoughtful people everywhere, including the world's foremost statesmen and publicists, did not hesitate to point out that an ever present cause of war is excessive armaments. The statesmen who framed the Treaty of Versailles referred to the "general moderation and limitation of armaments which they hope to bring about as one of the most fruitful preventives of war." Limitation of armaments is demanded in the interest of a greater security for all. It may be said that "in principle" the doctrine is definitely accepted.

Practically the only negative voices raised against the affirmative side of this thesis are by those who have personal axes to grind—fabricators of war materials and ships, communities concerned for their industrial prestige, certain officers who have or have had commands to sustain and spokesmen for these groups who depend upon some or all of them for their suffrage.

Let Us View Reductions from the Standpoint of Cost

In 1913 the cost of military establishments of the world was slightly more than \$2,000,000,000.

In 1930 the cost of military establishments had climbed to \$4,500,000,000.

In both groups of figures, naval as well as army expenditures have been included. The naval budgets of the six nations which expended the greatest amounts upon their navies in 1930 expended in that year 50% more than their outlays in 1913. The nations and amounts expended are as follows:

	1913	1930
United States	\$134,092,416	\$375,291,828
Great Britain	224,443,296	271,867,022
Japan	46,510,216	131,000,000
France	81,692,832	101,258,766
Italy	41,893,420	62,785,079
Germany	112,000,000	47,700,000
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	\$640,632,180	\$989,902,695

It will be observed that the United States and Japan have expanded most of all.

At a time when nations are hard pressed to find revenues with which to meet obligations for schools and playgrounds, for hospitals and highways, for canals and harbors and the multitude of other public works incidental to peace time living, a substantial reduction of military expenses would swell enormously the moneys available for these purposes. A reduction of the military burden by 25% alone would make available annually for world peoples one billion one hundred and twenty-five million dollars; a reduction of 50% would provide two billion two hundred fifty million dollars annually—these amounts without adding another penny to the burden of taxation.

Consider for a moment what \$2,250,000,000—that is 50% of what the world spends annually for military and naval purposes—would accomplish if applied differently:

1. As applied to highways it would build in one year at a cost of \$40,000 per mile *ten* highways from the west coast of Europe to the east coast of Asia across both continents;

or

as applied to France at the same cost per mile it would build *sixty* highways from the northern boundary to the southern and *sixty*

highways from the western boundary to the eastern;

or

as applied to the United States it would build *twenty* highways from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

2. As applied to canals, it would build the equivalent of *seven* Panama canals in a single year. (The Panama Canal was regarded as a major world project in its day and was built over a period of years).

3. As applied to drainage and reclamation, it would represent approximately ten times the amount the United States has expended in thirty years upon the reclamation of arid lands.

4. As applied to hospitals, it would build and equip annually *five hundred* hospitals of a thousand-beds capacity each, at a cost of nearly \$5,000,000 per hospital;

or

it would build and equip *five thousand* smaller municipal hospitals at a cost of nearly \$500,000 each.

5. As applied to education, it would establish annually fifty universities at a cost of nearly \$20,000,000 for plant and equipment for each and a permanent endowment fund for each of \$30,000,000 (there are but seven American universities with like or greater endowments);

or

it would build 450,000 rural grammar school buildings in one year at a cost of \$5,000 each.

6. It would mean that \$2,250,000,000 now levied in annual taxes could be lifted from the shoulders of men and women and applied to the comforts of home.

The World Economic Depression

Opponents of reduction are making the world-wide depression an excuse for urging postponement.

In brief, they urge that a reduction would throw whatever number of men might be eliminated back into an already over-burdened body of unemployed. The fallacy of such an argument must appear at once when it is recalled that it is quite within the power of every government to employ upon public works of wide and desirable character all men eliminated from military service, paying for their services money that would be saved from military allocations.

Surely from an economic standpoint there can be not the slightest justification for placing the support of a man in uniform and in unproductive status upon the shoulders of four or six men who have their own household burdens to bear. That is precisely what present day military programs mean.

World-wide depression is an additional reason for reduction and not expansion.

Will Nations Do Teamwork?

Will nations desire to do team-work in a disarmament program? I believe they will. I believe we have sound reason for hope as we view the approaching conference.

Probably the approaching conference should be regarded more as a reduction-of-armaments conference in which progress may be made toward rationalism and good sense in expenditures for military purposes. This is unquestionably the sound view of that fine body of men and women who were in attendance upon the conference of the Interparliamentary Union, and unquestionably it is the sound view of responsible statesmen of the world's great powers. Furthermore, it is in harmony with the pledges and promises of all responsible governments during the past twelve years. The reduction of expenditures for armaments will at once reduce the burden of taxation or turn revenues into worthwhile projects and thereby make the peace of the world more secure.

Les peuples sincèrement pacifiques ne sauraient se borner à maudire la guerre; il leur appartient d'en éloigner la menace par des engagements, des contrats, des institutions loyalement et solidement établis.

"Le Temps," Paris, du 29 juillet, 1931.

"The Greenland Question"

By ERIC SYRAL BELLQUIST

(Mr. Bellquist's article is based on observation made in Scandinavia during the past year as a Fellow of the American-Scandinavian Foundation and the University of California.—EDITOR.)

WHEN Eric the Red, over 900 years ago, happened to land on a grass-covered bit of the eastern coast of Greenland he was so overjoyed that he gave that erroneous name to the whole island, which has recently received headline notice through the exploits of Courtauld and Ahrenberg and the ill feeling aroused between Denmark and Norway. The mighty glaciers and icy wastes of this far northern territory have occasioned a rise in the temperature for the political atmosphere of these two countries which bodes ill for the understanding and cooperation of Northern Europe and has caused rumblings of calling into action the complicated machinery of Geneva and The Hague.

Basis of Recent Trouble

The immediate cause of the existing tension was the vesting of extensive police power in the hands of a comprehensive Danish scientific expedition to Greenland by the government of Denmark. This expedition, which is headed by Dr. Lauge Koch and which sailed from Copenhagen in the middle of June, consists of two ships and over sixty members. It was financed by the Carlsberg Foundation and the Danish government and expects to conduct a thorough three-year exploration and investigation of eastern Greenland for some six hundred kilometers between Scoresbysund and Danmarks Havn. Two investigation stations and a number of outposts are to be erected and in addition an official Danish archeological expedition is to cover the Angmagalik district and the coastline to the south. In consideration of the size of the party and the character of the territory it must be acknowledged that some governmental power had to be placed in its hands. The Norwegians vested somewhat similar powers in the hands of Docent Hoel a year ago when he conducted a far less important survey of some of this area. It is only just to point out, however, that Hoel's authority extended only over Norwegians and that it

was based upon the principle that the territory was *terra nullius* under the treaty of 1924.

Certain Developments

When the news of the projected Danish expedition reached Norway last winter considerable interest was aroused and the Norwegian Greenland Association adopted a resolution to the effect that Norway should occupy the territory in question at once or bring the matter to the Court at The Hague. This became the subject of a note from Prime Minister Mowinckel to the Danish government in February of this year. Even at that time, however, the position of Mowinckel's government was insecure and as he did not wish to bind a possible successor to a definite policy nothing further seems to have occurred.

On May 7 the Venstre government in Norway was succeeded by the first ministry of the Agricultural Union with Kolstad as premier. The new Foreign Minister, Braadland, left Oslo immediately for the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations in Geneva. While he was still representing his country in that capacity and before the new government could have been expected to have become thoroughly familiar with the matter, *Ishavsraadet*, the Polar Council in charge of certain Norwegian interests as to Greenland and the polar areas, issued a statement asking the government to occupy and annex the three-hundred-kilometer eastern coastal stretch of Greenland between the south side of Davy Sound to Wollaston Forland and establish Norwegian sovereignty over it. This request of the Polar Council was issued to the press during the last week of May and caused a sensation throughout Scandinavia. In an interview to *Oslo Aftenavis* an unnamed member of the body stated that its action was precipitated by the fact that unless Norway asserted her claims at this time she would lose the territory for all time to come. The Council rec-

ognized the fact that Denmark had claimed a sort of sovereignty over East Greenland but stated that this had never amounted to actual occupation and hence was not effective. The vesting of police power in the proposed Danish expedition would add weight to the position of that country and eliminate Norway. The very act of doing so was contrary to the Danish-Norwegian agreement of 1924 with respect to East Greenland.

Effects of the Treaty

In this connection some mention of that agreement should be made. The treaty, which went into effect July 10, 1924, affected the part of East Greenland between Lindenovsfjorden ($60^{\circ} 27'$) and Nordostrundningen (81°), the district of Angmagsalik not included. Within this territory Norwegian ships are allowed free entry and the crews and other persons on board are allowed to land, winter, and carry on hunting, trapping and fishing. These occupations, however, must not be carried on in such manner that useful or rare animal species are exterminated. Article four states that persons and corporations have the right to occupy land providing that the same is effectively used and that it had not previously been occupied. This right is lost if the occupant or his representative fails to remain on the place several years in succession. Article five gives permission to establish stations for weather observations, telegraph and telephone, and establishments for scientific and humanitarian purposes. The contracting parties may by joint agreement make such modifications in the agreement as experiences may demand. Differences of opinion as to the interpretation of the treaty are submitted to the Court at The Hague and the document is irrevocable for twenty years and is automatically renewed for a second twenty-year period unless intention to revoke is given by either party at least two years before execution.

It should also be pointed out that according to the Treaty of Kiel in 1814 and a resolution of the Norwegian Storting in 1821 Norway has at least tacitly implied the sovereignty of Denmark over Greenland. Most of the nations of the world have recognized Danish ownership of Greenland, the United States doing so at the time of the purchase of the Virgin Islands. Norway is the only state that has

contested the Danish proclamation of possession of 1921. She has continued to look upon East Greenland as a territory which might some day be hers. In the treaty of 1924 the Danes did not relinquish their sovereignty although the claim is advanced by Norway that the territory affected thereby became *terra nullius* or a sort of no-man's-land, open for occupation. Without doubt this agreement is open to different interpretations and there is some justification for the assertion of the German Professor Wohlgast that it is one of the most peculiar documents in the field of public law.

Evidences of Ill Will

The issuance of the recent statement of the Polar Council of course brought forth an avalanche of comment. The Norwegian press in general denounced the way in which the matter was handled. *Morgenbladet* characterized the incident as bungling foreign policy by amateurs. *Aftenposten* was of the opinion that the Council was seeking sensation and hoped that Norway's position had not been weakened by its action. *Nationen*, the government organ, exonerated the government and held the Council wholly responsible. *Tidens Tegn*, however, thought that in spite of all it was fortunate that the matter had become acute and that the country had been placed in a position where it had to make the much-needed decision. The Danish press spoke strongly for Denmark's sovereignty and took offense at the Norwegian pretensions calling them an international insult. In Sweden opinion was practically unanimous in regretting the whole incident, deploring that the issue should be sharpened to the point where international machinery might have to be utilized to ease the tension.

In the debate that arose in the Storting the Prime Minister and acting Foreign Minister, Kolstad, disavowed the action of the Polar Council in taking the initiative out of the hands of the Foreign Office and declared that the government had admonished that body to cease making any statements unless such were authorized by the ministry or proper department. It seems a bit peculiar, however, that the government could wash its hands entirely clean of the matter as the Foreign Minister or his representative has a seat in the Polar Council and therefore should be *au courant* as to its deliberations, most certainly so on such

important matters as this. On May 28th the government held a secret session with respect to the Greenland question and on the following day the whole Storting likewise went into a closed session on the issue.

Comparative Effects

After the first outburst Denmark received the news of the above events with apparent calm. The writer was in Copenhagen just at this time and the attitude there seemed to be to wait for the next move from Oslo. The outfitting of the expedition which had caused the flurry continued and plans were completed for its embarkation in the middle of June. Prime Minister Stauning of Denmark stated that the world as a whole, with the exception of Norway, recognized Denmark's sovereignty and that if that nation tried to encroach upon Danish rights in any way the case would immediately be submitted to international judicial procedure. Stauning also pointed out that the Norwegians granted Hoel police power in 1930 in spite of Danish protests and that now the Danes were vesting similar authority in Dr. Koch, not in retaliation, but simply because it was essential for good order and because Denmark obviously could not countenance the beginning of Norwegian government in territory belonging to it. The Foreign Minister, Dr. Munch, supported the definite views of his colleague.

In assessing opinion in Norway it must be emphasized that such protests as were made against the action of the Polar Council were on account of the manner in which the matter had been broached. There was little or no sentiment against the claims set forth by Norway. That is, the feeling was merely that the representations as to her rights in this territory should have been made, but that they should perhaps not have been made so hurriedly and certainly not through that channel but rather through those ordinarily provided for diplomatic intercourse. The government and Storting went no further than to declare the formal action of the Council inexpedient. The time and method were ill chosen, that is all. *Tidens Tegn*, *Dagbladet*, *Syttende Mai*, *Norges Handels og Sjøfartstidende* and other papers strongly supported Norwegian occupation of East Greenland and many organizations, notably *Fædrelandslaget*, urged that annexation take place immediately.

Added to this sentiment is the fact that the present government of Norway represents the country's nationalistic party. The platform of the Agricultural Union party states that "our external policy is pointed in a strong national direction. Our ancient rights to Greenland and our fishing rights in the polar seas must be maintained." It is the only party platform that definitely takes a stand on this matter.

The Norwegian claims are based not so much upon public law as upon sentiment and tradition. It is felt, and perhaps not without considerable justification, that Norway historically as well as morally has a better claim to the territory than Denmark, which only through its mingling with Norway came into contact with this northernly island. Both the first and second colonizations of Greenland were made by Norwegians and as early as 1261 the island was taxed by the Norwegian Crown and for many centuries it has contributed to the economic welfare of that country. Fish, furs and whale products have come to Norway from Greenland in increasing quantities as the years have gone by. The circumstances surrounding the Treaty of Kiel, the fact that it never has been accepted by Norway and that the agreement of 1821 to some extent was forced upon Norway by the Great Powers, are other things adding weight to this argument. Several press organs, notably *Aftenposten*, advances the higher authority of historical and moral rights in juxtaposition to the more or less formalistic points of international law upon which Danish possession rests.

The Norwegians fear that their economic interests would be seriously affected in the event of effective Danish occupation of East Greenland. At present there are some ninety Norwegian fishing and whaling huts in the territory in question, whereas Denmark has less than a scant half dozen. Norway also states that her fishing and other activities in this area as permitted under the agreement of 1924 furnishes adequate legal basis for occupation although because of that treaty she has been reluctant to do so. The Danish government, on the other hand, has given assurances that there is no intention to encroach upon the treaty rights of their neighbors and that there is no ground for protest upon this basis.

Further Activities

On the whole it is probably safe to say that there was no serious question of actual Norwegian occupation at this time. Although such a move was sponsored by an activist element it is doubtful if the step would have been taken had not the events outlined above taken place. For a while it seemed as if the Norwegians would permit the Danish expedition to proceed without taking definite action, that Norway would wait and later make its formal protest by bringing the matter before an international tribunal.

Realizing, however, that delay might mean effective Danish occupation which might not be easy to dislodge, the Norwegians decided to act immediately and to present the Danes with a *fait accompli*. Accordingly King Haakon on July 10 signed a governmental decree annexing the territory of East Greenland between the northern latitudes 71° 30' and 75° 40'. The government based its act on the claim that Norwegian explorers and hunters had already taken into possession this three hundred mile coastal stretch between the Carlsbad and Bessel fjords. The annexation may be considered as purely technical and was taken with a view to future proceedings at The Hague.

Denmark of course did not permit the challenge to pass unnoticed. Announcement was at once made by the Danish Foreign Office that it would lodge a protest

at the World Court, saying that the decree was in clear violation of the treaty of 1924. On July 11 a complaint was addressed to the Permanent Court of International Justice charging that the action of Norwegian hunters and the proclamation of occupation from Oslo constituted a violation of Danish rights and pleading that the occupation be declared null and void.

As to the Outcome

Altogether it seems unfortunate that this altercation should have been allowed to mar the peace of the North. The Danes undoubtedly now regret that they did not make Norwegian recognition of their sovereignty a condition to the granting of the economic privileges in 1924. But as that was not done the necessity of an amicable settlement is now acute. It would be most agreeable if the two countries could settle the discord by a simple agreement, say the granting of extended economic rights to Norway also on the western coast in return for her recognition of Danish sovereignty. But matters have probably gone too far for this now. Norway is still a young country and as is always the case in such instances her new blood courses fast through the body politic and nationalism is strong. She is not likely to retract the step just taken and it is practically certain that a bit of internationalism will have to be applied before goodwill is restored in this part of Europe.

MACHINE-AGE

By MARY C. STEVENS

More savage than beasts
Is man . . . with sword in his hand,
Anger in his heart.

India and America

By J. C. Chatterji

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THE practical qualities of American culture are but imperfectly known in India. Knowledge of India's vast accumulation of intellectual and philosophical culture, acquired during thousands of years, is meager and often inaccurate in the United States. The progress of civilization requires a better understanding of India's way of looking at life on the part of America and America's way of looking at life on the part of India.

What India Can Best Supply

Will Durant, the author of "The Story of Philosophy," recently stated that his study of India's culture has caused him to realize that fundamental problems of philosophy about which the West has long been wrangling in disagreement, were discovered, exhaustively analyzed and clarified in India thousands of years ago. He also stated that the belief in the reality of the ideals which were the dreams of his earlier years was given back to him after he had come into contact with the life and culture of India. The basic philosophy of India conforms in surprising detail with discoveries Western science is making of the universe, adding to that science itself spiritual meanings as a logical sequence, and indicating at the same time the way the West seems destined to follow in the new demand for a reinterpretation of human values. Western thinkers, like Einstein, Eddington, Jeans, Milliken, Overstreet and others of the front rank, are working a revolution in the conceptions of matter, mind, time, space; and are making thereby imperative an understanding of Hindu thought as a means of comprehending the new principles of knowledge. In the words of Prof. E. Washburn Hopkins, "India's outlook on life may in essentials be that which modern scientific thought is almost prepared to adopt."

But it is not in the field of philosophic thinking alone or in that concerning human values only—fields in which India has admittedly excelled greatly—that a study and understanding of India's culture should

prove useful now. In the matter of art, too, India has made important contributions, which are being recognized more fully every day by leading authorities in the matter. The art forms, therefore, of India should also be studied anew and widely—more so than has hitherto been the case—if there is to be a proper understanding in matters spiritual between India and America.

What Is Most Needed from America

At the same time in practical ways of progressive improvement for humanity the United States leads the world. Higher standards of living, increase in technical skill, persistent improvement in methods of industrial activities of all kinds are more conspicuous in the United States than in any other country. The utilitarian spirit of America gives to the United States undoubted leadership in this field.

The India Academy

It is because of these facts that there has been organized the *India Academy of America* to stimulate an exchange of ideas between the United States and India to the advantage of the culture of each. For America a better understanding of India's contributions to human thought will mean a broadened outlook on life and a forward step in human progress. As America is looking for additional human values in terms that India can supply, so India, for her part, is now preparing to advance in ways of practical development which will mean the opening of a new era in her age-old history. India looks to America for inspiration in the practicalities of life, and hopes, for her part, to make repayment in some measure by familiarizing America with those Hindu interpretations of existence which are recognized by the thoughtful all over the world as profound philosophic truths.

The Mysterious Link Between India and America

This exchange of ideas and ideals and the development thereby of a closer association

and helpful cooperation between India and America for the cultural benefit of mankind, would seem to have been designed from the very beginning. For, as Walt Whitman envisioned it, there was much more than a mere accident in the discovery of America as an incident in the endeavor to find a passage to India; the newly discovered country was even mistaken for a time for India, and the aborigines of the New World were called "Indians," a name which persists to this day as a constant reminder of the way America came to be known to Europe. At any rate, it may not be inappropriate to remind ourselves of this generally overlooked fact; namely, that it was the fame of India's wealth and wisdom and consequent search on the part of Medieval Europe for a western passage to India, that led to the discovery of America. It is a fact which probably has a far deeper purpose in it than is as yet apparent to most—a purpose which will perhaps be fulfilled best by what Prof. John Dewey has called a "spiritual exchange" and a closer cultural cooperation between India, the most ancient yet still vigorous representative of the East, and America the latest and most progressive humanity of the West.

Recent Archeological Discoveries in Asia Minor and the Indus Valley Make a Resurvey of Relations Necessary

There is another important reason, hitherto only very imperfectly recognized, why the culture of India in its widest sense and in its worldwide intercultural relations, both past and present, should be studied and made known more extensively in the West than has till now been the case. There was a time, not very long ago, when people in the West were firmly convinced that the culture of the Occident was the progeny, exclusively, of Greece and Rome, and that the only Asiatic influence which had anything to do with its growth was the culture of the Hebrews; and that, therefore, in order to understand Western culture it was entirely unnecessary to travel beyond the northern shores of the Mediterranean, excepting a short journey farther east into Palestine. But it is now fully admitted that the cultures of Greece, Rome and Palestine can not themselves be understood fully without reference to Crete, Egypt and Babylonia. Even this recognition, however, did not bring India and the farther East any nearer

to the West. They continued still to be regarded as lands which, insofar as any cultural relations with the West in the past were concerned, might as well have been on a different planet. But the recent archeological discoveries in Asia Minor and the Indus Valley in India have made it absolutely certain that even the ancient cultures of western Asia, which had so much to do with the cultures of Egypt, Crete and the Greco-Roman world, can not possibly be understood fully without a more accurate and wider knowledge of the ancient cultures of India.

The Hittites and India

To take only one example: The monuments of the Hittites, who ruled a vast empire—probably two empires—and undoubtedly exercised a far greater influence on the culture of the Hebrews than would appear from the scanty Hittite reference in the Bible, can not possibly be appreciated in full, except in the light of the culture of India, as has been pointed out recently by Professor Garstang of Oxford.

The Hebrews and India

And if a study of India's ancient cultures is admittedly necessary for a proper understanding of the Hittite culture with which the Hebrews had such close relations, the same study may prove to be of an equal value in the understanding of some of the still obscure problems connected with the early history of the Hebrews themselves.

Nor is there anything inherently impossible in this. We now definitely know that a language allied to, at any rate influenced by, Vedic Sanskrit was spoken in Asia Minor in the 15th century B. C. and perhaps in still earlier times; that in those days some form of a Vedic cult flourished among the Hittites, which is proved conclusively from Hittite records themselves containing names of Vedic deities; and that finally the rulers at least, if not the whole population, of Mitanni (*i. e.*, what is now northern Syria) were Aryan in race and religion and were in very intimate contact with both the Hittite and the Egyptian peoples and therefore, no doubt, also with the Hebrews about the traditional days of Moses.

And if the Hebrews and a certain section of the Aryans were thus in mutual contact,

direct or indirect, there is no reason to suppose that they had no influence on one another. On the contrary, there are clear traces of the Semitic influence in the Vedic tradition, as for instance in the word *taimaxta* which means a great sea serpent and is undoubtedly derived from Semitic sources.

India and the Gypsies

In this connection it may not be out of place to mention the Gypsies. They speak a language that is closely allied to the Vedic and Sanskritic languages of India, so much so that in consequence of this they are regarded as having come from India. But in the light of the new evidence discovered in Asia Minor, showing the presence in Asia Minor in Hittite times of an Indo-Aryan and Vedic culture and language, this need not necessarily be the case. On the contrary, in view of the facts (a) that according to one authority the gypsies are connected with a sect of the "Melkhi-Zedekites" living in Asia Minor near Phrygia and Lycaonia; and (b) that their name, Atzigan, would be adequately and very simply accounted for by referring them to the neighborhood of what is still called *Zigana*, not far removed from Phrygia (to the south of the Black Sea), the Gypsies may have really come from Asia Minor, rather than from India. If so, their own tradition that they came from what they call "Little Egypt" would be invested with a new interest and may, when studied anew in comparison with certain incidents and facts mentioned in the Rig Veda, throw a new light not only on the Rig Veda itself, of which the geography can not possibly be identified in India, but also on the story of the Exodus between which, on the one hand and the story as told in the "Ten Kings" section of the Rig Veda on the other, there seems to be a remarkable likeness.

In any case, if the Gypsies are found to have come from Asia Minor, they might be only remnants of those Indo-European peoples who had settlements in Asia Minor in the Hittite days and no doubt for centuries afterwards.

India and the West in the Greco-Roman and Early Christian Days

It is not only in these early periods that the culture of the West, at any rate of western Asia, had contacts with the culture

of India as represented by some of its Vedic forms. This contact may have, on the contrary, been maintained throughout the ages, even though we have as yet no indubitable evidence for it till we come down to the days of Alexander the Great. We can gather, however, that even before his days there must have been trade relations between Greece and India; that there were Indian soldiers in the army of the Persians who fought against Greece; and that Persia, which had contacts with Greece, was in close touch with northwest India. But if the evidence of any direct relations between India and the Grecian world before Alexander the Great is scanty—practically unknown so far—there can be little question of such relations continuing unbroken since Alexander's march into the Punjab in the north of India. We know that Chandra Gupta, the grandfather of the great Emperor Asoka, married a daughter of Seleucus, Alexander's General, and later one of his successors as ruler of a part of his divided empire; that Asoka, in the third century B. C., sent out "missionaries" to preach "good-life" in Hellenistic states as far west as the Mediterranean coast and perhaps also in Alexandria; that Apolloniu of Tyana, who was born some years before the Christian era and was famous in the Roman Empire of those days, visited India and resided there for a time in a temple of which the remains have been unearthed recently just outside of what was once the famous city of Taxila whose king made treaty with Alexander; that there were several princes of Greek origin who ruled over parts of northwest India after the days of Alexander and Seleucus and one of them, Manander, who reigned about the end of the second or the beginning of the first century B. C., was a patron of Buddhism, appearing in Buddhist tradition as King Milinda; that at a later date a Greek, Heliodoru by name, erected a votive pillar to the glory of Vishnu in a town in central India; that there was between China and the Roman empire a thriving trade in silk which passed through central Asian regions at the time entirely Buddhistic and dominantly under the influence of India; that in the story of Balaam and Josaphat, Josaphat, who may be called an official saint of the Christian Church, is only Buddha in a different garb; that Saint Christopher is likewise perhaps only another Buddhist character adapted and adopted into the Christian

Church; and that there is the tradition that the Apostle Thomas himself visited India and founded there, in the south of India, a Christian Church which continues to flourish to this day.

These are only a few of the many already well-known facts which, while proving a prolonged interchange of thoughts and ideas between India and the West since the days of Alexander the Great down to early centuries of the Christian era, also challenge a further research into the matter, inasmuch as there are in this field still a number of problems which require solution. There is, for instance, the problem of the remarkable similarity in regard to specific points between the system of the Jainas of India and that of the Stoics, not to say of the similarity between the name *Zeno*, of the traditional founder of Stoicism, and the designation *Jaina*. A second problem consists in that marked similarity which it is very difficult to explain between the Greek conceptions of the four "elements," the ether and atoms on the one hand, and respective conceptions in Brahmanic and Buddhistic philosophy on the other. There is again, take one more example, the problem of the similarity between the ancient Hindu science of medicine and the Greek Hippocratic system, including the astounding fact that the name Hippocrates (derived, no doubt, from the Greek words *hippos*, horse, and *kratus*, strong) reminds one strongly not only of what is known as the "*horse strength*" section of the ancient Hindu medicine, but also of the divine healing twins called, in the Vedas, *Ashvins*, who obviously had something to do with "horses" (*ashva* meaning horse), whether actual or symbolic.

All these questions are awaiting further investigation and elucidation.

India and China and Japan

There is yet another aspect of the study of India, her life and culture, namely, that relating to China and Japan. It is an aspect in which America should be especially interested in view of her close contact with these Far Eastern countries. The culture of China and Japan can never be fully understood and appreciated without a proper understanding of the thought and culture of India, with which the life, thought and art of China and Japan and their offshoots have been inti-

mately connected, certainly from the early centuries of the Christian era and in all probability from still earlier times. In other words, one of the chief aids if not the only key to a full understanding of the life and culture of the Sino-Japanese world is to be found in India.

India and Iranic Culture

Once more India is the present home of the majority and the most enlightened section of the still remaining representatives of the Avestic culture of Iran and of Zoroaster's teachings which had so much to do with Judaism and Christianity and can now be studied best, at any rate most advantageously, among the Parsees there.

India and Other Cultures

India again is one of the most important centers of Islamic culture and contains some of the most beautiful works of art as produced by that culture.

Nor is Judaistic culture entirely unrepresented in India. On the contrary there are still living in the western coast regions of India and their neighborhood, Hebrews who came into India centuries ago, and they represent a phase of Judaism which may be studied with advantage.

India and Christian Culture

Last but not least, India has something to say about the current Christian culture, too. Besides being the home of one of the oldest sections of Christianity, traditionally traced back to the Apostle Thomas himself, India is the one country where Christianity today, in its contact with Hindu life and philosophy, is itself receiving a new interpretation which is not only most interesting and instructive from the scientific standpoint of historical and comparative studies in religion, but may be productive of as profound a result for the world at large as was the earlier contact of Christianity with Greek philosophy for the nations of Europe.

India as the Main Cultural Link Between the East and the West

India thus happens to be not only a "living museum" providing most promising and fruitful opportunities for the study of prac-

tically all the cultures of the world, but it is also the country which can be truly spoken of as the most natural, if not the most powerful connecting link between the whole of the East and West. She therefore deserves consideration not only from an historic point of view, but also as a powerful aid to the understanding of the present world culture as a united whole, which the internationally

minded America, above all others, undoubtedly seeks to achieve.

These then are some of the reasons why the culture of India, ancient and yet even now a mighty living force, should be studied anew and extensively and why there should be "spiritual exchange" between the East and the West generally and between India and America specially.

"OUR YOUTH AND WORLD ORDER"

By JACKSON H. RALSTON

(Dr. Ralston was counsel for the United States in the first dispute submitted to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. He was Umpire for the Italian Claims against Venezuela before the mixed tribunal at Caracas. He is Lecturer at Stanford University. He is the author of "International Arbitral Law and Procedure"; "Democracy's International Law"; "Law and Procedure of International Tribunals"; "International Arbitration from Athens to Locarno."—Editor.)

Within the limits of a short paper, it is possible, of course, to treat of our youth and world order in a very general fashion only, and to call attention briefly to only some of the factors seemingly of pressing moment. If world order is a matter of importance and advantage—and after the recent experience of disorder in which the world has indulged it can scarcely seem otherwise—one of the first things to consider is one's own natural method of approach to bring about and to maintain such a condition.

Patriotism

We are asked very frequently to be patriotic, above all things 100% American, and if this quality be desirable from a world standpoint, its veritable characteristics deserve at least a casual examination. There is the story of an Arkansas treasurer under whose supervision funds had disappeared. Of his speech of defense of himself it was said afterwards that he did not exactly explain what had become of the funds in his charge, but he paid a glorious tribute to the American eagle. Evidently patriotism of this sort has its limitations. The kind of patriotism which looks to immediate pecuniary benefit and the putting of money in the pockets of the American people at the expense of neighboring peoples will always have its limitations. Such patriotism may lead to dollars in the present, only to bring in its train revenges disastrous to all concerned.

Youth must be led to look at world problems in a broad way, after all—best illustra-

ted by the enlightened self-interest we must display in the management of our ordinary public affairs, where we place our offering upon the altar of public interest, with the belief that our sure reward must come in the advanced prosperity of all, in which we share.

If we transfer the scene of action to the world of nations, we shall find that in the end our apparent, though not real, sacrifice will be recompensed by the prosperity of our neighbors, in which prosperity our sharing is assured. Truly enlightened self-interest, not the immediately selfish variety—the nation being the party in action—will open the most promising vistas.

Patriotism, like charity, must begin at home; so we begin at home, as indeed we must, since our first dealings are with our immediate neighbors. But in a national sense we cannot be just except as to other nations. As patriots, we must ask ourselves, how may we treat other nations as we would be treated ourselves? This would lead us to inquire as to the effects of certain types of protectionism and nationalism with which at times our own and many other countries have been afflicted, each country striving to gain monetary advantages at the expense of others, and all in the end becoming involved in misfortunes.

This is not in any wise to inveigh against patriotism itself—it is rather to base patriotism upon broad considerations, reflecting that one nation cannot act on the principle of depriving the citizens of another nation of their natural right of trade and

commerce without in the end itself being the sufferer. The purest patriotism knows no artificial boundary lines, but demands the doing of that which tends to the benefit of all mankind.

International Law

In the interest of world order, to which I ask young men and young women to devote themselves, I bespeak attention to the study of real international law. I know this term is one of forbidding sound. One is apt to think of it as something afar off and difficult of apprehension. To my mind this should be far from the truth, although at present it is enveloped in high-sounding words, such as "sovereignty," "independence," "prestige," "laws of war," of "neutrality," of "belligerency," etc. But if one would know the truth about international law, one has only to consider that nations are but aggregations of men; that the law which should govern such aggregations cannot rightfully be essentially different from that which governs relations between neighbors; that all the lofty words of which I have spoken are but hollow and pretentious facades if they are made to mean something to which we are not accustomed in our every-day life. Youth must bear in mind that sovereignty can no more exist in a nation in its dealings with fellow nations than a person can possess sovereignty in his dealings with his fellow man; that a nation in a family of nations can rightfully no more exercise independence than a man can in the town of which he is a part; that prestige is a favorite word with a bullying nation; that the laws of war are not laws at all, but customs of mitigated brutality nations sometimes find it advisable to accept in bloody encounters; that control by belligerents of neutral countries are infractions of natural right.

Failure to recognize the essential hollowness of many precepts of accepted international law has led to numerous violations of world order in the past, and one will waste no time if one devotes critical study to this subject, testing every grandiloquent word.

It is only of comparatively late years that the world has begun to appreciate in any measure the fundamental truth of that which I have undertaken to express in a few words. Only within a short period

have nations begun to discover that they cannot live without responsibility to their neighbors; that the world is growing too small in the relations between nations, too close and complicated to allow the simplicity of the old forms of life, where each nation was a segregated community which could deal at arm's length with all the rest; that evil effects necessarily accompany the following of old manners of national life now that all are drawn together in speedy communication.

Foundations in Order

It seems to me most probable that when States first passed laws against such crimes as murder and robbery they had no idea of advancing the cause of abstract morality. Their ideas on such a subject were too crude to be embodied in any code of conduct as morals. The end sought to be attained was not the preservation of individual life or ownership. Men generally realized, however, that such offenses were contrary to the best interests of orderly society, and disturbing in their effects. The idea is today expressed in the conclusion of indictments—"against the peace and dignity of the State and contrary to the statute in such case made and provided," not "contrary to the principles of morality and right living." We shall find ourselves approaching a similar conditions in the lives of nations. We shall find war denounced, not as an immoral or unchristian or inhuman process, but one interfering with the orderly intercourse of the nations, and therefore the subject of international condemnation.

Evidences of Advance

The proof of recent progress of which I have spoken, in itself tending to world order, will be manifest enough when I call attention to a few considerations. Within thirty-two years the first truly international conference discussing world peace was held at The Hague at the initiative of the Emperor of Russia. This resulted in a number of conventions intended to regularize the relations between nations, the most important of which covered the settlement of international disputes by arbitration. This was followed eight years later in 1907 by a second conference which to a very considerable degree perfected the work of the first, and drafted, largely under American direc-

tion, a project for a World Court. This, however, came to nothing, because of the then impossibility of agreeing upon a method of electing judges. Following these two steps of an important nature tending toward world order, the World War from 1914 to 1918 interrupted progress. It is an interesting circumstance that after an unparalleled outbreak of disorder the pendulum of events swung to the opposite extreme of taking the greatest step toward world order history has even known. We may congratulate ourselves upon the fact that American initiative and insistence more than any other one cause brought about the Covenant of the Treaty of Versailles with the formation of the League of Nations, followed by the institution of the World Court. The nations began to recognize that if a check were to be placed upon their conflicting ambitions and policies, it could only be done by mutual and general action. It is unfortunately true that while the United States was most prominent in bringing about the great result achieved in the formation of the League and the World Court, it is yet backward in joining the other nations of the world in their practical operation. The world order which we so much desire is by our own action left in a state of somewhat unstable equilibrium. This we may say, although recognizing for the time being that despite our inaction or hostility a real advance has been made.

For these institutions which we helped to create and then refused to participate in, it may be argued, have prevented already several wars and have brought about a condition of affairs which in itself discourages war. The moral effect of an International Court is very much like that of a Court within a nation, and just as the possibility of resort to a legal tribunal prevents conflicts between men and puts out of question any idea of bloody struggle, so a like tribunal between nations produces a like effect.

But the effects of the League have not been confined to the immediate operation of the instrumentalities provided by or through it. The representatives of the nations have grown accustomed to meeting together, facing each other, and threshing out their mutual differences and difficulties, with a hitherto unknown degree of frankness in exposing their motives and objects. Perhaps the most notable illustration of the

results to be brought about by close association is shown in the Locarno Pacts. In them, representatives of the great nations of Central and Western Europe, meeting around a table, constructed the most positive obstacles in the way of further armed conflicts between each other. Germany recognized absolutely the inviolability of the French and Belgian frontiers, and as to its Eastern frontiers, while not admitting that such frontiers were satisfactory, agreed that there should be no rectification attempted by war. More than this, the nations concerned agreed to the peaceful settlements of all differences between them, providing, as the case might be, for reference to arbitration, the World Court and the Council of the League of Nations. To these are added the formation of Conciliation Commissions, with ample time to inquire and report before too serious difficulties arose between parties to the Pacts. When these pacts were signed, a great forward stride was taken toward insuring the peace of the world.

Following these great accomplishments (and I have referred to but a few of many) we have the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact, concurred in by all the nations of the world, renouncing war as an instrument of national policy and only permitting the existence of wars of national defense. We have to confront the fact that no suitable method has yet been found for determining when conditions of self-defense arise, and that the Kellogg-Briand Treaty adds but little, if anything, to antecedent dispositions. Nevertheless, it is the expression of a desire on the part of the peoples of the world for peace, and will undoubtedly lead to steps of real world-wide advantage.

We have witnessed a steady extension of the jurisdiction of the World Court of International Justice. Wide categories of disputes may now go almost automatically to the Court for settlement, other methods failing, and even the great powers are in a measure ceasing to rely upon their physical strength to enforce their views and accepting judicial determination in almost all cases.

Along with all the facts of which I have spoken there has been witnessed a growth in the most important field of Commissions of Inquiry. The Commissions provided for by the Locarno Pact were of inquiry and conciliation. The great nations of the

world now quite universally have created between each other Commissions of Inquiry whose services can be invoked whenever any question of serious moment arises between them. The duty of the Commissions is to report all the facts attendant upon the dispute, although incapable in themselves of giving judgment. For the suggestion of the institution of such Commissions before the existence of any actual difficulty, and for the requirement that no hostile step shall be taken until such Commissions have completed their reports, the world is indebted to William J. Bryan, who put his ideas in treaty form with various nations shortly after he became Secretary of State in 1913. Since then, with modifications and exceptions, the principle has grown to receive large recognition. In itself, it constitutes an important bulwark against the growth of international difficulties into war.

Discouraging Left-overs

Granting all that I have said so far relative to the machinery for peace which has come into vogue within about thirty years, the question may arise how it happens that there is so much talk of war. It is of course dangerous to assume the role of prophet, and I shall not undertake to do so without reservations, but there are some considerations to which I shall invite attention. When, for thousands of years, men have regarded war as the natural and logical solution of differences between nations, it is not readily that they recognize the fact that such a point of view is becoming archaic. The old diplomatic dog who felt that his diplomacy could only have force in so far as it was backed up by guns has found trouble in learning the newer tricks of justice and fair dealing. He will growl, even though his movements are chained. It is no longer, however, possible for him to attack an enemy in the face of the disapproval of the world, nor can he afford to break all the promises into which it is found he has entered.

Nevertheless, we cannot overlook the fact that the armaments of the world have increased since the last war. Partly is this the result of the nervousness consequent upon the happening of such a tremendous catastrophe, a nervousness which has hardly begun to wear off, although the causes of it are to some degree already disappearing.

Again we are assured that the Treaty of Versailles left the world with many sore spots. True this is, but after ten years it can hardly be doubted that many of the sores are curing themselves, and others will be cured in the years of peace we may expect to follow. We may remind ourselves that in 1870 parts of Alsace and Lorraine were taken away from France, much to the sorrow of France and those who lost French citizenship. Nevertheless, such were the softening effects of time that the descendants of those who lost French citizenship in 1870 did not particularly rejoice over acquiring it forty-eight years later, while the intervening years had materially diminished French chagrin over the original loss. So may we expect that many of the animosities of today which are so tender over some divisions of territory in Europe will, as the years go by, be assuaged.

Another hopeful situation may arise from the suggestion of a United States of Europe, so far as custom houses are concerned and in other respects, insisted upon by Briand. True it is that he and other Frenchmen have of late found fault with Germany and Austria for taking him too quickly at his word and acting on their own behalf in forming a customs union. This the French fear will grow into a political union. For the present, fear of such a union may be unfounded, but in the long run Germany and Austria cannot successfully be kept apart. The elements working for unity are too strong. Against the natural course of events French anxiety can scarcely prevail.

We have considered, briefly, it is true, some of the larger elements affecting world order as between national governments. The picture furnished us would appear flattering, and incline one to be optimistic rather than pessimistic with regard to world order. We have seen the steady advancement in machinery for the maintenance of world peace. Commissions of Inquiry and Conciliation, the World League, the World Court—to which let us hope America will soon be a party—the present predilection for peace, even the poverty of the world, all tend in the one direction. Commerce, or more properly speaking, the struggle for the natural wealth of the world which has heretofore been in weak hands, at least in the tropical countries, is less strenuous in its demands for new territory. This condi-

tion is aided in some degree by the mandate system giving within its sphere equal access to natural wealth for all nations. Against this particular feature of course we have to weigh the insistence of Italy for a larger measure in the direct control of such natural resources, but in the present temper of the world Italy cannot afford, at any rate directly, to make an open demand for a larger place in the sun as its justification for war. On the whole, therefore, commerce, naturally fearing conflict, tends to favor the peaceful settlement of international relations rather than one by war.

A New Note

I have been discussing world order, and have offered to view so far but a part of the picture. Other elements come in which cannot be ignored in this present time of stress, more especially. Within twelve years there has burst upon the horizon a new system of national government. The Communistic-Socialistic theory has suddenly sprung into actuality in Russia. Important as this is in itself, interesting as the Russian experiment may be to the whole world, it would not be so important or so interesting if at the present moment there had not coincidentally occurred what seems to many like a breakdown of what is termed the Capitalistic scheme of civilization. The world is anxiously inquiring whether or not it may be forced to follow the Russian example, or in what direction its path for the future may lead.

With our ideas and points of view we cannot believe that Russia offers us an alternative we would be willing to follow. We cannot feel that man is made for the State. We believe that man created the State and the rights of the individual antedate its existence. We are justly unwilling to surrender the individual initiative with which we are acquainted, together with freedom of speech and of the press, and of investigation which we know have brought us large results, for a civilization which would make of all our citizens mere cogs in a gigantic governmental machine. The query arises, however, in view of present distressed conditions, conditions of ever-quickenning recurrence, whether we are likely to have within the several States of the world order or confusion, and if we shall be compelled to re-examine the whole question of government. The history of

the world induces us to fear that the search may be accompanied by situations fraught with disaster and bloody war within and without the State. Our concern, therefore, is not simply with the relation between States as such, but also with the relations of the citizen to the State. From this examination even the most optimistic must emerge with troubled feelings.

I may be pardoned for making a suggestion without undertaking to assume in the slightest degree the role of a prophet. It does not seem to me that the choice, if we are compelled to make one, will necessarily be between what we call the Capitalistic system on the one hand and the Communistic-Socialistic, as represented by Russia, on the other. It may be that after much travail the world will incline toward a more extended system of individualism than has yet prevailed; that the State will discover that neither by the arm of taxation nor in any other manner should it interfere with the right of individuals to do whatever within reason shall seem just; while there may be anxious inquiry as to what functions the State should itself carry out for the benefit of all, and which for their execution require the exercise of State power. When this inquiry is made, it may be argued that the State has turned over to private individuals the exercise of powers which should only be called into play properly by the State itself. Again, some other solution, not yet apparent, may be sought.

But let me turn once more to the Russian problem. Russians apparently believe that all the rest of the world is engaged in a tacit conspiracy against them. Bearing in mind the attitude of all the great European powers toward France 140 years ago, and the further fact that those in charge of Russia recur to this, we need not wonder much at the Russian position, free as each one of us may individually feel of any desire to meddle in Russian affairs.

We have further to remember that Russia is offering a real challenge to the world, and the result of the Russian experiment may be to upset the economy of the world as we now understand it. Already it is found that Russia can produce, for example, wheat and coal at prices far below the cost of production anywhere else. Reasons for this are said to be in the economies of cooperation Russia can effect, and in the further fact that the landed monopoly of

Russia rests in the hands of the government, while other forms of monopoly are non-existent, so far as Russia is concerned. Absence of these elements will tend in the end, many believe, to make it possible for Russia to produce not only wheat and coal but wood and cotton, and doubtless many other necessities of life at prices below the cost of production elsewhere; while the Russian laborer is better paid, in point of fact, than he was under the Czar.

I mention these things, not as a defense or as an excuse of Russian methods with which I have no sympathy, but to show that Russia forcibly gets rid of many charges upon production which have seemed to us essential and unavoidable.

As to the Future

We are brought, therefore, to the conclusion that the industrial situation of the world conceivably may be entirely changed as the result of the Russian experiment, and that if we would preserve order within the States of the world, it may be necessary to confront with an examining eye conditions to which we have grown so accustomed that we have regarded them as normal and necessary.

Thus we find that a study of world order means something vastly more than a mere consideration of the present relations which exist between nations. In our study we shall have to be not only statesmen, but philosophers in the truest sense of the word.

Inclined as I am thus to envisage the problems with which youth, entering upon life, is bound to be confronted, it seems to me that the future offers many more causes for anxiety as to the course of the world and maintenance of world order than ever offered themselves to the gaze of those

of my generation. I do not envy youth its prospects. Any adequate study of world order requires a thorough re-examination of the fundamental questions of right and wrong as between man and man and as between man and the State.

We of the passing generation have been content to accept civilization as it was, and make the best of it. Youth, it may be, will live in a time of changing civilization, a time demanding vital thought, and it may be as radical measures as were called into play when the world changed from what we call the old feudal system into what is termed the present Capitalistic system. I personally believe the coming generation will live through a period of storm and stress even more severe than any like period in the past. One element which will make it more severe will be the rapidity with which events now move. When populations were infinitely smaller, when ideas did not so readily travel from man to man, when the general scale of intelligence was much lower, when communications in every way were more difficult, then great movements and great changes, with consequent dislocations and struggles, were less acute than will be the case from now on. I do not envy youth its tasks, but could I witness it, would rejoice at the victory.

Out of turmoil will grow, I think, not a following of the Russian subserviency of the individual to the State, but a higher and juster appreciation of the welfare of the individual upon which in the last analysis the true happiness of the State as a whole must depend. Out of the troublous times which I have indicated our youth may, after all, usher in a new day, marking a great increase in the well-being of humanity.

A Report setting forth arguments for and against our adherence to the World Court, available for members of the American Peace Society, 734 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

The March of Arbitration and Conciliation

Treaties and Conventions of Arbitration or Conciliation of the United States, in Force or Under Negotiation

THE treaty engagements of the United States, involving the settlement of international disputes through arbitration or conciliation, are of importance to the student of existing possibilities for peace.

The American Peace Society is specially placed to appreciate the growth of arbitration and conciliation for the settlement of international disputes. A hundred years ago, the Society was appealing to State Legislatures to adopt resolutions favoring "just and honorable substitutes" for war, believing "that the time has come when civilized nations may safely agree to settle their decisions in some pacific way." As early as 1837 the Society was petitioning the Massachusetts Legislature, with the result that by a vote of thirty out of thirty-two in the Senate and unanimous in the House, the Legislature adopted a Resolution calling for "the institution of a Congress of Nations, for the purpose of framing a code of international law, and especially a High Court of Arbitration for the settlement of controversies between nations," as "a scheme worthy of the careful attention and consideration of all enlightened Governments." The development since then has been impressive.

The most important differences between arbitration and conciliation are that (1) the findings and recommendations made by a commission of conciliation are submitted to the Governments for use as a basis of negotiation a settlement of the controversies referred to the commission, and are not necessarily binding upon the Governments; whereas the award of an arbitral tribunal has the character of a judicial decision and usually is binding on the Governments; and (2) matters submitted to arbitration are usually limited to questions justiciable in character, whereas disputes of every nature may be submitted to a commission of conciliation for investigation and recommendations.

Thanks to the Treaty Division of the Department of State, *The Advocate of Peace* is able to tabulate these treaties as of October 31, 1931.

Bilateral Treaties and Conventions of Arbitration or Conciliation

In 1908 and 1909, arbitration conventions were signed by the United States with twenty-five foreign countries. Twenty-two of these conventions were ratified and proclaimed. They are frequently mentioned as the Root Treaties, Mr. Elihu Root having been the Secretary of State of the United States at the time they were negotiated. A similar treaty was signed with Liberia in 1926. Six of these treaties are still in force, namely, with the following countries:

Brazil	Liberia
Ecuador	Peru
Haiti	Uruguay

In 1913 and 1914, during the incumbency of Secretary of State William J. Bryan, conciliation treaties, known as the Bryan Peace Treaties, were signed on the part of the United States with thirty countries. Twenty-two of these treaties were ratified and proclaimed; nineteen of them are still in force, namely, those with:

Bolivia	France	Portugal
Brazil	Great Britain	Russia
Chile	Italy	Spain
China	Netherlands	Sweden
Denmark [and Iceland]	Norway	Uruguay
Ecuador	Paraguay	Venezuela
	Peru	

The other three, the treaties with Costa Rica, Guatemala and Honduras, were superseded by the convention for the establishment of international commissions of inquiry, signed between the United States and the Central American Republics, February 7, 1923.

During the year 1928, arbitration treaties were concluded by the United States with the following eleven countries:

Albania	Finland	Lithuania
Austria	France	Poland
Czechoslovakia	Germany	Sweden
Denmark	Italy	

They have all come into force by exchange of ratifications:

Finland	January 14, 1929
Albania	February 12, 1929
Germany	February 25, 1929
Austria	February 25, 1929
Czechoslovakia	April 11, 1929
Sweden	April 15, 1929
Denmark	April 17, 1929
France	April 22, 1929
Lithuania	January 20, 1930
Poland	January 4, 1930
Italy	January 20, 1931

During the year 1929, arbitration treaties were concluded by the United States with the following eleven countries:

Belgium	Ethiopia	Portugal
Bulgaria	Hungary	Rumania
Egypt	Luxemburg	Yugoslavia
Estonia	Norway	

They have all been ratified by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Ten have come into force by exchange of ratifications:

Norway	June 7, 1929
Yugoslavia	June 22, 1929
Bulgaria	July 22, 1929
Rumania	July 22, 1929
Hungary	July 24, 1929
Ethiopia	August 5, 1929
Portugal	October 31, 1929
Estonia	June 18, 1930
Belgium	August 25, 1930
Luxemburg	September 2, 1930

The ratifications of the treaty with Egypt will be exchanged as soon as the Government of Egypt shall have indicated that it is prepared to make the exchange.

During the year 1930, arbitration treaties were concluded by the United States with:

China	Latvia
Greece	Netherlands
Iceland	

They have all been ratified by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Three of the treaties have come into force by exchange of ratifications:

Latvia	July 10, 1930
Netherlands	July 17, 1930
Iceland	October 2, 1930

Ratifications of the treaties with China and Greece will be exchanged as soon as

the Governments of China and Greece shall have indicated that they are prepared to make the exchange.

Since January 1, 1931, a treaty has been signed with Switzerland embracing the arbitration and conciliation provisions which in respect of other countries are each the subject of separate treaties. This treaty will be transmitted to the Senate in December next.

Negotiations have been initiated for similar arbitration treaties with the following six countries:

Great Britain	Siam
Japan	Spain
Persia	Turkey

There were likewise signed in 1928, on the part of the United States, conciliation treaties, similar to the Bryan treaties, with the following seven countries:

Albania	Germany
Austria	Lithuania
Czechoslovakia	Poland
Finland	

These treaties have all become effective by exchange of ratifications:

Finland	January 14, 1929
Albania	February 12, 1929
Germany	February 24, 1929
Austria	February 28, 1929
Czechoslovakia	April 11, 1929
Lithuania	January 20, 1930
Poland	January 4, 1930

During the year 1929, conciliation treaties were concluded by the United States with the following nine countries:

Belgium	Hungary
Bulgaria	Luxemburg
Egypt	Rumania
Estonia	Yugoslavia
Ethiopia	

They have all been ratified by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and eight have become effective by exchange of ratifications:

Yugoslavia	June 22, 1929
Bulgaria	July 22, 1929
Rumania	July 22, 1929
Hungary	July 24, 1929
Ethiopia	August 5, 1929
Estonia	June 18, 1930
Belgium	August 25, 1930
Luxemburg	September 2, 1930

The ratifications of the treaty with Egypt will be exchanged as soon as the Government of Egypt has indicated that it is prepared to make the exchange.

During the year 1930, conciliation treaties were concluded by the United States with Greece and Latvia. Ratifications of the treaty with Latvia were exchanged on July 10, 1930, and that treaty is now in force. Ratifications of the treaty with Greece will be exchanged as soon as the Government of Greece shall have indicated its readiness to make the exchange.

Since January 1, 1931, a treaty has been signed with Switzerland embracing the arbitration and conciliation provisions which in respect of other countries are each the subject of separate treaties. This treaty awaits transmission to the Senate.

There has also been signed, since January 1, 1931, a treaty with Italy amending article 2 of the treaty to advance the cause of general peace signed by the United States of America and Italy on May 5, 1914. This amendatory treaty also awaits transmission to the Senate.

Negotiations have been initiated for similar conciliation treaties with the following four countries:

Japan	Siam
Persia	Turkey

The policy which this Government entered upon in 1928, has been, as shown in the negotiations hereinabove described, to conclude arbitration treaties with countries with which the United States had Bryan Peace Treaties, but no arbitration treaties, in force at that time, and to conclude both arbitration and conciliation treaties with countries with which the United States did not have a treaty of either character in force.

Multilateral Treaties and Conventions of Arbitration or Conciliation

The United States is a party to the two conventions for the pacific settlement of international disputes, signed at The Hague on July 29, 1899, and October 18, 1907, respectively, the first of which is in force between the United States and fourteen countries, and the second of which is in force between the United States and twenty-nine other countries.

The United States is also a party to the convention for the limitation of force for

the recovery of contract debts, signed at The Hague October 18, 1907, to which twenty other countries are parties.

The United States, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica are parties to a convention for the establishment of international commissions of inquiry, signed at Washington on February 7, 1923.

The United States is a party to the treaty to avoid or prevent conflicts between the American States, which provides for the establishment of international commissions of inquiry, and which was concluded and signed at the Fifth International Congress of American States on May 3, 1923. The following seventeen countries have ratified or adhered to the treaty:

Brazil	Honduras
Chile	Mexico
Costa Rica	Panama
Cuba	Paraguay
Dominican Republic	Peru
Ecuador	United States
El Salvador	Uruguay
Guatemala	Venezuela
Haiti	

This treaty is often called the Gondra treaty, in recognition of its principal author, a delegate from Paraguay.

On January 5, 1929, a Pan American arbitration treaty and a Pan American conciliation treaty were signed at Washington by the following countries:

Bolivia	Haiti
Brazil	Honduras
Chile	Mexico
Colombia	Nicaragua
Costa Rica	Panama
Cuba	Paraguay
Dominican Republic	Peru
Ecuador	United States
El Salvador	Uruguay
Guatemala	Venezuela

The conciliation treaty has been ratified by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and the instruments of ratification of the following six countries have been deposited with the Chilean Government:

United States	March 27, 1929
Guatemala	November 15, 1929
Chile	December 28, 1929
(without reservation)	
El Salvador	December 28, 1929

Mexico January 9, 1930
 Cuba August 7, 1930

Dominican Republic September 17, 1929
 Guatemala October 29, 1929
 El Salvador December 28, 1929
 Mexico January 6, 1930
 Chile February 27, 1930
 Cuba November 8, 1930

The arbitration treaty is before the Senate. The instruments of ratification of the following six countries have been deposited with the Department of State:

Twenty-Seventh Conference of the Interparliamentary Union

Bucharest, Romania, October 1 to 7, 1931

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

Executive-Secretary of the American Group

FAR from least of the benefits flowing from the Conferences of the Interparliamentary Union is the opportunity they offer to the members of Parliaments for the study at first hand of foreign countries. Delegates from the American Congress to the Twenty-seventh Conference of the Interparliamentary Union in Bucharest, October 1-7, have returned to the United States with a new and better informed appreciation of the Kingdom of Romania.

Romania

Romania, facing the Black Sea in the southeast of Europe, with an area about the size of New England, New York and New Jersey, has been properly called the "crossroad of dead empires." It is an area described five hundred years before Christ by Herodotus, a land associated with the Thracians, the Scythians, the Illyrians, the Getae, the Celts, the Dacians. It has been often invaded: by Alexander the Great in 335 B. C., and, during the early centuries of our era, by Goths, Huns, Avars, in their onward march against Rome and Byzantium. It is not without interest that the remains of Ovid, the Roman poet, buried in 18 A. D., have just been discovered in Romania's seaport town Constanza, the "Tomi" of Roman days. The name Romania harks back to the annexation of this territory by Trajan, Emperor of Rome, in the year 101 A. D., for it was the activity of this virile person that Romanized and eventually gave the name to the peoples of this land. Trajan "Christianized" them,

the people adopting the faith of the Orthodox Greek. After three centuries of Hungarian Catholic rule, the Romanians withdrew, about 1290, and established the two Greek Orthodox principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia. It was by the union of these two principalities within European Turkey, following the Crimean War in 1856, that Romania, as a political entity, was organized. Its independence proclaimed in 1877, it was finally established during the reign of King Carl I, as the "Kingdom of Romania" in 1881. Thus, while there have been Romanians for over eighteen hundred years, the Kingdom of Romania is only fifty years old.

The rulers of Romania have been as follows: Prince Alexander Cuza, elected by the people, 1859-1866; King Carl and Queen Elizabeth, familiarly known as "Carmen Sylvan," the poet, 1866-1914; King Ferdinand and Queen Marie, 1914-1927; Prince Michael under the Regency, July, 1927, to June, 1930; King Carl II, June 7, 1930, to date.

As a result of the World War, which Romania entered on the side of the Allies in 1916, the Romania set up by the union of Wallachia and Moldavia doubled her area and population by the addition of Transylvania, which included Banat, Cris-hana, Maramuresh and Bukowina from the Austro-Hungarian empire; and by the return of Bessarabia from Russia. Thus Romania is now surrounded by Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the north, the Black

Sea on the east, Bulgaria on the south, and Hungary and Jugoslavia on the west, at the latitude of southern Canada. It is across this stretch of territory, between the Danube on the south and the Dniester on the northeast, that the Austro-Hungarian, Turkish, Russian and German empires contended with their fateful commercial and political ambitions. Nearly every religious cult, too, has struggled over these plains and mountains. So Romania is a story ranging from prehistoric and tribal times, through Roman colonization, many invasions, various dominations, to the kingdom of today. The people of the realm still retain a language eighty per cent Latin, and customs and arts clearly influenced by the many who have swept over the land. Greek aristocrats from Phanar of Constantinople, for example, brought to the Romanians a French culture, quite as did the Norman nobles to England after the conquest of 1066, so that one capable of using the French language has little difficulty in conversing with educated Romanians. The empires that fought over these lands of the Romanians are seemingly dead. Romania is quite alive.

Of course the main problem of this country with its population now of approximately eighteen million is to adapt a government of a small pre-war kingdom to a territory and a population both twice what they were in 1916. The difficulties are very grave. After a catastrophic depreciation, the Romanians, however, have stabilized their currency. They succeeded in balancing their budget for a time; but due to the depression and to the fact that seven-tenths of the country's income goes to the upkeep of the army and the payment of foreign debts, the budget is now in a bad way. They have instituted agrarian reforms, reducing the large estates from forty to ten per cent and increasing the small farms from fifty-nine to eighty-nine per cent of the total area; not always to the benefit of the farmer. Following the war, Hungary, Austria and Germany were confronted with the problem of adapting large administrative units to radically reduced areas and populations. Czechoslovakia was faced with the problem of setting up a new administration. Romania, however, has had to struggle to develop her relatively small governmental unit to the new and vastly larger area

and population, with its problems of capital, transportation, production, trade, administration, education. Because of such facts, visiting Parliamentarians from America found Romania a most interesting field for study. Some were surprised to discover that Romania ranks third in the production of corn, sixth in the production of wheat, and sixth in the production of petroleum. They were impressed by the very low prices of foods, the shortage of sales and the apparent effects of the general depression; but they were pleased with the fresh caviar from the mouth of the Danube, only one hundred-forty miles from Bucharest. They were charmed by the peasant handicrafts. They were happily entertained by a number of American officials in Bucharest, our Minister, Charles Wilson, Counsellor Sussdorff, Consul Randolph, and others. They were entertained by Princess Alexandrina Cantacuzina at her château of Samora; by King Carl and the handsome boy Prince Michael in their château in Sinaia, which is so exquisitely framed by the soft and colorful Carpathian Mountains. The Romanian Group of the Interparliamentary Union, headed by Scarlet Stan, its secretary, the entire Government of Romania, indeed the Romanian people generally, led every delegate to feel the warmth of hospitality at the heart of Romania.

The Conference

The Conference opened in the Chamber of Deputies, Thursday, October 1, and closed Wednesday evening, October 7, with a banquet given in the Officers' Club by the Royal Government.

Due to various economic and political crises preventing many parliamentarians from leaving their posts, in some cases to impending elections, in others to the fact that a number of parliaments had already begun their fall sessions, the Conference at Bucharest must rank as one of the smallest in the history of the Interparliamentary Union. The twenty Parliaments represented—there were forty-one in Washington in 1925—were as follows: Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Esthonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Norway, Poland, Romania, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, and the United States. The British Group had planned to send a large delega-

tion, but at the last, due largely to the fall of the pound sterling, none of the delegates was able to come. During the Conference, however, a telegram was received from Madrid announcing the establishment of a new Spanish Group.

American Delegation

The members of the American delegation were: Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, and Representatives: Andrew J. Montague, of Virginia, President of the Group; Cyrenus Cole, of Iowa; Burton L. French, of Idaho; Fletcher Hale, of New Hampshire; Fritz G. Lanham, of Texas; J. Charles Linthicum, of Maryland; William I. Sirovich, of New York; Arthur Deerin Call, Executive Secretary of the Group, Washington, D. C. Mr. Montague was accompanied by Mrs. Montague and Mrs. Alfred I. du Pont; Mr. Linthicum by Mrs. Linthicum; and Mr. Hale by Mrs. Hale.

Death of Fletcher Hale

Representative Fletcher Hale, of New Hampshire, took from the beginning an active interest in the meetings of the Conference. He attended every session and aided his fellow delegates greatly by the wisdom of his counsel and spirit of cooperation. He and Mrs. Hale were happy to attend the receptions, and together they accompanied the Group on its journey by special train some two hours from Bucharest, Sunday, October 4, to meet the King at his Château Pelesch, in Sinaia. Following the Conference, he and Mrs. Hale returned to Paris, and sailed from Cherbourg, October 15, on the S. S. *President Harding*. Two days later he was taken unexpectedly ill. Because of the seriousness of his condition, the ship arrived at the dock, Thursday, October 22, twelve hours in advance of its schedule. Mr. Hale was taken immediately to the Brooklyn Naval Hospital, where, two hours later, he died. In the passing of Fletcher Hale, the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union, the Congress, the American people lost a delightful friend and a useful public servant.

The Discussions

The meetings of the Conference were held daily from 10 a. m. to 1 p. m., and from 3 p. m. to adjournment. Thursday,

October 1, M. Henri LaFontaine, of Belgium, Vice President of the Belgium Senate, opened the Conference, in place of M. Fernand Bouisson, President of the Council, who was detained in France because of the illness of his wife. Upon the nomination of Senator LaFontaine, M. Pompeiu, President of the Romanian Chamber of Deputies, was elected President of the Conference. M. Nicolas Iorga, Rumania's leading scholar and historian, President of the University in Bucharest, President of the Council of Ministers, greeted the Conference with the assurance that the delegates might expect the best wishes and the active interest of the Romanian Government.

As has long been the custom, following the election of the President and Vice Presidents of the Conference, the general debate opened on the Report of the Secretary-General. This printed Report is always presented to the Conference in advance. It is invariably divided into two parts, the first dealing with the General Political Situation in the World, and the second with the Work of the Union. The Reports of the Secretary-General have always been valuable summaries of current international relations. The Report this year, the French text of which covers forty-five printed pages, was no exception. In it the Secretary-General aimed to express no personal opinions on the problems he mentioned; rather, as he said in the Report, his sole object was to indicate among past events "those which particularly affect the Union and its activity and thus to provide a basis for the general debate." The first part of the Report dealt principally with the economic crises and unemployment, with international economic cooperation, the coming disarmament conference, and certain political problems illustrated by various dictatorships—somewhat disturbing to parliamentary institutions with which the Interparliamentary Union is particularly concerned. The second part dealt particularly with the Conference at London in 1930, the activities of the various Study Commissions of the Union, and the meetings of the Council.

It must be acknowledged that the general debates on the Secretary's Report sometimes wander far afield; but it is the policy of the Union to give the delegates in this way every opportunity to raise in the presence of their colleagues any question which

seems to them worthy of receiving the attention of the Parliaments. Measured by results, the scheme seems to be excellent. The Report of the Secretary-General is before the delegates, many of whom have views which they wish to lay before the Conference. It is usually possible to hitch these views on to some part of the Report of the Secretary-General. It works out well to give the delegates this chance to introduce themselves early in the sessions, to get things going, to set the pace of the Conference.

All of Thursday and Friday forenoon were devoted thus to the "Secretary's Report". Perhaps the most dramatic feature of this discussion was the address of Herr Löbe, President of the German Reichstag, in which he pleaded for a customs union between France and Germany as a possible beginning of a general union of the powers.

Beginning Friday afternoon, the Conference turned to the problem of world disarmament. The Council of the Interparliamentary Union had adopted a resolution last April relative to the preparation for the General Disarmament Conference called for next February. This Resolution was before the Conference and formed the basis for the discussion. The final resolution as adopted by the Conference* gives little indication of the intensity of the arguments on two phases of the resolution. At the opening of the discussion, two amendments were presented: one by the Germans, calling for a clause recognizing the rights and duties of all nations; and another, presented by Count Carton de Wiart and M. LaFontaine, both of Belgium, and by M. Fernand Merlin, of France, in behalf of the French delegation, asking that there be inserted a provision for the "organization of a strictly defensive international force at the disposal of the League of Nations."

The German amendment, after much discussion, was finally adopted by the Conference by inserting the words italicized in the following paragraph of Resolution VI:

"The XXVIIth Inter-Parliamentary Conference, in adopting the resolution of the Inter-Parliamentary Council of April 13, 1931, reminds the Groups of the Union and their individual members of the urgent duty incumbent on them to do everything in their power in order that the General Disarmament Conference led by the principle of the

equality of the rights and duties of States, and taking into account Article 8, §§ 1 and 2 of the League of Nations Covenant, shall result in an International Convention instituting a drastic reduction of the present armaments, and eliminating every possibility of an armaments race, which would inevitably lead to fresh wars".

The amendment calling for an international force failed. The discussion upon the question, however, turned out to be the most intense of the Conference. The friends of the proposal presented it with such force that it appeared at first to be on the way to adoption by the Assembly. Mr. Burton L. French, however, speaking for the American Delegation, opposed it on the floor. M. Moltesen, of Denmark, asked the authors of the amendment to withdraw it. Whereupon the amendment was referred to a drafting committee. The following Tuesday morning this drafting committee proposed to the Assembly that it consider the amendment as a new question and suggested that the Conference renew the mandate of the existing "Security Committee" and urge it to study the different aspects of the whole question of an international force and that the committee be asked to report on this subject at the next Conference. It developed, however, that the drafting committee could not agree on a text for a substitute to the amendment, calling for an international force to be placed in the hands of the League of Nations, some of the members approving the proposal, others favoring a request that the Conference reject it. Under these circumstances, the Conference felt free to give its opinion on the amendment which then appeared in the following form: "The Interparliamentary Conference believes that it would be expedient to place at the disposal of the League of Nations a strictly defensive international force, for the maintenance of the public order of the world and for the suppression of any attempt to disturb that order." Faced with this situation, Mr. French called attention to the fact that, under the regulations of the Union, resolutions not on the agenda can be discussed and voted upon only if the Conference authorizes such a procedure by a majority vote of two-thirds and then only after the matter has been favored by the Council. To this the Conference agreed and the amendment was referred to the Council. The Council met

* See Appendix at the end of this statement.

the same day to discuss the matter. It finally voted, by 10 to 9, that the proposal should not be considered by the Conference. Because of the closeness of the vote, however, it was finally decided that the question whether or not the matter should be considered by the Conference be left to the Conference itself under the rule requiring a two-thirds majority. The ballot showed that ninety-six delegates favored the consideration of the amendment and ninety-three opposed; whereupon, it was declared the consideration of the question must be rejected. From the vote and the discussions, however, it is apparent that here is a question destined surely to come before the Interparliamentary Union again. Indeed, Resolution VII calls for just that. To us who have been following the work of the Interparliamentary Union for a decade or more, it is clear that interest in the reduction of national armaments has gradually increased, and that there are many parliamentarians who believe in the possibilities of an international force as an instrument for world peace.

Among various other aspects of the discussion of armaments, there was Germany's interest to make it clear that she favors the principle of the equality of States. Six members of the German delegation opposed the fifth paragraph of resolution I, favoring the Treaty prepared by the Preparatory Commission, on the ground that it was likely to perpetuate the unequal treatment inflicted upon Germany. Resolution III, as finally adopted, favored an armaments truce, according to the suggestion of the Interparliamentary Council, a truce which has since been adopted by practically all of the Governments, the United States included.

Monday, October 5, the Conference devoted most of its discussion to the resolutions concerning the protection of mothers and children. Frau Schröder, of Germany, opened the discussion, which was carried on by others, including Dr. Sirovich of the American Group. The resolution, as finally adopted, is a fair expression of the majority opinion of the Conference.

The discussions on agricultural problems, not so dramatic as some, were perhaps more thoughtful. The Report had been prepared through a long period by a sub-committee which had met at The Hague, Ber-

lin, and Geneva before its final session at Bucharest. The report had been largely influenced by Dr. Treub, who for ten years had presided over the Committee on Economic and Financial Questions. Practically all of the speakers discussed the difficulties due to over-production. Nearly all demanded that the industrial states must help the agricultural peoples to overcome the crises, preferably through bilateral or multilateral agreements, through international organization of agricultural credits at low rates of interest, through the abolition of dumping. Representatives from Denmark pleaded for the free circulation of agricultural products and the liberty of sale. The paragraph concerning international agricultural credits was added by the Conference.

A European Federal Union occupied the Conference during most of Wednesday, October 7. A Belgian delegate expressed the view that there are problems which can be solved only by the twenty-seven European States themselves. He called attention to certain existing regional agreements, such for example as the Agreements of Oslo, concluded between Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg, and the Scandinavian States, agreements open to all States. He urged as a next step the adherence of Germany and France. Attention was called to the plan for a Balkan Federation discussed last year at the first Balkan Conference in Athens, and to be brought forward again at the Second Balkan Conference about to be held in Stamboul. Two French delegates called attention to the efforts already made in the interests of a European Union. Mr. Montague, President of the American Group, remarked that the American delegates felt themselves insufficiently versed in the problem to have an opinion, but that American Parliamentarians generally followed with greatest interest the efforts of their European friends to improve their methods of organization and collaboration.

Other Activities

It will be recalled that the organization of the Interparliamentary Union is composed of a working staff known as the Bureau, with headquarters at 6, rue Constantin, Geneva, Switzerland. There is also an Executive Committee of five made up of the following persons for the coming

year: M. Fernand Bouisson (France), President; M. Henri La Fontaine (Belgium), retiring in 1932; M. L. Moltesen (Denmark), retiring in 1933; M. Cicio Pop (Romania), retiring in 1934; the Duke of Sutherland (Great Britain), retiring in 1935. The Committee has named M. La Fontaine to fulfil the duties of President of the Council in the absence of the President.

There is also a Council composed of two from each of the National Groups. At Bucharest the Council met three times, the two members from the United States being Representative Andrew J. Montague, of Virginia, and Representative Burton L. French, of Idaho. The Council re-elected as its President for the ensuing year M. Fernand Bouisson, President of the French Chamber of Deputies. The President of the Council is ex-officio President of the Executive Committee. It was upon motion of Mr. Montague that the Duke of Sutherland, member of the House of Lords, delegate of the British Group to the Interparliamentary Council, gracious host during the Conference in London last year, was elected a member of the Executive Committee to succeed Herr Löbe of Germany, ineligible for re-election.

The Six Study Committees, continued from year to year, constitute as their names imply the working bodies of the Union. Each of these Committees with its Chairman and American representative follows:

Committee on Political and Organization Questions: Chairman, Count di San Martino (Italy). American representative, Representative Morton D. Hull, of Illinois.

Committee on Juridical Questions: M. Henri La Fontaine (Belgium). American representative, Representative H. W. Temple, of Pennsylvania.

Committee on Economic and Financial Questions: Baron Szerényi (Hungary). American representative, Senator Tom Connolly, of Texas.

Committee on Ethnic and Colonial Questions: M. F. Studer (Switzerland). American representative, Senator Burton K. Wheeler, of Montana.

Committee for the Reduction of Armaments: Dr. P. Munch (Denmark). American representative, Representative Burton K. Wheeler, of Montana.

Committee on Social and Humanitarian Questions: M. Fernand Merlin (France). American representative, Representative J. Charles Linthicum, of Maryland.

The final results of the Conference are set forth in the following "appendix."

Appendix

Resolutions

I.—Protection of Mothers and Children

A.

Protection of mothers and children before, during and after childbirth, including the first year of the child's life.

The Inter-Parliamentary Union, convinced that it is indispensable in the interests of the nations and of humanity that society should be organized in such a way as to ensure the normal development of the individual,

considering that the World War destroyed millions of human lives and caused the most serious physical and moral damage,

considering, on the other hand, that the increasing employment of women in industry and commerce may become a danger to the coming generations,

recommends the following measures to the Groups, in the interests of mothers and children:

1. That the ratification of the Washington Convention of 1919 relating to the employment of women in industry and commerce before and after childbirth should be hastened and that every effort should be made to bring about the inclusion of the rules of that Convention in the legislation of all countries;

2. That appropriate measures should be taken to obtain the same protection for women employed in agricultural work, in accordance with the recommendation adopted by the Third Labour Conference, in October, 1921;

3. That efforts should be made to ensure similar protection for women employed in domestic work, taking as a guide the rules of the Washington Convention mentioned under (1), due allowance being made for the special nature of the work;

4. That the creation of institutions for safeguarding the health of mothers and children should be recommended.

In this connection the Inter-Parliamentary Union particularly recommends:

a) The creation of institutions which make it possible for women to be confined under good sanitary conditions, either in institutions which receive them at the time of confinement or in homes for expectant mothers and for mothers and children ("maisons maternelles et familiales") where they can spend the last period before confinement and the months immediately following, together with their children.

b) The creation of public institutions, such as welfare centers, etc., for the purpose of providing expectant mothers and mothers with the information of a sanitary, social and legal nature which their condition calls for.

c) The development of the system of family allowances and social services in favour of large families.

B.

Situation and protection in the different countries of illegitimate and of destitute children.

I.

Considering that the fulfilment of maintenance obligations is an indispensable condition for the normal development and for the health of the child;

considering that children living in a different country from that of their father or parents often meet with difficulties in obtaining maintenance owing to the fact that international private law frequently prescribes the application of the law of the other land;

The XXVIIth Inter-Parliamentary Conference recommends that *judgments relating to maintenance* should become applicable in all countries in a simplified form on the lines of the stipulations contained in the agreement of June 21st, 1923 (B.G.Bl.138, 1924), between Germany and Austria and of the agreements between certain cantons of the Swiss Confederation.

II.

The XXVIIth Inter-Parliamentary Conference recommends that the legal status of *persons without nationality*, and more particularly of children without nationality, should be regularized as soon as possible by an international convention.

II.—Salaried Work of Women

The Conference, considering the necessity for a careful examination of the present conditions of work for women in order to obtain prompt and efficacious international action towards improving such conditions, considering on the other hand that such investigation cannot be carried out without the assistance of persons experienced in the prevailing conditions of the main types of salaried work for women,

requests the Committee on Social and Humanitarian Questions to study at its next meeting the formation of a body to study, discuss and solve the questions concerning such work.

This task should be entrusted to a consultative committee under the auspices of the International Labour Office and with the collaboration of women.

III.—Activity of the Groups

I.

In view of the importance of promoting the work in favour of peace and international co-operation pursued by the Inter-Parliamentary Union by putting into execution the resolutions passed by its Conferences;

In view of the fact that it lies with the national Groups of the Union to secure the application of those resolutions in the political life and in the legislation of their respective countries, as also in international life;

In view of the fact that, if positive results are to be obtained in this respect through the action

of the Groups, it is indispensable that those Groups, as autonomous members of the Union, should exercise a permanent and continuous influence within their respective parliaments;

The XXVIIth Inter-Parliamentary Conference warmly recommends to the national Groups the following measures:

1. That two regular Group meetings at least should be called in the course of the year, one of which should discuss the action to be taken in connection with the resolutions passed by Conferences. (See article 17 of the Rules for Conferences.)

2. That detailed information should be given in the annual reports of the Groups (Statutes, article 3) as to the steps taken in connection with the resolutions of preceding Conferences and especially as to the motives which may have led a Group to refrain from action with regard to any particular resolution.

3. That debates on questions placed on the agenda of the Union should be instituted within the Groups. Such debates might be opened by national or foreign experts, parliamentary or non-parliamentary, invited by the Groups.

With regard to resolutions of Conferences recommending the ratification of international conventions, the Conference asks each Group to see that the steps taken with the Government with a view to ratification should be renewed until the Group has achieved its ends.

II.

The Conference requests the Inter-Parliamentary Bureau to prepare draft *model regulations for Groups* and to submit the draft to the permanent Committee on Political and Organisation Questions.

IV.—Amendments to Articles 3, 7, 10, 12, 14 and 16 of the Statutes of the Union

(omitted)

V.—Agricultural Questions

1.

The XXVIIth Inter-Parliamentary Conference, considering that the main cause of the agricultural crisis must be sought on one hand in over-production and on the other in the absorbing capacity of the market, expresses the wish

a) that the States, on the basis of international agreements, or professional agricultural groupments should seek measures which would lead to the limitation of surplus production;

b) that the system of bounties on exports and other measures of preference, in whatever form, which have an artificial influence on the markets, be abolished by all the States;

c) that the stocking of temporary surplus products be organised in cases where they can be stocked, in order to prevent certain States taking measures which would lead to an unfair exportation of their excess products;

d) that the States should seek, by international agreements, to fight against every kind of unfair

competition supported either by employing labour recruited by abnormal means and by the compulsory restriction of home consumption, or by any other procedure which would make possible export trade at artificial prices.

2.

Further, with a view to obtaining a better system of exchange of agricultural products, the Conference recommends the conclusion of international agreements, with the following main objects:

a) to prevent abuse of sanitary prohibitions and to ensure the execution of the clause of the treaties limiting those prohibitions;

b) to repress frauds connected with the sale of agricultural products and to ensure the respect of appellations of origin;

c) to check the course of the rise in tariffs;

d) to ensure markets for agricultural products.

In this connection, the Conference, without formulating any opinion as to the expediency of preferential treaties,

expresses the wish that the Governments and Parliaments (particularly all those of Western Europe) should study the possibility of establishing new multilateral commercial treaties on the basis of purchases by quota in certain countries; such treaties should not assume an aggressive character, but should contribute to the regulation of world exports, and thus, indirectly, to the regulation of the agricultural production of the world.

3.

The Conference

recognises that trusts and cartels may prejudice agriculture. It therefore considers it desirable that the States should endeavour to protect agriculture in this field in cases where there has been a rise in the prices unjustified by circumstances.

4.

The Conference

recognises that the measures which may be proposed with a view to remedying the agricultural crisis must not be adopted without taking into account the advantages which industrial products may enjoy on national and international markets, in order that a right balance between agriculture and industry may be retained and, where necessary, ensured.

5.

The Conference approves the efforts of the League of Nations towards the organisation of international agricultural credits. In order, however, that these efforts may have satisfactory results, the interest must be fixed at the lowest possible rate.

VI.—Preparation for the General Disarmament Conference

The XXVIIth Inter-Parliamentary Conference, in adopting the resolution of the Inter-Parliamentary Council of April 13, 1931,

reminds the Groups of the Union and their individual members of the urgent duty incumbent on them to do everything in their power in order that

the General Disarmament Conference, led by the principle of the equality of the rights and duties of States, and taking into account Art. 8, §§ 1 and 2, of the League of Nations Covenant, shall result in an International Convention instituting a drastic reduction of the present armaments, and eliminating every possibility of an armaments race, which would inevitably lead to fresh wars.

It recalls the fact that the XXIIIrd Inter-Parliamentary Conference, which met at Washington in 1925, proclaimed "the necessity of giving to the nations a feeling of security",

that the XXIVth Conference, held in Paris in 1927, declared that "in addition to the security guaranteed by the League of Nations, and which the Union wishes to see more well-defined and more efficacious, one of the means, and one of the most important, of reaching that end would be a general reduction of armaments",

and that, moreover, the peace treaties of 1919-1920 fix a limit to the armaments of certain States "in order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations".

The Conference believes

that the draft treaty prepared by the Preparatory Commission, and which is to be submitted to the Disarmament Conference, constitutes a useful basis for the work of the Conference whose aim is to carry out the first stage of the work of disarmament (for instance by a 25% reduction of expenditure), this work being destined to lead to the total and general disarmament of all nations by successive and rapid stages of further reduction,

that active propaganda for the work accomplished by the Preparatory Commission and for the success of the Disarmament Conference should be made in every country by the National Groups of the Union, whose duty it is to impress upon public opinion the importance and advantages of a serious reduction of armaments.

Nevertheless, the Conference is of opinion that, for the complete attainment of that end, the draft requires to be supplemented in several respects, in conformity with the resolutions of post-war Inter-Parliamentary Conferences and particularly with the "Technical Plan for a Reduction of Armaments" adopted by the Paris Conference in 1927.

The Conference therefore addresses a pressing appeal to the Groups of the Union and to the individual members urging them immediately to take the necessary measures with the Government and within Parliament with the object of obtaining that the delegates of their respective Governments to the Disarmament Conference shall be instructed to press for the insertion of the following provisions in the final Convention:

a) *A prohibition to increase present armaments.*
—The principle of limitation must not in any case permit of an increase in the present state of armaments.

The ordinary expenditure for national defence for one fiscal year must not in the case of any of the signatory States exceed the average of the ordinary expenditure for the three preceding fiscal years.

b) *Reduction and strict limitation of the average daily effectives in the land, sea and air armed*

forces and formations organised on a military basis.

c) The fixation of a *ratio*, not to be exceeded, between the *number of officers and non-commissioned officers*, on the one hand, and *the effectives*, on the other.

d) The prohibition to *prepare for, to train for and to resort to* chemical and bacteriological warfare and aerial bombardment.—An appeal to public opinion and to scientists in every country to enforce upon their Governments the observance of these prohibitions.

e) The fixation of a *ratio*, not to be exceeded, between *the effectives and war material*.

The necessity of supplementing the indirect limitation of war material (resulting from the limitation of expenditure) by means of direct limitation applicable to certain weapons (tanks, heavy guns, etc.).

f) *The extension of the prohibition on submarines*, as provided by Convention for certain powers, to all maritime countries; or, in any case, the fixation of a maximum tonnage for submarines in such a way as to limit them to purely defensive purposes.

g) *The limitation of the tonnage of all surface war-ships to a maximum of 10,000 tons.*

h) *The special limitation of all expenditure relating to air armaments.*

The Permanent Disarmament Committee (See under i) to be requested immediately to prepare proposals for the conclusion of economic agreements between civil aviation undertakings in the different countries.

i) *The extension of the sphere of competence of the Disarmament Committee* giving it the right to prepare proposals for further reduction and to provide, by the means which it judges to be appropriate, for an efficacious supervision of the state of armament in the different countries.

II.

In view of the close connection between the reduction of armaments and the control of the traffic in, and the manufacture of, armaments and war material, it is urgent and indispensable

that the States should without delay ratify the Convention of 1925 relating to the *control of the traffic in arms*;

that, further, the Special Committee of the League of Nations should, in good time before the meeting of the General Disarmament Conference, present its report on the supervision of the *private manufacture of arms*, the "evil effects" of which are mentioned in the Covenant of the League of Nations;

and that, finally, the Special Committee of the League shall introduce into a draft convention to be submitted to the Conference appropriate and efficacious provisions concerning the *manufacture in State factories*.

III.

The Conference notes with great satisfaction that the idea of an Armaments Truce before the reunion of the General Disarmament Conference, an idea formulated in the above-mentioned resolution of the Inter-Parliamentary Council, has

been adopted by the League of Nations Assembly which has just ended its work.

The Conference invites all the Groups of the Union to take immediately the most urgent steps with their respective Governments so that they accept *before November 1st*, the date fixed by the resolution of the Assembly, such an armaments truce.

VII.—Security Problems—International Force

The Conference renews the mandate of the Security Committee to study the different aspects of the problems concerning the creation of an international force, the implications of the Briand-Kellogg Pact, and also the means of finding a solution for these problems, and requests the Committee to present a report on this subject to the next Conference.

VIII.—European Federal Union

A.

The Inter-Parliamentary Union decides that:

1. It is not expedient to form an official association of the European Inter-Parliamentary Groups.

2. An important place should be reserved in the General Debate for the consideration of certain European problems.

With this object the permanent Committees will be requested to send to the Secretary General a list of those problems which they consider to be the most important.

3. The delegates of the Groups may take the initiative, at each Conference, of calling a special meeting of European parliamentarians, after consulting the President of the Conference on the methods to be adopted for such a meeting.

4. There is every reason to encourage the efforts made by the Union to co-ordinate the steps taken by certain National Groups in view of examining together questions particularly concerning two or several nations.

B.

5. In any case, the formation of a European Union can only be carried out in perfect agreement and harmony with the League of Nations, whose authority and influence must be neither diminished nor impeded by the existence and the working of a new international grouping.

6. With this reservation, the Inter-Parliamentary Union takes note of the work of the Committee for a European Union formed by the League of Nations, and states that it is ready to give its help to this work both by discussions on European problems as mentioned above and by the formation of closer contacts between European parliamentarians. (Nos. 2, 3 and 4.)

C.

7. The XXVIIIth Inter-Parliamentary Conference, after examining the problems the study of which, from the European point of view, seems particularly suitable, considers that most of them should be discussed by the Union during a sitting of the plenary Conference. This is particularly

the case with the reduction of armaments, the present economic crisis and the formation of customs agreements.

8. There are, however, certain questions which might be studied by the European Groups from a purely continental point of view, such as the treatment of foreigners (establishment, relief, naturalization), transport and transit of electric

power, agricultural credits, work in the mining industry, postal tariffs, etc.

9. Finally the Conference asks the Committees of the Inter-Parliamentary Union to seek, in the course of their work, the means by which the European States might be brought to collaborate more closely in the realisation of certain common tasks.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

Secretary of State's Note to Japan and China

THE Secretary of State sent, through the American diplomatic missions in China and in Japan, identical notes, on September 24, to the Chinese and the Japanese Governments, the texts of which are as follows:

The Government and people of the United States have observed with regret and with great concern events of the past few days in Manchuria. In view of the sincere desire of the people of this country that principles and methods of peace shall prevail in international relations, and of the existence of treaties, to several of which the United States is a party, the provisions of which are intended to regulate the adjustment of controversies between nations without resort to use of force, the American Government feels warranted in expressing to the Chinese and the Japanese Governments its hope that they will cause their military forces to refrain from any further hostilities, will so dispose respectively of their armed forces as to satisfy the requirements of international law and international agreements, and will refrain from activities which may prejudice the attainment by amicable methods of an adjustment of their differences.

Reply from Japan

ON September 28, the American Charge d'Affaires at Tokio, Edwin L. Neville, reported to the Department of State that he had received the following note from the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your note of September 25 in which you were so good as to convey to me the views of the American Government on the subject of the actual condition of affairs in Manchuria.

The Japanese Government is deeply sensible of the friendly concern and the fairness of views with which the American Government has observed the recent course of events in Manchuria. In common with the hope expressed by the American

Government, it has already caused the Japanese military forces in Manchuria to refrain from any further acts of hostility, unless their own safety, as well as the security of the South Manchuria Railway and of Japanese lives and property within that railway zone, is jeopardized by the aggression of Chinese troops or armed bands. Every care has been, and will continue to be, exercised by the Japanese forces to observe all the requirements of international law and international agreements, and to avoid any action that is calculated to prejudice an amicable settlement of the differences between Japan and China.

The Japanese Government is confident that by frank and unimpassioned discussions between the two parties in conflict, in the light of their true and lasting interests, an adjustment will be found to set at rest the existing tension in Manchuria.

Reply from China

ON September 28, the Chinese Charge d'Affaires left the following note with the Under Secretary of State:

September 27, 1931.

Sir:

I have the honor to inform you that I am instructed to communicate to you the reply of the Chinese Government to the note of the American Government dated September 24, 1931, as follows:

The Chinese Government received yesterday afternoon the communication from the American Government regarding the present situation in China, transmitted from Peiping by the American Minister to China.

The Chinese Government and people are gratified to learn that the Government and people of the United States, feeling themselves much interested in the situation created in China by the action of Japanese troops, desire that principles and methods of peace, instead of armed force, should be used in the relations between China and Japan, as between any other civilized states. It is the conviction of the Chinese and Japanese Governments that the American Government has been prompted by the earnest desire to uphold, as one of the signatory powers, the sanctity of those

international treaties, particularly the Treaty for the Renunciation of War signed at Paris in 1928, which bind the parties not to have recourse to war but to use pacific means in their relations with one another.

As a result of the aggressive movements of the Japanese troops, our territory has been invaded, our cities and towns have been occupied, and in certain cases ransacked, our public officers and innocent citizens have been injured, insulted and murdered. Even on the very day when the American Government dispatched its identic notes to the Chinese and Japanese Governments, advising restraint from further hostilities, Chinese passenger trains carrying refugees on the Peiping-Liaoning (Peking-Mukden) Railway were attacked by bombs and machine gun fire from Japanese military aeroplanes, which resulted in many casualties. This, while the Japanese Government declares that it has taken all measures to prevent the aggravation of the situation and that the troops will be forthwith withdrawn from the occupied areas, and free acts of war are still being committed by the Japanese troops. In spite of such circumstances, the entire Chinese Nation has been exhorted to maintain a dignified calm, in the belief that the delinquent party will render a full account for its wanton acts to all the civilized states, under the principle of the sanctity of international treaties for the maintenance of peace.

The Chinese Government can conceive no other way to satisfy the requirements of international law and international agreements, when international law and international agreements have already been trampled under foot, than for Japan to withdraw her troops immediately and completely from the occupied areas and to give full redress to the aggrieved party, the Chinese Government and the Chinese people.

It is the earnest hope of the Chinese Government that most effective means will be promptly taken for maintaining the dignity and inviolability of the international treaties above referred to, so that all efforts heretofore made by the various powers, especially by the United States, for the preservation of peace, might not be in vain.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

YUNG KWAI,
Charge d'Affaires ad interim.

The Arms Truce

SPEAKING before the Assembly of the League of Nations on September 8, Signor Grandi, Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, urged that from that date until at least the end of the disarmament conference there should be a "real and effective truce in armaments." On the first of October the Assembly adopted the following resolution:

In view of the fact that an undertaking on the part of all States not to increase their armaments would help to create an atmosphere of confidence, to prevent competition in armaments, and to prepare the ground for the forthcoming Conference, the Assembly requests the Governments invited to the Disarmament Conference to prepare for this event by means of an armaments truce, and accordingly requests the Council to urge the Governments convened to the said Conference to give proof of their earnest desire for the successful issue of the efforts to ensure an organized peace and, without prejudicing the decisions of the Conference or the programmes or proposals submitted by each Government, to refrain from any measures involving an increase in their armaments.

The Assembly likewise requests the Council to ask the Governments to state, before November 1st, 1931, whether they are prepared for a period of one year as from this date to accept this truce in armaments.

The League of Nations, under date of October 2, asked the United States to say before November 1 whether or not this Government is prepared, in accordance with terms of the above mentioned resolution, to accept the armaments truce proposed by the Assembly. To this inquiry, Secretary Stimson replied, October 29, as follows:

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to the Secretary General of the League of Nations, and, with reference to the latter's note of Oct. 2 with regard to an armaments truce proposed by the Assembly, has the honor to make the following declaration:

The Government of the United States has received the resolution of the Council of the League of Nations of Sept. 30, 1931, suggesting an armaments truce, and declares that, without prejudicing its position at the forthcoming general disarmament conference or affecting any proposal it may desire to submit to that conference, it is prepared, for the period of one year beginning Nov. 1, 1931, to accept the truce, provided that like action is taken by the other principal military and naval powers.

It is the understanding of this Government that the proposed truce shall not apply to construction which had been begun or for which contracts had been let prior to its entry into force.

The Government of the United States hopes that by a unanimous acceptance of this truce an atmosphere of confidence will be created which will prevent competition in armaments and prepare the ground for the successful conclusion of the general disarmament conference.

November 16, Chairman Aristide Briand, of the League Council, announced that the one year truce had gone into international effect on that day.

Your vote on the World Court?

News in Brief

THROUGH AN ERROR it was stated in our August issue, page 175, that the University of California had conferred a degree upon the minister from Czechoslovakia to the United States. We should have said that the University of Southern California conferred this degree upon M. Ferdinand Veverka. We regret the mistake and are glad to make this correction.

MR. MALCOLM W. DAVIS, who, it will be remembered, was, in 1916, assistant editor of the *Advocate of Peace*, went to Geneva in August to superintend the publications of the Geneva Research Information Committee. This committee will give each month a review of League activities and a study of some important League subject. Mr. Davis has lately been Director of the Yale University Press, and member of the editorial staff of "Independent Outlook."

"PEACE IS THE ART of living together." This was the prize-winning peace motto in the contest sponsored by the Baltimore committee on World Friendship Among Children. The motto was carried by the children of the Har Sanai Temple Religious School. The second prize, won by the Sparrows Point Junior Epworth League, was "Friendship and Peace are the golden threads that tie the hearts of all the world."

THE IDEA OF AN INTERNATIONAL POLICE will not down. In fact it has now risen to the clouds with Senator de Jouvenel's announcement, November 20, of a plan for world organization of aviation to which the governments are supposed to delegate the power of international police. This International Aerial Union would be put at the disposition of the League of Nations in times of crisis, according to the plan. M. de Jouvenel, member of the French Senate, was Secretary General of the Congress on Disarmament, November 26 and 27, at Paris.

THE NEW HOME of the Girl Scouts of Buffalo was christened "Peace House" by Mrs. Herbert Hoover on October 14. The building faces the Niagara River near the Peace Bridge.

SEÑOR MADARIAGA of Spain is credited with the picturesque statement that if the nations would

contribute to the League of Nations 5% of their present annual expenditures on armament the total sum at 5% interest would run the League activities for all time.

SEVERAL SOUTH AMERICAN CAPITALS have named grade schools for foreign nations. In these schools the history, traditions and ideals of the country selected are especially studied. The United States of America school in Montevideo, Uruguay, celebrated, November 18, the life and achievements of Thomas A. Edison. Representatives of both the American and Uruguayan governments attended the exercises.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH CONFERENCE of the International Peace Bureau was held in Brussels, August 5-10. Disarmament was the main topic of discussion.

THIS YEAR'S FLOODS in China endangered, according to Chinese estimates, nearly one fourth of the entire people. Sixteen provinces were affected, most of them in the rice-producing centers. The problem of food shortage therefore is acute and will be for some time. The National Flood Relief Commission has been created by Chinese authorities to cope with the calamity, composed of prominent Chinese and foreign civic leaders.

LUIS M. SANCHEZ CERRO, of Peru, was announced on November 28 to be the victor in the presidential elections held in October. Upon his inauguration Peru will be under a constitutional government for the first time in many months.

THE DEMAND FOR COURSES of study in International Relations has made it desirable for Columbia University to issue a special bulletin for the year 1931-32, listing courses in International Law and International Relations. It is a pamphlet of thirty-four pages.

HISTORY TEACHING by the use of moving-picture films in both elementary and secondary schools has been the subject of experiment in England. The report now issued by the Historical Association finds the film method of teaching world history of much greater value than the old ways. The report suggests means of extending the production and use of accurate films, subject to a central advisory body of historical experts.

A SOCIAL CENTER for American students in Paris is under construction. Upon the suggestion of M. Edouard Renard, Prefect of the Department of the Seine, the municipality of Paris has made available 5,000 square meters of departmental grounds. The center will have a library, medical clinic, games room, swimming pool, ballroom, chapel and other features, similar to those in American universities.

AN INTERNATIONAL CONTEST for a Christmas pastorelle on the theme, "The Manger of the Trench," is announced through our Ambassador to Italy, by the Fallen Heroes Organization of Rovereto, Italy. It is to be written for piano or small orchestra. The organization intends to transmit by radio the winning composition on Christmas Eve. At the same ceremony the great bell of Rovereto, called the "Fallen Heroes Bell," commemorating the World War dead of all nations, will be rung for the world to hear.

VOLUME 2 of the United States treaty edition, which is the first volume of document texts, is now issued by the Department of State. It covers the period from July 4, 1776, through the year 1818. Other volumes are to follow.

THE PEACE IDEA has certainly taken its place among the tenets abroad in the world when a Paris designer puts out a model for a "peace shirt." Following the idea of the red shirt of Garibaldi and the black shirt of Mussolini, Paul Poiret of Paris has created the "green shirt" for peace workers.

BEFORE LEAVING THIS COUNTRY, Dino Grandi, Italian Foreign Minister, sent a rousing message to all Italo-Americans, charging them to be "loyal and faithful citizens of the great starry Republic."

THE AMERICAN NAVAL AVIATION forces in Nicaragua furnished navy planes to transport personnel and medicines to Belize, British Honduras, after the severe earthquake and tidal wave disaster there September 10. American consul Taggart at Belize was commissioned by the Red Cross to administer a relief fund.

AT THE REQUEST of the Chinese government the International Labor Office has sent two experts to assist the Chinese Government in organizing a factory inspection service. This service is destined

to play a leading part in the enforcement of the new factory act which lately came into force and which marks a new stage in the social evolution of China.

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE points out that the United States is a member of twenty-six international bureaus to which it pays annual contributions. During the fiscal year 1930 this country was invited to participate in eighty-four international conferences and actually took part in sixty-five. Congressional appropriations were made for eleven of these. In 1931, up to September this country was invited to 105 International conferences and participated in eighty-two. The Department has been obliged to create a division of International Conferences to take care of these events.

YUGOSLAVIA ENTERED a new stage in its political development when the end of the King's dictatorship was formally announced on September 3. At the same time a new constitution was handed down by the King, a constitution which is to go into effect after a general election, but without any form of popular ratification. The recent dictatorship has been operative since January 6, 1929.

AN ACCORD WITH HAITI was signed August 5, at Port au Prince by the American minister and the Haitian minister for foreign affairs. The agreement makes a complete transfer to Haitian authority of all services, excepting the office of the Financial Advisor-General Receiver and the Gendarmerie of Haiti both of which require special safeguarding on account of the obligations jointly assumed by this country and Haiti in the bond issue under the treaty of 1915 and the Protocol of 1919. By the accord a speedier Haitianization of services has been accomplished than was recommended by the Forbes Commission or even than that first proposed by Haiti.

OUR REGULAR AIR-MAIL service with Latin America was officially stated in August to cover more than 80,000 miles every week. The planes make direct connections with eighteen Latin American republics and cover all but the last stages to two more. This service has largely developed within the past two years.

TELEPHONE SERVICE has been opened this fall between London and Constantinople.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PRAGUE, formed last year, organized a special informative conference in October, 1931, to acquaint the twenty-one new American students in Czechoslovak universities with cultural facts about Czechoslovakia.

A CONFERENCE OF CHINESE and Mongolians, summoned by Soviet authorities, met in Vladivostok, October 14, to consider measures to introduce a new Latinized Chinese alphabet into the Soviet Buriat Mongol Republic of Siberia and Outer Mongolia. The Academy of Sciences at Leningrad, under orders from the Central Executive Committee, last year appointed a commission which has prepared the alphabet as a measure of greatest urgency.

THE NEWLY ORGANIZED Executive Committee of the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work met in Cambridge, England, August 22-29. Memorial services were held for Archbishop Soderblom, under whose inspiration the whole Stockholm movement began in 1925. The council has sections in various countries, the American section closely associated with the Federal Council of Churches.

THE BALKAN CONFERENCE, meeting late in October in Turkey, made little headway owing to acute minorities problems. Before the next conference this question is to be specially studied by the foreign ministers of the Balkan states and a new draft treaty of non-aggression and arbitration to be prepared for the conference.

SPECIAL THANKS to the United States of America "for their valuable cooperation with the League in the important problems affecting the maintenance and progress of peace" were expressed by M. Titulesco, President of the 1931 Assembly of the League of Nations in his closing speech.

GREAT BRITAIN DESIRES TO BE relieved of her mandate over Irak next year. Accordingly the Mandates Commission has formulated rules for terminating such mandates, and the rules were approved by the Council of the League of Nations at its meeting September 5. France also hints that she will shortly wish to abandon her mandate over Syria.

THE ASSYRIAN PATRIARCH, Mar Shinum XXI, sent an appeal from Mosul, October 23, to the League of Nations Mandates Commission and to the British Foreign Office, saying that the Assyrians

would not find it possible to live in Irak after the abandonment of the Mandate by Great Britain, and asking that the whole people be allowed to migrate to some country under western control.

MEXICO HAS CREATED a committee representing the foreign ministry and other government departments to draft a trade treaty to be submitted to all countries with which she has diplomatic relations, except Japan and the Dominican Republic where other arrangements are pending. All Mexico's trade agreements were cancelled in 1926.

OWING TO THE DISASTROUS hurricane of September and the universal economic depression, the Dominican Republic notifies the United States government that it must temporarily divert certain customs revenues to vital government functions and to the preservation of order. According to the provisions of a convention between the United States and the Dominican Republic these revenues would ordinarily be applied to amortization of foreign loans. The Department of State, after investigation, has consented to the emergency measures proposed.

THE FIFTH PALESTINE and Near East Exhibition (Levant Fair) will be held in April 1932 at Tel-Aviv which is rapidly becoming a distributing center for the countries of the Middle East. The Fair is under the patronage of His Excellency the High Commissioner of Palestine, and it is expected that it will on this occasion far exceed in scope and variety the four preceding ones. Great Britain, Germany and Czechoslovakia will be among the foreign countries sending exhibits.

FIFTY AMERICAN BOYS of high-school age are invited to be the guests of Dutch families during the Christmas holidays this year. The invitation came through the Netherlands-American Chamber of Commerce at Amsterdam to Dr. Sven V. Knudsen, President of "My Friends Abroad" with headquarters in Boston. Rotary and American Clubs in Scandinavian cities and National Women's Clubs of Denmark, have given previous invitations of the same sort, to American boys.

WE ARE TOLD that the Orleans Railway Company in France has for some time carried on paternalistic projects to secure social benefits to its employees. Medical and hospital aid, education, safety and housing comfort at low cost are among its activities. It encourages sport, musical and artistic clubs and even travel groups. About 650 persons used the vacation camps last year.

THE COMMERCE OF THE western hemisphere was the subject of attention at the fourth Pan American conference held in the Pan American Union in Washington, October 5-12. Previous conferences were held at the same place in 1911, 1919 and 1927.

DR. DAVID STARR JORDAN, Chancellor Emeritus of Stanford University, and long an advocate of international peace, died at his home in California, September 19.

IN WISBACH, ENGLAND, Miss Priscilla H. Peckover, a unique and influential figure in the Peace Movement of England, died, September 9, at the age of 97.

"DISARMAMENT—PEACE AND PROSPERITY" was the theme of the 16th Annual Meeting and Goodwill Congress of the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, that was held in Chicago, November 10, 11 and 12, and which was addressed by forty leaders in the movement for better international relationship.

A COMMITTEE of thirteen business men, economists and lawyers has been formed by invitation of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, "to undertake a scientific study of the possible use of economic pressure by the United States against a nation going to war in violation of treaty provisions, and to make a report to the public suggesting specific proposals along these lines."

THE GEORGE F. MILTON Awards in Journalism, the income from which is now available to Southern writers, carried a cash award of \$500 during 1931 for the writer who has published in any newspaper or periodical in the South during the year "the best editorial, or editorials, advancing the cause of International Peace." By the term "Southern" is meant the following States: Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana and Maryland. All articles to be considered

for this Award must be mailed to "The George F. Milton Award, Division of University Extension, Box 4218, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee, and must be received by December 31, 1931. The decisions will be announced as soon as possible after the first of the year and checks will be mailed to the winners.

PRESIDENT HOOVER has approved the following advisory and technical staff for the Delegation of the United States to the General Disarmament Conference to be held in Geneva, beginning February 2 next. The Delegates have not yet been selected.

Advisers

For the State Department

Mr. Theodore Marriner, Counselor of Embassy

For the Army

Brigadier General George S. Simonds

For the Navy

Rear Admiral Arthur J. Hepburn

Technical Staff

For the State Department

Mr. S. Pinckney Tuck, First Secretary of Embassy

For the Army

Lieutenant Colonel George V. Strong

Major James B. Ord

Major James E. Chaney

For the Navy

Captain A. H. Van Keuren

Commander Thomas C. Kinkaid

Commander Richmond K. Turner

Secretariat

Secretary to Delegation:

Mr. James Clement Dunn, Chief of the Division of International Conferences

Assistant Secretaries to Delegation:

Mr. David McK. Key, Third Secretary of Embassy

Mr. Samuel Reber, Jr., Third Secretary of Embassy

Press Relations

Mr. Robert Thompson Pell, Press Officer.

Vote on the World Court?

Book Reviews

ENGLAND'S CRISIS, by *André Siegfried*. Translated from the French by H. H. Hemming and Doris Hemming. Pp. 311 and index. Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1931. Price, \$3.

M. Siegfried, economic expert, professor at the School of Social Sciences in Paris, has already produced one of the sanest studies of America ever written by a foreigner. Readers of "America Comes of Age" will, therefore, seize upon this economic study of England in her present crisis. The book was published shortly before the British abandonment of the gold standard. It perhaps gains in interest because of this fact.

With the thrifty, hard-working French people in mind, the author finds many things to criticize in the Englishman's attitude, especially under the "dole" system. "Shiftless living," and not really a "high standard of living" are what he sees among English laborers.

Gold and wages having, he says, both been pegged high, the falling international prices have made it impossible for English industry, working as he points out under obsolete methods and at high cost, to sell its goods profitably. This he finds is the key to the whole situation. The pound stabilized at a lower figure, abandonment of the dole, modernizing of factories, and a populace, high and low, willing to work harder and with a lower income are measures that seem to him immediately necessary.

He finds it alarming for the future of England that the state is now carrying on only by "requisitioning or sequestering on one pretext or another" the capital accumulated by earlier generations, which should not be used for current expenses. Here he finds a contrast between England and France; for in England the producer has been fleeced for the capitalist who, in turn, has been deeply taxed for the workman, who has let the money "go up in smoke." In France, on the contrary, the capitalist has been taxed for the producer, who has re-equipped his damaged factories with modern machinery, and is now prepared to produce more capital. In homely words Siegfried finds that England has, since the war, been "using up her seed wheat."

In spite of devastating criticism of English habits and methods, the author shows a real affection and admiration for much that is English. "The English mind," he says, "is naturally constructive; it lends itself to co-operation and is essentially loyal." Politically, "an excellent team is always at hand no matter what party is in power." In spite of the shaking of England's structure because of the war, and in spite of universal unrest, there as elsewhere, her future is not necessarily dark. Siegfried, looking ahead, says, "The Empire and the spirit of England on which it thrives, has unlimited powers of adaptation and life."

THE GOOD EARTH, by *Pearl Buck*. Pp. 375. The John Day Co., New York, 1931. Price, \$2.50.

Farming in China, famine in China, the life of the family, love for the good brown earth, all these are here. But deeper than this, the whole story is universally human. The pathos and tragedy of man's life everywhere is felt to be closely akin to that which one follows with keen and instinctive interest from beginning to end of this book.

As "Rice," by Louise Jordan Miln, published last year, was a poignant story of peasant home life in China through the eyes of the woman heroine, this gives a picture of the same section of common people, lowly and homely, through the experiences of the man, Wang Lung, who is the center of the action. It is a coherent, dramatic story, told with great simplicity in language suggestive of the poetry of the Orient. One leaves it feeling better aware of the sorrows, joys and ambitions of the folk of vast China; but, too, with tolerant sympathy with the foibles, longings and loyalties of simple people everywhere. To accomplish this, it would seem, is the very kernel of literary art.

FRENCH PUBLIC OPINION AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 1870-1914, by *E. Malcolm Carroll*. Pp. 310 and index. Century Co., New York, 1931. Price, \$3.

The mind of the public is, naturally, a difficult thing to appraise, nevertheless, it is an important element in the history of events. Its formation, expression and influence can be approximately discovered, partly in election campaigns, but even more, possibly, through a study of the press of the period. This is what Professor Carroll, of Duke University does for French Public Opinion from the time of the Franco-Prussian war to that of the World War. Seldom does he find that the people of themselves desire war; but phrases like "the lost provinces," "Alsace-Lorraine," "Perfidious Albion" and the like have their effect upon the public. He finds that such policies as the balance of power and defensive alliances are generally accepted among the French, but there is often evident a desire for a merely defensive military policy, and usually for better relations with neighboring countries.

The book furnishes, however, an amazing picture of the way in which international crises have been manipulated in Europe. The propaganda of foreign-owned newspapers in France, the secret bargains, the "blank checks" in diplomatic affairs, the under-cover reasons for international complications, all tend to make the American reader more than ever wary of plunging into such a maelstrom.

Nevertheless one feels that public opinion, if allowed to feed upon facts, would, though of many schools of thought, tend to move steadily on toward normal family life among the nations.

KAISER AND CHANCELLOR, by *Karl Friederich Nowak*. Translated by E. W. Dickes. Pp. 282 and index. Macmillan, New York, 1930. Price, \$3.50.

Herr Nowak claims that, while much of his material—portraits, documents and newspaper

clippings—have come from the Kaiser, himself, he has, nevertheless, carefully checked and corrected the matter with other sources available and that therefore his book is unbiased. It is impossible not to feel, however, that the book is intended as a reply to the Kaiser's critics.

The period covered, that of the early life and first two years of the reign of Kaiser William of Germany, is of great importance in the light of later events. When the book came out in Germany in 1929 it aroused a storm of criticism. In our part of the world it can be greeted with cooler appraisal. Much stress is laid upon the harsh and rigorous training of the youth. This was quite in accord, we understand, with the Prussian system; but Nowak points out certain damage that it did to the boy and man. The ideals of the Iron Chancellor Bismark and those of the young Emperor as here outlined were bound to come into conflict. It is the reason for the break between them, which is the real theme of the book.

It is one of the grim ironies of history that so much in Germany's internal policy was for years disjointed in order to hold Russia, only to find Russia and Germany, after all, opposed to each other in the war of 1914. It is, in Anglo-Saxon eyes, too, a sorrowful fact that, with quite liberal ideals for his own countrymen, the Kaiser should have retained all those notions of military strength as the sole measure of a country's greatness which blocked, at the time of the Hague Conferences, world agreement on arms reduction.

With a background of other historical knowledge, any reader will find this book an interesting interpretation of things that happened later.

AMERICAN PRECEDENTS IN AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION, by *Erling M. Hunt*. Pp. 278 and index. Columbia University Press, New York, 1930. Price, \$4.50.

The Australian Constitution, which went into effect January 1, 1901, was built up through an interesting series of events and conventions. The situations and arguments which developed in Australia are of particular interest to Americans because of the similarity between the Constitution of the United States and that finally developed by Australia.

There were available several types of government for study, from the British nonfederated responsible government to the truly federal governments of Canada or Switzerland. As it happened, however, the principles underlying the American Federal Government proved most applicable to conditions. This was not because of any special admiration for America, but because after much preparation and several conventions in which delegates from Australian states participated, the main framework of the American constitution seemed best to meet the desires of both large and small states.

The book outlines the Australian federal movement from the beginning and then takes up the study of American precedent in the development of the Senate, the House and the Judiciary. Details of the resultant constitution are somewhat different, as in the provisions for amendment. The book is sufficiently condensed but at the same time sufficiently explicit to be interesting both to those who wish to learn something of ideas under-

lying democratic government and for those who wish to know more of Australia and her statesmen.

BORN A JEW, by *Boris D. Bogen*. Pp. 351. Macmillan, New York, 1930. Price, \$3.

The Russian Jew who left his home in Moscow to find freedom in America tells here much more than his own story of struggle. He narrates the particular glories and the particular hardships of the Jew in the modern world. Bogen's difficulties as a Jewish immigrant are but a prelude to that portion of the book which makes it really noteworthy. That is the administration of relief during and after the War to the European Jews, particularly those in Poland and Russia. In that work Mr. Bogen acted as an agent of his people in America, and the story adds a large chapter, hitherto little known, to the poignant story of war-time suffering and heroic relief.

THE GREAT CRUSADE AND AFTER, 1914-1928, by *Preston William Slosson*. Pp. 465 and index. Macmillan, New York, 1930. Price, \$5.

It is a delight to pick up a contemporary history which is written not only with philosophical detachment and in an atmosphere of idealism, but also with a sense of human nature and considerable humor. Such is this book by Professor Slosson. It is an expert and interesting interpretation of social trends in this country since 1914. We see ourselves in various lights as we read about our behavior in war-time, in reconstruction, in relation to prohibition, nationalism, sports, the woman movement and other matters. If there be a moral implied anywhere it is so charmingly disguised that we can formulate our own while we alternately laugh at or applaud ourselves.

The "Saga of the Motor Car" is the title of a chapter in which the automobile is said to have done more to open a new age than any event "since the battle of Hastings." In fact, nothing that will serve to illustrate the new America seems to have been overlooked, from the international services of Elihu Root to the Piggly-Wiggly chain stores. A brilliant chapter on journalism and advertisement gleams with wit and insight. There is also included a chapter on "Science, Mistress and Handmaid," written by Professor Slosson's father, Edwin E. Slosson, before his death.

Mark Sullivan and Professor Beard have lately written books in much the same field as this, but each has had a different method. Sullivan writes from the standpoint of news, Beard from the special outlook of industry. Slosson might fitly have given his book the title of his fifteenth chapter as a subtitle. It is "The Mind of a Nation."

THE MIXED COURTS OF EGYPT, by *Jasper Yeates Brinton*. Pp. 402 and index. Yale University Press, 1930. Price, \$5.

Here is the story of a great judicial machine developed in Egypt and said, by Sir Maurice Amos in 1925, to be the "most successful international institution in history." As a matter of fact the mixed courts of Egypt are national courts, but for

over fifty years fifteen nations have contributed in perfect harmony to their functioning.

Nubar Pasha, Armenian foreign minister of the Khedive Ismail, has been called the one great statesman Egypt has produced since Joseph. It was his prophetic wisdom and statesmanship that brought into being this judicial system dealing with foreigners in Egypt. It is the story of the diplomatic battle for these courts, begun in 1867 by Nubar, their checkered history, their function, growth and astonishing success, which makes this book of peculiar interest. This is particularly true now that Egypt seems to stand at the door of a new age.

OLD PASTURES, by *Padraic Colum*. Pp. 42. Macmillan, New York, 1930. Price, \$1.50.

This is a book of poems. But the prose of Padraic Colum is always so charged with the lilt and rhythm of the Irish tongue, and this verse is so largely informal in structure that except for the look of the page it would be difficult to say whether these are consciously poems or not. He uses, too, sometimes the device of repetition of phrase or idea so characteristic of biblical poetry. This adds to the homely simplicity, not less than to the balance and swing of the style.

The poems are mostly about Ireland, of her peasants and roads, her soil and blossoms and legends. A few there are of Hawaii, a few of general or classic derivation, but all are simple and human, breathing, withal, unaffected beauty.

TALES FROM THE ARGENTINE, edited by *Waldo Frank*; translated by *Anita Brenner*. Pp. 268. Farrer & Rinehart, New York, 1930. Price \$3.50.

The editor of these tales succeeds in his intent to "form a kind of background that may prepare the American public to experience less helplessly" in the Argentine of tomorrow. The literature savors of Argentine's past and carries the flavor of many parts of this great land. The stories picture the northern aboriginal forests, the southern pampas and the western Cordilleras. Some of the writers are actually modern, but so rooted in the past that they picture it predominantly. The editor believes that when the Argentine has matured it will be as distinctively a literary people, as the Mexicans and Peruvians are essentially plastic in their art expression.

The seven tales, by as many authors, are lively reading. The illustrations by Mordecai Gorelak are vivacious and humorous, quite appropriate to the stories. The civilization shown is curiously different from our own, yet quite understandable.

Another volume is planned to follow this. It will embody literature representing Argentine's present. Surely work such as this is one of the very best ways in which to bring about real understanding of each other by nations with racial differences.

CHILDREN AT THE CROSSROADS, by *Agnes E. Benedict*. Pp. 238. Commonwealth Fund, New York, 1930.

In the season of the White House Conference on Child Welfare, this collection of cases investi-

gated by visiting teachers to rural districts is particularly apropos. Maladjusted children of many kinds figure in the stories. The work of finding out and studying the cases in typical rural communities was carried on largely for information purposes by the National Committee on Visiting Teachers. The romantic appeal of the "old red schoolhouse" is largely dissipated by the study, and, too, the supposed advantage of country life for all children. At least this is true in spots where community life is undeveloped and where school support is inadequate to deal with unusual cases. The book, full as it is with human interest, adds materially to one's knowledge of the needs of the "crossroads" child.

EDUCATING FOR PEACE, by *Elizabeth Miller Lobingier* and *John Leslie Lobingier*. Pp. 219 and index. Pilgrim Press, Boston, 1930. Price \$2.

A book for all adults who deal with children and who wish to further the set of the popular mind toward peace is this by Mr. and Mrs. Lobingier. Most of the same methods might be employed in the teaching of ethics in any relationship. To further the understanding of other races; to inculcate habits of fair play and ordered relations; to teach cooperation and, no less, devotion to the flag and what it symbolizes, are the immediate objects of the methods suggested here. The Pact of Paris is seized upon as a point of departure for the whole educational framework in this field.

Methods in the home, the church and the school are suggested in chapters devoted to each. An excellent section treats of dramatization and gives lists of subjects and plans for both informal and formal plays and pageants. It is pleasant to note here a timely warning against any propaganda underrating the sincere devotion of those who have fought our wars.

An excellent list of books tending to teach, or to help teachers and parents in teaching goodwill is appended. It is in these days, a rapidly growing list.

A SOLDIER'S DIARY, by *Captain Will Judy*. Pp. 216. Judy Publishing Co., Chicago, 1930. Price, \$2.

Diaries were forbidden by American Army regulations, yet, says Captain Judy, he violated regulations. He claims that, save in the case of some spelling and names, the diary has received no doctoring since it was written, on the ground. It reads that way. One suppresses the desire to ask how he succeeded in carrying about with him so bulky a manuscript as this must have been before the end. However, even if it were fiction the diary carries the aroma of truth. Complaints are frank and plenty. He uses always common sense in his outlook, and does not forget that he is a civilian first and a soldier afterward. Thus he gives an unhysserical as well as an unmilitary record, but a loyal and faithful soldier's account, too. He comes out hating war, hoping there will never be another, yet feeling quite sure that if his country again does take part in war, he will have the tailor remodel the old uniform.

THE LITTLE ENTENTE, by *John O. Crane*. Pp. 215, index and maps. Macmillan, New York, 1931. Price, \$2.50.

"The efficiency of the Little Entente system largely depends on the degree of internal stability achieved by the member states." These states, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Jugoslavia, set up the Little Entente in 1920 as a defensive alliance to preserve the new *status quo* in the Danubian basin. Surrounded by greater countries, still in a state of upheaval, countries which were resentful of territory sliced off for the new postwar states, conditions in 1920 were threatening in the extreme to the new states.

This book gives the story of the forming of the alliance, of the progress toward inner stability in each state involved, their relation toward their neighbors and an estimate of the outlook for future peace through the instrumentality of the Entente.

Mr. Crane has spent some seven years working in Danubian lands, four of them as private secretary to President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia. His outlook is, therefore, from the angle of the Little Entente. Yet he convincingly and not unsympathetically analyzes the Hungarian question. Future peace lies in the solution of this problem, and the Little Entente he says, "will go down in history as a failure," if it does not succeed in bringing about a better feeling between itself and Hungary. Rectification of boundaries, fair treatment of Magyar minorities and the King question are now the greatest Hungarian problems.

The maze of European political alliances, as relating to the Danubian states, is amazingly condensed and untangled in the book. If America is to work with Europe these things should be better understood here. A distinct addition to the book's usefulness is a transparent map giving the old boundaries in central Europe, placed over another map which gives in heavy red lines the present boundaries. Why do not all makers of historical maps do likewise?

SPAIN, ITS STORY BRIEFLY TOLD, by *Catherine Moran*. Pp. 260 and index. Stratford Co., Boston, 1930. Price, \$2.

Miss Moran, the Irish author of this book on Spain, has had exceptional advantages and training for such work. After spending some years at Oxford University, where she did distinguished work in historical research, she was appointed private tutor to the Infantas of the Spanish Royal family. While in Spain, with access to chronicles and documents, she continued her historical studies. The resultant book was published just before the establishment of the present Spanish Republic. It therefore rounds out a complete cycle of history.

Both Catholic and Royalist in feeling, the author, nevertheless, has produced a book that is factual, direct and fair. It enables us, says G. K. Chesterton in the introduction, "to relate men and times and institutions with each other in rational order." While the manner of telling the story lacks something of warmth and color, it is the only recent work of the sort in English; in fact, its very austerity lends usefulness to the book as an outline for study and reference. A

filip to the imagination is given in the chronological list of events in Spanish history at the end of the volume, because of the length of time covered. A country whose history begins with the sixth century B. C. and continues to the present time, is surely replete with interest and romance for other peoples.

THE ROAD BACK, by *Erich Maria Remarque*. Pp. 343. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1931. Price, \$2.50.

The author of "All Quiet on the Western Front," follows up with the story of war-weary German boys restored again to normal conditions. But the war is in their bones. Much as they loathe it, war is all they have known during the formative period of young manhood. Now they are back, knocking at all the doors of their youth, trying to fit into civilian life, brutalized but wistful. They find nothing the same, not even the comradeship of the trenches. One by one they drift into psychopathic wards, crime, suicide, or, if they manage to cling to the ordinary walks of life, find little satisfaction anywhere.

The pathetic most that the hero at last rests upon is this: "Perhaps I shall never be really happy again. Perhaps the war has destroyed all that and no doubt I shall always be a little inattentive and nowhere quite at home; but I shall probably never be wholly unhappy either—for something will always be there to sustain me, be it merely my own hands, or a tree or the breathing of the earth."

The book gives another and useful slant upon the destructive results of war.

Paragraph Reviews

ADVENTURING IN PEACE AND GOOD-WILL, by *Aunie Sills Brooks*. Pp. 92. Pilgrim Press, Boston, 1930. Price \$1.

A ten-day junior vacation school course, with the religious background, giving programs and stories illustrating methods of teaching international good-will.

JUSTICE FOR HUNGARY—THE CRUEL ERRORS OF TRIANON. Pp. 164. Legdary Brothers, Budapest, 1930.

Intended to show the injustices of the great loss of territory to Hungary since the World War, this volume is issued. It is an album of beautiful pictures in sepia and colors, with articles showing the development in art, literature, architecture and music of Hungary's thousand years of civilization.

THE CROSS BEARERS, by *A. M. Frey*. Pp. 306. Viking Press, New York, 1930. Price \$2.50.

This translation from the German adds another record of personal experiences in the World War. This time the men are in the German Red Cross service. The usual horrors are depicted and rather more than the usual vulgarities. There are moments when one asks, looking through this lens, if humanity is really worth the effort of saving after all.

NOTICE**AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON
INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE****George Washington and the Coöperation
of States****MAY 2-6, 1932****PROVISIONAL PROGRAM***(An Outline)***Sunday, May 1**

Peace Sunday (One Hundred-Fourth Anniversary of the American Peace Society).

Monday, May 2

First General Assembly

Exercises at Mount Vernon

Second General Assembly (Assembly Hall of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States)

Tuesday, May 3

Third General Assembly (Chamber of Commerce of the United States)

Commission Meetings

Fourth General Assembly (Chamber of Commerce of the United States)

Wednesday, May 4

Fifth General Assembly (Chamber of Commerce of the United States)

Luncheon

Sixth General Assembly (Chamber of Commerce of the United States)

Seventh General Assembly

Thursday, May 5

Eighth General Assembly (Chamber of Commerce of the United States)

Luncheon

Commission Meetings

Ninth General Assembly

Friday, May 6

Tenth General Assembly (Chamber of Commerce of the United States)

Luncheon

General Assembly of Delegates (Chamber of Commerce of the United States)

Final Banquet

IMPORTANT

Persons and Organizations wishing to take part in this Conference should write without delay to American Conference on International Justice, care American Peace Society, 734 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

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WHAT SHALL ENDURE? *

Great roads the Romans built that men might meet,
 And walls to keep strong men apart—secure.*
 Now centuries have gone; and in defeat
 The walls have fallen, but the roads endure.

ETHELYN MILLER HARTWICH.

* American Federationist, Nov., 1930.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Editor
Published since 1834 by

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Full responsibility for the contents of this magazine is assumed by the Editor

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In Memoriam

David Jayne Hill

Cuno H. Rudolph

W. H. Hoover

John B. Larner

Clarence H. Howard

The Conference in May

THE Citizen's Conference on "George Washington and the Cooperation of States," to be held in the city of Washington under the auspices of the American Peace Society, May 2 to 5, is attracting wide interest, especially among conservative men and women of our country. The need for such a conference is acknowledged widely.

In whatever direction we turn, the world, our own country not excepted, is faced with problems of the gravest magnitude. Turbulence stalks through every walk of life. Practically all of our problems are affected by our country's international relations, be they in the realms of industry, of law and justice, of education, of religion, of family welfare, or of the organized efforts to promote international understanding and co-

operation. Competing efforts to unravel the skein end with rather sickening frequency in only adding to the snarl. Uninformed opinions bring in their wake the usual discord of councils that befog more than they clarify the air. There are open threats at the moment against the choicest traditions of America.

Not only we of this country, but peoples quite generally, are asking: "What is the best that America has to say and to do just now towards finding an acceptable way out?" In its attempt to answer this searching inquiry, in accord with the tried methods of democracies, the American Peace Society thinks of this Conference as a citizen's conference, a meeting of informed men and women for the reconsideration of the best means for promoting international justice, mutual understanding, applied intelligence.

Because so many of the foundation stones of our national and international policies were so firmly laid by George Washington, because this year is the 200th anniversary of Washington's birth, and because the American Peace Society has been invited by the officials responsible for the celebration of the Bicentennial to hold its Conference in the city of Washington, this gathering in the interests of a greater stability of opinion is specifically named "George Washington and the Cooperation of States."

The nature of the Conference may be best indicated by the personnel of the program committee. The chairman of this committee is James Brown Scott. Associated with

Dr. Scott are: Honorable Chandler P. Anderson; Dr. Magnus W. Alexander; Honorable Oscar T. Crosby; Honorable William Nelson Cromwell; Dr. Harold G. Moulton; Dr. Leo S. Rowe; Thomas Raeburn White, Esquire; Reverend Edmund A. Walsh, S.J.; Justice Walter I. McCoy; Dr. Charles Cheney Hyde; Rt. Reverend James E. Freeman, D.D.; Ex-Governor Nathan L. Miller; James O. Murdock, Esquire; Honorable Henry W. Temple; Colonel Wade H. Ellis; Colonel U. S. Grant, III; William Tyler Page.

The Conference will be composed of official delegates, Conference members, and the general public. The official delegates will include the members of the American Peace Society, and five delegates from each institution member of the Society, including five alternate delegates. The official delegates will have the right to attend all the general assemblies of the Conference, including the meetings of the study commissions, to participate in the debates and to vote upon any resolution or other subject before the conference. These official delegates will be admitted to the reserved seats at all meetings. The Conference members will include persons especially invited to speak or take part in the Conference, and all persons who shall register and pay a fee of \$2 towards the expenses of the Conference. These Conference members, citizens of the United States, will be admitted to the reserved sections. The general public will be admitted without charge to the general assemblies, outside the reserved sections.

There is no doubt either of the seriousness or of the importance of the Conference. This is especially so because of the critical state in which the world finds itself. Time is now of the essence of things. Men everywhere are seeking constructive measures. Halfway palliatives have little appeal. There is a demand that we find the underlying substance of things. During the last dozen years, there has been too little prog-

ress. Our United States is charged with falling down as a cooperator with other nations, especially with the League of Nations in its efforts to organize peace and justice. It is urged that if the world is to be in position to stop an aggressor, the United States must reconsider its right as a neutral to deal with all belligerents. We cannot morally take the position of being a neutral exploiter and profiteer. There is a wide demand that our United States should agree, in case of threatened hostilities, to consult with other nations. Does the eastern embroglio dispel the view of the Anglo-Saxons that the plighted word of a neighbor is sufficient security? How must the Briand-Kellogg Pact be "implemented"? Is the French claim that there can be no security under disarmament without guarantees from other States tenable? How far must new sanctions be established toward the faithful observance of the plighted word? To what further extent should we cooperate with the League of Nations? What must be done to lead the United States Senate to put us into the World Court? In what ways should the United States change its attitude toward immigration, toward the curbing of communistic activities, toward the demand for adequate national defense? Because of the wide differences of opinion on all these inquiries, it is evident that they deserve most careful attention in the interest of a more united American front. Men in positions of responsibility, particularly in our Government, are carefully watching public opinion. That is the challenge to this Conference.

There are enough charges against our United States to warrant our most thoughtful and objective examination. Public credit has been shot to pieces, and confidence in law and order has been rudely jolted. Even our sacrifices for righteous causes are misunderstood, if not wasted. If we are to replace our foolishness with commonsense, the time is at hand.

Lights in the Darkness of the Far East

IMPROVEMENTS in social situations often wait upon the outbreak of some disaster. Is there any prospect that the world will reap any benefits from the breakdown of civilization in the Far East? The situation there is bad enough. Since on September 18, the Japanese Army occupied Mukden, capital of Manchuria, the situation has gone from bad to worse. The Japanese, fighting on foreign soil, defeated General Ma Chan-Shan and occupied Tsitsihar in November. They occupied Chinchow early in January. Later in that month, the Japanese were storming sections of Shanghai, and early in February they were bombarding the forts at Nanking. Upon Japanese initiative, Manchuria declared itself on February 18, an independent state. To Secretary Stimson's note to Senator Borah, appearing elsewhere in these columns as an international document, Japanese officials replied that Mr. Stimson had displayed "ignorance of the history of the Washington Conference."

It is reasonable to hope that the goings on in China will bring about four beneficent changes. The first of these may well be a better organization of the Chinese state. As a result of this bitter experience, the Chinese masses are already awakening to the necessity of establishing a more stable government. If they are to achieve their aims to abolish extraterritoriality, the concessions, the settlements, the treaty ports, the impositions of foreigners throughout their land, they now know that they must organize for the task. Boycotts, riots and demonstrations are not enough. China must have a government in which the Chinese people believe. The troubles of the hour have brought this home with renewed force. The world may reasonably expect a better organized government for China as the result of recent events.

Another beneficent result of the struggle will appear in Japan. The Japanese are a proud people, especially concerned to warrant the good-will from other nations. The Japanese public will soon learn that it is better to support Japanese statesmen than to rely so completely upon their military organization. The Japanese civilian is learning the lesson that the German Junkers learned through 1914-1918. The people of Japan, as a result of their mistaken forays south of the Great Wall, are learning that they can achieve their highest interests only under the auspices of liberty, by fulfilling their arrangements with foreign nations in perfect good faith, and by contenting themselves with what George Washington called "a respectable defensive posture." The time is soon at hand, we believe, when Japanese civilians will insist that they be given the control of the military arm of government.

Another hopeful phase of this Far Eastern embroglio is the development of the League of Nations. In its Covenant, the League is given duties and powers which it now discovers it cannot carry out. In the earlier stages of the war in Manchuria, the League issued statements that only served to harden the Japanese attitude in Manchuria. Its threats of an economic boycott, provided for in the League Covenant, and of a diplomatic boycott have been found to be futile. It is now clear that it is well-nigh impossible for this League to fix upon the aggressor offhand. The League knows that Article XVI of the Covenant is in the main unworkable; that it could not, under the terms of that Article for example, sever commercial relations between Japan and the United States. When the League intimated that it might go outside its moral influence, it simply exposed its own weakness. The real power of the League is in its moral strength. Its experience in the Far East is demonstrating this. When the League has fully learned what it can and what it can-

not do, it ought to be willing to change its Covenant accordingly. If that change is made, the United States may find it possible and desirable to enter more intimately into the really beneficial labors of the League. Count Coudenhove Kalergi, friend of the pan-European movement, thinks the time soon at hand for the reorganization of the League of Nations in accord with the "Fourteen Points" advocated by President Wilson. We believe that the experiences in the Far East are making such a development possible. Wilson's "Fourteen Points" were the peace terms Germany accepted in 1918; whereas, those which she was required to sign in 1919 were one-sided interpretations of those "Points." Since Germany accepted in good faith the "Fourteen Points," it is reasonable to expect that she would be satisfied with them now. A revision of the Covenant of the League consonant with these "Points" would give France the opportunity to grant at last a limited revision of those clauses of the Versailles Treaty which do not square with them. This would open the way to a Franco-German agreement. Germany would then be given the status of equality with other nations, and one of the chief danger points of the world would disappear. We believe that the operations in the Far East tend to make such a development possible.

Finally, the behavior of Japan since last September has aroused the world and demonstrated again the supreme power of enlightened opinion over the destructive mechanisms of brute force. Japanese aggression is bringing about its own defeat, as the followers of Shinto are themselves beginning to acknowledge. If force is to be respected it must operate under the control of that higher power we call justice. Emerson wrote at the age of thirty to a friend that he strongly felt "the unmanlike character of war" and that he would "gladly study the outward signs of that progress" which had brought him to that feeling. If the

Concord seer were with us today he would find a universal condemnation of the "unmanlike character" of military coercion unrestrained by civilian control. That is a soothing fact of contemporary life. If Japan wants room for her surplus population, a place in the sun, equality among the nations, food and raw materials, and an end to racial discriminations, she will have to treat with her sister nations fairly and on the level. When Thomas Jefferson was about to become Secretary of State he wrote to LaFayette: "I think, with others, that nations are to be governed with regard to their own interests, but I am convinced that it is to their interests in the long run to be grateful, faithful to their engagements even in the worst of circumstances, and honorable and generous always." There are high-minded Japanese who will go on supporting just such principles to the end.

Recent Phases of the Peace Movement

MOST of the extremists of today are advocating what history has proved to be untenable. And yet, from letters recently received, we are impressed by what appears to be a rather general return to the skeptical opinions about the peace movement, the cynical views held in an earlier day. A former United States Senator, distinguished for his ability, writes that he is unable to endorse the aims of the American Peace Society to advance the processes of justice between nations, on the ground that these aims have never got anywhere in actual practice and in his judgment they "never will."

"Immediately after the Armistice," the Senator adds, "I somewhere encountered the statement that since the beginning of what we call civilization, something like fourteen hundred pacts, treaties or agreements between nations have been negotiated, all having as their outstanding purpose the aboli-

tion of war. The Treaty of Paris, which gave birth to our League of Nations, was designed to supplant hostilities by negotiation and to enforce decrees forbidding hostilities by the sanction of the signers of the League. Since then we have celebrated the ratification of the Kellogg Peace Pact. At the same time preparations for war by land and sea and air have been prosecuted with increasing diligence and expense, and even now Japan, unmindful of her agreements, is waging war against China and at the same time denying the fact. None of these things have surprised me. As long as human nature remains what it is, your efforts for peace, praiseworthy and elevating as they are, will come to nothing. Some years ago John Carter wrote a book entitled 'Man is War.' He was right."

In this "old stuff" we simply have an evidence that the efforts of man to forswear war as a means of settling international dispute are slipping once again, and that skepticism over the whole peace movement is once more claiming its inning. The Senator's views were the views held a century ago by everybody, save only a small group of idealists thought by most people of that time to be hopeless visionaries. The Senator will have to acknowledge that today peoples and governments everywhere subscribe in principle to the doctrines those "cranks" upheld, pleaded for, and in some instances died for. Skepticism only marks the decline of reason, just as it became an expression of the downfall of the most glorious period of Greek philosophy. As long as healthy persons exist the doors to something better for the race will be pushed open and men will go on entering in.

Two other atavistic expressions of modern thought on world peace are found on the one hand among the extreme advocates of physical force as the only protector of nations; and on the other, among those whom we have come to call the "extreme pacifists." Both of these wings of thought were rampant a century ago. Neither school is contributing one new important fact or hopeful principle.

The extreme disciple of brute force, however, presents to us his case ably, as always. He says, in his modern way:

"I believe that this generation—and every generation—of us Americans are not the outright owners of all that is comprised in our country; but, on the contrary, that we are merely its momentary trustees, inheritors of the proof of the labors of the past that have made us what we are and guardians thereof for the benefit of future generations, trustees under the solemn obligation so to conduct our present affairs as best to enable our heirs to carry on the fight for civilization. I believe that, with the nation as with the individual, it is the fight for the right rather than love of the ease of peace that should control. I believe that, in the world as it really is and as it probably will be for generations, force will be as essential to survival and growth of civilization as the 'peace officer,' the sheriff and the prison are to courts in their carrying out of the laws. I believe that the first duty of us Americans of today to our heirs is to make and keep our country and the means whereby we live obviously unassailable with any hope of success. I believe that an America thus impregnable can thus and only thus exercise maximum pressure for the promotion of civilization and"—note the phrase—"the progressive preservation of peace."

From one of these outstanding advocates of force we have recently received what he calls "two illustrations", as follows:

"Had our leaders seized the opportunity of our initial neutrality during the late European war so to arm the United States that our joining either belligerent group would have obviously brought about the defeat of the other, we could have been, at relatively insignificant expense, in the words of Col. E. M. House 'the arbiter of peace and probably without the loss of a single life.' . . . Academic aversion in high quarters to armaments prolonged the war and compelled our active participation."

A second illustration: Our open door doctrine at one time covered Korea.

"But as we failed to support it, Korea is now a Japanese province. . . . When

our Navy was potentially adequate in 1922 we were able to constrain the Japanese to evacuate the Chinese province of Shantung that they had seized during the European War. But since then we have failed to keep our Navy up to anything like treaty levels, with the result that the Japanese are now in process of repeating as to Manchuria, in effect, what they did to Korea. Persons not agreeing with these views are simply unrealistic pacifists."

A degree of familiarity with the efforts to advance the cause of peace throughout a century enables one to agree with perhaps most of the views here set forth. The "fight for right" is a lovelier expression of the human spirit than the mere love of ease. The major part of this "fight," however, must be carried on in the realm of ideas, if nations are to be led to achieve their interests without the necessity of war. A peace of strength is superior to a peace of weakness. We must all believe in a police force. Let the nations have their "adequate navies," if they can agree what that phrase means. America's desire to be "obviously unassailable with any hope of success" is not unnatural. Of course, what might have happened just prior to the world war, in Japan and elsewhere, had we had more fighting ships is a realm for conjecture only. The point here is that the sole reliance upon force as the only means of preserving peace is a very old doctrine, old as the Roman Empire; and as recent as its failure to maintain peace in a force surcharged Europe two decades ago. Our arch protagonist of force now assures us that what he advocates is "the progressive preservation of peace." That is new.

Another atavistic expression of current opinion is "pacifism"; by which is now usually meant the doctrine of nonresistance in all international relations. The pacifist bases his doctrine upon his own conscience. This, too, is an old doctrine. Until one begins to break it down into its concrete applications, it is an appealing doctrine. The pacifist

seems never to be aware of the fact, however, that his own conscience may be the voice of error. When he says that preparing for war has never preserved peace, he runs counter to certain phases of experience. When he says that war cannot bring about the desired end, he appears to ignore the fact that wars on occasion have brought about desired ends, as at Orleans, Waterloo, Yorktown. When he says that war is fought for causes not made clear to the people, he apparently forgets that it is the people themselves who often push their governments into war. When he says that victors do not gain enough to counterbalance their losses, he again forgets the achievements of Italy, Germany, and the British Commonwealth. When he says that the toleration of war produces spiritual degradation, he should be willing to grant that it has been known also to produce spiritual exaltation. To deny the righteousness of a defensive war contributes nothing now, any more than in the past, except to polemics. It is not accurate to say, as certain pacifists do, that "no war is inevitable when there are peaceful methods of settling every controversy"; for we have on our hands in the Far East just now an illustration to the contrary. When the pacifist contents himself with trying to impress the Government that it cannot count on a united country behind it even if it were attacked, on the ground that then Congress will thus be made to hesitate to enter a war, he is placing his activities on a plane too low to command respect.

There is no reason why the peace makers need accept these extreme views of absolute pacifism. If they find themselves unable clearly to distinguish between defensive and aggressive war, they may rest assured that there is such a distinction. Arguments over this distinction punctuate the publications and records of the American Peace Society from the beginning. The rational peace movement may well take unto itself the task

of showing that achievements in the permanent interest of a warless world must be found in a course somewhere between those extremes which a long experience has shown to be both barren and unworkable.

The Fact About Aristide Briand

THERE have been many arresting facts about Aristide Briand, who died in Paris, March 7. He was a member of twenty-three Cabinets, and eleven times Premier of France. Recognized as the leading orator of a nation of orators, he has long been the outstanding figure at the League of Nations. Strongly nationalistic, for a year and a half director of his country's prosecution of the war, he later labored incessantly with Stresseman in behalf of a *rapprochement* between his country and Germany. He made possible the Locarno agreements, for which in 1926 he received the Nobel Prize. On April 6, 1927, tenth anniversary of the entry of the United States into the World War, he openly advocated a treaty between the United States and France to renounce war as between themselves, a step that led to the Briand-Kellogg Pact. In May, 1930, he set forth his proposal for a United States of Europe. In May, 1931, he was defeated for the Presidency of France. Within the last weeks of his life he labored diligently to end the conflict in the Far East.

It was our privilege in 1926 to hear him in Geneva, Foreign Minister of his country, welcome Germany into the League of Nations, saying: "No more war! No more shall we resort to brutal and sanguinary methods of settling our disputes, even though differences between us still exist. Henceforth it will be for the judge to declare the law. Just as individual citizens take their difficulties to be settled by a magistrate, so shall we bring ours to be settled by pacific procedure. Away with rifles, machine guns, cannon! Clear the

way for conciliation, arbitration, peace. Countries do not go down in history as great solely through the heroism of their sons on the battlefield or the victories they gain there. It is a far greater tribute to their greatness if, faced with difficulties, they can stand firm, be patient, and appeal to the right to safeguard their interests."

The outstanding fact associated with Aristide Briand, however, is none of these things, unusual as they are. The impressive thing about him, the convincing, pertinent thing, is the greater regard which, because of him, people generally have come to feel for wise and honest efforts to promote the cause of peace between nations. This wide respect for the work of him is evidence of a popular demand that cannot always be ignored. What the world has come to believe, to hope for and to expect, largely because of his labors, is the supreme fact associated with the memory of this many times and in some ways matchless minister of France.

Results World Court Referendum

SINCE there is a chance that the World Court may soon be again before the Senate, we now announce the results, following the work of a year by the American Peace Society to get eight hundred of its members to vote "yes" or "no" on the question, "Should the United States of America join the existing Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague?" These results to date are as follows: Of the eight hundred members circularized, one hundred eighty-six, 23 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, have replied. Of these one hundred eighty-six, one hundred sixty-three, or 20 $\frac{3}{8}$ per cent of the total, voted "yes"; and twenty-one, or 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ per cent of the total, voted "no." It will be noted that of the whole number urged to vote, 76 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent have not been interested to reply at all.

This apparent lack of interest among this chosen group of the members of the American Peace Society, at a time when the Court seemed to be a major question before the American people, may indicate that Senator Watson was correct in charging recently that nobody wants the World Court. These figures, however, do not necessarily warrant such a conclusion. The apparent lack of interest may not be a lack of interest at all. It may be that those who have not voted are simply waiting for more information. It may be that all of them would be glad to see the United States a member of the Permanent Court of International Justice if only they were convinced that the Court has the same disinterested relation to the nations of the world that our own Supreme Court has to the States of our Union. It may be that they did not vote upon this question because they are in doubt upon this point, quite as there seems to be doubt among some of the experts.

The American Peace Society is in position to take the long view of the efforts to establish an international court. Fifty per cent of the job it set for itself one hundred four years ago was to educate the world to the necessity for such a court, the other fifty per cent being its interest in the promotion of international law. The Society is glad to point to the remarkable growth since that time of world opinion favorable to the judicial settlement of international disputes and to the establishment of Courts capable of advancing that beneficent process.

We are not afraid of what may happen in the United States Senate. There are enough members of that body interested to promote the cause of justice between nations to keep it on a safe and even keel. We must credit them with motives as honorable as ours. What they will do with the Protocols of course we do not know. It may decide to ratify them, with the Root interpretations; it may refuse to ratify the existing Protocols; or it may agree to rat-

ify them with new interpretations of its own. We are convinced that a large majority of the members of the United States Senate are firm believers in the judicial settlement of international disputes. The day cannot be far distant when the United States will take its place with its sister nations in a mutually acceptable Court of International Justice. In our view, there is less political partisanship over this question in the Senate than formerly. The Austro-German *Anschluss* advisory opinion reaffirms our belief that the advisory opinion jurisdiction of the Court might well be transferred to some other body, say, to the Permanent Court of Arbitration or to some court especially provided for the purpose. It may be that the Senate will yet be able to bring some such change to pass. The United States Senate is able to refer this whole matter to a special commission of experts charged with the duty to draft a convincing brief setting forth what the United States can and ought to do in the premises. Precisely what are the reasons why the United States should or should not join the existing Court? It ought to be possible to get this question answered, and to the satisfaction of the Senate and of the people of the United States. The only justifiable impatience on the part of our people will be due to further delay in getting at the reasons for our action or inaction in the matter. Willy nilly, we are all listening for the voice of the Senate. The members of that body know that the people of the United States will eventually insist that our country cooperate with other nations toward the development of justice in terms of the law and of the courts. Edmund Burke's standard of statesmanship was the disposition to preserve combined with the ability to improve. In the same fine spirit the Senate may well take the position of leading rather than of merely blocking the way, of holding fast to that which is good, but of opening the way for the inevitable advance.

German Universities View Armaments

AMID the pleas against what George Washington called "overgrown military establishments," none has impressed us more than a recent manifesto signed by a number of the leading scholars in Germany. Among these distinguished professors are Dr. Fritz Tillmann, of the University of Bonn; Dr. Wilhelm Schlink, of Darmstadt; Dr. Gustav Aubin, of the University of Halle-Wittenberg; Dr. Hans Heinrich Borchardt, and Dr. Oswald Bumke, of the University of Munich; Dr. Otto Franke, of the University of Berlin; Dr. Ludwig von Köhler, of Tübingen; Dr. Adolph Nägel, of the Dresden Technical High School; Dr. Alwin Schleicher, of Aachen, and Professors Friedrich Solder and Dr. Eduard Spranger, both of the University of Berlin. A translation of their statement reads as follows:

"The Disarmament Conference, so long planned and discussed, is to convene this year. Countless millions of care-worn men and women are anxiously awaiting the coming negotiations. In this solemn moment the German universities lift their voices as mandatories of the German academic world and as representatives of German science, as searchers for justice, equity and historical truth, and address the following declaration to the whole world:

"The task before the Disarmament Conference is to bring the military power of all countries into conformity with the equal rights of all nations to equal security.

"The one-sided disarmament of Germany and her former allies, as well as the one-sided limitation of their military sovereignty, violates this principle of equal rights and equal security. Germany's military and naval forces, limited to a total of 115,000 men and deprived of all modern arms, cannot safeguard her security against her neighbors' overwhelming superiority in armaments. Germany's disarmament is, however, only a preliminary step. All the signatories of the Versailles Treaty have solemnly agreed to follow Germany's lead and disarm. This agreement means that all nations in the world are obliged to accept the same methods of disarmament which hold good for

Germany and her former allies. The principle of equal rights for all nations requires that no country or countries should be forbidden to do what others are allowed to do; nor some countries be restricted as regards their military strength, while others are free to arm themselves. It is only in this spirit that real disarmament can be brought about and equal security for all nations be insured, which is the condition *sine qua non* for free and peaceable intercourse between all nations.

"We therefore solemnly exhort all nations and governments not to accept disarmament measures that bring no true disarmament, but only perpetuate the existing condition of unequal rights and unequal security. The draft Convention, adopted in spite of Germany's vote of dissent, by the Preliminary Commission on Disarmament, can never bring about real disarmament.

"Only if the Disarmament Conference aims at subordinating might to a right, to which all nations are equally entitled, will the result of its labors prove a blessing to the world. Whoever does not bear this principle in mind will have to answer to future generations for the failure of the great idea of disarmament and of the ideal of a peaceful and united Europe. The suppression of the sacred rights of nations is the greatest menace to world peace."

The Depression in France

FROM our French correspondent we learn that the year 1932 began sadly throughout France in an atmosphere of stress and distrust. At present the conditions are improving little, if any. The financial situation of the nations seems to have lost importance in the eyes of the French public, the nearer problem of getting work having wiped away all other questions for the working and even for the middle classes. Many big concerns have closed, and more are expecting to follow suit. The others have reduced their employees, and thousands of men are looking for jobs. The horror of admitting pauperism, inborn for the majority of French people, prevents the official lists of unemployed from showing the whole truth. Semistarvation is frequent.

The general morale is reaching a low ebb. In some firms, engineers have become foremen; foremen, skilled workmen; skilled workmen, navvies, the last of whom are without means of earning their bread. Shops are closing everywhere. The cost of living does not diminish except for the luxuries. The price of foodstuffs keeps up. Big flats are empty. Expensive cars are sold at a loss. Furs and jewelry are cheap. The tragedy is that the prices for meat, vegetables and milk, especially bread, are still very high.

In Lorraine the situation is grave, complicated by the large number of foreigners. The men are on half pay, because of half time. Here and there is a *caisse de compensation* for large families, and organizations are established for feeding once a day the school children, who bring their bread and receive soup, meat and vegetables.

These social efforts are very expensive; but because of the mounting taxes, private charity has to pay the bill. Working people are being urged to cultivate small parcels of land and to grow their own foodstuffs. Many laborers are responding to this appeal hopefully. Our correspondent is organizing distributions of seeds and offering prizes for the breeding of rabbits and goats. "The problem of getting shoes," we are told, "remains a nightmare!"

People in the towns are suffering most. Near the old gates of Paris, for example, every day long queues of men and women wait pathetically for the distribution of free soup. All this near the elections of the new parliament is thought to be extremely grave. As one of our correspondents puts it: "A nation half-starved is very unsafe and unstable, and, though our nation is reasonable, one cannot hopefully expect a perfect and continuous self-suppression."

It is impossible to get at the burden of indirect taxes in France, for these taxes are tied onto the purchases of butter, meat,

petrol, grains, and numberless other essential commodities. As an illustration of the effects of direct taxation, we have the fact that a family with an income of \$5,000, with four children in the family, pays in direct taxes \$1,340.

The average person in France has ceased to take much interest in anything outside his own life and the means of keeping it. And yet, we are told, there is an interesting sort of revival, especially among the young men of the upper and middle classes. They are more earnest and self-sacrificing. The boys turn to their work with a kind of new energy, which has the interesting result of raising the standards of the schools. France is forgetting the post-war prosperity, and is slipping back gradually into the old grooves of work, of thoughts and of self-denial. One correspondent puts it thus: "If the crisis does not affect too long the roots of life, it will have at least the good result of shaking us into sanity; that is, into the knowledge that life is a serious and often rather painful business. As a sample of this attitude I will tell you what my son (age 17) has been doing. He cut down part of his meals. He slept on the floor with the windows wide open. When I asked for an explanation, I got the following: 'It is the duty of every man to learn the sufferings of the people so as to be able to understand and to help. I must be as hungry, tired and cold as those who are stranded; otherwise how can I dare speak to them?' Thousands of young men are accepting the same creed. If they can raise their voices above the grumbling and be heard, the new generation will recover much of our French hereditary virtues. . . . Only how shall we feed them all?"

THE *American Community* of New York City, which lately undertook a survey of two type communities in order to discover how much interest in international affairs exists in America, uncovered an ap-

alling amount of ignorance and indifference on all such matters. The organization is now putting out, for fifty cents, a monograph written for local volunteer peace workers, setting forth the best ways of organizing a campaign of education on international affairs in a local community. It includes suggestions for work with some thirty-three groups, most of which are to be found in our cities and towns. We wish such an outline for social education might be very widely used. It is based on modern social science; it deals, not with controversial details, but with methods. Some such means, wisely followed, would surely advance thoughtfulness and intelligence.

TO THOSE who have urged us to back a nation-wide boycott of Japanese goods, or even to favor a governmental boycott including a blockade of Japan, we would reply that we find it difficult to foresee any benefits from spreading more irritation in a world already overburdened with that incommensurable commodity. If Japan has flown off the handle, the problem would seem to be to help her get back. The best way to help her do this is first to mind our own business, and then to rest calmly on the eternal principles of justice and of the judicial calm inseparable from justice. Just now the spirit of sputter and fight leaves us cold.

WHATEVER the achievements at the Geneva Conference for the reduction and limitation of armaments, the work there will be worth while. Adding Frank Simonds, "Bill" Hard, "Freddie" Wile and the official records, and dividing the result by four, one gets the clear impression that what is going on there is a post-graduate course in international relations. The delegates are learning a very great deal. When, in 1925, we pressed Mr. Elihu Root to deliver an address in Washington before the

Interparliamentary Union, he accepted with the understanding that we were to furnish him with certain documents, one being the Geneva Protocol of 1924. When we reminded the Senator that the Geneva Protocol was dead, he said: "Yes, the Geneva Protocol is dead; but whenever men get together and do a piece of work like that, even though they fail, the world never thinks the same again."

THE emotional appeal inherent at the heart of the peace movement has just been illustrated again by the passage in the House of Representatives of the bill providing for the establishment of the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park. This bill, sponsored by Representative Leavitt of Montana, is an expression of the desire by the people of Canada and the United States to commemorate the long existing peace between the two countries, a peace cemented by the Rush-Bagot Treaty of 1817. By the provisions of the bill the Glacier National Park in the State of Montana and the Waterton Lakes National Park in the Province of Alberta will become a part of one international park to be known as the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park. It is not without interest that the members of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States should instinctively approve this most fitting marriage of peace and beauty.

GOVERNOR FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT delivered an address on February 2 in which he had something arresting to say about his change of views on the League of Nations. He now flatly opposes participation by the United States in the political controversies of Europe or elsewhere. Mr. Roosevelt, back in 1920, worked in behalf of American participation in the League. In this address, however, the speaker pointed out that the

League of Nations today "is not the League conceived by Woodrow Wilson." Throughout its history the League has become primarily a meeting place for the political discussion of strictly European political difficulties," he said. "In these the United States should have no part," added the Governor. He said further: "American participation in the League would not serve the highest purpose of the prevention of war and the settlement of international difficulties in accordance with fundamental American ideals. Because of these facts, therefore, I do not favor American participation. What the world needs most today is a national policy which will make us an example of national honor to other nations."

OUR Government's attitude toward Nicaragua was set forth on January 11 by Rear Admiral Clark Howell Woodward,

President Hoover's personal representative in Nicaragua to supervise the Presidential elections soon to be held. The Admiral is in Nicaragua upon the request of President Moncada and with the support of the political parties. The Admiral said: "As my Government has already announced: 'the sole interest of the United States as regards these elections is that by means of fair and open elections, at which everybody who is entitled to vote has an opportunity of doing so, the preference of the Nicaraguan people may clearly be expressed. The United States Government, of course, will not support, nor will it oppose, the candidacy of any person for nomination or for the election to the Presidency.'" The Admiral, who is now in this country, will return to Nicaragua early in June to remain until after the elections.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

Reparation Negotiations

FOLLOWING the return from Washington last October of the former French Premier, M. Pierre Laval, negotiations were inaugurated between the French and the German governments regarding the next step to be taken with respect to the reparation payments. The joint statement issued by President Hoover and Premier Laval on October 25, 1931, announced their agreement as to the probable need of extending the debt moratorium beyond the Hoover year, and added that "the initiative in this matter should be taken at an early date by the European powers principally concerned, within the framework of the agreements existing prior to July 1, 1931." Translated into plain language, this meant that the French were determined—and to this our

government agreed—that the procedure followed in bringing about the current debt holiday should not be repeated; that if Germany wanted further relief, she was to apply for it by invoking the machinery provided for the purpose in the Young Plan and the agreements based on it. Hence the Franco-German negotiations.

Provisions of the Young Plan

The relief machinery which was to be invoked by Germany is described in Articles 119-132 of the Young Plan, implemented by Article X of the Trust Agreement between the reparation creditor powers and the Bank for International Settlements. In accordance with these provisions, the B. I. S. is under an obligation to convene a Special Advisory Committee whenever the German Government exercises its option of postpon-

ing the transfer of any part of the postponable annuity or "at any other time when the German Government declares to the creditor governments and to the Bank for International Settlements that it has come to the conclusion in good faith that Germany's exchange and economic life may be seriously endangered by the transfer in part or in full of the postponable portion of the annuities."

It is provided that the committee "shall consist of seven ordinary and four co-opted members." Each of the ordinary members represents one of the seven countries whose experts had drawn up the Young Plan; that is, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Japan, and the United States; and is nominated by the governor of the central bank in his country, except that the American member may be nominated by "a Federal Reserve Bank of the United States or some other agreed American financial institution." These seven members must not be connected either with the central banks or any government departments of their respective countries. After constituting themselves into a committee, the seven ordinary members "may, if they so desire, co-opt not more than four additional members," who, "during the course of the proceedings and until the report is made, shall be equal in all other respects to the ordinary members."

The duty of the committee under the plan consists in considering the circumstances and conditions which had led up to its convocation and in making "a full investigation of Germany's position in regard to her obligations under the (Young) plan." It is then expected to submit a report to the governments and the Bank stating whether or not its members are satisfied that "the German authorities have used every effort in their power to fulfill their obligations," and if they are satisfied that such is the case, "what in their opinion are the measures that should be taken in regard to the application of the (Young) plan." Beyond this the committee has no power, since it is to act "in a purely consultative capacity" and "its findings shall have no effective force unless confirmed and accepted by the Bank as trustee of the creditors and if necessary by the governments concerned."

Article 125 states categorically that "the committee shall play no part in connection with the unconditional annuity accepted by

Germany." The scope of the committee's activity is thus limited by the plan to a consideration of Germany's ability to discharge the obligations resulting from the payment of the conditional portion of the annuities.

Private Debts and Reparation Payments

The Franco-German negotiations centered around the question of whether the Advisory Committee, for the convocation of which the Germans were perfectly willing to ask in the prescribed manner, should be limited in its terms of reference to the provisions described above, or should also be instructed to consider the problem of the German short-term private debts. For the time being, this problem of the private debts stood adjourned as a result of the so-called "stand-still" agreement, negotiated in September between the German debtors and the foreign creditors, in accordance with which the latter agreed not to demand repayment for a period of six months, ending February 29, 1932. But in view of the fact that at the expiration of the six months the problem might become pressing, the Germans insisted that the two sets of obligations should be discussed together, while the French took the position that they were separate and distinct and should be so treated.

The German request for the convocation of the Advisory Committee, made on November 19, was rather vague as to the measure of agreement reached on this point. The mode of procedure laid down in the Young Plan was followed out, but since at that time no current payments were being made by Germany on account of the postponable annuity, the request had to be formally based on the second of the two conditions outlined above, namely, on the fact that the German Government had come to the conclusion that the transfer of conditional payments was endangering the country's financial position. However, in view of what had already happened, it was perfectly clear that the language of such a declaration was scarcely adequate, and the German note to the Bank and to the governments concerned contained the following important statement, immediately following the declaration required by the provisions of the Young plan:

In making this declaration the German Government feels bound to state that a declaration in

these terms does not in effect do justice to the actual position. Since the new plan was conceived, the economic and financial situation in the world, particularly in Germany, has been fundamentally altered by an unparalleled crisis. As the new plan confers upon the Special Advisory Committee the task of considering the position from all points of view, the committee must examine the problem as a whole, and with regard to all its contributory causes, and, in doing so, must particularly consider the fact that the question of Germany's private indebtedness has to be settled in due time, before the end of February next, by an agreement to be concluded between the foreign creditors and the German debtors.

As a matter of fact, arrangements were made for a parallel discussion of the two problems. The Advisory Committee, convoked by the Bank for International Settlements, met at Basle on December 7, and three days later a committee of German debtors and their foreign creditors met in Berlin.

French Declaration of Policy

On the eve of the meeting of the Basle committee, the French Government communicated an official statement of its reparation policy to all the governments interested. This French statement may be summarized as follows:

The French Government accepts the request made by Germany for an inquiry by the Advisory Committee under the Young Plan as the straightforward step of a debtor desirous to comply with his obligations. In respect of the inquiry at present proceeding the French Government preserves a free hand, because the terms of the German application for it, although known in Paris, were not submitted for its final approbation.

The world crisis is, of course, largely responsible for the state of German finances. But equally the source of the default is to be found in systematic overspending and overborrowing in Berlin. The French Government recognizes the need of measures to be taken to come to Germany's assistance in her temporary need, and in this respect it will be guided by the terms of the *communiqué* issued in Washington after the conversations of M. Laval with President Hoover. For at that time the need for an extension of the one-year moratorium was

considered. But, while ready to make far-reaching concessions for the relief of the situation in Germany, the French Government insists that the principle itself of reparation payments must be upheld, and this for two reasons: (1) because there is absolutely no proof that Germany will remain bankrupt for ever; and (2) because it is imperative to maintain respect for the sanctity of international agreements.

The present financial crisis in Germany, the statement continues, is not favorable to an inquiry of a final nature on Germany's capacity to pay. Necessarily, the inquiry must concern itself with a transitional state of affairs, for the solution of which only temporary measures can be recommended. When an international conference on reparations meets later the whole problem of Germany's capacity to pay will be taken up again. But, in any case, the scope of the inquiry by the Advisory Committee must include the all-important question of German capital invested abroad, and the measures needed for bringing it back.

In regard to the question of short-term credits, the French Government refuses to see the practical value of the demand for priority. The issue really does not arise, because the two problems of reparations and private debts are but the elements of the fundamental problem of the capacity to pay, and of respect for contractual obligations.

In conclusion, the French Government takes the view that an alteration in the principle laid down in the Young Plan for reparation payments is possible only simultaneously with a reduction of intergovernmental debts. The benefit from such a reduction would have to be passed on to Germany.

Composition and Work of the Basle Committee

With the German point of view expressed in the note asking for the convocation of the Advisory Committee and with the French official position announced in the statement summarized above, the Basle committee met at the Bank for International Settlements. The committee consisted of Mr. Walter Stewart, of the Chase Pomeroy Bank, U. S. A.; Sir Walter Layton, representing Great Britain, nominated by the

Bank of England; M. Charles Rist, nominated by the Bank of France; Herr Carl Melchior, of Messrs. Warburg and Company, nominated by the Reichsbank; Signor Alberto Beneduce, president of the Consorzio Di Credito, Rome, nominated by the Bank of Italy; M. Emile Franqui, vice-governor of the Société Générale Belgique, nominated by the National Bank of Belgium; and Mr. Nohara, of the Yokohama Specie Bank, nominated by Japan.

It had been intended at first to elect Mr. Stewart as chairman by general consent, and so continue in the long tradition of appointing an American to preside over committees inquiring into reparation problems. On this occasion, however, the tradition was destined to be broken. After some discussion the chairmanship was formally offered to Mr. Stewart, who declined it, and a second election took place. Since neither the French, Belgian, nor German delegate could very well hold the scales in so delicate a matter, in which each was so materially interested, and since there was no question of electing the Japanese delegate, the choice finally lay between Sir Walter Layton and Signor Beneduce. The election of the latter was unanimous.

It had been decided in advance to co-opt four additional delegates as provided in the Young Plan, and the committee had only to deal with the question of personalities. Their choice fell upon Dr. R. G. Bindschedler, vice-president of the Crédit Suisse, Zurich, and M. Oscar Rydbeck, manager of the Scandinavisk Kredit Aktiebolaget, Stockholm, who had served on the committee which adopted the Layton-Wiggin Report, and M. Colijn, nominated by the Netherlands Bank, a former Minister of Holland, and well known as a leading economic expert at the League of Nations. It had previously been decided that Yugoslavia, as one of the countries most closely affected by the Hoover moratorium, should provide the other delegate, and for this purpose M. Juritch, a former Minister of Finance, was selected. Signor Dilotti was appointed secretary-general to the committee.

The committee was in session until December 23, and some of its meetings were quite stormy. By that date, however, it finally agreed upon a unanimous report, which was duly signed and communicated to the Bank for International Settlements and

the governments concerned with the reparation problem.

Basle Report on Conditions in Germany

The Basle report opens with an analysis of the present situation in Germany and the devastating effects of the present crisis. Sweeping withdrawals of foreign credits have played havoc with the financial situation of Germany and led to a series of legislative enactments, which culminated in the emergency decree of December 8, measures without parallel in modern legislation.

Germany was peculiarly susceptible to the credit crisis because of the large amount of her short-term debts. A census taken by the German Government showed that 12,000,000,000 Reichsmarks were owing at the end of July. Before that date sums estimated at 2,900,000,000 Reichsmarks had been withdrawn, and then 1,200,000,000 have been withdrawn under the "standstill" agreement. Against this exports have recently been heavy, but exceedingly long credit has been given in many cases, and the surplus of exports has been due in part to certain special causes, including the pressure of manufacturers to sell stocks and some exceptional sales to Great Britain in anticipation of tariffs. It is doubtful whether this surplus of exports can continue at its recent level in view of general adverse factors, including higher tariffs, exchange restrictions in other countries, and sterling competition.

A rough balance of payments shows that Germany had to meet during the whole of 1931 withdrawals of capital amounting to about 4,900,000,000 Reichsmarks. After using the other resources available to her, this has caused a drain of gold and foreign exchange from the Reichsbank of 1,700,000,000m. As a result, the Reichsbank has had to take a series of measures of increasing stringency in order to limit the other calls for foreign exchange which might be made upon it. Nevertheless, it has continued to lose reserves, and at the same time it has been forced to extend its own credit to make up for the sweeping losses of deposits by the banks and savings banks.

Germany's industrial production fell between 1928 and 1931 by one-third, which, the summary says, has resulted in an increase of unemployment to a level of 5,000,-

000 wholly unemployed out of 21,000,000 employed persons. Interest rates have been high ever since the inflation. During 1930 advances to manufacturers of first-class standing seldom cost less than 8 per cent. The figure now is about 12 per cent. The decline in industrial activity, with its effect on profits, wages, and the level of unemployment, has seriously reduced the yield of taxation. Besides new taxation sweeping economies have been made in the budget, especially in the salaries of civil servants, in unemployment benefit, and in poor relief. It is, however, an advantage to the German budget that the debt charge contained therein is comparatively low.

The committee expresses the opinion that the burden of taxation in Germany has become so high that there is no margin for further increase. The decline in German business activity has affected the position of the railway system, but the committee is of the opinion that, once conditions return to normal, the German Railway Company will be able in future years, if operated on a commercial basis, to yield a net operating surplus.

Germany and the World Crisis

Chapter 2 of the report begins with a description of the world crisis, of which the outstanding feature is the fall in prices. All forms of economic activity have been affected. Reduced purchasing power has involved the disappearance of profits, unemployment, and an uninterrupted slump in Stock Exchange securities. The stability of the banks has been imperilled, and the withdrawal of foreign capital from borrowing countries, particularly in Central Europe, has threatened the stability of currencies, which has resulted in a control of the exchange markets and in certain cases the suspension of foreign payments. The spreading of the crisis to lending countries has involved the abandonment of the gold standard by some of them, which has given rise to a tendency to hoard. The latest phase is the imposing of tariff and other restrictions, which has still further reduced international trade.

Commenting on this situation in relation to reparations, the committee recalls the dilemma referred to by the Banking Com-

mittee in August last, and points out the confusion that might arise between a system involving large annual payments by debtor to creditor countries and at the same time putting obstacles in the way of the free movement of goods. So long as further capital was being lent to debtors the dilemma did not arise, but in 1929, when these capital movements ceased, it became evident that in the long run these annual payments must be made in the form of goods. But the world cannot quickly adjust itself to important changes in the course of credit and trade, and attempts to maintain the international balance of payments by large movements of gold weakened the monetary foundations of many countries.

Germany's demand for capital to fill the gap left by the War and its aftermath was met to a substantial extent by an influx of capital estimated by the Bankers Committee at 18,000,000,000 Reichsmarks. Though 10,000,000,000 was an offset to reparations, the balance of 8,000,000,000 marks, together with Germany's own savings, led to a large development of public and private enterprise in the years 1925-30. During a period of five years no less than 32,800,000,000 Reichsmarks of new capital were invested, of which 22,400,000,000 represented investments by public authorities. But the fact that so large a proportion of the capital in Germany—much of it repayable at short term—was owned by foreigners made her peculiarly vulnerable to financial disturbance. The withdrawal of such credits involves a threat not merely to the foreign exchange but to the liquidity of the banks themselves.

The expenditure of the Reich, States, and Communes during this period increased in a similar proportion to this capital investment. Although the revenue rose rapidly from 14,700,000,000 to 18,000,000,000, the expenditure rose equally rapidly from 17,200,000,000 to 20,800,000,000, and this excess of expenditure brought an increase of debt, which grew in a disquieting fashion. Though inflation had reduced the public debt by 1924 to a very small amount, by 1931 it had grown to 24,000,000,000, of which one-third was for public undertakings. When the crisis came the fact that expenditure was on so high a scale meant that the deficit was correspondingly large.

Basle Report on Prospects for German Recovery

The committee terminates this chapter by observing that every previous crisis has in the end been followed by a period of stability and prosperity, and that it would be unjustifiable to judge its prospects for the future on the basis of an exceptional period of depression. At the present time the budgets of all countries and of most railways show deficits. To assume that equilibrium will not be regained after the present crisis would be a counsel of despair. This is as true of Germany as of other countries. In past years she has built up an immense and powerful economic equipment. The restriction of markets and the fall of prices have prevented her from utilizing this equipment to the full. The activity of her factories is now necessarily reduced. But, although it is not possible to fix a date, it is none the less certain that it will ultimately be restored with the assistance of the measures suggested in the conclusions of the committee's report. The committee has no doubt that, as regards the railway and the budget receipts, they are no less elastic than elsewhere.

The report summarizes the German emergency decrees of the last two years. Income-tax has been raised twice, beer and tobacco taxes have been increased, and the turnover tax has been raised from 0.25 to 2 per cent. Official salaries are reduced by 20 per cent. Similar cuts apply to local authorities, who have also imposed a poll tax and new local taxes on beer and other beverages. Unemployment insurance contributions are raised to 6½ per cent, prices and rates are to be cut by 10 per cent, and wages reduced to about the 1927 level. Interest on long-term bonds is reduced by about 25 per cent. Control of the banks has been set up and new regulations made for the savings banks. Stringent foreign exchange control operates, and drastic provisions have been taken against the flight of capital. The question how far the measures described above will be successful cannot be answered at the present moment. But the committee considers that the steps taken to defend and to maintain the stability of the currency and the budget show, in its opinion, a resolute desire on the part of the German Government to meet the situation.

Conclusions Reached by the Basle Committee

In the final chapter the committee draws the conclusion from its survey of the facts that Germany would be justified in declaring, as she is entitled to do under the Young Plan, that, in spite of the steps she has taken to maintain the stability of her currency, she will not be able in the year beginning in July next to transfer the conditional part of the annuity. The committee, however, goes on to say that it would not consider it had fully accomplished its task if it did not draw the attention of the Governments to the unprecedented gravity of the crisis, the magnitude of which undoubtedly exceeds the "relatively short depression" envisaged in the Young Plan, to meet which "the measures of safeguard" contained therein were designed. The Young Plan, with its rising series of annuities, contemplated a steady expansion of world trade, not merely in volume but in value, in which the annuities payable by Germany would become a factor of diminishing importance. In fact, the opposite has been the case. Since the Young Plan came into effect, not only has the trade of the world shrunk in volume, but the very exceptional fall in gold prices that has occurred in the last two years has itself added to the real burden not only of the German annuities but of all payments fixed in gold.

In the circumstances the German problem—which is largely responsible for the growing financial paralysis of the world—calls for concerted action, which Governments alone can take. But the problem has assumed a world-wide range. There is no previous parallel in time of peace to the dislocation that is taking place, and may well involve a profound change in the economic relations of nations to one another. Action is most urgently needed in a much wider field than that of Germany alone. The economic interdependence of the various countries of the world today needs no further proof; recent years have most strikingly illustrated it. Since July last, for example, it has been evident that if the crisis by which Germany has been overwhelmed were not remedied it would spread to the rest of Europe, destroy the credit system so painstakingly built up, and create profound repercussions in other parts of the world.

Committee's Suggestions to the Governments

In examining the whole situation the Committee suggests that all Governments should particularly take note of the following considerations:

(1) That transfers from one country to another on a scale so large as to upset the balance of payments can only accentuate the present crisis.

(2) The release of a debtor country from a burden of payments which it is unable to bear may merely have the effect of transferring that burden to a creditor country, which, in its character as a debtor, in its turn may be unable to bear.

(3) The adjusting of all reparations and War debts to the troubled circumstances of the world—and this adjustment should take place without delay if new disasters are to be avoided—is the only lasting step capable of re-establishing confidence. It is the very condition of economic stability.

Finally, though the German Government is energetically defending the stability of its currency, steps are necessary to secure that these measures shall have a permanent effect. The destruction of the work which European governments have undertaken in recent years in order to re-establish stability of currencies would mean an extremely disquieting setback heavy with consequences. The report ends with an appeal to the governments to permit no delay in dealing with this great crisis, which weighs so heavily on all alike.

The Forthcoming Lausanne Conference

The committee's report was, by its very nature, merely a series of recommendations to the governments concerned. Before any of its proposals could be put into effect, they required official ratification by the governments. Accordingly, immediately after the Basle report was signed, negotiations were begun for the convocation of a conference of government representatives to deal with the questions raised in the report.

It was decided that the conference should meet on January 18 in the Swiss city of Lausanne. The French Government, however, while giving its tentative

approval to this plan, which was urged particularly by the Government of Great Britain, was in favor of a later date for the meeting. It took the position that many of the controversial points could more easily be settled by means of unofficial discussion and negotiation. At its insistence, the conference was postponed for a week and was scheduled to meet on January 25. But this postponement proved to be insufficient to satisfy the French, and just before that date, official announcement was made that the conference would be indefinitely postponed.

After more negotiation, this time between the British and the French governments, an announcement was made from London early in February to the effect that the Lausanne conference would assemble in June.

New Agreement on Private Debts

In the meantime, the committee of bankers discussing in Berlin the question of short-term private debts continued its sessions and did not conclude its work until January 23, when a new agreement was signed. The essence of this new agreement is the prolongation for one year of the "standstill" arrangement made in September, 1931, with certain important modifications. Some opportunities will be given to short-term creditors to make exchanges into longer term investments. In the case of reimbursement credits every foreign bank will have the right to demand a 10 per cent reduction of its short-term claims on March 1, but the maximum amount of credit upon which this is to be calculated is the level of October 8, 1931, and repayment will only take the form of the extinction of unused credit lines. Foreign banks whose credits are now used to the extent of 90 per cent will have preference when further repayment quotas are agreed upon.

When and to what extent such additional quotas are to be released is left open. A committee of representatives of the creditor banks is to be set up, to meet once every three or four months and discuss with the Reichsbank and the debtor representatives the possibilities of further repayments in the light of the foreign exchange situation. The Reichsbank will undertake to do its best to provide foreign exchange, but, if it is of opinion that this is impossible with-

out courting danger, it will notify the creditors, who will be at liberty to cancel the agreement.

There are two schemes under which cash creditors will have the option of changing some of their credits. Under one of these they will have the opportunity of taking up 10-year certificates which will have a 15 per cent security, with the Reichsbank as trustee. A 15 per cent trust fund of 200,000,000 marks will be established by the deposit by the German banks with the Reichsbank of securities to the amount of 15 per cent of the cash credits they owe. The securities may be of various descriptions, including customers' bills, shares, mortgages, and so on.

The second scheme of Swiss origin, of which more advantage is likely to be taken, provides for the release of cash credits in reichsmarks for reinvestment in Germany. For this purpose the cash credits are divided into two categories, those granted to German banks and those granted directly to German trade and industry. Subject to short terms of notice creditor banks will be entitled to demand of German debtor banks the release in reichsmarks of 25 per cent of the short-term cash credits half-yearly. The amounts thus released must be reinvested in Germany. The foreign banks, which will be free to choose the form of their investment—mortgages, stocks, bonds, land, and so on—will have to undertake to keep the money invested in Germany for a period of five years, though changes in investments may be made under certain conditions. The same terms will apply to credits granted by foreign banks directly to commercial or industrial undertakings, except that the release of only 15 per cent for reinvestment can be demanded half-yearly.

The essential loopholes, in view of the confusion prevailing at present in regard to international reparation and debt settlements, are quite plainly defined. The creditor banks will have the right to cancel the prolongation agreement if Germany declares a moratorium, if the re-discount credits granted to the Reichsbank by the foreign central banks are not renewed, or if international changes of an economic or financial character should create a situation in which the efficacy of the "stand-still" agreement is seriously endangered.

War in the Far East

DURING the last three months the conflict between Japan and China, serious enough in its first stage last autumn, has developed into a problem of world-wide importance. This last period has witnessed the completion of the Japanese occupation of Manchuria, culminating in the establishment there of an independent state under as yet informal, but nevertheless very real, Japanese protectorate; the emergence of an armed conflict between China and Japan in the great Chinese port of Shanghai; and the development of this latter conflict into regular warfare.

Japan Completes Occupation of Manchuria

For four months, following the first clash between China and Japan at Mukden on September 18, 1931, the armed forces of Japan continued unrelentingly the work of establishing their power in the three provinces of China which constitute southern Manchuria. From the zone contiguous to the South Manchurian Railway, where they have a right to maintain armed forces by virtue of treaty arrangements, the Japanese sallied in all directions with the avowed purpose of establishing law and order and securing protection for Japanese nationals and their property, threatened, according to official Japanese pronouncements, by Chinese bandits. This campaign of bandit eradication carried the sphere of Japanese occupation clear to the Great Chinese Wall which separates Manchuria from China proper.

An important episode in this campaign was the occupation by the Japanese troops of the important Manchurian city of Chinchow, the last Chinese center in southern Manchuria to fall under Japanese domination. It was at Chinchow that Marshal Chang Hsueh-Liang, the Chinese war lord of Manchuria, established his civil and military headquarters after being driven from his capital, Mukden. It was from Chinchow, according to the Japanese, that the Chinese bandits operating in Manchuria received their munitions and equipment. Since a complete elimination of Marshal Chang Hsueh-Liang from Manchurian affairs was one of the principal Japanese objectives, the Japanese command in Manchuria made

a number of demands for his withdrawal within the Great Wall. Finally, Japanese troops were moved into the vicinity of Chinchow, and the city was evacuated by the Chinese army.

After destroying the government of the Marshal, the Japanese authorities proceeded to the organization of new administrative units. In each of the three Manchurian provinces a new provisional government was established, with headquarters respectively at Mukden, Kirin, and Heilungkiang. The personnel of these new provincial governments was made up of Chinese, who were friendly to the Japanese. Soon after the provincial governments began functioning, Manchuria was declared an independent state, and a convention was called to draw up the constitution. Pending future developments, a Japanese army of occupation remains stationed in Manchuria.

Appointment of League Commission of Inquiry

The Japanese occupation of Manchuria was carried out in the face of strong protests made against it by the Council of the League of Nations and by the Government of the United States. The Council, which, on the demand of the Chinese Government, took up the question almost immediately after it arose, requested Japan to withdraw her troops back into the railway zone and to enter into negotiations with China for the adjustment of the difficulties, outstanding between the two countries. Japan was willing to enter into negotiations, but made the withdrawal of her troops conditional upon China's previous acceptance of a number of demands. This China refused to do. After prolonged discussion, it was finally decided that the League Council would appoint and dispatch to Manchuria a Commission of Inquiry. This decision was embodied in the League resolution of December 9, which read as follows:

The Council:

(1) Reaffirms the resolution passed unanimously by it on September 30, 1931, by which the two parties declare that they are solemnly bound. It therefore calls upon the Chinese and Japanese Governments to take all steps necessary to assure its execution so that the withdrawal of the Japanese troops within the railway zone may be effected as speedily as possible under the conditions set forth in the said resolution;

(2) Considering that events have assumed an even more serious aspect since the Council meeting of October 24, notes that the two parties undertake to adopt all measures necessary to avoid any further aggravation of the situation and to refrain from any initiative which may lead to further fighting and loss of life;

(3) Invites the two parties to continue to keep the Council informed as to the development of the situation;

(4) Invites the other members of the Council to furnish the Council with any information received from their representatives on the spot;

(5) Without prejudice to the carrying out of the above-mentioned measures, desiring, in view of the special circumstances of the case, to contribute towards a final and fundamental solution by the two Governments of the questions at issue between them, decides to appoint a Commission of five members to study on the spot and to report to the Council on any circumstances which, affecting international relations, threatens to disturb the peace between China and Japan, or the good understanding between them upon which peace depends.

The Governments of China and of Japan will each have the right to nominate one assessor to assist the Commission. The two Governments will afford the Commission all facilities to obtain on the spot whatever information it may require. It is understood that should the two parties initiate any negotiations these would not fall within the scope of the terms of reference of the Commission, nor would it be within the competence of the Commission to interfere with the military arrangements of either party. The appointment and deliberations of the Commission shall not prejudice in any way the undertaking given by the Japanese Government in the resolution of September 30 as regards the withdrawal of the Japanese troops within the railway zone.

(6) Between now and its ordinary session, which will be held on January 25, 1932, the Council will continue to have the matter in hand, and invites its President to follow the question and to summon it afresh if necessary.

The Commission, as finally appointed, was made up as follows: Lord Lytton (Great Britain), General Claudel (France), Major-General Frank McCoy (United States), Dr. Schnee (Germany), and Count Aldrovandi-Marescotti (Italy). As soon as technical preparation were completed, the members of the Commission proceeded to their task in the Far East.

United States Note to Japan

The basis of the protest made by the Government of the United States was the position taken by Secretary Stimson that the events which had unfolded themselves in Manchuria were in violation of the Kellogg-Briand Pact and of the Nine-Power Treaty, signed at the Washington Conference of 1922. The first of these instruments outlawed war as an instrument of national policy and bound its signatories to apply nothing but pacific means to the settlement of international disputes. The second represented a solemn obligation on the part of the signatory powers, including Japan, to abstain from violating the territorial and administrative integrity of China.

The diplomatic correspondence between Washington and Tokyo culminated in the dispatching by Secretary Stimson to the governments of Japan and China of a formal note which appears elsewhere in these columns as an International Document.

Copies of the note were sent also to the other signatories of the Nine-Power Treaty, namely, Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, The Netherlands, and Portugal.

Japanese Reply

The Japanese reply to the Stimson Note began with the following, truly remarkable statement:

The Government of Japan was well aware that the Government of the United States could always be relied on to do everything in their power to support Japan's efforts to secure the full and complete fulfillment in every detail of the treaties of Washington and the Kellogg Treaty for the outlawry of war. They are glad to receive this additional assurance of the fact.

The Japanese Government then proceeded to argue with great adroitness that the treaties mentioned in the American Note could scarcely be any longer applicable to China, because of the domestic situation prevailing there.

The note ended with another remarkable statement, as follows:

At the present juncture, when the very existence of our national policy is involved, it is agreeable to be assured that the American Government are devoting in a friendly spirit such sedulous care to the correct appreciation of the situation.

Japanese Ultimatum at Shanghai

With the occupation of Manchuria completed and with the League Commission of Inquiry starting for the Far East, a new situation suddenly developed which overshadowed what had gone on before. This was the Shanghai affair.

One of the results of the Manchurian developments was an intensification of an anti-Japanese trade boycott everywhere in China. Such a boycott had been carried on intermittently for some time, but after the events in Manchuria it assumed threatening proportions so far as Japan was concerned. One of the great centers of the boycott movement was the great Chinese port of Shanghai, which as a treaty port, contains a large International Settlement, in which there are normally stationed small military and naval forces of a number of countries, including Japan.

When, in addition to the boycott, a number of incidents took place in which Japanese subjects and their property were attacked, the Japanese naval commander at Shanghai demanded from the municipal authorities that these actions cease. After some negotiation, an ultimatum was issued by the Japanese command that unless the demands were met, Japanese forces would be landed in Shanghai outside the settlement. The ultimatum was to expire on January 28. The events of that day are described as follows by a correspondent of the *London Times*:

At 7.30 a. m.:—The Japanese naval commander informally gave the foreign authorities responsible for the defense of the International Settlement 24 hours' notice of his intention to take action against the Chinese.

At 12 o'clock, noon:—The Municipal Council of the Settlement met and declared a state of emergency as from 4 p. m.

At 1 p. m.:—The Chinese mayor of Greater Shanghai intimated compliance with the Japanese demands, which the Japanese Consul-General later declared to be satisfactory for the time being. Meanwhile, the declaration of a state of emergency, preceded, as it had been, by a warning to foreigners to come into the Settlement, came into effect before the arranged hour, a huge stream of refugees from Chinese territory giving the Settlement authorities a complex traffic problem, which was handled well.

About 9.30 p. m. I was personally informed by a high authority by telephone that the Japanese Consul-General had just stated that the Chinese acceptance of the Japanese terms was satisfactory. Strong apprehension was, however, displayed by those in touch with Japanese naval officers and especially with an extreme Japanese propagandist organization. This apprehension was justified by a telephone message received by an important Settlement authority from an unimpeachable Japanese source that Admiral Shiosawa was about to land troops and to occupy Chapei. Nothing was said about taking posts or defending the Japanese sector of the Settlement.

Soon after 10 p. m., following Japanese denunciation of Chinese good faith in observing the terms of the arrangement, came the formal announcement that the admiral intended to land forces to protect Japanese nationals.

Soon after that, Japanese marines, already landed in the Japanese portion of the International Settlement, marched into Chapei, the native city of Shanghai, and proceeded to disarm the local police and take charge generally.

However, the Japanese forces encountered stubborn resistance. The environs of Shanghai were defended by the Cantonese 19th Route Army, one of the best of the Chinese fighting units, and the commander of this army decided not to withdraw. The Chinese resistance caused the Japanese to bombard the native city of Shanghai by shelling it from the fleet and subjecting it to air attacks. This show of force, however, proved to be unavailing, and the Japanese Government found itself compelled to send naval reinforcements and a large army force to Shanghai in order to carry out the task undertaken by Admiral Shiosawa, the naval commander responsible for the original attack.

League of Nations Inquiry at Shanghai

After the first outbreak of hostilities, a truce was arranged which lasted several days. It was, however, soon broken and fighting was resumed and spread over a fairly wide area. In addition to attempting to clear the city of Shanghai of Chinese troops, the Japanese naval and military forces also made an attempt to reduce the Chinese forts of Woosung which command the approaches to the city from the sea. In both of these attempts the Japanese forces

were unsuccessful, and fresh reinforcements on an ever-increasing scale were poured into Shanghai.

In the meantime the League of Nations Council was drawn into the Shanghai affair as a result of new demands for action by it made by the Chinese representative. Under the authority of Article XV of the League Covenant, which had been invoked by the Chinese, the Council appointed a special Commission of Inquiry, consisting of the members of the consular body at Shanghai, to report on the state of affairs there.

The Commission of Inquiry reported that while it was impossible to determine which side had been responsible for the breach of the truce, at the time of the report (February 6) a state of war existed in Shanghai, with the Japanese in the offensive.

League Note to Japan

Following the receipt of the Commission's report, the League Council took a step which represented its most definite action to date. Up to that time, all of the Council's communications were addressed to both China and Japan. After the Commission's report, the Council, in a session attended by all its members with the exception of Japan and China (twelve in all), decided to dispatch a note to Japan alone. The text of this note was as follows:

(1) The president of the Council on behalf of his colleagues pointed out in an appeal addressed on January 29 to both parties that "good relations between states could only be secured by co-operation and mutual respect and that no permanent solution could be achieved by force, whether military or merely economic, and that the longer the present situation continued the wider the breach between the two peoples would become and the more difficult the solution would be with all the disasters that would mean not only to the two nations directly involved but to the world in general.

(2) The 12 members of the Council, other than the Chinese and Japanese representatives, feel constrained today to make a personal appeal to the government of Japan to recognize the very special responsibility for forbearance and restraint which devolves upon it in the present conflict in virtue of the position of Japan as a member of the League of Nations and a permanent member of its Council.

(3) The situation which has developed in the Far East during the past months will be fully studied by the commission appointed with the consent of both parties. But since the commission was set up there have occurred and are still occurring events in the region of Shanghai which have intensified public anxiety throughout the world, which endanger the lives and interests of the nationals of numerous countries, add to the unexampled difficulties with which the world is faced during the present crisis and threaten to throw new and serious obstacles in the path of the Disarmament Conference.

(4) The 12 members of the Council are far from disregarding the grievances advanced by Japan and throughout all these months have given her the full confidence which they owe to an associate of long standing who had ever been punctilious in the fulfillment of all her obligations and duties as a member of the community of nations. They cannot but regret, however, that she has not found it possible to make full use of the methods of peaceful settlement provided in the covenant, and recall once again that the solemn undertaking of the pact of Paris to achieve solution of international disputes shall never be sought by other than peaceful means. The 12 members of the Council cannot but recognize that from the beginning of the conflict which is taking place on her territory China has her case in the hands of the League and agreed to accept its proposal for a peaceful settlement.

(5) The 12 members of the Council recall the terms of Article 10 of the covenant by which all members of the League have undertaken to respect and preserve the territorial integrity and existing political independence of other members. It is their friendly right to direct attention to this provision, particularly as it appears to them to follow that no infringement of the territorial integrity and no change in the political independence of any member of the League brought about in disregard of this article ought to be recognized as valid and effectual by the members of the League of Nations.

(6) Japan has an incalculable responsibility before the public opinion of the world to be just and restrained in her relations with China. She has already acknowledged this responsibility in most solemn terms by becoming one of the signatories of the nine-power treaty of 1922 whereby the contracting powers expressly agreed to respect the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of China. The 12 members of the Council appeal to Japan's high sense of honor to recognize the obligations of

her special position and of the confidence which the nations have placed in her as a partner in the organization and maintenance of peace.

American-British Peace Efforts

In the meantime the American and British Governments, supported by a number of others, made an attempt to mediate between Japan and China. Definite proposals were made, embodying the following five points:

1. Cessation of all acts of violence on both sides forthwith on the following terms:—

2. No further mobilization or preparation whatever for further hostilities.

3. Withdrawal of both Japanese and Chinese combatants from all points of mutual contact in the Shanghai area.

Protection of the International Settlement by the establishment of neutral zones to divide the combatants. These zones to be policed by neutrals; the arrangements to be set up by the Consular authorities on the spot.

5. Upon acceptance of these conditions prompt advances to be made in negotiation to settle all outstanding controversies between the two nations in the spirit of the Pact of Paris and the resolutions of the League of Nations of December 9 without prior demand or reservation and with the aid of neutral observers or participants.

The powers making the proposals urged their acceptance not only for the sake of establishing peace, but also as a means of not exposing the International Settlement at Shanghai, with its large foreign population, to dangers inherent in a military struggle all around it. The foreign military and naval forces in the Settlement had been greatly augmented since the outbreak of hostilities, but grave anxiety was still felt for the safety of the zone protected by these forces.

The American-British peace proposals were not accepted by either side. The Chinese expressed willingness to withdraw their troops, provided the Japanese forces were withdrawn simultaneously. The Japanese insisted on Chinese withdrawal as a preliminary step to their evacuation. As a result, the mediation attempt failed entirely.

Launching of the Japanese Offensive

The Japanese demand for the withdrawal of the Chinese troops from Shanghai became the subject of a new ultimatum served on the Chinese by the Japanese command. When the Chinese refused to comply with the terms of the ultimatum, the Japanese

launched, on February 20, a general offensive against the Chinese forces, stationed between Woosung and Chapei, a battlefront of about 20 miles. Although in this offensive the Japanese threw against the Chinese a powerful force of regular troops, supported by all the implements of modern

warfare—heavy artillery, bombing planes, tanks, etc.—the Chinese, in the meantime, had greatly strengthened their defenses, and the first attacks were beaten off. At the time of this writing (end of February), the Japanese offensive is still in progress, with none of its objectives achieved.

The Interparliamentary Union

By DR. CHR. L. LANGE, *Secretary General*

Dr. Lange, long the executive head of the Interparliamentary Union, was awarded with Mr. Branting of Sweden in 1921 the Nobel Peace Prize. He is Norway's representative at the Assembly of the League of Nations, and the author of texts dealing particularly with the history of arbitration and of the peace movement.—EDITOR.

I.—Before the War

ON OCTOBER 31, 1887, a delegation of British Members of Parliament and of leaders of trades unions were introduced to President Cleveland at the White House by Mr. Andrew Carnegie. They had come to submit to the President an address, signed by 234 Members of Parliament, in favor of a treaty of arbitration between Great Britain and the United States. At that time such treaties between States were very rare; no European country had as yet signed a single such document, nor had the United States. Some South American States only were parties to them.

This movement which Sir William Randal Cremer had initiated in England found its echo in America, and during the legislative session of 1887-1888 Congress was flooded with memorials, some containing the names of very important persons, in favor of international arbitration. Nevertheless, the project of an Anglo-American treaty failed; the only outcome of the movement was the vote by the Senate in 1890 of a resolution favoring general arbitration treaties.

Foundation of the Union

This effort, however, was very important, for out of it the Interparliamentary Union was born.

Cremer had learned that Frédéric Passy, leader of the Peace Party in the French Chamber, had already voiced the cause of arbitration there, and that he had found considerable support. In 1888 Cremer

opened communications with Passy, and on October 31, 1888, exactly a year after the interview at the White House, a meeting was held in Paris, attended by 25 French and 9 British parliamentarians. The program of the meeting was strictly limited to the support of the efforts of the last years in favor of arbitration treaties between France and the United States and between Great Britain and the United States. Nobody was sanguine enough even to dream of an arbitration treaty between France and Great Britain.

The next meeting, which is considered as the first Interparliamentary Conference properly speaking, took place, again in Paris, in the following year, during the World Fair, on June 29 and 30, 1889. It was really international in character: 96 members of 9 different Parliaments attended: 55 Frenchmen, 30 British, 5 Italians, while each of the following nations was represented by one member: Belgium, Denmark, Hungary, Liberia, Spain and the United States.* The Conference was opened by Jules Simon and presided over by Frédéric Passy.

In one of its resolutions the Conference gave the fundamental reason of the Interparliamentary institution: "The conduct of governments tending to become more and more the expression only of ideas and sentiments voiced by the body of citizens, it is for the electors to lead the policy of their country in the direction of justice, of right and of the brotherhood of nations."

* Mr. William Whiting of Massachusetts.

Development of the Union Before the War

Up to 1914 the members of the Union met eighteen times in Conference: twice in Paris (1889 and 1900), twice in London (1890 and 1906), twice at The Hague (1894 and 1913), four times at Brussels (1895, 1897, 1905 and 1910), once in each of the following European capitals: Rome (1891), Bern (1892), Budapest (1896), Christiania (1899), Vienna (1903), Berlin (1908). Once the Interparliamentarians crossed the Atlantic to meet on American soil at St. Louis and in Washington, in 1904. In September 1912 the Seventeenth Conference was held at Geneva, in Switzerland.

Work of the Union

The parliamentarians who founded the Union in Paris in 1889 very narrowly circumscribed its object through its name. It was called the "Interparliamentary Conference for International Arbitration," another proof of the power of concentration of its founder, Sir William Randal Cremer. There is no doubt that through this rigid exclusion of utopian aims, through the accentuation of one practical aim, the institution appealed to the common sense of hard-headed politicians, and it was thus possible during the first difficult years to win the confidence and adherence of men who otherwise would certainly have held aloof. But as the Union progressed in numbers and its influence extended, other problems than those of arbitration were discussed, all, however, relating to the progressive evolution and organization of the community of nations. The Conferences passed resolutions regarding neutrality and the laws of war. They declared several times in favor of the immunity of private property at sea during war, a reform so ardently demanded by the common interests of peaceful commerce. Two Conferences adopted a *voeu* in favor of the elaboration of a code of international law. Some of them discussed the problems relating to the growth of international armaments.

Up to 1914, however, the Interparliamentarians always limited themselves to the discussion of questions relating to international law; they never discussed economic questions and always expressly refused to pronounce themselves on problems of a

political nature, in which the interests of different States might be opposed.

The latter principle is one inevitably bound up with the character of the institution itself. Because the Union is composed of responsible statesmen, belonging to nations whose legitimate interests may from time to time be in conflict, it would inevitably compromise its own authority if it raised its voice for or against this or the other practical solution of international conflicts. The Interparliamentary gatherings have, without exception, always restricted themselves to the advocacy of peaceful and judicial methods for the settlement of conflicts.

The Permanent Court of Arbitration

The first two Interparliamentary Conferences had only treated one side of the problem of arbitration, namely, the conclusion of treaties stipulating the obligation for the States to submit conflicts to arbitration.

The Rome Conference, in 1891, tackled another side of the problem: it invited the Interparliamentary Committees to put on the agenda of the following Conference the institution of an arbitration court. This would mean important progress in two respects: from a practical standpoint, the recourse to arbitration would be facilitated if it were not necessary to organize the tribunal while the conflict was still exasperating the minds on both sides, and from a theoretical standpoint the existence of such a court would show the state of progress of the society of nations. Indeed, it is only by the permanent existence of a jurisdiction resting on law that a society manifests itself as legally organized.

The question occupied the three following Conferences:

The Brussels Conference, in 1895, on the proposal of two eminent members of the Union, the Hon. Philip Stanhope, later Lord Weardale, and the Belgian senator, Auguste Houzeau de Lehaie, voted a draft Convention of fourteen articles, which was communicated to the different Governments.

This draft reposed on the following principles:

1. National sovereignty remains inalienable and inviolable.

2. The adherence of each Government to the constitution of an International Permanent Court should be purely voluntary.

3. All adherent States should be on a footing of perfect equality before the International Permanent Court.

4. The judgments of the Permanent Court should have the form of an executive sentence.

Four years later, in 1899, the first Peace Conference was convened at The Hague. The great Convention voted by the Conference "for the pacific settlement of international disputes" to a large extent rests on the convention drafted by the Interparliamentary Union. Thus it places all States on a footing of perfect equality with respect to the Arbitration Court created by the Convention.

This was a real victory for the ideas championed by the Union. It is moreover a fact that the convocation of the Hague Conference itself was due to the Interparliamentary movement and especially to the Budapest Conference in 1896, in the following circumstances: When in 1898 the Austrian Government proposed to place an important order for artillery and the Russian War Minister demanded cannons of the same kind for his own country, it was suggested that negotiations should be opened between the two Governments. No decision, however, having been reached, a young attaché to the Russian Foreign Ministry drew the attention of his superiors to the movement against increasing armaments and in favor of peace, and particularly to the activity of the Interparliamentary Union. He had been present at the Seventh Conference at Budapest in 1896, and had at that time written a report on the Conference and on the importance of peace work in general. He now proposed to send out an appeal to the Governments, on the basis of those ideas. His proposal was accepted by Count Mouravieff, but rejected at first by the Czar. One day, however, changing his mind abruptly, Nicholas II informed the Foreign Minister that he had decided to agree to the suggestion, and on August 24, 1898, Count Mouravieff transmitted the manifesto to the ministers of other States within the Russian Court. Circulars were sent round shortly after with regard to the convocation and agenda of the Conference, the second of which con-

tained not only the idea of a limitation of armaments but also that of international arbitration. It is at any rate certain that the Interparliamentary Union was to a great extent responsible for the acceptance of the principle of arbitration on the part of the States.

Calling of the Second Hague Conference

It was thus all the more natural that the St. Louis Conference in 1904, which was presided over by Hon. Richard Bartholdt, Member of Congress and founder of the American Group of the Union, took the initiative in a movement for the convocation of another Peace Conference.

Mr. Bartholdt, in preparing the program for the Conference, drafted a resolution known as the "Resolution of St. Louis," as follows:

"Whereas, enlightened public opinion and the spirit of modern civilization demand that differences between nations shall be settled in the same manner as controversies between individuals; that is, through courts of justice and in conformity with well-recognized principles of law: therefore

The Conference asks that the different Powers of the entire world delegate representatives to an international Conference, which shall meet at a time and place to be designated by them, to deliberate upon the following questions:

a. The subjects postponed by the First Hague Conference.

b. The negotiation of arbitration treaties between the nations which shall be represented in this Conference.

c. The establishment of an international Congress which shall meet at stated periods to discuss international questions.

And decides to request, respectfully and urgently, the President of the United States to invite all the nations to send representatives to such a Conference."

The late Hon. Theodore Burton, then member of the House, later United States Senator, presented the resolution to the Conference in a forceful speech, and after a memorable debate it was unanimously adopted.

On September 24, 1904, the members of the Conference were received by President Roosevelt at the White House. We now know from the "Recollections," pub-

lished by Richard Bartholdt, that he had carefully prepared the ground for this interview. After an address by Mr. Bartholdt, the Secretary General of the Union, M. Gobat, of Switzerland, presented the resolution to President Roosevelt, who ended his reply to the address with the following words: "At an early date I shall issue the call for the Conference you request."

Model Arbitration Treaty

In the meantime the Union was actively occupied with the framing of the program for this new Conference. This work entirely filled the time of the two general assemblies, at Brussels in 1905 and in London in 1906. Thus the London Conference voted a draft of an international Convention and took a new step forward in the arbitration question, still the chief object of the Union. Indeed, if the Court instituted by the First Hague Conference should be able to exert all its usefulness, it was necessary that the States engaged themselves to have recourse to arbitration for certain classes of conflicts.

The model arbitration treaty was originally due to the initiative of Hon. Richard Bartholdt. It was voted by the London Conference on the remarkable report submitted, on behalf of a special committee, by H. E. Ernest de Plener, late Austrian Minister of Finance. At the Hague Conference of 1907 it was adopted by the Portuguese delegates and by them submitted to the Arbitration Commission. Around this draft convention were fought the most prolonged struggles of the Conference. During these debates the draft was limited in certain respects, but considerably extended in others. At first received very coolly, it found successively a more and more numerous following, and at last it united the votes of 32 States out of the 44 represented at The Hague.

This was not sufficient. The principle of the necessity of a unanimous vote, which is regularly followed in diplomatic conferences, again prevailed, as the minority refused to give way. The Conference passed a unanimous declaration, however, in favor of the principle of obligatory arbitration: "Some conflicts, especially those concerning the interpretation and application of international conventions, are liable

to be submitted to obligatory arbitration without any restriction."

The Berlin Conference and the Organization of the Union

The Union could point to a moral victory: at The Hague the majority had rallied to its standpoint; but it had not found unanimous favor. In order to gain a complete victory it was necessary to redouble the efforts and to concentrate them.

From this standpoint the Fifteenth Interparliamentary Conference should be mentioned. It met in Berlin in September, 1908, and was of particular importance for the organization of the Union.

During the first years the Union had no permanent organization. The Conferences invited their members to form "Interparliamentary Committees" in each country. This is the origin of the present national Groups. At the Rome Conference in 1891 the foundation of a Central Office was decided upon. A final organization was not instituted until the Bern Conference in 1892. It founded the Interparliamentary Bureau, which was to serve as Central Office of the Union, under the management of the Swiss member of the committee.

The Bureau was at first under the control of a permanent committee, the rules of which were for some years rather unstable and changing. It was only at the Christiania Conference in 1899 that some stability was obtained, through the creation of the Interparliamentary Council, composed of two members from each Group.

The aim of the reorganization decided upon at Berlin in 1908 was, then, on the one hand to strengthen the central authorities of the Union with a view to creating a strong executive, and on the other to vivify, through this concentration of the forces, the national Groups which must needs be the essential supporting elements of the institution.

This new organization necessitated considerable expenditure. In order to meet this, the Union made an appeal to its different Groups, asking them to ensure an annual revenue. Before this the Union had been supported by the individual contributions of members, one State only, Norway, having voted a small official annual subvention. At the Berlin Conference Lord Weardale, one of the principal pro-

motors of the reorganization, announced that the British Government proposed to grant to the Union an annual subsidy of £300. He was also able to announce that an International Committee was willing to guarantee an annual subvention for five years, or until the different States had resolved upon their attitude towards the Union.

The appeal of the Union was responded to by nearly all the States in which Groups then existed. Only in a very few cases were the Groups themselves obliged to contribute to the funds. In 1914 the Union was assured of an annual income of between \$12,000 and \$14,000.

This official connection between the Union and the Governments is a fact of great importance. The nations do not pay for nothing. They give their money because they expect to have something in return, and they have, so to speak, bound themselves to take into serious consideration the drafts presented to them by the Interparliamentarians. The Union thus became one of the active elements in the organization of the Society of Nations which was later to come into existence.

The New Organization

The new organization may be said to co-ordinate in a wise way the different forces of the Union. Its highest authority is the Conference, which meets annually or every second year.

The Council is the highest administrative authority of the Union. It decides what questions may be brought before the Conferences and passes the draft resolutions to be submitted to the latter. It has, besides, the control of the finances, accepts gifts and subventions and fixes the estimates for the following year. It nominates the Secretary General and passes his annual reports.

The Executive Committee of five has the control of the Interparliamentary Bureau, which is managed by the Secretary General, fixing its annual program and directing the main lines of its activity.

The Last Years Before the War

The efforts of the Union during the years 1909-1914 were chiefly concentrated upon two objects. The first of these was

to obtain effective guarantees for the results attained at the Second Hague Conference in 1907 and at the Naval Conference in London in 1908-1909, which supplemented the work of the Hague Conference, with regard to the laws of war at sea. The second was to prepare the way for the Third Peace Conference which was to take place in 1915 or 1916. In connection with the former of these objects, the Union made vigorous efforts to hasten the ratification of the draft International Conventions concluded at these two Conferences. These important agreements would only come into full effect if ratified by the States. It seemed very probable that the numerous efforts made by the Conferences and Groups of the Union would have produced the desired result, especially in regard to the International Prize Court and the Naval Declaration of London, if the World War had not broken out.

The greater part of the program of the three Conferences immediately before the war was concerned with the second of the above objects. These Conferences were held as follows: in 1910 at Brussels, in 1912 at Geneva and at The Hague in 1913. The program of the Conference which was to have assembled at Stockholm, in August, 1914, if the war had not intervened, was also mainly concerned with this object.

The procedure of the Interparliamentary Conferences was also materially altered. Formerly, proposals which were to be submitted to them were not prepared until the Council meeting which took place the very day before the Conference. At the Geneva Conference in 1912 this system was changed. All the rapporteurs had prepared their reports in sufficient time before the Conference. The reports had been printed and circulated to adherents, who were thus in a position to study them and prepare themselves to take part in the debates. The same system was adopted for the next two Conferences and, in the case of the meeting which was to have been held at Stockholm in 1914, a valuable collection of reports had been prepared in two volumes, containing altogether 243 pages. It will thus be seen that the discussions at the Conferences came more and more to resemble real parliamentary debates. In former times the Interparliamentary meetings had had a distinctly prop-

agandist complexion; they now assumed a more positive and constructive character. Some Interparliamentarians have regretted this development in certain respects. They consider that the extent to which Parliaments can assist the peace movement by means of propaganda will thereby be diminished. On the other hand, however, the development of a positive and constructive policy is undoubtedly calculated to increase the Union's prestige and to endow its proposals and schemes with a great degree of authority.

Generally speaking, the rapporteurs did not submit their final reports to the Conferences until these had been discussed, very often on more than one occasion, by special committees. A series of committees of this kind were successively formed to consider such questions as: the organization of an international court; the legal régime of straits and maritime canals; declarations of permanent neutrality; the permanent organization of Peace Conferences; the limitation of armaments, etc. As a rule the following procedure was adopted: a question was raised at one of the Conferences by an individual delegate or upon the motion of a Group; the question was then, as it were, submitted for discussion in first reading. Subsequently, a special committee was generally formed, consisting of members possessing special qualifications, and representing those Groups which were particularly interested in the problem. The committee often met several times and, when it had completed its work, detailed one of its members to present the report to the subsequent Conference. In order to supply committees with the requisite documentation, the Interparliamentary Bureau or some expert at its request published special works upon certain subjects. When the war broke out, two important works had just been completed: "L'arbitrage obligatoire en 1913," a summary and analysis of all treaty stipulations of this category which were in force in 1913, prepared by the Secretary General; and "La Limitation des Armements," by Dr. Hans Wehberg, a collection of all known schemes on this subject.

If the Stockholm Conference could have taken place, it would have discussed and probably adopted important resolutions and schemes relating to an International Court of Justice, to arbitration and to the

administration of straits and maritime canals. The next Conference, which was to have met in the United States and Canada—part of the session was to be held at Washington and part at Ottawa—would have considered the organization of International Peace Conferences; international mediation; the abolition of the right of capture; the limitation of armaments; and, lastly, a system of delegation from the Groups for the Interparliamentary Conferences. After the meeting on the other side of the Atlantic a Conference at Madrid was to have followed in 1916 or 1917.

It may be seen that nearly all the problems referred to above are within the sphere of International Peace Conferences. The Union concentrated its efforts upon the work of preparation for the third of these Conferences which was to have taken place in 1915 and 1916. On the other hand, however, in pursuance of the duty imposed upon it by the new wording of the first article of its Statutes, which were adopted at Geneva in 1912 and which had enlarged the scope of the Interparliamentary movement, the Union had already added other questions to its agenda. For instance, at The Hague, in 1913, a resolution was adopted in favor of the unification and reduction of international letter rates, and the general principles governing the Union's cooperation in international movements were discussed. A new sphere of activity for the Union was developing. The other international organizations—for labor questions, for the unification of maritime law, etc.—would prepare draft international conventions upon these special subjects; the Union would then assist them, by means of its national Groups in the various Parliaments, to persuade the States to pass the proposed legislative reforms, or to ratify conventions already signed.

II.—The World War Period

This increased volume of activity was suddenly interrupted by the outbreak of war in July, 1914.

During wars of a more or less local character—such as the Spanish-American War in 1898, the South African War, the Russo-Japanese War, the war between Italy and Turkey in 1911, the two Balkan wars in 1912-1913—the Union had always been in a position to maintain its activity to the

full. An entirely different situation was, however, created by a war in which, from the very outset, five great European Powers were involved, and which was eventually to draw in almost the whole of Europe, and in 1917 the greater portion of the rest of the world. In the course of a world-wide war, every form of international movement necessarily ceased.

Moreover, any form of political action in the field of the Union, in connection with the war itself, was out of the question. The Union has always and very wisely refrained from any pronouncement upon current political questions. Besides, since there was no means of holding a meeting either of the Executive Committee or of the Council—not to mention a Conference—there was no one who could speak on behalf of the Union. The international character of the Union forbade any such action, on its part or on the part of any other international organization.

In these circumstances, two problems had to be faced: in the first place, an effort had to be made to maintain the Union's various organizations during the crisis, in anticipation of a renewal of its activities after the war; in the second place, an attempt had to be made to mobilize the forces remaining at the disposal of the Union, with a view to preparing the foundations of a just and lasting peace, in conformity with the principles which the Union has ever set before it.

Neither of these tasks was easy to accomplish. The first was rendered easier by the immediate transfer of the Bureau to a neutral State, Norway, where it remained throughout the war and until 1920. From Christiania it was possible to maintain continuous touch with all the Groups of the Union and by this means the Group organizations of the Union were preserved. The Executive Committee and the Council dealt with administrative and financial questions by letter. The difficulties were, however, often considerable, more especially those connected with finance. These difficulties were nevertheless overcome and the Interparliamentary Union succeeded in surviving the war.

The second task—that of preparing the ground for the coming peace—was closely bound up with the former, as well as with the past history of the Union. In 1917 the Bureau published a pamphlet entitled "The

Conditions of a Lasting Peace. A Statement of the Work of the Union," in the three world languages. This paper showed, by reproducing a series of draft schemes and resolutions adopted by Interparliamentary Conferences and committees, how far the Union's efforts had been directed, since long before the war, towards the solution of those problems which occupied the attention of public opinion and of statesmen at its termination.

The formation of the League of Nations in 1919 was the point of crystallization of all the influences at work, of which the efforts of the Union was only one, to bring about the sway of justice in international affairs. The Interparliamentary Union may at any rate claim the honor of having, throughout the whole of its career, played the part of pioneer to this *permanent* organization of international relations between Governments.

In addition to the above pamphlet, mention should be made of a publication issued by the Bureau, also in three languages, dealing with the important "Treaties for the Advancement of Peace," concluded by the United States with some twenty different countries during 1913 and 1914.

The efforts, however, of the Interparliamentary Bureau would not, by themselves, have sufficed to maintain the Union in existence. Its efforts had to be further supplemented by action on the part of the Groups. The fact that all joint action by means of Conferences was unavoidably prevented during the war, caused many of the Groups to fall more or less into abeyance. Several refrained from any form of action; in the case of others, the revolutions of 1917 and 1918 brought about a complete dissolution. The Bureau, however, succeeded in maintaining touch with some of their most active members, so that, at the end of the war, a number of "points d'appui" were in existence, which could be used as a basis for the work of reconstruction.

On the other hand, there were a large number of Parliaments in which the Groups had been able to continue their existence and work in spite of the war. In the first place, mention must be made of the neutral countries, in which the Groups held regular meetings. Some of them actually developed their activities during the war; this applies particularly to the Groups of the three Scandinavian countries. In the Anglo-

Saxon States also, in America, Great Britain and Canada, the Groups met at regular intervals and adopted important declarations, thus demonstrating to the general public and the Governments that the Interparliamentary movement was still alive.

The League of Nations

The predominating feature of the peace settlement after the World War was the creation of the League of Nations. It constitutes an official recognition on the part of the States that the aspirations of the Interparliamentary Union were justified. In several respects, for instance by the consecration of the principle of compulsory arbitration and by the creation of an International Court of Justice, the Covenant of the League has followed the lines indicated by the Union and by other peace organizations.

It was not surprising that, in consequence of these developments, the question was raised whether the fundamental reason for the existence of the Union had not disappeared. Almost all the nations are now officially represented in the League. Here is an assembly which automatically meets every year and which, it would seem, is calculated to ensure in a far more efficient manner the realization of international ideals.

On the other hand, the adherents of the Interparliamentary movement point out, in the first place, that the League of Nations is still at the beginning of its career, and that it will need support. Moreover the League is not complete: several States, including some of the largest, still remain outside the League, though regularly cooperating with it in one or the other branch of its activities. The Covenant will assuredly require amendment and expansion. The Interparliamentary Union can render very great service in these respects. This was the opinion expressed by the Interparliamentary Council at its first post-war meeting, which was held at Geneva in October, 1919. The Council then adopted the following resolution:

"The Interparliamentary Council, assembled for the first time since the termination of the World War, records with a deep sense of satisfaction the foundation of the League of Nations established by the Covenant of Paris.

"The task of the League of Nations, which is, in concrete form, the lofty ideal of cooperation

by all nations in peaceful and productive labor, is to protect the world from a recurrence of war such as that which has lately devastated Europe, and to obtain for the peoples the benefits of a progressive system of disarmament.

"The Council which, like President Wilson, sees in the new institution 'the only hope of humanity,' is confident that the Interparliamentary Union will henceforth devote all its efforts towards strengthening the position of the League of Nations and ensuring its democratic development."

The Council clearly indicated, in this resolution, the important rôle which the Union could fill in connection with the League. It must not be forgotten that even unanimous resolutions adopted by the Assembly are as yet not binding upon the States members of the League. The League is not a super-State which can impose its will. Before the resolutions of the Assembly can take effect, they have to be ratified by the States, and the latter must take the legislative or other measures required for their execution. In this connection, the Interparliamentary Union can play an extremely useful part by means of its Groups. The same applies to the International Labor Office, which is affiliated to the League. This new and valuable organization could also be extensively aided by the Union and its Groups, if the latter, after careful study and discussion, were to undertake and bring about the fulfilment of the recommendations made by the annual Labor Conferences, and to urge for the ratification of draft conventions.

It is to be observed that this is in direct continuance of the Union's pre-war policy with regard to the Hague Conferences. In this way a wide field of activity would be opened up for the Union, and this activity would be of an eminently practical nature.

There is, however, a further point. We must not forget that the Assembly of the League of Nations is composed of representatives of the Governments, that it is governed by the principle of unanimity, and that, consequently, the delegations, each of which has a vote, will be influenced by national and individual interests. Anxiety for these interests is quite legitimate, and the Union has never overlooked or forgotten them. There is, however, a danger that they may assume supreme importance to the exclusion of other considerations. Side

by side with the representatives of national and political interests, there should also be representatives of the *common interests of mankind*. In the world today, there are great political, economic and humanitarian movements which are not confined within national boundaries, and which seek to obtain international sanction for their efforts, such as, to quote only a few: international social reform and improvement of labor conditions; the principle of free trade; the advancement of intellectual interests, and the efforts directed against intemperance and moral depravity. These movements will find a suitable channel for the expression of their views in an unofficial body such as the Interparliamentary Union, which has at its disposal a wider and more elastic organization than an exclusively official institution composed of States, such as the League of Nations.

III.—After the World War

The work of the Union was thus clearly marked out in the resolution adopted by the Council in 1919. It was first of all necessary to aim at strengthening the efforts towards permanent peace, by supporting them actively in all the Parliaments.

The Conferences of the Interparliamentary Union were therefore resumed in 1921, and since that year nine Conferences have met. In the two years 1926 and 1929 no Conference properly speaking took place; they were replaced by meetings of the Interparliamentary Council and of all the study committees of the Union. In 1921, at Stockholm, 121 parliamentarians represented 12 countries; in 1922, at Vienna, 304 Members of Parliament belonging to 26 countries were present; in 1923, 432 parliamentarians represented 26 countries at Copenhagen; in 1924, at Bern and Geneva, the Conference, though limited, was attended by 211 Members representing 26 countries; in 1925, 290 Members of Parliament represented 41 countries at Washington and Ottawa; in 1927, in Paris, 440 parliamentarians from 33 countries were present; at the Berlin Conference in 1928, 475 members represented 38 countries; in 1930, 450 parliamentarians represented 32 countries in London. Finally the Bucharest Conference, which was limited, was attended by 145 Members of Parliament representing 20 countries. These smaller num-

bers are explained by the fact that the Conference had to meet in October, an inconvenient time for many parliaments, without mentioning the financial crisis.

At the present time the Union is composed of 38 National Groups, formed in all the States of Europe where the representative system is in force, in the United States of America, Canada, Japan, the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines, Persia, and in a good number of the Latin-American States, these latter thanks to a recent propaganda tour through Latin America by one of the members of the Bureau. It is hoped that before long Groups will also be formed in Turkey and within the Parliaments of South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and perhaps also within the Legislative Assembly of India.

After the war, the organization of the Union was subjected to new and interesting modifications. The existence of the League of Nations imposed additional tasks on the Union. It was also evident that in the face of the fearful problems of the time, with rivalry and mistrust still in the foreground, the Interparliamentary deliberations could no longer maintain the academic and somewhat solemn characteristics of former days. Within the Union, there would be not only the common ideals of the different nations, but also the passions and demands of peoples still under the influence of the war. The Conferences of Stockholm, Vienna, Copenhagen, Bern-Geneva, Berlin and Bucharest therefore studied the question of amending the Statutes on the basis of successive proposals from a permanent Committee for Organization Questions. This work was brought to an end at Bucharest in 1931. Article 1, of the Statutes now stands as follows:

"The aim of the Interparliamentary Union is to unite in common action the Members of all Parliaments, constituted into national Groups, in order to secure the cooperation of their respective States in the firm establishment and the democratic development of the work of international peace and cooperation between nations by means of a universal organization of nations. Its object is also to study all questions of an international character suitable for settlement by parliamentary action."

The basis of the Union is the national Groups, consisting of Members of the Par-

liaments in varying numbers and possessing their own regulations, committee and secretary. Every year or every two years a Conference is held. In principle, the number of delegates from each Group to a Conference is limited, in accordance with the number of votes to which each Group is entitled within the Conferences; but under special circumstances, if the Group of the country receiving the Conference should agree, the Council may decide that any member of the national Group may attend a Conference and take part in the debates. Under the 1922 revision of the Statutes, rules were fixed with regard to the right of vote at Conferences, each Group being entitled to a number of votes calculated in proportion to its international importance and to the number of inhabitants in the country which it represents. The delegates are chosen on a proportional basis, so that the different parties and sections of opinion within a Group are adequately represented. The votes cast are thus representative of parliamentary opinion. At the Bern-Geneva Conference, "Regulations for Interparliamentary Conferences" were adopted which further emphasize the parliamentary character of the Union. An interesting innovation was made here. Part of the annual report of the Secretary General "shall bear upon the general political situation of the world" and thereby form the basis of the "General Debate" which comprises three sittings of the Conference. In this way the Interparliamentary Conferences give an opportunity of raising questions of general international importance. The "Regulations of the Council" and of the study committees were also revised at the Bucharest Conference in 1931 and model regulations for the Groups adopted.

The resolutions placed on the agenda of Conferences are prepared either by individual rapporteurs or, more frequently, by permanent study committees on which all the Groups may be represented. These committees meet in the course of the year, generally in connection with the Council meetings or immediately before the Conferences, to discuss the texts of resolutions which are prepared by small drafting committees.

The Groups are responsible for the carrying out of the resolutions voted by the Conferences. Every Group is expected to bring

those resolutions to the knowledge of its respective Government and Parliament and to take action on the lines suggested. An important resolution on the activity of the national Groups was passed by the Bucharest Conference, stating the duties of the Groups within their Parliaments and with their Governments. They are assisted in this work by the Interparliamentary Bureau, which informs the Governments and the League of Nations of the resolutions voted by the Conferences. We might note in this connection that the great intergovernmental organizations at Geneva follow with ever-increasing attention the activities of the Union and regularly send observers to the Conferences. The Union also keeps in touch with the Pan-American Union at Washington. The Council and the Executive Committee remain the directing bodies of the Union, as stated above.

The Interparliamentary Bureau corresponds with the Groups, prepares the publications of the Union and generally carries on the administrative work. It publishes a monthly *Interparliamentary Bulletin* in the three world languages, which keeps its members informed of the activities of the Union, and also publishes general articles on one or other of the great international problems of the day.

The income of the Union is derived from government grants, the amounts being fixed on a proportional scale, borrowed from the League of Nations, which is considered as the best scale available.

For some years the financial resources of the Union, though continually increasing, had not been sufficient to meet the requirements of its activities. For this reason the scale of contributions to the Union was revised by the Council in 1929. The total annual income anticipated is 300,000 gold francs (60,000 dollars). But of course the consent of the individual Groups is necessary before the new rules take effect. The scale has at present been accepted by about half the Groups. The income in subventions for 1930 was 242,000 gold francs (48,400 dollars).

Questions Discussed

When on August 17, 1921, the Parliamentarians met for the first time in Conference since the war, at Stockholm, they were faced with a much vaster field of action

than that which they had explored before 1914. It was no longer only a question of finding means of preventing war, but it was necessary too to collaborate in the cause of peace and restoration on the basis of an ever-increasing cooperation between nations. This cooperation could be established within the Union with the official and permanent support of the United States of America, thus embracing a field more extensive in important respects than that of the League of Nations.

For this reason the Conferences which have been held since the war have studied all the questions occupying responsible statesmen. They have been studied in an objective spirit, with a view not so much to justifying the attitude of one or other nation as to finding just and practical solutions. We cannot, in the limited space at our disposal, give an account of all the work done by the Union in the course of the last ten years. The following are some of the most important questions studied: the problem of the reduction of armaments in its different aspects, the question of national minorities world economic reconstruction and the related question of reparations and inter-allied debts, the fight against dangerous drugs, colonial mandates, the codification of international law, parliamentary control of foreign policy, the protection of mothers and children, and the evolution of the parliamentary system.

The resolutions presented to the Conference have always been carefully prepared by the study committees of the Union. The need for practical solutions has been constantly kept in view, and hasty or immature proposals with regard to questions whose complexity becomes daily more apparent have been carefully avoided. Thus, as the program of the Union has extended, its study committees have also developed. These are now six in number and deal with the following groups of questions: Political and Organization, Juridical, Economic and Financial, Ethnic and Colonial, Reduction of Armaments, Social and Humanitarian, the last committee having been promised the continuous and active support of the International Labor Office. Two years ago the Executive Committee formed a special Committee for Security Questions, which has done and is still doing very important work in that field.

Results Obtained

Progress is slow in the international field; there are so many mutually opposed forces confronting one another that decisions cannot be reached as in local and national affairs by a majority vote. Because of the *liberum veto* of each sovereign State, results can only be reached by compromise on the basis of a so-called "unanimous consent." This is perhaps not altogether bad. It might be intolerable for the pride of a big Power to have to submit to a majority of its minor colleagues; it will certainly prefer to give in with a graceful concession made in "the spirit of conciliation."

This explains the fact that it may take years to make progress and it particularly explains why the results obtained by the Interparliamentary Union during the ten years that have passed since the series of Conferences were resumed in 1921, cannot be called spectacular.

There are, however, some outstanding results. In the first place the question of the World Court at The Hague in 1921 was to a large extent due to the efforts of the Union and its national Groups in the pre-war period. The organization of the Court was in some very important respects based on the draft elaborated in 1914 by an Interparliamentary Committee, under the chairmanship of Henri La Fontaine, which was to be laid before the Stockholm Conference in 1914 whose meeting was prevented by the World War.

In the second place, it should not be forgotten that when the Dawes and the Young Plans for the settlement of the vexed reparations problems were at last put into force, the way for them had been smoothed by the debates at our Copenhagen Conference in 1923. The Bern Conference could with legitimate satisfaction declare:

"The XXII^d Interparliamentary Conference registers the fact that the resolution voted by the Conference of Copenhagen on August 17, 1923, indicated the methods which have since been followed by the States for the solution of the problem of reparations.

"The Conference expresses its satisfaction at the agreement concluded at London, by which the above problems are transferred from the political to the economic field."

Above all the Union has given close attention to the problem of disarmament. Not a single Conference has met in the last ten years which has not discussed this question or one of its manifold aspects. The outcome of these deliberations was the "Technical Plan for a Reduction of Armaments" unanimously voted by the Paris Conference in 1927 and the very important resolution of the Bucharest Conference of 1931, in which the Union, while endorsing the general lines of the scheme of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference of 1932, proposed a number of amendments to this scheme, which would render it as "water-tight" as humanly possible under present circumstances and at the same time prepare the way for further reductions in years to come. The Union has particularly stressed the importance of reduction of expenditure on armaments and of eliminating from military preparedness those factors which are particularly dangerous because they give an aggressor State an immediate superiority, thus making it possible to create a state of fact before the forces for peace have had time to intervene.

The Union has also paved the way for the outlawry of war, for at its Bern Conference in 1924, four years before the Kellogg Pact came into force, it declared war to be "an international crime."

In one of its Paris resolutions of 1927, it called for a limitation of the manufacture of drugs of addiction, a principle carried through by the Geneva Conference of 1931.

Other instances might be cited, but what has been said proves that the Union still holds a prominent place in the work of international preparation. Though an unofficial body, it exercises a decisive influence on public opinion and particularly on political opinion in the different countries. It is not too much to say that the Union is already to be considered as a sort of un-

official second chamber of the International Community of States, and the day may come when it will be recognized as such, and will take its place as a House of Representatives in an all-embracing Society of Nations, alongside of a Senate representing the individual nations just as, in an incomplete way, the League Assembly or any other diplomatic Conference does today.

Publications

Each year the Bureau publishes the "Report" of the annual Conference, which forms a large in-8vo volume; the *Interparliamentary Bulletin*, its monthly periodical issued in English, French and German; and the *Minutes* of the Council and of the study committees. It publishes from time to time pamphlets or even bigger works on special subjects within its field of activity: Parliamentary system; Control of Foreign Policy; "Disarmament and the Interparliamentary Union," by William Martin, etc. It has just published in the three world languages a volume of reports by eighteen experts of different nationalities in reply to an inquiry instituted by the Union on the *Character of a New War*. These reports are of great present interest, and it is hoped that the volume will influence public opinion in general to create a favourable atmosphere for the coming Disarmament Conference.

Officers

President of the Interparliamentary Council and of the Executive Committee: M. Fernand Bouisson, President of the French Chamber of Deputies.

Members of the Executive Committee: M. Henri La Fontaine, Belgium; Dr. Laust Moltesen, Denmark; M. Cicio St. Pop, Rumania; H. G. the Duke of Sutherland, Great Britain.

Secretary General: Dr. Chr. L. Lange, 6 rue Constantin, Geneva.

Geneva, January, 1932.



An Engineering Phase of World Peace

By GEORGES F. DORIOT

Professor of Industrial Organization, Harvard School of Business Administration, Professor Doriot retains his French citizenship. He was instrumental in effecting the organization of the French School of Business now operating in Paris, in close cooperation with Harvard.—**ERROR**

DISARMAMENT agreements among the nations of the world, to constitute any worth-while guarantee of world peace, must include measures to prevent secret industrial mobilizations.

To Forestall Mobilization

Internationalization of the European systems of transportation and communication is the means and the only means to forestall such mobilizations. The international publicity which would be the natural result of such a set-up would prove a permanent and sufficient guarantee of good faith.

The three major agencies of transportation and communication, (1) airplane routes, (2) railroads, and (3) steamships, as at present constituted and operated, are essentially the basis of prevailing continental turmoil. They are the means of the secret assemblage of war equipment, the training of air pilots and the accumulation of sea forces, all under the guise of peace-time activities, but readily convertible to military purposes.

Disarmament in the sense of scrapping battleships and reducing army personnel and equipment does not remove the causes of war; neither does it insure peace. Decreasing the relative war strength of nations may be an excellent thing for their budgets, and as an economic move is not to be disputed; but as a war preventive its value is decidedly low.

Sinews of War

In the past the relative strength of a nation could be measured accurately by such things as the number of troops under arms, the number of guns, and the stores of ammunition and provision. Now, due to what I might call the industrialization of war, the real strength of a nation is much more dependent upon its resources of raw materials, the facility with which it can transform those resources into war products and transport them to the theaters of operations, and

the extent or development of previously laid plans for industrial mobilization.

A result of these new war conditions is that a country may allocate in its budget stupendous sums of money for various classes of public works which in normal times may have all the appearance of peace activities, but which, if war threatens, may speedily be converted into martial operations of major importance.

It is undisputed that the European countries which should be included in this plan of internationalization are now expending vast sums on the development of so-called commercial air lines and the training of pilots—all of tremendous potential value in war time. They are building strategic railroad lines, junctions, depots and equipment, most of which are useless and unproductive under ordinary conditions, but important as war organization.

Shipyards are turning out ocean-going liners, designed for commercial uses, but which with little difficulty may be converted into auxiliary cruisers or airplane carriers. It is no secret that two of the swiftest liners built in recent years are so constructed as to be of greatest value when converted for war purposes.

It stands to reason that one nation in position to mobilize secretly the largest numbers of airplanes, railroad cars and the greatest tonnage of ocean shipping would have a tremendous advantage in the event of war or threat of war.

A Suggestion

It is my idea to merge all European airplane lines into one or probably two systems, international in character and ownership; to place ocean shipping on a decidedly more international basis, eliminating wasteful duplications of both sailings and dock facilities, and later to undertake the more difficult task of internationalizing the European railroads.

A step still further is not altogether fantastic; a settlement in part or wholly of the international debts might be possible in connection with these economic readjustments. For instance, France's interests in the international rail lines might be determined in relation to the contribution by Germany, and like arrangements might be effected as between other nations.

There is no doubt in my mind that such a plan would go much further than any solution predicated upon political negotiations. It is not chimerical, nor is it Utopian. There is such a thing developing today as the "international mind." It is even now functioning at Geneva in world politics, at The Hague in a judicial sense, and at Basle in international finance.

In my judgment the United States of America would not be the unified nation it is today if it had not been for the great vision of the railroad builders of forty and fifty years ago. And in this connection I am hopeful that some of the genius of America—engineering, administrative and financial—will take a hand in the building and operation of those intercountry systems in Europe; their experience with the great transcontinental lines of America would be a distinct contribution in remodeling the systems of Europe.

With more natural and easier communication throughout Europe, the problems of international relationships would be vastly simplified. Homogeneous and well-managed European systems of air lines, inland waterways, railroads and motor transport would make impossible any secret movement of troops, equipment or materials of military value; it would also prevent the accumulation or concentration of food or raw materials of strategic importance. Such steps if taken would tend strongly to minimize international jealousies.

What I have in mind would in no wise diminish national identities; it would emphasize them the more. Nor have I in mind a super-State with a world capital such as was hinted shortly after the end of the World War, nor even the collectivism of "the new world State" suggested by that brilliant English writer, Mr. H. G. Wells.

My vision is for world peace among nations, strong in their individuality but cooperative instead of competitive, and for the economic well-being of the world. I have little thought even for the so-called "peace organizations" to take the place of armies and navies. I am seeking openness, frankness, based upon community of interests; disarmament in reality, and then eventually the coordination of industrial activities that will stabilize a now-shaken continent.

Development of the Familiar

The practical workings of such a scheme? National and international financing and administrative institutions are the answer. Interlocking directorates—in some quarters still and at certain periods in our financial development considered such a bugaboo—would internationalize those institutions; the same situation would develop in industry; in fact, already is beginning to develop, for there are even now, for instance, many French financiers who are associated in the management of German commercial institutions.

World peace—the most stupendous social engineering task confronting the intelligence of the world—cannot, it seems, be established through political negotiations. Industrial cooperation and coordination, with attendant international publicity would, I believe, be a means toward a saner solution of present difficulties and a definite step toward effecting and maintaining permanent good will among the nations.



Japan's Rights in Manchuria

By HERBERT WRIGHT

Professor of International Law, Catholic University of America

THE average American, in spite of his inability to distinguish between the names of Chinese persons and places, has begun to take a more lively interest in the Sino-Japanese controversy in Manchuria. This interest has increased with the departure of American "war" correspondents to that part of the world and the appearance in the press of notices about the movements of United States Marines as legation guards in the "war" zone. Most of our press comments object to the "imperialistic aggression" of Japan and express sympathy for China. Therefore, without wishing to detract in the least from the sympathy due to China in her aspirations for complete independence and equality among the nations, it may not be without some interest to review the contractual or treaty bases underlying Japan's position in Manchuria.

Japan's Rights

The origin of the present controversy, if one does not wish to hark back to the twin eggs of Leda, dates perhaps from the Sino-Japanese War of 1895. By the Treaty of Shimonoseki (April 17, 1895), which ended that war, China, among other things, ceded to Japan the southern portion of the Province of Fengtien, which embraced the Liaotung Peninsula between the Yalu and the Liao Rivers. But the European Powers persuaded, or at least advised, Japan to recede this territory to China, which she did, for a financial consideration, in the Treaty of Peking (November 8, 1895). Ten months later to the very day China signed a contract with the Russo-Chinese Bank for the construction and operation of the Chinese Eastern Railway. Item 6 of this contract reads:

The lands actually necessary for the construction, operation and protection of the line, as also the lands in the vicinity of the line necessary for procuring sand, stone, lime, etc., will be turned over to the company. . . . The company will have absolute and exclusive right of administration of its lands.

As the eastern terminus of the Trans-Siberian Railway, Vladivostok, was ice-

bound in winter, Russia saw the desirability of constructing a branch line south to the ice-free ports in the Liaotung Peninsula. Consequently, early in 1898 (March 27) she induced China to lease that part of the Liaotung Peninsula immediately surrounding Port Arthur and Dalny to her for 25 years, subject to prolongation by mutual consent. Article VIII of this contract stated that—

. . . all the stipulations of the contract concluded by the Chinese Government with the Russo-Chinese Bank on August 27 (September 9), 1896, shall apply scrupulously to these supplementary branches—

that is, the branches of the Chinese Eastern Railway. An agreement (July 6, 1898) between Russia (Chinese Eastern Railway) and China provided for one of these branches, namely, the railway from Port Arthur north to connect with the Chinese Southeastern Railway at Chang-chun, which in turn connects with the Chinese Eastern Railway at Harbin. This is the South Manchurian Railway.

Thus matters stood at the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War. Space forbids going into the foreign policy of Russia and Japan towards each other, important as this is for a proper appreciation of Japan's policy towards China. Suffice it to say that, when the war was concluded by the Treaty of Portsmouth (September 5, 1905), Russia agreed to transfer and assign to Japan with China's consent the lease of Port Arthur and the adjacent territory (Article V) and the South Manchurian Railway from Port Arthur to Chang-chun (Article VI). Japan secured China's consent to these two articles by the treaty signed at Peking, December 22, 1905. Furthermore, a protocol alleged to have been annexed to this convention contains the following provision:

The Chinese Government engage, for the purpose of protecting the interests of the South Manchurian Railway, not to construct, prior to the recovery by them of the said railway, any main line in the neighborhood of and parallel to that railway, or any branch line which would be prejudicial to the interests of the above-mentioned railway.

This constitutes the first of the existing treaty bases of Japan's rights in Manchuria.

The second existing treaty basis is provided by the Treaty of May 25, 1915, which China signed as a result of the "twenty-one demands" presented by Japan on January 18 preceding. By the terms of this treaty the lease of Port Arthur, which would have expired in 1923, and the rights connected with the South Manchurian Railway, which which have expired in 1923 and 1924, were extended to ninety-nine years.

Japan's Obligations

On the other hand, Japan's obligations towards China in general and as regards Manchuria in particular are contained in three international agreements, the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Nine-Power Treaty of Washington and the Briand-Kellogg Pact.

The Covenant provided (Article II) that—

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. . . .

It is also declared to be the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstances whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

The sixth treaty signed at the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armament and Pacific Questions, the so-called Nine-Power Treaty concerning China (February 6, 1922), the signatories of which included China and Japan as well as the United States, Belgium, the British Empire, France, Italy, the Netherlands and Portugal, provides (Article I) that—

The Contracting Powers, other than China, agree:

(1) To respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China;

(2) To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government;

(3) To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the prin-

ciple of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China;

(4) To refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly States, and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such States.

By Article V of this same treaty—

China agrees that, throughout the whole of the railways in China, she will not exercise or permit unfair discrimination of any kind. In particular there shall be no discrimination whatever, direct or indirect, in respect of charges or of facilities on the ground of the nationality of passengers or the countries from which or to which they are proceeding, or the origin or ownership of goods or the country from which or to which they are consigned, or the nationality or ownership of the ship or other means of conveying such passengers or goods before or after their transport on the Chinese Railways.

And by Article VII—

The Contracting Powers agree that, whenever a situation arises which in the opinion of any one of them involves the application of the stipulations of the present Treaty, and renders desirable discussion of such application, there shall be full and frank communication between the Contracting Powers concerned.

Moreover, this Conference also adopted a resolution (No. 9) on February 1, 1922, wherein the powers expressed the hope that the future development of railways in China—

. . . shall be so conducted as to enable the Chinese Government to effect the unification of railways into a railway system under Chinese control.

The General Pact for the Renunciation of War, popularly called the Briand-Kellogg Pact, to which nearly all the nations of the world, including Japan and China, are either signatories or adherents, provides (Article 2) that—

. . . the High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

Japan's Economic Interests

The agreements enumerated above constitute the contractual or treaty bases of Japan's position in Manchuria, but they in turn are founded upon important economic facts. For the stakes in the present controversy are not so much the political control or annexation of Manchuria, both of which Japan absolutely disclaims, as Japan's access to Manchuria's resources, which she feels to be necessary for the very life of the people of the Japanese islands themselves. For Manchuria is a country which contains forty-five and one-half million acres of forests and nearly eighty-one and three-fourths million acres of land cultivatable for all crops. The chief crops are wheat, beans, millet, rice and soya beans. There are also rich deposits of coal, iron, lead, gold, silver and asbestos. The Fuchun coal field, twenty-two miles east of Mukden, alone covers an area of about fifteen square miles and contains an estimated deposit of 1,200 million tons of bituminous coal in one seam. In this area 54,000 tons of heavy oil are produced annually, all of which is purchased by the Japanese Navy.

In terms of money these Japanese interests in Manchuria represent, according to K. K. Kawakami, a celebrated Japanese journalist, writing in the *Nineteenth Century and After*, an investment of \$940,000,000, including the South Manchurian Railway, \$517,800,000; Japanese Government loans to the Manchurian Government, \$49,365,500; Japanese corporations' loans to the Chinese Government and to individuals, \$11,150,000; private Japanese corporations' capital funds, \$47,500,000; and Japanese individuals' capital fund, \$47,500,000. Moreover, he says, "there are in Manchuria 200,000 Japanese and almost 1,000,000 Koreans, who are Japanese subjects and ask for Japanese protection." It is no wonder, then, that it has become Japan's national creed that, once she is denied unobstructed access to the resources of Manchuria, her national existence will be jeopardized.

Chinese and Japanese Contentions

But to China Manchuria is a sort of Alsace-Lorraine—a symbol of her lost rights wrested from her and the foreign concessions exacted from her particularly by the "aggression" of Japan. China denies the validity of the secret protocol alleged to have

been annexed to the treaty of December 22, 1905. Moreover, nationalism has been growing in China by leaps and bounds during the past ten years. It has been evidenced particularly in the attempt of China to change its treaty bases with the great powers exercising extraterritorial jurisdiction in China. For instance, in the summer of 1928 the Chinese Government made known its desire to revise these treaties. Although the United States and Great Britain were sympathetic to the proposal, difficulties were encountered in working out a formula and the details of such a revision and the matter has simmered along ever since.

On the other hand, Japan charges China with ignoring her foreign obligations, violating her treaties, perpetuating civil war to enrich her militarists and politicians and failure to protect foreign life and property. Specifically, she charges that the Manchurian Government, instead of making payments of the interest or on the principal of loans from Japan, has been using the proceeds from them in constructing a number of lines all parallel to the South Manchurian Railway, resulting in the first six months of 1931 in a decrease of the receipts from the Japanese lines of 50 per cent, while the receipts from the eight Chinese lines increased 40 per cent in the same period. She also charges the Chinese with boycotting the Japanese lines and Japanese goods in Manchuria. Consequently, she is bitterly opposed to the Chinese demand that the 15,000 Japanese troops, regularly stationed in Manchuria under treaty provisions as railway guards, be withdrawn, that Japan relinquish the administration of the railway zone and that Port Arthur and Dairen be returned to China.

Matters were brought to a head in June, 1931, when Capt. S. Nakamura, of the Japanese Army general staff, while going across country in Manchuria, was captured by a squad of Chinese soldiers under Chinese officers, charged with espionage and brutally put to death, his body being burned. This naturally aroused the deepest resentment among the Japanese Army officers in Manchuria and had violent repercussions in Japan in August. In the following month Japan claimed that the Chinese Army in Manchuria attempted to blow up the main line of the South Manchurian Railway near Mukden.

Attitude of the League of Nations

Such was the state of affairs, when the League of Nations met for its regular session in September. It so happened that both China and Japan were represented on the Council, Japan by a permanent seat and China by a nonpermanent seat, to which she had just been elected. About the middle of September, therefore, the Japanese member announced the Mukden incident, thereby recognizing the jurisdiction of the Council in the premises. A few days later, the Chinese member appealed to the Council for action under Article 11, paragraph 1, of the Covenant, quoted above. The Japanese member repeatedly stated that not only does Japan disclaim any intention of violating the integrity of China or of permanently occupying Manchuria, but that the sole purpose of her action is protection, and he voted for a resolution recording the intention of Japan to withdraw her troops within the treaty territory when protection was no longer needed.

The Japanese troops, however, seized Mukden and spread to the northeast as far as Tsitsihar and to the southwest, first as far as Chinchow and subsequently up to the Great Wall itself. Certain points on the Chinese Railway were seized and the Chinese civil officials were replaced by officials friendly to Japan—a procedure which was not recognized by China, who showed her resentment by bombing and dropping hand-bills. Consequently, although the Japanese Foreign Office realized its international obligations, it was apparently unable to control the policies of the War Ministry, much less the commanders of the army in the field, who are allowed considerable "discretion" and whose activities have received popular support at home. This situation led to the fall of the cabinet. But in justification of the action of her army, Japan alleges that the Chinese Army in Manchuria cannot be controlled by the Chinese National Government, that every Chinese general, governor or other high official has a military force of his own, operating irresponsibly in guerilla fashion without direction or support from the National Government, and that consequently Japan must undertake that protection of her citizens and her property herself.

Meanwhile, after several resolutions designed to bring the parties to an amicable settlement, the Council finally (December

10) unanimously adopted a resolution, by the terms of which a commission of inquiry consisting of five members was to be appointed—

. . . to study on the spot and to report to the Council on any circumstance which, affecting international relations, threatens to disturb peace between China and Japan. The governments of China and Japan each will have the right to nominate one assessor to assist the commission.

Attitude of the United States

The attitude of the United States Government toward the conflict has been characterized all the way along by the utmost cooperation with the members of the League of Nations, but of course only under the Nine-Power Treaty and the Briand-Kellogg Pact. Both China and Japan have been reminded by the Council of the League and by the United States acting independently, of their treaty obligations, especially insofar as the rights of citizens of third States are concerned. For awhile the matter appeared to be complicated by the mistreatment, at the hands of certain Japanese officials, of an American vice-consul traveling through Mukden en route to Harbin, but this incident has been adjusted to the mutual satisfaction of the parties concerned.

Attitude of Present Japanese Government

The attitude of the new Japanese cabinet towards the Manchurian question is authoritatively expressed by Foreign Minister Kenkichi Yoshizawa, who had represented Japan in the meetings of the Council of the League of Nations mentioned above, in an address before the Imperial Diet as late as January 21:

Manchuria holds the key to peace in the Far East. This was true before the Russo-Japanese War; it is even more true at present. In the past Japan always has done everything in its power to prevent civil commotion in China from spreading to Manchuria because we possess there important rights and interests rendering the maintenance of peace a matter of absolute necessity to Japan. . . .

In this connection I desire to make clear that Japan harbors no territorial designs in Manchuria and she will uphold the principles of the open door and equal opportunity as well as all existing treaties relating to that territory.

What Japan desires is only to secure peace and order in Manchuria and to make that region safe,

both for Chinese and foreigners, and to open it to all for economic development.

Conclusion

It may be that the two parties to the controversy might see the wisdom of initiating a solution by direct negotiation. On the other hand, the ultimate solution may lie in the neutral Commission of Inquiry, of which Gen. Frank R. McCoy, U. S. Army, is a member. Speaking just for this one member of the Commission, he certainly has had extensive successful experience in conciliation, notably in Nicaraguan matters and in the Bolivia-Paraguay boundary dispute. Moreover, the commission itself according to M. Briand, will have "full discretion to deter-

mine the questions upon which it is to report to the Council." But what a pity it is that China and Japan are not signatories of a bilateral treaty, providing automatically, instead of *ad hoc*, for a commission of inquiry and conciliation and preserving the *status quo* pending the submission of its findings. A treaty of this character, similar to those initiated for the United States with a number of nations by William Jennings Bryan while he was Secretary of State, would constitute a veritable sword of Damocles and would unmistakably convince both China and Japan that enlightened self-interest would demand the prompt settlement by direct negotiation of any controversy that might arise between them.

International Force

By OSCAR T. CROSBY

Dr. Crosby, a graduate of West Point, has had wide and marked experiences as an engineer and explorer. He was Director of the Commission for Relief in Belgium in 1915. Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in 1917 after which he was President of the Inter-Ally Council on War Purchases and Finance from November 1917 to March 1919. He is the author of "International War, Its Causes and Cure," first published abroad in 1919.—EDITOR.

MAY I suggest answers to the 25 questions put forth by a group of women, appearing in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* of December, 1931. Question No. 1 reads: "How do you conceive the composition of an international police force?" To this I would reply: If by "composition" is meant the various arms, then we say, combatant vessels in the water and in the air; armies embracing all the usual services.

Second: "Should the force include recruits from all countries?" Reply: Recruits would be taken from all countries adhering to the union of member States supporting an international tribunal of decree and enforcement. This union would be open to all sovereignties, and (it is suggested) the pact of union should become effective upon its adoption by any six out of these seven great Powers; namely, the United States of America, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Russia and Japan.

Third: "If not, how would you decide which countries to have represented? On what basis?" Reply: The basis of recruiting from member States would be in proportion to the population of the self-governing countries.

Fourth: "How many recruits would be necessary for the formation of this force?"

Reply: The total force organized would depend upon the relative strength of States in the Union, as compared with that of non-member States. It would vary from time to time. Initial strength *might* appear in the original articles of agreement, but subsequent changes should be left to the discretion of the International Tribunal acting alone, or in conjunction with an Executive Committee, created in the Constitution of the Union. The single Tribunal, or the Tribunal and Committee together would constitute the Central Authority.

Fifth: "Would recruiting be compulsory or optional?" Reply: Recruiting would be optional or compulsory as determined from time to time by Central Authority. Such variation in recruiting methods is familiar in national armies and navies.

Sixth: "What would be the basis of recruiting as regards the number of recruits?" Reply: This is answered by replies to questions 3 and 4 above.

Seventh: "What action would be taken as regards the countries which are not members of the League of Nations?" Reply: There would be no formal relation between the League of Nations and the Union for constituting a Tribunal of Decree and Enforcement. Nonmembers of the League are

now asked to join the International Court sitting at The Hague. This Court, modified as to the personnel and enlarged as to powers so that it could settle disputes other than those determinable by mere interpretation of codes or contracts, and backed by a truly international force, might become the Tribunal of the new Union. The word Tribunal is preferred to the word Court because the latter generally connotes a power of interpretation rather than the power of final settlement in any serious dispute. Members of the League are now agreeing to submit many, but not all, of their disputes to the existing Court. They would have to go further in this direction in order to become supporters of the Tribunal envisaged in these answers.

Eighth: "*Would the recruits be used in the regions they come from or would it be preferable to send them to a distance? For instance, would Asiatics be sent to Europe or America and vice versa?*" Reply: It would probably be preferable to station elements of the International Force in other countries than those of their origin; but the Central Authority should be left in control of this matter.

Ninth: "*How could the difficulties arising through language, customs, climate, etc., be met?*" Reply: This problem was met and solved by the Roman Empire, and is now handled by the British and French Empires. It was in the past met and solved by continental armies during the Napoleonic wars, the Boxer War, and the Great War. Its details should be left to Central Authority.

Tenth: "*Where would the headquarters of this Force be?*" Reply: The political headquarters of the International Force would be at the Seat of Central Authority, as the Headquarters of the United States Army is in Washington, and the Central Authority would acquire a permanent Seat as the United States Government did, after several years of sojourning in the territory of a member State.

Eleventh: "*How would their distribution be worked out?*" Reply: Just as national distributions or empire distributions are made, Central Authority considers a variety of changeful conditions in working out the problem.

Twelfth: "*Would it be possible to oblige all States to quarter some troops?*" Reply: Certainly, all Member States.

Thirteenth: "*If so, what would be the basis for establishing the size of the contingents? Would it be proportional to the population of each State?*" Reply: Answer is the same as to question number 11.

Fourteenth: "*Who would receive the supreme command of this Force?*" Reply: The supreme command of the Force would rest with the Central Authority, as National Governments are in supreme command of their forces, choosing from time to time a personal commander.

Fifteenth: "*Who would be chosen as the technical 'Chief'? What would be the procedure in making the choice?*" Reply: The "technical Chief"—corresponding, let us say, to General Grant in 1863-5, or to the Chief of Staff in our Army now—would be chosen by Central Authority. Its procedure in making the choice would depend upon its own organization as fixed by the supposed Constitution, in which the member States would have yielded up certain authority to the organization created by them.

Sixteenth: "*How would the nationality of the Chief be fixed?*" Reply: Some of those who cooperate with me in working toward a true peace-keeping mechanism, such as I advocate, hold that the original compact should designate the nationality of the first Chief and provide rotation in the nationality of his successors. I differ with them on this point. I am quite content to leave the selection of technical Chiefs entirely to Central Authority.

Seventeenth: "*What qualities and experience would be necessary in obtaining this post?*" Reply: The same considerations, in general, which lead a national government to select a Wellington, a Grant or a Pershing as a national military chief; such considerations as led the allies to select Foch for a unified command would control the International Central Authority in this respect.

Eighteenth: "*What would be the functions of the different groups in the Force? Would contingents quartered in different countries be absolutely independent of the national government of the country?*" Reply: Their functions would be to obey Central Authority, to which their oath of allegiance should run. They would be entirely independent of Member-State authority. Their presence in the territory

of one or another of the member States would be a mere incident of service.

Nineteenth: "*What would be the arrangement as regards countries not members of the League of Nations?*" Reply: Answered substantially in response to question number 7. The new Union would be independent, and would make no distinctions in its relations with States in the present League or out of it.

Twentieth: "*How would the Force be financed?*" Reply: The new Union should have the right to demand financial support of its Members, and to enforce its demands, on pain of exclusion from the Union. These demands should be made substantially in proportion to national representation in the Tribunal of States and groups of States. I reject the idea of equal representation of large and small States, hence the suggestion of the latter as entitled to one place. For the purposes of the Union, these groups would be single Entities. If they refuse thus to cooperate, then they would automatically exclude themselves.

Twenty-first: "*Who would decide as to eventual intervention against a certain definite State?*" Reply: The Great Tribunal—or Central Authority.

Twenty-second: "*What would constitute valid reasons for deciding on intervention?*" Reply: Refusal to obey a decree of the Tribunal or sudden attack upon a member State. Perhaps also continued internal disorder.

Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth: "*What form would such intervention take? How do you conceive of intervention by troops stationed in the country in question?*" Reply: Seizure of capitals, of ports, of other important points, and actual combat in the field, if the recalcitrant State should put military forces in action. Abundant parallels are to be found in our Civil War.

Twenty-fifth: "*What coercive methods would the Force have at its disposal?*" Reply: The forces mentioned in answer to the first question, together with such additional forces as might be volunteered by member States or by loyal elements in the rebellious States. On the formation of the Union, it is presumed that the member States will be substantially disarmed except as to stipulated forces for domestic police purposes. Certain types of arms would be prohibited to Member States

while all types would be available to Central Authority.

In comment upon the questions above cited, the Editor of the ADVOCATE OF PEACE shows concern about the applicability of the words "peace" and "war" to the activities of an International Armed Force.

The repression of an individual by our domestic police, he says, would not be called "war," while a military movement against a State would be thus designated. Well, what of it? It is quite possible to use such a phrase as "armed conflict" instead of "war," if one prefers one sound wave to another to represent the same idea. Or "centralized Force conflicts," which covers the policeman on his beat and the army under its tents. In both cases there is a resort to armed violence by constituted authority to suppress resistance to an established order. The word "war" is loosely used. When sparse companies of United States soldiers chased our subject Indians from desert to mountain across tribal hunting-grounds seized by us, we spoke of "our Indian wars." When a force of 16,000 men was sent marching into Mexican territory, chasing a bandit band, it was not officially a war. When we landed troops in a Mexican port and killed such numbers of men, women and children as pleased us, it was not war—officially. At the date of this writing, the Japanese operations in Manchuria do not officially make an official war. They may receive a proper name when more blood shall have filled the baptismal font. What is meant in propositions for the establishment of an International force is this: That a Central International Authority shall direct organized arms against recalcitrants, whose disobedience to decrees of our International Tribunal constitutes in fact the destruction of an established order. It would be a breaking of the peace, as if I were to resist a decree of a Virginia Court requiring me to surrender to another property claimed by me as my own. Success won by the Centralized Force results in the reestablishment of peace, *i.e.* of submission to centralized Authority. "A rose by any other name," etc.

A concluding editorial comment is put in the form of a 26th question. It runs thus: "*How long would it take to get the United States Congress to renounce its duty to protect the States against invasion, abandon its right to declare war, and agree to hand*

over to a group of foreign men the right, under any circumstances, to wage war against the United States?"

"How long, O Lord! How long?"—I do not know. The tradition of *militant* nationalism is strong. Sometimes I think another desolating war must come—a war laying waste our coast cities, killing our women and children, as they fly from burning houses. We, a strong, self-righteous people, will not now consent to submit our quarrels to any other arbitrament than that of war incited by our fierce passions and by a sense of our own great force in destructive arms. True it is that we stifled Colonial separatism, after only a few years of racking misgovernment under a loose confederation. Our ancestors created a Central Authority, whose arms have been used to enforce its will. To that Central Authority we gave far greater scope of action than that which is contemplated by those who now work for an International Tribunal with an International Force sanction behind it.

We do *not* contemplate an international legislative body. There great danger lies—danger such as we see now in the conscientious but unwise exercise of Federal power to meddle in everybody's private affairs. This is bad enough on a national scale. It would be intolerable if extended internationally. No—that which we contemplate is a body established for the purpose of enforcing contracts, of interpreting so-called international law, and—above all—of making a settlement of those disputes which arise out of conflicting interests and are not referable to contracts or codes. These are the real war causes. President Wilson's passionate feeling against the German system and against the Hohenzollern family counted for more in 1917 than the alleged infraction of our neutral rights. Yet, the German mentality and the Hohenzollern traditions could not be condemned by a code and made a "justifiable" cause of war. If we really want to check international war, we must be willing to submit ourselves to Solomon-like judgments in matters not codifiable. In the long run, a series of such judgments would produce a code—quite as it has been in the growth of all customary law.

In the making of such settlements, there is inherent all the legislative power that I, for one, would care to entrust to the Tribunal. Our Supreme Court is, in

effect, our highest legislative body—often truly legislative, even when it is nominally engaged only in interpretation. Very well, that is inescapable. It is well that the last word in human controversies should be spoken by an august body, set over all others, and removed as far as our natures permit, from local, social, and class prejudices.

Now, as to the technical point of the power of Congress to renounce its duty, etc. Some believe that our Constitution should be amended ere Congress make the great renunciation. Such an amendment has been prepared, and now sleeps in the bosom of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate. It remains that no technical obstacle can long stand in the way of any great movement desired by the nation.

Lastly, the Editor is concerned about the "handing over to a group of foreign men, under any circumstances, of the right to make war against the United States." How long for that? Nay, the right of foreign men to make war against us *exists now*. It has always existed since our national birth. It can be exercised by one or by many. No preliminaries are necessary. This is the general rule of international existence. It goes with savage sovereignty. It was hoped by ardent men that members of the League would have "handed over," etc. But such is not the case. Individual national judgments underly the application of Article X—the "heart of the Covenant." We may now restrain this supposed foreign attack upon us by helping to create an institution which cannot marshal hosts against us until we have had our day in Court, and, having had it, shall have defied the judgment of the Great Tribunal. Such an institution offers the *only* reasonably efficient defense for *all* nations.

May it not fail? Yes. Even our beautiful constitutional structure fell into tragic ruins during four years of desolating war and ten years of agonizing reconstruction, 1861-1875. My own early youth felt the despair of that second chapter of our failure. Yet, is there any one of us who regrets the splendid adventure in 1787—anyone who now does not rejoice in the rebuilding of the house of our fathers?

Let us not be content with any mere outcry for "Peace." Let us make ready

in our hearts for the necessary sacrifice of tradition by the establishment of necessary institutions for peace-keeping. Brotherly love, unorganized, is not enough. It must be buttressed by the justice of the peace and his constable. These two give the *sole* formula for punishing errors of action by bad men and by good men. (It is the good man, generally, who leads a nation to war. It is the bad man who, individually, breaks into your house, or fires it, or murders you through private greed or vengeance. We may not be ready for the great renunciation. Let us then recognize that war is still the Great Tribunal for settling our quarrels. Halfway measures must fail.

While I am writing this, France has thrown down the gauntlet to the world,

challenging attention to the problem of an international police force. There is much in M. Tardieu's pronouncement in Geneva with which I disagree. I do not believe that as at present organized the League of Nations is a proper depository of an armed force. M. Tardieu doubtless agrees with this view, since he plainly says that in order to make his proposal effective, political measures must be adopted. He particularizes some of these. While space forbids the extension of the discussion here, I beg leave to ask, Can we, should we, be indifferent to this grave problem? May we not at least have an official commission to study and to report upon the merits of the proposal for an International Tribunal backed by a constable?

From the "War Prayer"*

By MARK TWAIN

Mr. Clemens' daughter, Jean, and others advised against the printing of this "War Prayer" on the ground that it would be regarded as sacrilege. When Dan Beard, to whom Clemens read the "Prayer", urged that it be published, the author said: "No, I have told the whole truth in that, and only dead men can tell the truth in this world. It can be published after I am dead." It was not published until after his death.—EDITOR.

"Our Lord our Father, our young patriots, idols of our hearts, go forth to battle—be Thóu near them! With them—in spirit—we also go forth from the sweet peace of our beloved firesides to smite the foe.

"O Lord our God, help us to tear their soldiers to bloody shreds with our shells; help us to cover their smiling fields with the pale forms of their patriot dead; help us to drown the thunder of the guns with the wounded, writhing in pain; help us to lay waste their humble homes with a hurricane of fire; help us to wring the hearts of their unoffending widows with unavailing grief; help us to turn them out roofless with their little children to wander unfriended through wastes of their desolated

land in rags & hunger & thirst, sport of the sun-flames of summer and the icy winds of winter, broken in spirit, worn with travail, imploring Thee for the refuge of the grave & denied it—for our sakes, who adore Thee, Lord, blast their hopes, blight their lives, protract their bitter pilgrimage, make heavy their steps, water their way with their tears, stain the white snow with the blood of their wounded feet! 'We ask of one who is the Spirit of love & who is the ever faithful refuge and friend of all that are sore beset, & seek His aid with humble and contrite hearts. Grant our prayer, O Lord, & Thine shall be the praise & honor & glory, now & ever. Amen."

* Biography of Mark Twain, by Albert Bigelow Paine, Vol. 3, p. 1233.

United States of America Group of the Interparliamentary Union

Twenty-ninth Annual Meeting

THE twenty-ninth annual meeting of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union, was held in the room of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, Office Building of the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., on Wednesday, February 24, 1932. The following are extracts from the stenographic minutes of the meeting.

The meeting was called to order at 10 o'clock a.m., by the President, Mr. Montague. There were present: Representatives: Montague, Lichtenwalner, Ruth Bryan Owen, Knutson, Bloom, Andrew, Linthicum, Lanham, Gibson, Morton D. Hull, French, and Chindblom.

The President: I think each of you has a notice of the meeting, containing the agenda. The reading of the minutes of the last session, Dr. Call, I believe will be the first order of business.

After reading of the minutes:

The President: You have heard the minutes. Are there any corrections suggested? If not they stand approved.

The next order of business will be the announcements and communications. Mr. Secretary, what announcements have you?

The Executive Secretary: Mr. President, I think the members of the Group will be interested to know that it has been decided by the Council of the Interparliamentary Union that the next Conference of the Union will be held in Geneva. The Council have not decided as yet whether it shall be held in July or in August. They ask us which month would be more agreeable to us. The program of the Bureau of the Union for the year 1932 includes the continuation of efforts for the formation of new Groups. The Bureau contemplates sending officials to various countries to arouse additional interest in the Union. The six Study Commissions and subcommissions are working. The Union plans to continue the publication of the *Bulletin*, on its present monthly basis. It

is publishing this year again what is known as the "Annuaire," a book which, I think, would be of some service to members of this Group. The price of this book has not yet been announced. It is also planning to publish the text of the resolutions adopted by the Interparliamentary Union since 1911, with an introduction, bibliography and an analytical table. It is of interest to add that the Interparliamentary Union has been responsible for the recent publication of a book entitled "What Would Be the Character of a New War?" published by T. S. King and Son, in London. That book of 350 pages is listed at 16 shillings, or about \$2.65. Should any member wish this book, I shall be glad to order it for him. Many who have seen the book rate it as a useful work.

At this point in the proceedings Mrs. Owen's motion with reference to the payment from the Carnegie Fund of certain expenses, amounting to \$182.57, to the widow of a deceased member, was unanimously carried.

The President: If there are no other communications the next order of business will be the report of the Treasurer, Mr. Bloom.

Treasurer's Report, February 24, 1931, to February 24, 1932

Receipts:

Last balance on hand.....	\$1,542.61
July 18, 1931:	
Cash from Carnegie Endowment	1,000.00
December 24, 1931:	
From Arthur D. Call	1,000.00
	<hr/>
	\$3,542.61

Expenditures:

March 2, 1931:	
Arthur D. Call, secretarial services	\$100
May 6, 1931:	
Arthur D. Call, secretarial services	100
June 11, 1931:	
Arthur D. Call, secretarial services	100

August 17, 1931:	
Arthur D. Call, secretarial services	200
August 17, 1931:	
Advance payment, secretarial service, travel and subsistence, conference..	1,000
December 22, 1931:	
Arthur D. Call	100
	1,600.00
Balance	\$1,942.61

Respectfully submitted,

SOL BLOOM,
Treasurer.

Mr. Bloom said: "Certain details of the financial operations set forth in the Treasurer's Report should perhaps be explained.

Prior to 1919 the Executive Secretary Dr. S. N. D. North, received \$50 per month for his expenses. From 1919 to 1925, your present Executive Secretary received nothing for his services. Beginning in 1925, when the Conference of the Union was held here, it was arranged by the President, Senator McKinley, upon his own motion, that the Executive Secretary should again get \$50 a month for his services. This \$50 a month comes from that Carnegie Endowment Fund. That is the only income that the Executive Secretary gets for his services. The \$1,000 item is an operation which proceeds as follows: Your Executive Secretary is advanced from the Carnegie Fund \$1,000 for his expenses to the Conference in Europe, for his travel, all his incidentals, and his subsistence. Upon his return, he presents a bill for the \$1,000 to the State Department under the terms of the budget against the regular appropriation. When he is reimbursed, the \$1,000 is returned to the Carnegie Fund. That has been the procedure for some years.

The Executive Secretary read the report of the Chief of the Bureau of Accounts on the Appropriation Account as follows:

Department of State—Bureau of Accounts

12303—Expenses of American Group of the Interparliamentary Union

Appropriation	\$10,000.00
Expenditures:	
11/27 J. C. Linthicum	
Travel and per diem	\$958.68
12/11 A. J. Montague	
Travel and per diem	847.29
12/11 B. C. Wheeler	
Travel and per diem	939.65

12/11 B. L. French	
Travel and per diem	753.32
12/19 A. D. Call	
Travel and per diem	1,059.73
12/29 F. G. Lanham	
Travel and per diem	891.55
1/5 Cyrenus Cole	
Travel and per diem	806.72
1/15 Alice A. Hale	
Travel and expenses	799.87
1/19 Wm. I. Sirovich	
Travel and per diem	857.50
1/27 Western Union Tele. Co.	
Telegram and registration	2.50
1/27 Judd & Detweiler, Inc.	
Envelopes	13.25
1/27 American Peace Society	
ADVOCATE OF PEACE	531.00
	8,461.06
Unexpended balance	\$1,538.94

1x303—Expenses of American Group of Interparliamentary Union

Transfer from 19303

\$3,111.86

Expenditures:

1/15 R. G. Fitzgerald	
Travel and per diem	\$296.55
12/22 Ruth B. Owen	
Travel and per diem	785.00
12/22 Sol Bloom	
Travel and per diem	807.24
1/6 Postal Telegraph Co.	
June service	9.92
1/6 Western Union Tele. Co.	
June service	2.65
5/21 Postal Telegraph Co.	
June service	1.65
6/6 Judd & Detweiler, Inc.	
Envelopes	62.25
	1,965.26

Unexpended balance

\$1,146.60

WILLIAM MCNEIR,
Chief, Bureau of Accounts.

February 3, 1932.

BA:AHB/edt.

A.H.B.

Addendum

Amounts in balance

\$1,146.60

1,538.94

\$2,685.54

Outstanding bills:

Telegrams	\$2.32
Bulletins	75.08
	77.40

Total balance to date

\$2,608.14

The President: What do you wish to do with these financial reports, gentlemen?

Mr. Lanham: I move that they be received and approved.

The President: Without objection then, gentlemen, the reports will be received and approved.

Mr. Linthicum: I should like to say that the Foreign Affairs Committee looked over the Appropriation Bill and saw there was only \$6,000 provided for the Interparliamentary Union, and, on motion of one of the members, we appointed Mrs. Owen a committee to wait upon Mr. Oliver, and to ascertain why he had not given \$10,000. Subsequently Mr. Oliver told Mrs. Owen, as he also told me, that the committee would allow about \$7,300 which would make up the \$10,000. Last night he told me, after the bill had passed, that we were provided our full \$10,000 for the Bureau of the Union.

The President: He told me that, too. I think they intended to do that.

The Executive Secretary: Under date of March 3, 1931, President Montague sent the following report to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House.

March 3, 1931.

HONORABLE CHARLES CURTIS,
Vice-President of the United States,
United States Senate.

SIR:

Public Resolution Number 91 of the Seventy-first Congress (H. J. Res. 280), authorizing participation by the United States in the Interparliamentary Union, provides in Section 2 as follows:

"That the American group of the Interparliamentary Union shall submit to the Congress a report, including its expenditures under this appropriation."

Pursuant to this Resolution we submit to you the following:

The Interparliamentary Union was founded in Paris in 1888. It held its first Conference in 1899. The twelfth in the series of Conferences was held in St. Louis in 1904; and the twenty-third in Washington in 1925.

The Twenty-sixth Conference was held in London, July 16 to 22, 1930. Five Senators and thirteen Members of the House of Representatives attended this Conference in London, as follows:

Senator Henry F. Ashurst, Senator Alben W. Barkley, Senator Tom Connally, Senator Millard Tydings, and Senator Burton K. Wheeler; and Representatives Andrew J. Montague, former Representative Richard Bartholdt, Sol Bloom,

Carl Chindblom, Thomas C. Cochran, Roy G. Fitzgerald, Franklin W. Forst, Burton L. French, Morton D. Hull, Fiorello H. LaGuardia, Ruth Bryan Owen, Bertrand H. Snell, George R. Stobbs. These delegates were accompanied by Mr. Lewis Deschler, Parliamentarian of the House, and Arthur Deerin Call, Executive Secretary of the American Group.

A fairly complete report of this Twenty-sixth Conference is set forth in No. 4, Volume 92 of THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE for November, 1930, pages 250-271.

At the Twenty-eighth Annual Meeting of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union held in the room of the Committee on the Judiciary, House Office Building, Tuesday, February 24, 1931, the following officers were elected for the year 1931-32:

President, Representative Andrew J. Montague, Virginia; *Vice-Presidents:* Senator Simeon D. Fess, Ohio; Senator Alben W. Barkley, Kentucky; Representative Henry W. Temple, Pennsylvania; *Treasurer,* Representative Sol Bloom, New York; *Secretary,* Representative Burton L. French, Idaho. *Executive Committee:* Representative Andrew J. Montague, *ex officio Chairman;* Representative Fred A. Britten, Illinois; Representative Carl R. Chindblom, Illinois; Representative J. Charles Linthicum, Maryland; Senator Tom Connally, Texas; Senator Joseph T. Robinson, Arkansas; Senator Claude A. Swanson, Virginia; Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan; Representative A. Piatt Andrew, Massachusetts; Representative Thomas C. Cochran, Pennsylvania. Executive Secretary, Arthur Deerin Call, 734 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C. (Tel., NATIONAL 7409).

The expenditures under the terms of this resolution are made through the Department of State, and the Chief of the Bureau of Accounts of that Department reported as of February 17, 1931, as follows:

Department of State, Bureau of Accounts
February 17, 1931.

Memo to A. D. Call:

Following is an itemized list of expenditures made from the respective appropriations listed below:

10303 Expenses, American Group of Interparliamentary Union, 1930	
Appropriation	\$10,000.00
Expenditures:	
01 Salary	\$1,000.00
02 Photographs	1.17
05 Telegrams	20.43

06 Travel	7,490.90	
964 Subsistence	1,487.50	\$10,000.00
		<hr/>
Balance		
10303 Expenses, American Group of Interparliamentary Union (made available from 1929—\$3,111.86)		
Appropriation	\$3,111.86	
Expenditures to February 1st:		
05 Telegrams	\$12.57	
06 Travel	1,664.79	
064 Subsistence	224.00	
		1,901.36
		<hr/>
Balance	\$1,210.50	

WILLIAM MCNEIR,
 Chief, Bureau of Accounts,
 Department of State."

Very respectfully,

ANDREW J. MONTAGUE,
 President, American Group,
 Interparliamentary Union.

ARTHUR D. CALL,
 Executive Secretary.

The report of the Committee on By-Laws is the next subject.

Mr. French: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Chindblom asked that I should take his place in presenting the report for the Committee on By-Laws. This Committee appointed by President Montague is as follows: Senator Barkley, and Representatives Chindblom, French, La Guardia and Linthicum. I would say that the By-Laws that we are proposing are not radically different from the By-Laws under which we have operated for some years. They go to the clarification of the By-Laws, and they substitute the language that seems to be more appropriate in various respects, and in a few instances they change fundamentally the conditions set forth in the old By-Laws.

I should say, turning to Article I, that the essential change is the substitution of the words "Statutes and Regulations" for "Constitution." It would seem that the words "Statutes and Regulations" are more suitable.

The President: It more nearly harmonizes with the terminology in use in Europe. They use the words "Statutes and Regulations."

Mr. French: Yes, that is correct. In the first paragraph of Article II, touching

upon membership, you will observe the one fundamental change that has been made. Under the old by-laws, members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States were eligible to membership in the American Group. It seemed desirable to provide that all members of the Senate and the House of Representatives be *ipso facto* members of the Group, thereby placing the responsibility upon the member to withdraw from the Group, as we provide later he may.

Mr. Hull: May I ask the speaker what his reason is for that change in the by-laws?

Mr. French: One reason is because this plan is followed by many of the other Groups of the Union. I am not able to say what percentage of other countries use this method, but there are advantages in having the entire membership of the Congress included in the American Group. It gives us a larger representation in the Conferences of the Union. It, on the other hand, as propositions arise in the Senate or House, has the appeal of being a Group of which all members of the Congress are representatives, instead of a limited number, and in that way any appropriations made could not be said to be made for a particular section of the Congress, but rather for all members; unless they, of their own wish, withdraw.

Mr. Hull: I do not want to be hypercritical, but it would seem to me unless a man were willing to manifest positively his interest in the Group, that his inclusion in the group is a handicap rather than an advantage. I cannot help clinging to the idea that the old arrangement was the better one. You may be right, however; I just wanted to offer the suggestion.

Mr. French: The members of the committee considered that phase of it, and as against that, considered the constant campaign that must be carried on to keep the membership up to a majority of the members of the Congress. We rather placed one against the other, you might say.

In connection with Article II, I would say we included the words "United States of America," instead of "American Group." We did that because it seemed rather a presumption for us to claim that we were "American" as applied only to the United States, when members of the Interparliamentary Group include members of the

countries to the south of us, and also the Dominion of Canada. To Article II, a paragraph 4 should be added as follows: "The members and honorary members heretofore referred to are eligible for full participation in the deliberations and activities of the Group." The By-Laws, as amended, then read as follows:

By-Laws

Article I

Name

THE *United States of America Group* of the Interparliamentary Union is organized under the "Statutes and Regulations" of the Interparliamentary Union, and all its proceedings shall be regulated in accordance therewith.

Article II

Membership

Every Senator and Representative in the Congress of the United States of America is *ipso facto* a member of this Group of the Interparliamentary Union.

A former member, who is or has been a member of the Council of the Interparliamentary Union, may, on the recommendation of the Group and the approval of the Council of the Union, become an Honorary Member of the Group.

A former member who has rendered distinguished services to the Union may, upon the recommendation of the Group and the approval of the Council of the Union, become an Honorary Member of the Group.

The members and honorary members heretofore referred to are eligible for free participation in the deliberations and activities of the Group.

Article III

Officers

The Officers of the Group shall be:

A President

Three Vice-Presidents

A Secretary

A Treasurer

An Executive Committee of nine, of which the President of the Group shall be the Chairman

Two members of the Council

These Officers shall be elected and hold office for one year, or until their successors are elected.

Vacancies in the offices herein provided may be filled by appointment by the President, or, in the event of a vacancy occurring in the office of the President, then by the Executive Committee.

Article IV

Executive Committee

Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be held on the call of the chairman. The duties of the Executive Committee shall be: To prepare programs for meetings of the Group; to execute the recommendations and resolutions of the Conferences or of the Council of the Interparliamentary Union; to nominate, at the Annual Meeting, the Permanent Executive Secretary of the Group; to approve the budget of the Group; to make an administrative report each year at the Annual Meeting of the Group; to adopt its own regulations; and to perform the duties of the Group during the interim between meetings.

Article V

The President

It shall be the duty of the President to preside at meetings of the Group; to act as Chairman of the Executive Committee; to call such meetings of the Executive Committee as he may deem necessary; to issue the call for all meetings of the Group; to appoint the delegates to the Conferences of the Interparliamentary Union; and to approve all vouchers prior to payment.

Article VI

Permanent Executive-Secretary

There shall be a Permanent Executive Secretary to be elected by the Group, upon nomination of the Executive Committee, at the Annual Meeting, whose duties, under the direction of the President, shall be: To keep the records of the Group; to keep in permanent touch with the Interparliamentary Bureau; to act as custodian of the Group's library and permanent archives; to prepare such official reports as may be required by the President, by the Interparliamentary Council or by the Secretary General of the Union; and with the President

to countersign all vouchers prior to payment.

Article VII

Meetings

The Group shall meet at least twice a year, one such meeting to be the Annual Meeting of the Group.

The Annual Meeting of the Group shall be held on the third Monday of January.

Other meetings of the Group shall be held on the call of the Executive Committee upon its own motion, or upon the written request of twenty or more members.

Article VIII

Activities

All resolutions bearing upon the national or international policy of the Government of the United States, offered at any meeting of the Group, shall first be referred to the Executive Committee if there be any objection to immediate consideration.

The Group shall adopt measures for informing the Congress of the United States of the acts or resolutions of the Interparliamentary Union.

Members of the Group, having participated in the Conferences or meetings of the Council or Committees of the Union, shall report at meetings of the Group on the work in which they have taken part.

Article IX

Resignations

Any member of the Group may resign by written communication to the Permanent Executive-Secretary of the Group.

Article X

Amendments

Upon the motion of any member, after thirty days' notice, these By-Laws may be amended by a majority vote of the members present.

A copy of the proposed amendment or amendments shall accompany the notice of any meeting called for the purpose of amending the By-Laws, and no amendments other than those thus proposed shall be considered at any meeting thus called or at an Annual Meeting.

Mr. Bloom: Before putting the motion as to the by-laws as a whole, may I inquire who is to take the place of the President at any meeting if he is not here?

The President: We have three Vice-Presidents.

Upon the motion of Mr. French, seconded by Mr. Bloom, the motion on the adoption of the by-laws as proposed and amended was carried unanimously.

The President: Now, members, there is the matter of the election of officers.

The first officer to elect is the President, and there are three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, Treasurer, Executive Committee, and two members of the Council

Mr. French: Mr. Hull was formerly a member of the Council together with President Montague. It developed that Mr. Hull could not attend the last meeting of the Interparliamentary Union at Bucharest, and withdrew, leaving a vacancy; and Mr. Montague named me as a member of the Council. I told Mr. Hull after my return that it was my intention to withdraw and permit him to continue to serve as a member of the Council, and I want to say to the Committee that that is my desire, and I now withdraw and nominate for that one place, Mr. Morton D. Hull, if I may do so.

Mr. Bishop: I second the motion.

The President putting the vote, announced it carried unanimously.

Another officer to be elected is the President.

Mr. Bishop: I nominate Representative Montague.

Mr. Bloom: I second the motion.

The President: I will not preside while that motion is being put.

The motion was put by Mr. Hull, who temporarily occupied the Chair. The motion was unanimously carried, the Secretary being instructed to cast the ballot for Mr. Montague.

The President: There are three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, nine members of the Executive Committee, and the Permanent Executive Secretary to be elected.

The following were declared elected:

Vice-Presidents—

Senator Simeon D. Fess, Ohio

Senator Alben W. Barkley, Kentucky

Representative Henry W. Temple, Pennsylvania

Treasurer, Representative Sol Bloom, New York

Secretary, Representative Burton L. French, Idaho

Executive Committee—

Representative Andrew J. Montague, *ex officio*

Chairman

Representative Fred A. Britten, Illinois
 Representative Carl R. Chindblom, Maryland
 Senator Tom Connally, Texas.
 Senator Joseph T. Robinson, Arkansas
 Senator Claude A. Swanson, Virginia
 Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Michigan
 Representative A. Piatt Andrew, Massachusetts
 Representative Thomas C. Cochran, Pennsylvania

Permanent Executive Secretary, Dr. Arthur Deerin Call.

Without objection, the Chair will request Dr. Call, Executive Secretary, to notify these gentlemen of their election, and to request an early reply as to whether or not they will accept.

The President announced upon the nomination of the Executive Committee, that Dr. Arthur D. Call, was reelected the Permanent Executive Secretary of the United States Group, the Secretary, Mr. French, being directed to cast the ballot for Dr. Call.

President Montague: I was asked at the last meeting to make an address to the House at some time this session upon the work of the Interparliamentary Union and give some account of its history. I desire to do so, and will do so; but I have been overwhelmed this year with personal and other matters that have made it impossible. But when the opportunity comes up in the House I will make some brief address on the Interparliamentary Union and give some idea of our work. In other words, I shall conform to the request of the Committee last year.

Whereupon, at 12 o'clock noon, the meeting adjourned.

Signed

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL,
Executive Secretary.

Feb'y. 24, 1932.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

Secretary Stimson's Identic Note of January 7

JANUARY 7, the Secretary of State instructed the American Ambassador at Tokio and the American Minister in Peiping to deliver the following identic note to the Japanese Government and the Chinese Government respectively:

With the recent military operations about Chinchow, the last remaining administrative authority of the Government of the Chinese Republic in South Manchuria, as it existed prior to September 18th, 1931, has been destroyed. The American Government continues confident that the work of the neutral commissions recently authorized by the Council of the League of Nations will facilitate an ultimate solution of the difficulties now existing between China and Japan. But in view of the present situation and of its own rights and obligations therein, the American Government deems it to be its duty to notify both the Imperial Japanese Government and the Government of the Chinese Republic that it cannot admit the legality of any situation *de facto* nor does it intend to recognize any treaty or agreement entered into between those Governments, or agents thereof, which may impair the treaty rights of the United States or its citizens in China, including those which relate to the sovereignty, the independence, or the territorial and administrative integrity of the Re-

public of China, or to the international policy relative to China, commonly known as the open door policy; and that it does not intend to recognize any situation, treaty or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the covenants and obligations of the Pact of Paris of August 27, 1928, to which Treaty both China and Japan, as well as the United States, are parties.

Text of Note of the Japanese Government

HANDED to the American Ambassador at Tokyo, Mr. W. Cameron Forbes, by Foreign Minister Yoshizawa of Japan on January 16 in reply to the American Government's note of January 8, 1932.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's note dated the 8th January, which has had the most careful attention of this Government.

The Government of Japan were well aware that the Government of the United States could always be relied on to do everything in their power to support Japan's efforts to secure the full and complete fulfillment in every detail of the Treaties of Washington and the Kellogg Treaty for the Outlawry of War. They are glad to receive this additional assurance of the fact.

As regards the question which Your Excellency specifically mentions of the policy of the so-called "open door," the Japanese Government, as has so often been stated, regard that policy as a cardinal feature of the politics of the Far East, and only regrets that its effectiveness is so seriously diminished by the unsettled conditions which prevail throughout China. In so far as they can secure it, the policy of the open door will always be maintained in Manchuria, as in China proper.

They take note of the statement by the Government of the United States that the latter cannot admit the legality of matters which might impair the treaty rights of the United States or its citizens or which might be brought about by means contrary to the Treaty of 27 August 1928. It might be the subject of an academic doubt, whether in a given case the impropriety of means necessarily and always avoids the ends secured, but as Japan has no intention of adopting improper means, that question does not practically arise.

It may be added that the treaties which relate to China must necessarily be applied with due regard to the state of affairs from time to time prevailing in that country, and that the present unsettled and distracted state of China is not what was in the contemplation of the high contracting parties at the time of the Treaty of Washington. It was certainly not satisfactory then: but it did not display that disunion and those antagonisms which it does today. This cannot affect the binding character of the stipulations of treaties: but it may in material respects modify their application, since they must necessarily be applied with reference to the state of facts as they exist.

My Government desires further to point out that any replacement which has occurred in the personnel of the administration of Manchuria has been the necessary act of the local population. Even in cases of hostile occupation—which this was not—it is customary for the local officials to remain in the exercise of their functions. In the present case they for the most part fled or resigned: it was their own behaviour which was calculated to destroy the working of the apparatus of government. The Japanese Government cannot think that the Chinese people, unlike all others, are destitute of the power of self determination and of organizing themselves in order to secure civilized conditions when deserted by the existing officials.

While it need not be repeated that Japan entertains in Manchuria no territorial aims or ambitions, yet, as Your Excellency knows, the welfare and safety of Manchuria and its accessibility for general trade are matters of the deepest interest and of quite extraordinary importance to the Japanese people. That the American Government are always alive to the exigencies of Far Eastern questions has already been made evident on more than one occasion. At the present juncture, when the very existence of our national policy is involved, it is agreeable to be assured that the American Government are devoting in a friendly spirit such sedulous care to the correct appreciation of the situation.

I shall be obliged if Your Excellency will transmit this communication to your Government, and I avail myself, et cetera."

Chinese Government's Note of January 12

IN REPLY to the American Government's note of January 8, 1932.

The Department of State received from the Chinese Legation in Washington the following: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's note dated January 8, 1932.

It is amply evident that the American Government takes the most serious view of the lawless acts of the Japanese military forces in the 3 Eastern Provinces and that it upholds also the dignity of the international covenants and of the pact against war. The Chinese Government from the time that the present events in the Northeast began on September 18, 1931, and up to the present day, has in every respect fulfilled its duties as prescribed in the pact against war, and the Chinese Government therefore has taken no steps of any nature whatever calculated to aggravate the situation, but has, in accordance with the procedures set forth in the existing international covenants, asked that Signatory Powers direct their special attention to these events. The Japanese military forces, on the contrary, following the adoption of the Resolution of the League of Nations on September 30, 1931, and the meeting of the Council on October 24, 1931, have still continuously extended the field of their invasion, and even after the passing of the League's Resolution on December 10, 1931, have openly invaded and seized Chinchow, the seat of the Chinese local government. More recently Japan has occupied Suichung and advanced to Shanhaikwan, and has increased the numbers of the Japanese vessels and troops at Chinwangtao, Tientsin and other places. In addition to this, there are indications of the intention to attack Jehol.

These violations of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Nine Power Treaty and the Pact against War, and this disregard of the repeated decisions of the League are facts which it has not been possible to conceal. The Japanese Government therefore must bear full responsibility for all the events involved.

With reference to the notification of Your Excellency's Government that in this matter it does not recognize as legal any situation de facto, I have the honor to state that the Chinese Government has repeatedly lodged with the Japanese Government gravest protests against the various invasions and lawless acts perpetrated by the Japanese troops since September 18, 1931, and has made it known internationally that the Chinese Government accords them no recognition whatsoever.

With regard to the treaties or agreements referred to in the note under reply, I have the honor to state that the Chinese Government, basing its position on its sovereignty and independence and on the principle of territorial and administrative integrity, has absolutely no intention of concluding any treaties or agreements of the categories described.

It is the sincere hope of the Chinese Government that Your Excellency's Government will continue to promote the effectiveness of the in-

ternational covenants in order that their dignity may be conserved.

I have the honor to bring the above to the attention of Your Excellency and express the hope that you will transmit it to Your Excellency's Government for its information and action.

EUGENE CHIN.

Secretary of State to Senator Borah, February 24, 1932

THE text of the letter of Secretary of State Stimson to Senator Borah on the Nine-Power Treaty and the Far Eastern policy of the United States, is as follows:

MY DEAR SENATOR BORAH:

You have asked my opinion whether, as has been sometimes recently suggested, present conditions in China have in any way indicated that the so-called Nine-Power Treaty has become inapplicable or ineffective or rightly in need of modification, and, if so, what I considered should be the policy of this government.

This treaty, as you, of course, know, forms the legal basis upon which now rests the "open door" policy toward China. That policy, enunciated by John Hay in 1899, brought to an end the struggle among various Powers for so-called spheres of interest in China which was threatening the dismemberment of that empire.

To accomplish this Mr. Hay invoked two principles:

(1) Equality of commercial opportunity among all nations in dealing with China, and

(2) As necessary to that equality the preservation of China's territorial and administrative integrity.

These principles were not new in the foreign policy of America. They had been the principles upon which it rested in its dealings with other nations for many years. In the case of China they were invoked to save a situation which not only threatened the future development and sovereignty of that great Asiatic people, but also threatened to create dangerous and constantly increasing rivalries between the other nations of the world.

War had already taken place between Japan and China. At the close of that war three other nations intervened to prevent Japan from obtaining some of the results of that war claimed by her. Other nations sought and had obtained spheres of interest.

Hay's Statement of Policy

Partly as a result of these actions a serious uprising had broken out in China which endangered the legations of all of the Powers at Peking. While the attack on those legations was in progress Mr. Hay made an announcement in respect to this policy as the principle upon which the Powers should act in the settlement of the rebellion. He said:

"The policy of the Government of the United States is to seek a solution which may bring

about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire."

He was successful in obtaining the assent of the other powers to the policy thus announced.

In taking these steps Mr. Hay acted with the cordial support of the British Government. In responding to Mr. Hay's announcement, above set forth, Lord Salisbury, the British Prime Minister, expressed himself "most emphatically as concurring in the policy of the United States."

For twenty years thereafter the open door policy rested upon the informal commitments thus made by the various powers. But in the winter of 1921 to 1922, at a conference participated in by all of the principal powers which had interests in the Pacific, the policy was crystallized into the so-called nine-power treaty, which gave definition and precision to the principles upon which the policy rested. In the first article of that treaty, the contracting powers, other than China agreed

1. To respect the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of China.

2. To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government.

3. To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China.

4. To refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly states, and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such states.

"A Covenant of Self-Denial"

This treaty thus represents a carefully developed and matured international policy intended, on the one hand, to assure to all of the contracting parties their rights and interests in and with regard to China, and on the other hand, to assure to the people of China the fullest opportunity to develop without molestation their sovereignty and independence according to the modern and enlightened standards believed to maintain among the peoples of this earth.

At the time this treaty was signed it was known that China was engaged in an attempt to develop the free institutions of a self-governing republic after her recent revolution from an autocratic form of government; that she would require many years of both economic and political effort to that end, and that her progress would necessarily be slow.

The treaty was thus a covenant of self-denial among the signatory powers in deliberate renunciation of any policy of aggression which might tend to interfere with that development. It was believed—and the whole history of that development of the "open door" policy reveals that faith—that only by such a process, under the protection of such an agreement, could the full-

est interests not only of China but of all nations which have intercourse with her best be served.

In its report to the President announcing this treaty the American delegation, headed by the then Secretary of State, Mr. Charles E. Hughes, said:

"It is believed that through this treaty the 'open door' in China has at last been made a fact."

British and Japanese Positions

During the course of the discussions which resulted in the treaty the chairman of the British delegation, Lord Balfour, had stated that:

"The British Empire delegation understood that there was no representative of any power around the table who thought that the old practice of 'spheres of interest' was either advocated by any government or would be tolerable to this conference. So far as the British Government were concerned, they had, in the most formal manner, publicly announced that they regarded this practice as utterly inappropriate to the existing situation."

At the same time, the representative of Japan, Baron Shidehara, announced the position of his government as follows:

"No one denies to China her sacred right to govern herself. No one stands in the way of China to work out her own great national destiny."

The treaty was originally executed by the United States, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands and Portugal. Subsequently it was also executed by Norway, Bolivia, Sweden, Denmark and Mexico. Germany has signed it, but her Parliament has not yet ratified it.

It must be remembered also that this treaty was one of the several treaties and agreements entered into at the Washington conference by the various powers concerned, all of which were interrelated and interdependent.

No one of these treaties can be disregarded without disturbing the general understanding and equilibrium which were intended to be accomplished and effected by the group of agreements arrived at in their entirety.

The Washington conference was essentially a disarmament conference, aimed to promote the possibility of peace in the world, not only through the cessation of competition in naval armament, but also by the solution of various other disturbing problems which threatened the peace of the world, particularly in the Far East. These problems were all interrelated.

Treaties Are Linked Together

The willingness of the American Government to surrender its then commanding lead in battleship construction and to leave its positions at Guam and in the Philippines without further fortification, was predicated upon, among other things, the self-denying covenants contained in the Nine-Power treaty, which assured the nations of the world not only of equal opportunity for their Eastern trade, but also against the military aggrandizement of any other power at the expense of China.

One cannot discuss the possibility of modifying or abrogating those provisions of the Nine-Power treaty without considering at the same time the other promises upon which they were really dependent.

Six years later the policy of self-denial against aggression by a stronger against a weaker power, upon which the Nine-Power treaty had been based, received a powerful reinforcement by the execution by substantially all the nations of the world of the Pact of Paris, the so-called Kellogg-Briand pact.

These two treaties represent independent but harmonious steps taken for the purpose of aligning the conscience and public opinion of the world in favor of a system of orderly development by the law of nations, including the settlement of all controversies by methods of justice and peace instead of by arbitrary force.

The program for the protection of China from outside aggression is an essential part of any such development. The signatories and adherents of the Nine-Power treaty rightly felt that the orderly and peaceful development of the 400,000,000 of people inhabiting China was necessary to the peaceful welfare of the entire world, and that no program for the welfare of the world as a whole could afford to neglect the welfare and protection of China.

No Need of Modification Shown

The recent events which have taken place in China, especially the hostilities, which, having been begun in Manchuria, have latterly been extended to Shanghai, far from indicating the advisability of any modification of the treaties we have been discussing, have tended to bring home the vital importance of the faithful observance of the covenants therein to all of the nations interested in the Far East.

It is not necessary in that connection to inquire into the causes of the controversy or attempt to apportion the blame between the two nations which are unhappily involved; for, regardless of cause or responsibility, it is clear beyond peradventure that a situation has developed which cannot, under any circumstances, be reconciled with the obligations of the covenants of these two treaties, and that if the treaties had been faithfully observed such a situation could not have arisen.

The signatories of the Nine-Power treaty and of the Kellogg-Briand pact who are not parties to that conflict are not likely to see any reason for modifying the terms of those treaties. To them the real value of the faithful performance of the treaties has been brought sharply home by the perils and losses to which their nations have been subjected in Shanghai.

This is the view of this government:

We see no reason for abandoning the enlightened principles which are embodied in these treaties.

We believe that this situation would have been avoided had these covenants been faithfully observed. And no evidence has come to us to indicate that a due compliance with them would have interfered with the adequate protection of the legitimate rights in China of the signatories of those treaties and their nations.

On January 7 last, upon the instruction of the President, this government formally notified Japan and China that it would not recognize any situation, treaty or agreement entered into by those governments in violation of the covenants of these treaties, which affected the rights of our government or its citizens in China.

Suggests Action by Other Powers

If a similar decision should be reached and a similar position taken by the other governments of the world, a caveat will be placed upon such action which, we believe, will effectively bar the legality hereafter of any title or right sought to be obtained by pressure or treaty violation, and which, as has been shown by history in the past, will eventually lead to the restoration to China of rights and titles of which she may have been deprived.

In the past our government, as one of the leading powers on the Pacific Ocean, has rested its policy upon an abiding faith in the future of the people of China and upon the ultimate success in dealing with them of the principles of fair play, patience, and mutual goodwill. We appreciate the immensity of the task which lies before her statesmen in the development of her country and its government.

The delays in her progress, the instability of her attempts to secure a responsible government, were foreseen by Messrs. Hay and Hughes and their contemporaries and were the very obstacles which the policy of the open door was designed to meet.

We concur with those statesmen, representing all the nations in the Washington conference who decided that China was entitled to the time necessary to accomplish her development. We are prepared to make that our policy for the future.

Very sincerely yours,

HENRY L. STIMSON.

News In Brief

THE MAYOR OF BUDAPEST, Hungary, sent a Bicentennial message to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, quaintly stating that on February 22d the Budapest council "remembered with piety" the 200th anniversary of the birth of George Washington.

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE has received during February many telegrams of congratulation and notices of celebrations of the birth of Washing-

ton, from many countries. Among them are the Scandinavian countries, South American republics, and many of Europe. In Rumania King Carol is president of a society called "Friends of the United States," which organized festivities; in Czechoslovakia the Chargé d'Affaires of the American legation presented a portrait of Washington to the children's section of the Masaryk Homes, near Prague.

DR. HRDLICKA, Curator of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, has lately celebrated his 60th birthday, and, in honor of that occasion he presented to Czechoslovakia, the land of his birth, one million crowns for the establishment in Prague of an anthropological museum. The gift was accepted by the Ministry of Education, which will probably place the museum under the ægis of the University of Prague.

THE SUCCESS OF THE NEWS THEATRE in London has encouraged the British Movietone News organization to develop the scheme in other cities. The first of the cinemas outside London to be devoted exclusively to the presentation of news films will be the Oxford Theatre, Birmingham, which has recently been converted into a cinema. In addition to films dealing with events of world interest, particular attention will be paid to local news.

"AMERICAN MOTORISTS ABROAD" is the title of a bulletin lately issued by the American University, D. C. It gives statistics on foreign motor travel and explains many regulations and signals used, especially those incorporated in the international convention on motor traffic, now signed by forty-one nations.

A PROTOCOL ON MINORITIES was signed in Sofia, Bulgaria, by Albanian and Bulgarian delegations, lately. This was a step towards ironing out the vexed question which so nearly wrecked the last Balkan Conference and which must be solved at the next one.

A BRITISH EMPIRE BUILDING to connect by subway passage with the 70-story building in Radio City, now under construction in New York City, is announced. Land has been secured on the corner of 5th Avenue and 50th Street, where the British building will be erected, with rooms for the British consulate. Representatives of many British firms will have quarters in it.

THE YEAR 1931, says the *Central European Observer*, showed a large decline in tourist travel in Vienna, Prague and Budapest. The main falling off was in visitors from Germany of whom only 14,000 were recorded as against 41,000 in 1930. American tourist numbers fell off about 2,000.

ECUADOR, THE LATEST ADHERENT to the Kellogg Peace Pact, deposited its instrument of adherence with our Department of State on February 24.

OUR OFFICE has lately received a copy of the Constitution and By-Laws of the National Anti-weapon Association. Its purpose, briefly stated, is to investigate and to disseminate information about the manufacture, sale and use of dangerous weapons in the United States and elsewhere, and to work for appropriate legislation regarding weapons.

SEVERAL MONKS of the Great Saint Bernard are leaving Switzerland shortly for the border of Szechwan and Tibet with the view of opening on the Si-la Pass a hospice for travelers. Thousands of pilgrims and other travelers cross this pass annually and often suffer severely from snow-storms. Some of the monks, on a previous survey, had the unique experience of traveling under the escort, in some places, of bands of friendly Chinese brigands.

AN EXCÉPTION to the general confiscation of church property in Spain has been made in favor of the Jesuit Ebro Observatory at Tortosa. A careful inventory was made, after which the property was turned back to the bishop of the diocese and the patronate which has claimed ownership for over forty years. This enables the Jesuits in charge to continue their observations of the sun which have been going on for years.

ON FEBRUARY 1, the United States and Czechoslovakia agreed to waive visa requirements for nonimmigrants traveling from one country to the other. The charge for visas had been reduced in 1928 to \$1 in both countries. Similar agreements for reduction or waiver of visas have been reached with 35 countries now, as an encouragement to tourist travel.

IN SPITE OF what looks to the casual observer like a Japanese-Chinese war, the League of Nations Association of Japan lately awarded six prizes for essays on topics related to international peace.

THE CECIL PEACE PRIZE of £100 for 1931 was won by K. C. Wheare, of Oriel College, Oxford. The subject of the 1932 competition is announced as, "The danger from the air; possible methods, by international convention or otherwise, of dealing with it." Lord Cecil's Disarmament Poster prize was won by a Rugby schoolboy. Two hundred of the posters sent in for the competition have been exhibited in London.

LONDON WILL BE THE SCENE in July, 1932, of the International Congress on Commercial Education. The Prince of Wales is announced as the speaker at the closing session.

IT IS PROPOSED TO HOLD an international sports meeting for the deaf and dumb in Stockholm on July 16 and 17.

THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT has signed a contract for the supply of 24 Curtiss Wright army aeroplanes of the Hawk type; 18 are to be sent from the United States, the rest are to be built in Anatolia.

PROFESSOR BLAKESLEE, Professor of History and International Relations of Clark University, has been granted leave from the university to accept the position of special assistant to the legation at Peiping, China. Professor Blakeslee, an authority on the Far East, was technical advisor to the American delegation at the Washington Conference. His work is expected to be of great service to General McCoy of the Commission of Inquiry.

KIWANIS INTERNATIONAL now takes the stand that "no boy under the age of 18 should be employed" during school hours. Stay-in-school drives by local clubs are urged with the double objective of increasing the efficiency of boys and girls and keeping them out of the present competition for jobs.

GENERAL JUSTO was inaugurated President of Argentina on February 20. The *de facto* government established by General Uriburu after the revolution of 1930 has now been succeeded by a constitutional regime in accordance with Uriburu's pledge not to accept office or take part in the new executive. The charges against Dr. Iri-goyen, the President ousted in 1930, have been dropped, and he has been released from confinement.

THE GERMAN RAILWAYS show a deficit of over 500 million marks for 1931. The receipts have fallen from 4,570 to 3,860 millions. Goods traffic produced 2,315 millions (a record low figure), and the passenger receipts were likewise lower than in preceding years.

A LONDON PAPER carries the suggestive information that a number of army barracks in Sweden, no longer needed by the army, have been turned into asylums for the insane and deformed.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR OFFICE made recently an estimate of at least 25,000,000 unemployed workers throughout the world. On the basis of four to a family, this means, the report said, that 100,000,000 people are directly suffering from the breadwinners' lack of work.

A DECADE OF NEGOTIATIONS between Poland and Soviet Russia resulted, in January, in a non-aggression treaty. The pact binds each party not to attack the other and to observe neutrality in case of attack by a third party. Ratification, we are informed, depends upon the signature of similar pacts with Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, and Rumania.

THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY into the Japan-China clash followed action by the League of Nations, Dec. 9, 1931. Five commissioners, one each from Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and the United States, were appointed by the Council of the League of Nations following the invocation of Article 11 of the League Covenant by China.

The Commission consists of the following:

Commissioners:

- Lord Lytton, Chairman (Great Britain)
- General Henri Claudel (France)
- Comte Luigi Aldrovandi Marescotti (Italy)
- Major General Frank R. McCoy (United States)
- Doctor Heinrich Schnee (Germany)

Assistants:

- Adrien Pelt
- Hans von Kotze
- Vladimir Pastuhov
- William Astor
- David Roberts
- Ernest Liegeois
- Doctor Pierre Jouvelet

General McCoy will be accompanied by his aide, Lieut. William S. Biddle.

In addition to the above Japan and China have each an Assessor who will assist the Commission in its investigation.

Nobel Peace Prize Awards

- 1901—H. Dunant (Swi.)
Fr. Passy (F.)
- 1902—E. Ducommun (Swi.)
A. Gobat (Swi.)
- 1903—Sir W. R. Cremer (E.)
- 1904—Institute of International Law
- 1905—Baroness von Suttner (Aus.)
- 1906—Th. Roosevelt (A.)
- 1907—E. T. Moneta (I.)
L. Renault (F.)
- 1908—K. P. Arnoldson (Swe.)
F. Bajer (Dane)
- 1909—A. M. F. Beernsert (B.)
Baron de Constant (F.)
- 1910—Int'l Peace Bureau (Swi.)
- 1911—T. M. C. Asser (D.)
A. H. Fried (Aus.)
- 1912—Elihu Root (A.)
- 1913—H. LaFontaine (B.)
- 1914—Not awarded
- 1915—Not awarded
- 1916—Not awarded
- 1917—International Red Cross of Geneva
- 1918—Not awarded
- 1919—Woodrow Wilson (A.)
- 1920—L. Bourgeois (F.)
- 1921—K. H. Branting (Swe.)
Chr. L. Lange (N.)
- 1922—F. Nansen (N.)
- 1923—Not awarded
- 1924—Not awarded
- 1925—C. G. Dawes (A.)
A. Chamberlain (E.)
- 1926—Aristide Briand (F.)
G. Stresemann (G.)
- 1927—Ludwig Quidde (G.)
Ferd. Buisson (F.)
- 1928—Not awarded
- 1929—F. B. Kellogg (A.)
- 1930—N. Soderblom (Swe.)
- 1931—Jane Addams (A.)
Nicholas Murray Butler (A.)

Book Reviews

THE PROBLEM OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, by David Davies. Pp. 784 and index. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1931. Price, \$6.

This book about an international police is rather appalling in its bulk, but quite reassuring when one opens to its wide-margined pages, large, clear type, and attractive divisions and marginal titles. Mr. Davies writes for the ordinary person, too, just as clear-headed business men might talk. That he has for several years been a close student of the subject of sanctions is attested by the running fire of footnote quotations and references. Furthermore, he makes out an excellent case for the need and feasibility of an international police.

Such a police force, thinks the author, should be equipped with the newest war weapons; while the national forces, also extensively outlined, would be restricted to the older types used in 1914. This would automatically erase competition in armament. He does not make the mistake of assuming that the use of an international force would not be war; it would, however, he says, change the character of war and limit its scope and duration. It is, he believes, the necessary next step toward abolishing war. Upon this sanction depends not only security and peace, but what he admits is of more immediate importance—justice.

Public opinion is yet, he thinks, too feeble and divided to control nations in crises. Economic boycott and similar pressure are more terrible to populations than military operations themselves. His hope is that force would become "the servant of justice"—a phrase he often uses.

Mr. Davies' treatment of the historical aspects of his topic, of disarmament and of security, are not the least interesting elements of his argument. In all it is an unusual and an arresting book.

SCIENTIFIC DISARMAMENT, by *Victor Lefebure*. Pp. 318 and index. Macmillan, New York, 1931. Price \$3.50.

Its unusual approach to the vexed question of disarmament renders this book peculiarly pertinent to the present juncture of events. Since in modern warfare practically every person and each industry of a country is capable of absorption into war operations, the subject of control seems to lead hopelessly into peace-time domestic activities. But Mr. Lefebure insists that even such elements are susceptible of scientific survey. He develops the idea that the "conversion lag" of potential armaments can be estimated and taken into account.

The author believes that limitation in both quantity and type of armament is now possible. But further, he believes that the probability of the development of new types, chemical, biological or what-not, should at once be faced and some system of intergovernment control be devised without delay. Under his handling, the question becomes less political than technical and should be so treated by the League before political questions are allowed to enter into the problem.

The little book is evidently based upon thorough, specific knowledge. It is written with sanity, clarity and earnestness; a really illuminating short treatise on a theme of immediate concern.

JAPAN, AN ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL APPRAISAL, by *Harold G. Moulton*. Pp. 628 and index. Brookings Institution, Washington, 1931. Price, \$4.

Never before in world history has it been so obvious that, in the last analysis, political history depends upon economic conditions, and that industrial and financial matters are profoundly responsive to statecraft, faulty or otherwise. Therefore the present volume, written by an expert economist, will be of great value for some time to come.

The present militaristic temper of official Japan is likely to be modified finally, not so much by foreign public opinion, though that will have weight, as by that of the country's own people who bear the economic burden of imperialism. And Mr. Moulton finds, after a most careful survey of Japanese industry and trade, that unless the country soon establishes a proper balance between population and economic resources, the social outlook will surely present itself in somber colors. This fact, it would seem, must eventually curb the fire-eaters within Japanese officialdom. It may well prove to be the decisive factor in terminating the conflict, now on, between Japan and China.

THAT NEXT WAR, by *Major K. A. Bratt*. Pp. 264 and index. Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1931.

Here is a book which, the introduction by Wickham Steed informs us, has been heatedly discussed from end to end of Sweden. It is well worth discussion in our own country. It is evidently an excellent translation of a thoughtful and vigorous presentation of war, its present threat, and the needed elements for a breakwater against it.

Major Bratt, a Swedish staff officer, knows whereof he speaks. Not an extremist, he nevertheless writes with the passion of conviction. He believes that only by political and economic action, particularly the latter, can civilization be saved. An interesting chapter on red and black Fascism, one on the illusion of the pacifists, others on federation of peoples and the world executive, all provide much food for thought. The book is a stimulating presentation developed on a logical outline.

ADVISORY ECONOMIC COUNCILS, by *Lewis L. Lorwin*. Pp. 84. Brookings Institution, Washington, 1931. Price, \$0.50.

To meet some of the basic problems of economic and social life in today's world a new agency seems to be emerging. This is the advisory economic council, already organized in some countries. It is a product of the World War, but has sources deep in history. Its function is to attempt to co-ordinate modern industrialism with the political structure of the State. Four problems of such councils are outlined by Mr. Lorwin in this pamphlet. He traces the growth of the councils in France and Germany and gives an interesting résumé of the problems and possibilities of such councils, nationally and internationally.

Since the economic maladjustments of the world are now apparent to everyone, and since there is a bill for a national economic council now pending before the congress of the United States, this well-balanced survey of the question is most appropriate at this time.

GERMANY AND THE GERMANS, by *Eugene Diesel*. Translated by W. D. Robson-Scott. Pp. 299 and index. Macmillan Co., New York, 1931.

A difficult task has been undertaken in this book written primarily for Germans themselves.

Herr Diesel has attempted to "seize hold of the subtle essence" of Germany and "to subject it to the hard discipline of words." The result is a pleasant, objective book, which travels over the geographical divisions of the country, looking at the types, the backgrounds and foregrounds, and at the people, how and at what they work. The section on new Germany is most interesting. Also the many points where the author's thought impinges upon war. He quotes the saying that Germans are peaceful militarists, while the French are warlike nonmilitarists. He also finds the doings of militarists and imperialists a sort of fighting with thin air, because of the growing disproportion between the display of force and the puny men and houses that armaments are designed to destroy. Nations, he says, are "becoming too small for the waging of war." His hope for Germany lies in the fact that she lost the war, that she has not now such overdeveloped ideas of the nation that the rising ideal of the super-state is a matter to contend with. Yet she has the ingredients of a nation in the shape of racial, geographical, intellectual and traditional elements. Germany, while in one sense the heir to an archaic, saga-like past, now in another sense must become the ancestor of a new civilization, break the spell which binds nationalistic European States and become something completely new in history—a people absolutely alive, racially true to the core, but responsive to the new influences around them.

ALTERNATIVES TO WAR, by *Florence Guertin Tuttle*. Pp. 271. Harper & Bro., New York, 1931. Price, \$3.

Written "in simple form, for men and women too busy to read the more technical work of specialists," this book runs over the so-called better relations now existing between nations and outlines the new methods in use for securing peace. It seems to us that in her treatment of American "isolation" Miss Tuttle stops very far short of an understanding of America's distrust of political amalgamation with States organized on a different framework. She seems not to sense the radical difference between the New World conception of sanctions as residing in public opinion and the Old World concept of the sanction of armaments. Until one of the two groups grows up to the ideal of the other, very close political ties look most improbable. Except politically, of course the "isolation" of the United States is a figment of the imagination. Nevertheless, any instruction which will develop public opinion into world-mindedness is much needed in America. May we also hazard the guess that the same thing may be quite as much needed in Europe?

Lightly and as pleasantly as the kindergarten teacher who consciously leads little children into nice behavior, the author differs with many American traditions and doctrines. She aims to teach us better. A bright little friendly chapter on Russia runs in the same vein. But if one does have time to read the "more technical work of the specialists" it might perhaps be better to come out of the infant school and do so.

MODERN INDIA, A CO-OPERATIVE STUDY, edited by *Sir John Cumming*. Pp. 296 and index. Oxford University Press, London, 1931.

This co-operative survey of India is made by some seventeen Englishmen chosen for the work because of two qualifications—an affection for the peoples of India and peculiar and expert knowledge of some phase of modern India. They write upon many topics, such as the peoples, their language, arts and culture, the frontier, finance, opium, and labor. A large map is folded in a pocket in the back cover of the volume. With its diagrams and adequate index the little book is an easy reference. It is, too, a book delightful to read.

HISTORY OF SOUTH AMERICA, by *Charles Edmond Ackers*, brought up to date by L. E. Elliott. Pp. 796 and index. E. P. Dutton, New York, 1930. Price, \$5.

A notable product is this history of South America, originally written by a special correspondent during a period when the republics were still dealing with questions of nationality. It was first published in 1904, and became at once a recognized authority. Mr. Ackers died in 1915, three years after the second edition came out. And now, after some twenty-five years of rapid growth in the southern continent, Mr. Elliott, another news correspondent, adds pages to each major section of the book, covering the later years to date.

One is glad that the original work of Mr. Ackers was not rewritten. It retains, as it stands, all the vitality of a narrative composed in the midst of events, and, in the light of later history, which is adequately summarized by Mr. Elliott, it is shown to have been authoritative as well as interesting.

TACNA AND ARICA, by *William Jefferson Dennis*. Pp. 320 and index. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1931. Price, \$4.

The Tacna-Arica question in South America ranks in importance with that of Alsace-Lorraine in Europe. The value of its study now that the matter has been amicably settled by the treaty of Santiago in 1929, lies very largely in its illustration of the way in which peace efforts may be made effective even in sorely aggravated questions of nationality, economics and prestige.

Mr. Dennis gives a clear-sighted analysis of the whole problem; beginning with the poorly marked original boundaries on the southern continent; pursuing the conflict of Chile with the allies, Peru and Bolivia, through the war of the Pacific, 1879-1884. Here clearly set forth are the indefinite provisions of the treaty of Ancón which terminated that war, the vexed question of the plebiscite which followed and the effort, often barren or misunderstood, of the United States to mediate, an effort covering some forty-odd years.

The story is dramatic, full of contrasts, involving Incas and well-known modern generals and statesmen. It constitutes an object lesson on the possibility of final friendly settlement, where the will to be at peace really exists.

PORTO RICO AND ITS PROBLEMS, by the survey staff of the Brookings Institution. Pp. 690 and index. Brookings Institution, Washington, 1930. Price, \$5.

This survey, illustrated with tables and photographs, is prepared with the care and expert attention to detail usual in the work of the Institution. The islanders themselves, we understand, do not feel entirely satisfied with the findings, in some portions of the book, though the study was undertaken at their request. As to the economic conditions in Porto Rico, however, the book stands a masterpiece in spite of some possible misunderstanding of minor conditions. Its recommendations for the action of Congress, well tabulated and connected with the survey, should add materially to the final helpfulness of the survey.

INTRODUCTION TO RESEARCH IN AMERICAN HISTORY, by *Homer Carey Hockett*. Pp. 159 and index. Macmillan, New York, 1931. Price, \$2.

One intending to write a paper on any historical subject will do well to study this compact, well-organized and pungent book. Professor Hockett tells how to gather data and file notes, how to criticize data, and, no less important, how to block out the composition and how to put it in literary form. This last would be equally useful in preparing papers on any subject whether historical or not.

A valuable bibliography of books on American subjects and historical method precedes the excellent index.

The little book is full of crisp but pertinent comments on human nature, such as the following: "An incompetent eye-witness will make an imperfect report whether it be in a court of law or in a private diary." "The critic must be constantly on the lookout for the effects of prejudice, for no one is ever entirely free from it," and "once in circulation, an error displays great vitality."

INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING: AGENCIES EDUCATING FOR A NEW WORLD, by *John Eugene Harley*. Pp. 575 and index. Stanford University Press, California, 1931. Price, \$7.50.

Few people appreciate the number, variety and forcefulness of the agencies educating for international understanding. Some of these have been engaged in the business a long time. Mr. Harley has, in this thick volume, taken many such agencies in all countries, grouped and described them according to purpose. Education in the international field is the main theme, and the book therefore excludes associations for business or social purposes only. Of the peace organizations he has cited only those with large sums of money at their disposal, which perhaps accounts for the omission of the American Peace Society, which for over a century has surely been engaged in education for international right thinking.

SOVIET-PLANNED ECONOMIC ORDER, by *William Henry Chamberlin*. Pp. 243. World Peace Foundation, Boston, 1931. Price, \$2.50.

The author of this book, an American news correspondent, lived for some eleven years in Russia. His book objectively describes the economic planning of the Bolshevik régime, using many statistics and showing much keen observation. One chapter, not the least profitable, displays the amazing methods of propaganda used in furthering the five-year plan. Soviet documents in the appendices relate to labor, agriculture, and the five-year plan.

THE INTERNATIONAL NOTE IN CONTEMPORARY DRAMA, by *Evelyn Newman*. Pp. 198 and indices. Kingsland Press, New York, 1931.

Omitting plays that are mere propaganda as well as those without any literary merit, Dr. Newman has gathered up a notable collection of dramas with some sort of international philosophy, which she here reviews. They are of the present century, before, during and after the World War; and they come from British, French, German and American sources.

It is, indeed, encouraging to learn that so much desire for a better world has found artistic expression within the nations on opposite sides of the late conflict.

CIVIC ATTITUDES IN AMERICAN TEXTBOOKS, by *Bessie Louise Pierce*. Pp. 282 and index. University of Chicago Press, 1930. Price, \$3.

This book is not, as the title would seem to suggest, chiefly a study of the attitude our textbooks inspire toward civic responsibility. Rather, it is a study of the attitudes they encourage toward other lands and customs. The author aims to be quite objective. She does not intend to state how such books ought to be written. It is impossible, however, not to sense that she strongly disapproves of many of her findings as leading to narrow prejudice and historical untruth.

Upwards of 350 textbooks and syllabi were studied, books in many subjects used widely in American elementary and secondary schools. Evidently loyalty to American political doctrines and ideals is widely taught in the land. Besides this there are, too, in many centers courses of study especially designed to teach international goodwill.

Such a study of texts should be important not only to teachers but also to all who are interested in improving our national intelligence.

FRENCH BOOKS FOR AMERICAN LIBRARIES. Pp. 40 and index. American Library Association, 1931, paper. Price, 65 cents.

Here is a list of books in French, which have current interest, classified according to subject. Where the title does not sufficiently describe the book a brief paragraph in English is inserted below the title, appraising or summarizing the contents. An excellent plan, well carried out. Why is it not done for many other languages?

American Peace Society

Its Beginnings

At a meeting of the Maine Peace Society at Minot, February 10, 1826, a motion was carried to form a national peace society. Minot was the home of William Ladd. The first constitution for a national peace society was drawn by this illustrious man, at the time corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society. The constitution was provisionally adopted, with alterations, February 18, 1828; but the society was finally and officially organized, through the influence of Mr. Ladd and with the aid of David Low Dodge, in New York City, May 8, 1828. Mr. Dodge wrote, in the minutes of the New York Peace Society: "The New York Peace Society resolved to be merged in the American Peace Society . . . which, in fact, was a dissolution of the old New York Peace Society, formed 16 August, 1815, and the American, May, 1828, was substituted in its place."

Its Purpose

The purpose of the American Peace Society shall be to promote permanent international peace through justice; and to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall rule might in a law-governed world.

—*Constitution of the
American Peace Society
Article II.*

NOTICE

AMERICAN CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

George Washington and the Coöperation
of States

MAY 2-5, 1932

PROVISIONAL PROGRAM

(An Outline)

Sunday, May 1

Peace Sunday (One Hundred-Fourth Anniversary of the American Peace Society)

Monday, May 2

First General Assembly

Exercises at Mount Vernon

Second General Assembly (Assembly Hall of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States)

Tuesday, May 3

Third General Assembly (Chamber of Commerce of the United States)

Luncheon

Commission Meetings

Fourth General Assembly (Chamber of Commerce of the United States)

Wednesday, May 4

Fifth General Assembly (Chamber of Commerce of the United States)

Luncheon

Sixth General Assembly (Chamber of Commerce of the United States)

Seventh General Assembly

Thursday, May 5

Eighth General Assembly (Chamber of Commerce of the United States)

Luncheon

Commission Meetings

Final Banquet

IMPORTANT

Persons and Organizations wishing to take part in this Conference should write without delay to American Conference on International Justice, care American Peace Society, 734 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

