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PEACE

THROUGH JUSTICE



DUE PROCESS OF LAW

OUR FOREIGN POLICY

YESTERDAY-TODAY-TOMORROW

LEAGUE'S TENTH ANNIVERSARY

WHAT IS INTERNATIONAL LAW?

A NICARAGUAN CANAL

NATIONALITY

February, 1930

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ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Editor

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New York Times

**"If a Saxon chief named Washington should lead us on the way."
(See page 42)**

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

VOLUME
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NUMBER
1

DUE PROCESS OF LAW

DUE process of law, a phrase occurring twice in our Constitution, is perhaps the phrase of most importance in the vocabulary of the peacemaker. The life story of "due process" stretches over a period of seven hundred years. It has provoked more litigation than any other phrase in our Constitution. Its history is largely the history of the will to establish peace between persons.

The Constitution makes use of "due process of law" in Amendments V and XIV.

In Amendment V, we read:

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself; or be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without *due process of law*; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

Article I, of Amendment XIV, is as follows:

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without *due process of law*, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Before the phrase "due process of law" had appeared in our Constitution, eight of the States had incorporated it in their Constitutions. Prior to 1860, practically eighty percent of the States had adopted it. All the new State constitutions framed since the close of the Civil War contain it. Only five States remain without it in their fundamental law. The Fourteenth Amendment supplements the Fifth by giving jurisdiction to the Federal courts in matters affecting due process, in consequence of which the interpretation of the phrase has gradually become more uniform. The thought central to the peacemaker, however, is that we have here a concept which has "gathered so much of the sunlight of freedom and the fertility of order" that it has become "withal the simplest and most far-reaching of Constitutional phrases." However, only until recently has it been sensed that it is germane to the processes of peace between nations.

In the Dartmouth College case, Daniel Webster referred to "due process of law" as a "protection of the general rules which govern society." He conceived of it as a limitation upon the legislature, prohibiting special legislation, legislative judgments, and even the abuses of the power of eminent domain. Behind the phrase is the will to protect the principles of justice and reasonableness, even against the powers of government.

Due process of law, with its limitations upon all powers of government, legislative, judicial, and executive, represents in itself an evolution based upon certain principles

accepted by courts of last resort. All these principles are as yet not capable of precise expression; but enough of them have been stated to indicate clearly the remarkable consistency in the attempts to solve our economic and social problems, sometimes in conformity with public purpose, sometimes with a balance of convenience, sometimes with administrative common sense, always in harmony with due process of law.

The fact—outstanding fact—is, therefore, that our guarantees of human rights, of peaceful settlement, of legality, all based upon principles of constitutional government, are widening and deepening our regard for due process of law. This is the stream of tendency, banked by the “rights of man,” upon which float the hopes of all intelligently concerned to promote substitutes for the ways of war. We shall refer to this later in these pages and more at length.

SENSING THE IMPORTANCE OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY

PERSONS concerned to promote better international relations are, for the most part, in rather good repute at the moment. Statesmen, military men, the man on the street—all speak openly just now for international peace, without noticeable loss of caste. Arguments for peace between nations are no longer the special property of a few moonbeam-painting idealists. Leading men and women, many of them famed for their sanity and wisdom, turn unblushingly to the basic faiths at the bottom of the accredited peace movement.

The Honorable Charles Evans Hughes, for example, speaking last April before the American Society of International Law, of which he was president, made bold to say that “the building of the institutions of peace is the most distinctive enterprise of our time.” True, he went on to point out

that we are only in the preliminary stages, with much disagreement; that we are contriving to live in a frail structure with our facilities still quite incomplete and inadequate; that in the foundations of our edifice we are finding pockets of quicksand in national policies, age-long antagonisms and developing rivalries; that we are learning that “even the materials at our command are fragile and hard to solidify to such a degree as to give assurance of being able to withstand the fierce storms of passion which are not unlikely to recur.” But the learned Justice was quick to add: “The difficulties do not make the task any the less the supreme task of modern civilization, for, unless we measurably succeed in it, that civilization will destroy itself as it brings the discoveries of science and the improvements of invention to the operations of war in both weapons and methods. We shall have to build and rebuild, and then mayhap build again, but the constructive processes must go on.”

Naturally the conscientious worker for a worth-while peace among nations turns to these “constructive processes” and asks himself afresh just how they “must go on.” This means that he finds himself face to face with the possibilities of some tomorrow, and that possibly afar off. Knowing the difficulties of forecasting the future, he is tempted to do nothing rather than to face failure unnecessarily and to take the chance of unsavory obloquy.

Is it possible that there can be any considerable agreement as to what these “constructive processes” must be? Can we foresee with any clarity just how they “must go on?” Is it possible to find a yardstick with which to measure the probable tendencies of our foreign policy?

There is a familiar bit of advice from the papers of Hosea Biglow which naturally gives pause to experienced men tempted to forecast anything, especially if led to speculate upon the future of our

country's international policy. The words run:

"My gran'ther's rule was safer'n't is to crow:
Don't never prophesy—o n l e s s y e know."

But, evidently, thoughtful men feel, perhaps as never before, that speculation on the future of our foreign policy "must go on," for action in the international field without intelligent foresight, it is feared, may easily end in disaster, possibly colossal and fatal disaster.

Some of us are content to bask ourselves in complacency, trusting that our United States is no noticeable exception to the age-long tendency to limit spheres of combat, man with man, group with group. We remind ourselves that dueling and the ordeal of battle are no more common with us, to put it modestly, than with other peoples. We know that we can and do practice restraint; that, for example, we have as yet no Agathocles with power to call our Senators together for a public session—as long ago in Syracuse of Sicily—and to have them put to the sword, man for man. We are inclined to feel that we of the United States are no more bloodthirsty than the peoples of other lands. We note that Boston does not war with Worcester, New York with Hoboken, Washington with Baltimore, as once Athens warred with Sparta, Assisi with Perugia, Florence with Pisa; and we conclude, therefore, that on the whole things with us are not so bad.

But there is the extremist always abroad in the land, his devastations to perform. Vociferous and detached from responsibility, he is rather given to analyzing and condemning our foreign policy on general principles, intent on having us believe that our country has never had a worthy foreign policy. He insists that today we are given primarily to preaching rather than to prac-

tising, that we are selfishly refusing to play the international game with other powers, that we are "Shylocks" in the realm of finance, that we are limited mainly to brag and self-complacency compounded with speed and a flair for mass production. We are imperialists with only an academic interest in peace. We promote industrial autocracy, race prejudice and many other phases of the existing social order calculated to thwart "fellowship and love." It is said with some truth that "we have been decidedly a warlike people." This, it would seem, is a fair summary not only of the views of the Sir Benjamin Backbites as to our America and her foreign policy, but of honest and earnest critics.

So, frankly, is there any ground for belief that our foreign policy is founded upon anything like broad or enduring principles? Can it be shown that our foreign policy of today is in any sense promising? May we believe that the foreign policy of our tomorrow will develop any abiding substitute for the ways of war?

Confronted with such questions, we feel somehow that there is an importance attached to our relations with other powers, and that in some way we must establish within the realms of reason certain weapons more infallible than the machines of physical destruction.

YESTERDAY

IT IS a precarious business of course to try to comprehend any question without reference to its historical background. In the words of Paul, writing to his friends in Corinth, "We have such hope," let us "use great plainness of speech." By and large, our foreign policy from the beginning has been founded upon a popular faith in the principles of peace between States. This faith had its roots in the dimness of a past filled with a variety of idealisms and ambitions, colored here and there with hatreds, shaped in part by religions and

in part by the blood of battle—a past with its wonders, squalors, charms and achievements, not altogether understood by the historians, yet not so much worse than the past of other peoples.

Efforts in America for the maintenance of peace between States began early. The Colonies of New England were united under articles of confederation in the interest of peace and protection in 1643, a union that lasted for a quarter of a century. William Penn's 'plan for the peace and safety of the English Colonies appeared in 1697. Benjamin Franklin submitted a plan for the union of the Colonies in 1754, and another in 1775. Adjustments of commercial disputes across colonial boundaries were a developing expression of peaceable settlement, and that through a long and rather honorable record of American experience. One cannot read the Declaration of Independence—with its emphasis upon the laws of nature, upon a decent respect to the opinions of mankind, upon the equality of men, upon opposition to injuries and usurpation—without realizing the interest our founders felt for the principles at the bottom of an enduring peace. The Revolutionary War was fought for the firmer establishment of liberty and peace. Our Union of free, sovereign, independent States is an expression of the will of our people to maintain peace between these States.

Every President of this country has pled and labored for the maintenance of peace, at times against the will of the people. George Washington counseled that we avoid political connections, "cultivating peace and harmony with all"; and, two years after the Revolution, he wrote of war, "My first wish is to see this plague to mankind banished from the earth." Jefferson called war "the greatest of human evils." The Monroe Doctrine, stood for by every President, grew out of a faith in

free institutions and in the beneficence of "peace and safety."

Because of our love for other peoples it is not necessary that we should be unfair to our forebears. They labored quite valiantly for the establishment of domestic peace midway between too much and too little government, and placed what they called sovereignty in the will of the people. They assailed the citadel of dictatorship by setting up a government of laws and not of men, a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed. They stood generally for a minimum of central government and for a maximum of self-government. They responded with no little resolution to the thesis that public office is a public trust. They early determined to avoid entanglements in European politics, to promote the principle of the open door and equal opportunity for all. They argued for the freedom of the seas and for the promotion of international cooperation in accord with the principles of justice under the law, without the threat against States of any armed force. Because of their faith in their kind of peace, they insisted that foreign powers should not extend their systems in the Western Hemisphere. Inch by inch they fought tendencies to anarchy on the one hand and to tyranny on the other. They set up a civil control for their military forces, and, in the interest of peace, a democratic control of their foreign policies. Familiar with the Peace of Westphalia of 1648, they believed in the equality of States before the law—the basis of international law—and provided for it in their Constitution. They believed in political science and in constitutional law, and in 1787 established a Union of free, sovereign, independent States, based in principles of justice, a Union that stands forth today as a somewhat successful achievement in the realm of States based on a continuous charter.

It is out of such stuff that our fathers fashioned their foreign policy. They were not dreamers merely. As far as they made use of slogans, abstract phrases, academic theory, it was mainly with an eye to their interests. "It is a maxim founded on the universal experience of mankind that no nation is to be trusted further than it is bound by its own interest, and no prudent statesman or politician will venture to depart from it" warned Washington writing to the Congress. It was in no Quixotic spirit that our United States showed such lively interest in movements for popular government abroad; in Greece struggling for her independence from the Turk; in Spain and Portugal when reform movements arose; in the colonies of Central and South America, evolving into statehood. Zachary Taylor, President of the United States, showed the keenest interest in the struggles of the Hungarians against the dynasty of the Hapsburgs. When those struggles failed, the United States Congress passed a resolution March 3, 1851, approved by President Fillmore, sympathizing with the Hungarians, who, having lost, were living in exile in Turkey. Indeed, our Government sent a ship to Turkey and brought many of those exiles to this country. No foreigner was ever received with greater consideration than was Kossuth. Our Government was the first to recognize the French Republic in 1848 and, again, the Third Republic in 1870. The people of our Union had from the beginning an ingrained interest in the cause of peace, an opposition to the system of armed camps, because they were aflame with a love for the institutions of free government. Just yesterday (Jan. 6, 1930) one of our Senators introduced a resolution pledging support to our President whenever he may deem it proper to recognize the independence of India.

The United States has pursued with consecration the principles of peaceable settlement of international disputes. We are today bound by more treaties of arbitration and conciliation than any other great power. Our labors in behalf of Pan American cooperation constitute in the main a noble history of a will to peace, and our rôle of mediator has been welcomed and profited by along the stretches of Tacna-Arica, on the disputed boundaries of Bolivia and Paraguay, and in various sections bordering on the Caribbean. Our policy in the Pacific has been a gradual developing record of improving economic and social relations.

On the whole, therefore, our men of yesterday, mindful of their interests, conscious at times of the thrill of martial music and of the glory of the soldier's sacrifice, were quite aware that war, however inevitable on occasion, cannot be the best and final way for the promotion of justice between nations. In fact they advertised their objections to war and did considerable things to abolish it.

We do well to recall this yesterday, because only as we look backward can we realize that steps have been taken. By reference to yesterday we sense the fact of progress in establishing the principles of peace between nations; discover, for instance, that certain kinds of war are of a past that is gone forever, that the men who have built our America were quite aware of the importance of peace between States, that between states processes of law and order have been and are being developed. Furthermore, we measure our future by the past. As Patrick Henry said before the Virginia Convention in 1775, "I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience."

TODAY

THERE is discernible today no disposition among men in positions of authority to scrap the achievements of yesterday or to belittle their vital beneficence. Through our history there is a golden thread—the gradual development of the principle of a “due process of law,” the “process” that controls controversies between persons within the State. This due process has been taking on gradually the nature of rules or usages which civilized States agree shall be binding upon them in their dealings with one another. This must mean that we are witnessing before our very eyes the slow but steady growth of a system of international law.

It is natural that any President of the United States should turn frequently to the problems of our foreign policy. On three noteworthy occasions, in fact, within his first nine months of office, President Hoover has already expressed views relating to these matters. It is striking to note how consistently he adheres to the great basic facts at the center of the peace movement.

In his inaugural address, our President announced that he coveted for his administration a record of contributing further to advance the cause of peace. He saw no reason why “in our lifetime” the world should not find a way to “permanent peace.” Acknowledging the importance of a respect for ability in defense, he was careful to point out that our progress as a nation is interlocked with the progress of humanity; that we have no desire for an expansion of territory, for economic or other domination; but that we are concerned to advance the real brotherhood of man. Eschewing every thought of political entanglements abroad, he called attention to the importance of the treaty for the renunciation of war, to the necessity for a limitation of armaments, and to the ad-

vancement of conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement. But his central thought, around which all of these seem to revolve, was that we must advance the reign of justice and reason between nations, and “toward the extinction of force.”

In his Armistice Day address, President Hoover called attention to the fact that there are 30,000,000 men of the world under arms today, 10,000,000 more than in 1914. He recognized that war may come again. He pled for a preparedness for defense and for a preparedness for peace. But he was careful to point out that we should not expect to promote peace by sacrificing either our independence or the principles of justice at the base of civilization. To make such a sacrifice, he said, would be “a calamity greater than war.” Rising above slogans and abstract phrases, he called for that practical daily conduct among nations, that interchange of goods and ideas, that unceasing endeavor without which peace is precarious. He expressed his desire to avoid rivalry in armament, but his opposition to reducing these armaments save by “agreement only.” To disarm this nation as “an example” to others does not appeal to this practical-minded man whom we have placed for a time in the seat of responsibility. He called attention to existing machinery of pacific means as illustrated by our Department of State and by the provisions of treaties. He called attention to the additional fact that public opinion and good will must be relied upon as our most hopeful checks to violence. But once again his simple thought, of which all these are but parts, was that justice between nations, backed by an authoritative system of international law and a permanent court of international justice, is the great essential.

In his message to Congress, the President again turned to the problem of international peace. Standing for the principle of self-government and ordered liberty,

he expressed his opposition to domination, his faith in open and equal opportunity, in education and in tolerance of all faiths. But here again his central thought was phrased in terms of justice both to the individual and to the group.

It is evident from the utterances of the President and from the activities of our Department of State that the United States is firmly behind the Paris Pact for the Renunciation of War. The executive branch of our Government believes that the United States should adhere to the Permanent Court of International Justice. We are making the threat of competitive armaments a matter of our special concern. We are cooperating as a government with well-nigh countless international undertakings. Our Government is the people's peace society in the realm of all official international activities.

In all fairness, we have had a foreign policy. We have a foreign policy. In general, we need feel ashamed of neither. This past and this present are the harbingers of our future. As Lord Byron wrote to his friend, "The best of prophets of the future is the past." Our past in America makes possible our aspirations of the present, and these aspirations of our present are turning into realities everywhere on land and sea, successfully as they measure up to the yardstick of an abiding peace.

YARDSTICK OF TOMORROW'S FOREIGN POLICY

IT MAY not seem exciting, but it is a fact of first importance that the Paris Pact for the Renunciation of War does no violence to the principle that international law is a branch of jurisprudence, quite as is municipal law. When the Pact provides for the "renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy" and for the settlement of disputes of whatever kind by

"pacific means," it only repeats what has been done to private war as between individuals. The new note sounded in the Pact is that it applies the doctrine of due process of law to the relations of nations. In the Pact practically all of the governments of the world have signed a contract under the terms of which they condemn and renounce war as an instrument of national policy and agree to seek the settlement of their disputes save only by "pacific means." This is a clear and a hopeful proceeding; but it is new only in the sense that it is now applied to the behavior of governments.

The Pact is a step, however short, in the direction of peace; for the "pacific means" it contemplates for securing the rights and interests of nations are a fresh call to the disciples of justice. In No. 51 of the *Federalist*, either James Madison or Alexander Hamilton—it is not sure which—wrote: "Justice is the end of government. It is the end of civil society. It ever has been, and ever will be pursued, until it be obtained, or until liberty be lost in the pursuit." When the ancient Roman law-giver defined justice as "the constant and unchanging will to give to everyone his due," he may not have had in mind the relations of States to each other, but under the principle of due process of law, what he said applies as much to nations as to individuals.

In the light of history, it is fair to expect our foreign policy to evolve primarily from this attitude toward justice, for there can be no peace between nations except it be conformable to the principles of justice. Any other kind of peace is not peace, but an armistice, for where a nation feels that it is being treated unjustly there are the makings of war.

The path for all really concerned to solve the problem of the Balkans, of the millions of minorities, of the mandated territories, of German war guilt, of disputed

boundaries, of unrighteous treaties, of commercial barriers, of competitive armaments, of any international dispute—the only hopeful way, our American experience leads us to believe, is the course of justice. This justice, it appears, is the fountain-head of the “permanent peace” believed in and stood for just now by the President of the United States.

To achieve this justice means of course to draw to the utmost on experience and to apply the best of our common sense. In its larger phases, therefore, justice as between States calls for two main lines of action: First, the gradual development of laws for the nations, mutually and voluntarily agreed upon; secondly, the interpretation of such laws, in cases of controversy, and that by authorities acceptable to the parties. Here we have two theories that have worked with us, with Great Britain, and with other unions of states; and it is fair to expect, therefore, that they will continue to work if wisely applied.

Because of this, there are solid reasons to expect governments to go on altogether, setting up international conferences of duly accredited delegates, which delegates shall be charged with the duty of agreeing upon principles of law, with the understanding that these principles of law, when ratified by the governments, shall be laws for the nations that ratify. Such a procedure was unanimously recommended by the Committee of Jurists meeting at The Hague in 1920. It is a principle that has been accepted and applied by our Government at The Hague in 1899, at The Hague in 1907, and in other conferences, particularly of American Republics. It has become at last of prime interest to the League of Nations. It is the legislative process applied to governments without violence to their constitutional requirements.

Of course there must also be a judicial tribunal, or a number of tribunals, accepted

and supported by all States, for the interpretation of international law as questions of interpretation may arise. This is the judicial function applied to the relations of States. The United States has developed this organ as an agency for the promotion of peace between States of the American Union. We stood for this procedure in the case of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague in 1899. We recommended it and worked for it in 1907. It has been variously called the American doctrine, or the American plan. It may now be said that it is the keystone in the arch of the League of Nations.

In short, due process of law as between persons requires law and judicial interpretation. Nations before the law are persons. Therefore, in a word, justice between nations waits upon the gradual development of the law and the slow evolution of judicial processes.

The laws governing behavior of States naturally relate both to the rights and to the duties of States. As set forth in the declaration of the rights and duties of nations adopted nearly fourteen years ago by the American Institute of International Law and by the American Peace Society, and heartily approved by authorities such as James Brown Scott and Elihu Root, a State, briefly, has the right to existence, to independence, to equality before the law, to jurisdiction over its own territory. Since this is true of every State, it is manifestly the right of every State to receive from every other State acknowledgment and, if need be, protection of these rights. It follows, therefore, that it is the definite duty of each State to respect these rights of all other States, for rights and duties are correlative, and “the right of one is the duty of all to observe.” Due process of law as between nations, therefore, means the building up of laws in accord with these rights and duties of nations; and, furthermore, the mutual acceptance of a judiciary com-

manding the confidence of all States. It means much else; but it means at least these.

The "pacific means" referred to in the Pact for the Renunciation of War will naturally start with these principles. This is why, in his Armistice Day address, it would seem, President Hoover called to our attention the "need to define the rules of conduct of nations and to formulate an authoritative system of international law," for, as he was quick to add, "our ideals and our hopes are for the progress of justice through the entire world."

It is natural to expect that our foreign policy will continue to make use of the "pacific means" already at hand. Our diplomatic, consular and other departments working in the foreign field, will go on. The "pacific means of direct negotiation, of good offices and friendly composition, of mediation, of special commissions, of commercial practices, of arbitration, of judicial settlement, will be continued and strengthened.

It is reasonable to expect that we shall further develop "pacific means" by treaties in the interest of a righteous peace. Our Government has a general program of negotiating treaties of arbitration and conciliation with other countries individually. Last August treaties of arbitration had been offered to thirty-three countries and treaties of conciliation to twenty-two. The treaty for the Renunciation of War itself came into force July 24, 1929, with forty-six countries as parties from the beginning. Fifty-five are now signatories to the Pact.*

Our Government reported, November 25, 1929, 104 treaties or agreements that had been accepted or signed on behalf of the United States, having as their objective the promotion of peace. In addition there are 133 humanitarian treaties, 73 political treaties, 300 economic treaties, and 25 treaties of a miscellaneous character, total

635, to all of which the United States is a party or a proposed party. There appears no reason to fear that this kind of work in the interest of peace is about to stop.

There are other "pacific means" with which it is permissible to expect we shall cooperate. Whether or not we officially join, there is the League of Nations, an agency for international cooperation, with its political, economic, and in some respects military aspects; and there is the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, hopeful initial expression of our juridical aspiration. There is the conference for the codification of international law at The Hague, provisionally fixed for March 13, 1930, to discuss the codification of international law relative to nationality, territorial waters and to the responsibility of States for damage done in their territory to the property of foreigners. There is the Interparliamentary Union, with its many international conferences to its credit. There is the Pan American Union, functioning continually in the interest of a better understanding between the States of the Western Hemisphere. There is the International Chamber of Commerce acting in a wide field of actual international interests. There are other and kindred international organizations as agencies for cooperation. And, of course, there are "pacific means" yet to be developed.

As circumstances require, our foreign policy will be to improve and correlate these agencies, for it will be to our highest interests. We have convinced ourselves, in the main, that these highest interests of ours are dependent upon the interests of justice. And we know that the ways of justice are the most hopeful ways of peace.

That this may not seem to be wholly the fulmination of a theorist run wild, it is pertinent to note that the Institute of International Law, a scientific organization limited to sixty members and sixty associates, all acknowledged international jurists of the first rank, and from various parts of the

*January 1, 1930.

world, recently adopted a "Declaration of the International Rights of Man"; a very remarkable document, carrying the due process of law to its logical conclusion in the relations of all States with persons.

This declaration is founded in "the juridical conscience of the civilized world," a conscience that demands the recognition for the individual of certain rights, "rights of man" that cannot justly be infringed even by the State. It reminds us of the provision for these rights in the fourteenth amendment of the Constitution of the United States, that no State "shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." It refers to a unanimous decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, holding that the terms of this amendment are applicable to every person without distinction of race, color or nationality, and that the equal protection of the laws is a guarantee of the protection of equal laws. Furthermore, it goes on to say that because of these things, and because there are already a number of treaties stipulating the rights of man, we should extend to the entire world the international recognition of the rights of man.

These distinguished specialists in international law phrase their proclamation in six brief paragraphs, which, in translation from the French, are as follows:

Article 1

It is the duty of every State to recognize the equal right of every individual to life, liberty and property, and to accord to all within its territory the full and entire protection of this right, without distinction as to nationality, sex, race, language, or religion.

Article 2

It is the duty of every State to recognize the right of every individual to the free

practice, both public and private, of every faith, religion, or belief, provided that such practice shall not be incompatible with public order and good morals.

Article 3

It is the duty of every State to recognize the right of every individual both to the free use of the language of his choice and to the teaching of such language.

Article 4

No motive based, directly or indirectly, on distinctions of sex, race, language, or religion empowers States to refuse to any of their nations private and public rights, such as the admission to establishments of public instruction, and the exercise of the different economic, professional and industrial activities.

Article 5

The equality herein contemplated is not to be nominal, but effective. It excludes all discrimination, direct or indirect.

Article 6

No State, except for motives based upon its general legislation, shall have the right to withdraw its nationality from those whom, for reasons of sex, race, language, or religion, it should not deprive of the guarantees contemplated in the preceding articles.

"The building of the institutions of peace is the most distinctive enterprise of our time. . . . The difficulties do not make the task any the less the supreme task of modern civilization"—is the view of Charles Evans Hughes. It is the faith of peoples rather generally.

In the proclamation of the distinguished experts of the Institute of International Law there is pabulum indeed for all concerned to help in this "most distinctive enterprise"; for, once again, the hope for any permanent peace between nations depends

at the last upon man's will and ability to apply due process of law to the behavior of States.

Since, in the law, States are persons, one has only to make a few perfectly logical substitutions in this proclamation of the rights of man to find the chart of the seas over which every ship of state must sail if its mariners are to reach President Hoover's goal of "a permanent peace" . . . "within our lifetime," or within any time.

Here is the way, it would seem, due process of law will naturally unfold. Every State will recognize for every other State certain rights lying beyond all lawful infringement. No State shall deprive any State of its life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor deny to any State the protection of the laws. Every State shall grant this protection to every other State without distinction of race, color or nationality, for it is true of States as of other persons that "the equal protection of the laws is a guarantee of equal laws." When States stipulate in treaties the recognition of the rights of man, they acknowledge the importance of extending to the entire world the international recognition of the rights of man.

In other words, it is the duty of every State to recognize the equal right of every other State to life, liberty, and property, without distinction as to nationality, of race or religion. It is the duty of every State to recognize the right of every State to the free practice of every faith, religion or belief, not incompatible with public order and good morals. It is the duty of every State to recognize the right of every State to the free use of the language of its choice. Thus it should be clear that there are rights of States, subject to modification only by due process of law; rights above the right of any State to violate, by virtue of the fact that these rights are the "rights of man."

In this development, force of arms will naturally play a decreasing rôle; for after

all it is not true that the State rests exclusively or even mainly on force. The use of force rests itself upon something farther back. True, the State exercises force, indeed aims to monopolize the exercise of force; but it does this to restrain other persons or groups from taking the law into their own hands. Behind the power of the State to do this is the will of the people that disputes shall be settled by due process of law. As Dr. A. D. Lindsay, Master of Balliol College, Oxford University, said in this country a year ago: "A State which permits private warfare is not doing what it ought to do. But this means that the organized force of the State is as it were a force to end the use of force and establish the rule of law, and the State possesses and uses organized force because most people in the State are determined that the rule of law shall prevail, are prepared to insist on a peaceful and constitutional settlement of differences. So far then from the State resting on force, the State's organized force rests on men's confidence in government and their belief in law."

The future of our foreign policy, therefore, will probably lie in the direction of a further development of "pacific means," old and new, based in their final forms upon due process of law.

Of course these "pacific means"—all of them—are dependent at the last upon good citizenship; upon that harmony of wills which thrives best where there are least fears of a preponderant force; that finds security in pride of credit, in respect for honor, and in the fine glow of good faith. All worthy social enterprises, including due process of law, are helpless where there is no will to father and nourish them.

Granted the will to set up institutions of peace, the hopeful fact seems to stand out that certain main directions in the future of our foreign policy can be forecast with a degree of assurance. That policy will be in the main to promote per-

manent international peace through justice; that is to say, to advance in every proper way the general use of conciliation, arbitration, judicial methods, and all other "pacific means" of avoiding and adjusting differences among nations, to the end that right shall increasingly rule might in a law-governed world. These, it may be believed, make up at least a part of the "constructive processes" which Mr. Hughes says "must go on." Due process of law, it would appear, is the yardstick to which we may all turn with confidence in our efforts to create, to measure and to promote a worthy foreign policy.

LONDON CONFERENCE ON NAVAL REDUCTION

THE London Conference on Naval Reduction is the major international fact of the moment. This conference differs from the unsuccessful conference at Geneva in the greater civilian complexion of the conferees. It conforms, therefore, more nearly to our American doctrine of the supremacy of civilian over military control. With us it is a fundamental faith that only civilians can declare war, raise armies and navies, and even these only under laws. We have found it a wholesome principle.

It is well for us to recall from time to time that only Congress, which is made up of civilians representing civilians, has the power to declare war. And Congress has the power to declare only a national or foreign war. It has no power to declare a war against a State or any number of States. This means that we have placed the great questions affecting war and peace in civilian control. It means more. It means that we have renounced war as an instrument of policy between our States, between our Government and the States, and agreed to settle all disputes as between the States "save only by pacific means."

We have established civilian control of our military power. It is fitting, therefore, that international conferences on naval reduction should be manned and controlled by civilians. It is no reflection upon our military men either of the Army or of the Navy when we confess to a greater hope for the successful outcome from the London Conference on Naval Reduction because of the civilian quality of its personnel.

Furthermore, the civilian delegates to the conference are, for the most part, tested and able men. The people of the United States are relying upon them to disentangle many difficulties, and, in the language of Secretary Stimson, to take "A long and permanent step forward on the road towards peace . . . for all the nations of the earth." The chief purpose of the conference is to transform the process of naval armament from a method of competition to one of mutual agreement and limitation. Again, in the language of our Secretary of State, "Economy is only an important by-product of such an end. Our real aim is to remove the secrecy, the rivalry, the mutual irritation which inevitably attends the precedent of competition in armament, and to leave each nation free to have an adequate national defense which will yet not be a source of worry and suspicion to its neighbors. Manifestly such a result can only be obtained by frankness and good will. Manifestly if any one of us leaves this conference feeling that his country has been coerced into an unfriendly agreement, our chief purpose will not have been attained. A sense of injury will remain as a rankling sore to plague our mutual relations in future years."

In any event, the universal interest in this conference is another evidence of the will among men to forestall the possibilities of war.

THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The ADVOCATE OF PEACE congratulates the League of Nations upon its ten years of diversified and stimulating activity. Some time ago, Mr. Elihu Root said: "For these years the League in the political field and the Court in the judicial field have been rendering the best service in the cause of peace known to the history of civilization, incomparably the best." We are quite willing to accept this personal view in all its fullness and directness.

It has been our privilege to be at the Assembly of the League each year, with the exception of one, since the Assembly began. As an agency of consultation there is nothing like it in the world. There never has been. In a recent statement, President Nicholas Murray Butler emphasized the point that consultation is capable of keeping open the highroad of established peace. To illustrate his point, Dr. Butler reminds us that on the occasion of a famous visit made to Pope Pius IX by Mr. Gladstone, not long before the time of the Vatican Council of 1870, Mr. Gladstone inquired of His Holiness as to what human habit, method, or trait he attributed the amazing and unbroken continuity and vitality of the Catholic Church, despite the fact that since its foundation nations had risen and fallen, the migration of peoples had changed the face of Europe, and literature, science and learning had been revolutionized; that through all this the Catholic Church had gone on its way with astonishing authority and vigor. His Holiness replied to Mr. Gladstone that so far as any human happening or trait was responsible it could be described as threefold. "The first of these," said His Holiness, "was Consultation; the second was Consultation; the third was Consultation."

It is probable that the first ten years of the League will be remembered as a time

of experiment, and that in many fields—the care of refugees, intellectual co-operation, slavery, obscene publications, obnoxious drugs, statistics, news transmission, safety at sea, double taxation, finance and economics, reconstruction loans, mandates, minorities, the registration of treaties, the technique of conferences, of correspondence, and of co-operation.

These experiments will go on. After ten years there seems no international problem which the League is not willing to tackle. They are talking now of closing the last "gap" in the Covenant, of pushing the codification of international law, of carrying on the work toward disarmament, of establishing a two-year tariff truce, of getting at the possibilities of a United States of Europe, of promoting aerial organization, of limiting the manufacture of drugs and the smoking of opium especially in the Far East, of looking into the slavery situation in Liberia, of improving transit situations. Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General of the League, is inclined to believe that the next decade of the League "will be mainly occupied with a careful development along lines already laid down or projected."

It cannot be said that Americans are not interested in the League of Nations. During the tenth session of the Assembly it appeared that James T. Forstall, of Chicago, gave twenty-five thousand francs toward a revolving fund to facilitate the circulation of League literature. The Rockefeller Foundation has contributed to the publication of banking laws, to the Health Section of the League and two million dollars to the building and endowing of the new League Library, the cornerstone of which was laid last summer. Some forty American citizens have served on various committees of the League. Our Government has co-operated with the League in a variety of ways. We shall undoubtedly

continue to co-operate as our interests seem to require.

THE ANNIVERSARY AND OUR AMERICAN PRESS

OUR American press pays its share of attention to the tenth anniversary of the League of Nations. Through it all there is little of the bitterness we became used to in the early days of our public discussion of the League. The friendly comment seems for the most part to refer to the influence of the League in Europe. It is agreed that there is a growing feeling among various governments that when emergencies arise the League may be able to suggest an effective course of action.

The *New York Times*, always friendly to the League, holds that "it is only the most embittered enemy of the League who can fail to be impressed by the swelling record of its achievements in the cause of world peace."

"The League unquestionably is doing much good, and is advancing effectively the cause of world peace," agrees the *Pasadena Star-News*. "Wholly aside from the matter of whether or not the United States should or should not join the League, now or hereafter, fairness impels all Americans who are conversant with what has been accomplished and attempted by the League to acknowledge the value of the League achievements."

Coupled with its tribute to the League is a statement by the *Boston Transcript* of the American attitude: "We are certainly no nearer than we were when the Covenant so sharply failed of American approval, to joining our fortunes with an organization which, after all, if it ever achieves the purpose avowed in its protocol, of regulating the relations between the nations of Europe, is distinctly political. The American people are still strong

in the purpose to remain outside of active co-operation with the League. We are willing to help toward winning the peace of the world, but we come no nearer to 'interweaving our destiny' with Europe, or committing ourselves to participation in the settlement of her broils." The *Transcript*, however, voices the praise: "It can hardly be denied that Europe has become to a considerable degree more and more accustomed to look to Geneva for the settlement of certain differences. When national differences arise, as they continually do, Geneva begins invariably to be suggested as the proper place for adjustment. Thus the League, even while wanting in the most important achievements, may be said to affect favorably the psychology of Europe."

"Criticism is dying down," avers the *Flint Daily Journal*. "It cannot stand up in the face of the constructive work which is being done by this organization."

From the *Springfield Republican* is this: "So important a program, indeed, has been laid down for the coming year that it has been found necessary to increase the budget materially. . . . Some of the measures need not involve great delay, but most of them were too weighty to be put through at one session, even if opposition were not very strong. If next year's Assembly meets under as favorable auspices as the one just closed, there may be definite and important progress to record, and observers at Geneva are evidently inspired by new hopes."

"It is no stretching of the truth," in the judgment of the *Great Falls Tribune*, "to say that these movements for the betterment of world conditions would not have made the progress they have had it not been for the League of Nations. The United States may continue its policy of not being a member of the organization, but the fact remains that our foreign af-

airs are conducted with the League always in mind."

And thus again it is brought home to us that one of the problems of the peace movement in America is the gearing of our peace machinery with operations at Geneva and The Hague. As to how this is to be brought about, our press is strangely silent.

AMENDING THE COVENANT

THE major obstacle separating the United States from the League of Nations is, of course, the Covenant or Constitution of the League. It was upon that instrument that opponents to our joining the League based their arguments. It has been the attitude of this magazine, since President Wilson made it impossible for the United States to join the League with reservations, that the Covenant should be changed before the United States could be expected to join. We have made bold to suggest that President Hoover, with the advice and consent of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, set up a commission for a thorough-going study of our relations to the League with the view of opening conversations with that important body relative to the possibilities of such changes.

Various proposals have been made that the Covenant be amended. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald suggested certain amendments at the meeting of the Assembly last September. During the sessions of the Council in January, Foreign Secretary Arthur Henderson expressed the hope that the Council would be able to name a competent committee to prepare amendments to the Covenant, which would entirely eliminate the recognition of aggressive warfare, and that such a committee should report to the next Assembly of the League. It is clear that the British Government considers the proposal to amend the Covenant of the

League of Nations to harmonize it with the Kellogg Pact, as of prime importance. Other governments hold the same views.

We are not hopeful that any material changes in the Covenant are possible within any appreciable time. We wish we were. The smaller powers will cling to the sanction sections of the Covenant in the belief that their security is enhanced by these military clauses. Furthermore, France, among the larger powers, is peculiarly sympathetic toward these enforcement sections of the Covenant. We of America get nowhere criticizing these defenders of such articles as 10 and 16. We are not competent to criticize. If we were situated as they, we might take the same view. In any event, we may expect opposition to any amendments looking to abolition of those clauses still objectionable throughout a wide section of American opinion.

So far as we are able to discover, the fact that all the governments of the world, save Brazil and Argentina, have signed a contract to renounce war and to settle all their disputes by pacific means, seems thus far to have had little influence in these premises. Influential supporters of the League show little disposition to abandon any of the sections of the Covenant committing them to sanctions against an aggressor. In the light of this, we are inclined to the view that America will continue to avoid, as far as possible, political entanglements abroad and to confine her political international activities to concurrent action and in the direction of independence.

This does not mean that we have lost hope that the Covenant of the League may yet be amended, satisfying us of America that the League is in both form and substance simply an agency of co-operation, purely a legislative organ, and a method of advancing understanding and justice as between nations.

MR. HUGHES ON THE WORLD COURT

SINCE the United States has signed the Protocol for adherence to the World Court, discussion has grown as to whether or not the Senate will ratify our adherence. Whether or not the Senate will ratify depends in no small measure upon the question whether or not the Protocol containing the Root formula may be counted upon to protect the interests of the United States.

Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, a Judge of the Permanent Court, recently addressed himself to this point and other aspects of the Court. Mr. Hughes believes that the Protocol does protect the interests of this country.

Our former Secretary of State expressed the opinion that the judicial settlement of international disputes cannot be adequately secured by mere sporadic effort. He pleaded for the Court that there should be continuity and permanence, opportunity for the growth of confidence. He called attention to the fact that as a nation devoted to the interests of peace we have the utmost concern in this development, "to hold aloof is to belie our aspirations and to fail to do our part in forming the habit of mind upon which all hopes of permanent peace depend."

But Mr. Hughes put the case stronger. He said: "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 on demonstrated respect for the essential institutions of international justice."

The next election of the judges of the Court will be held next September. If the Protocol is ratified by the United States, without unnecessary delay; this Government will be a participant in the selection

of the new judges. Among the fifty-four States which now hold membership in the Court, the smaller nations especially will be concerned to maintain their balance of power on the bench. This is perhaps as much a criticism of the method of selecting the judges, as it is an urge that we hasten our ratification; but, as Mr. Hughes points out, no institution in the world can escape human limitations. We have had difficulties at times with reference to the choice of men for the Supreme Court of the United States. Mr. Hughes is of the opinion that it would be difficult to suggest a method which in its general features would be more likely to secure a bench of international judges in which confidence could be reposed.

Mr. Hughes has taken notice of critics who contend that the cleavage between the Court and the League of Nations is not sufficiently marked. He pointed out that if a World Court were sought independently of the League, some similar organization or plan would have to be set up. "I think," he observed, "that the real point with some of our friends who oppose the present method of selection is not that the method itself is inherently defective, but that they are opposed to a permanent court altogether. But for many reasons, which I cannot undertake at this time to detail, it has long been the desire and policy of the United States to have a permanent international court."

He again discussed the Court and its relationship to the League, adding that what really is of importance is the fact "that when judges have been elected, neither they nor their decisions are subject to the control of the League." Mr. Hughes endeavored to clear up misapprehensions concerning the binding effect membership in the Court would have on this Nation.

Unless the states which support the Court have otherwise agreed, resort to the Court is not compulsory; they retain the

right to refuse to submit their cases to the Court. In the proposal that the United States should adhere to the protocol of the Court, it has not been suggested that the United States should accept a compulsory jurisdiction. If the United States adheres, it can still refuse to submit to the Court any particular controversy. The Court will not decide a dispute between States unless the parties to the dispute have consented to its submission to the Court.

Mr. Hughes referred to the codification of international law which is progressing slowly, and replied briefly to those persons who urged delay in entering the Court until the law had been modified and clarified. Such delay, he remarked jestingly, might carry this Nation over to the millennium, and "most people doubt whether at such a time it would be necessary."

"Some have said that the World Court applies what they call "League Law." It goes without saying that as the Covenant of the League is a treaty between those who have signed it, it is to be applied like any other treaty to their disputes. But it is binding only upon those who have accepted it. The United States has not. No international court would apply to a State the provisions of a treaty to which it was not a party and to which it had not acceded or adhered. What is called League Law is law for the members of the League in the sense that their agreement is obligatory among themselves.

The fact that the United States is not a member of the League does not alter this in the slightest particular, and whether or not we support the World Court makes no difference in this respect. The Court must interpret the agreement between the members of the League fairly, as it must interpret our agreements fairly, if it has occasion to do so. The United States and every other country outside the League is bound only by what it has accepted and the others are bound by what they have accepted.

Some say that the United States is a country so powerful, so rich, and that there are so many who look at us askance, that it would be unsafe to entrust a decision

even of legal questions to a permanent court. If that reasoning were accepted, it might lead to the conclusion that it would not be safe to entrust the decision to any one but ourselves, and we should have the frankness to acknowledge that we intend to maintain our own views at any cost, even if we have to fight for them.

To my mind, there would be a far greater degree of insecurity in the long run in such a highly objectionable and intransigent attitude even on the part of a great and powerful nation. Particularly is this so when the great and powerful nation would be weakened in the effort to maintain such a policy by the large number of its citizens who desire peaceful settlements and by the fact that ultimate action must depend upon a Congress affected by this body of opinion.

This is apart from the international obligation we have deliberately assumed to resort solely to pacific measures. As we have thus given our pledge to have legal controversies settled in a peaceful way, we should candidly admit that we need an international judicial tribunal to determine them."

Speaking of the methods pursued by the Court in hearing cases, Mr. Hughes called the tribunal "a paradise for advocates." The attorneys can talk as long as they please and without interruption. Mr. Hughes, as an attorney, confessed that he had envied the World Court pleaders. He said that the judges themselves read every document submitted and have constant stenographic service which enables each to keep constantly abreast of the development of the issues.

The transcript is in English and in French, with the latter language most favored, and the judges during the trials confer frequently. Then at an appropriate time they submit tentative opinions which are exchanges in confidence among the jurists. Mr. Hughes said that he had experienced a thrill in watching how the keen legal minds of the world matched up in their conclusions or differed widely in their conclusions.

"It must not be assumed that a judge who is appointed as a national of a particular country to sit in its case will decide in favor of that country. Lord Finlay showed the independence of a judge when he decided against Great Britain. He was a regularly elected judge. But quite apart from any tendency there may be in the case of national judges appointed for a particular case to look favorably upon the contentions of his country, the appointment of such a judge is, I found, of the greatest value in the work of an international tribunal. It greatly aids in disposing of any notion that a case has not been thoroughly considered or has been decided in any way than upon its merits as the majority sees them.

The judge reads all the tentative opinions of his colleagues. He thus sees how the case has impressed each one of the judges from their individual preliminary statements. He meets with them in consultation and hears every position vigorously and thoroughly presented and discussed. He has the opportunity to present his own views. In his original opinion, in consultations, in criticisms of the draft judgment, at every point, he is heard.

If the Court is against him, he knows why, and it is most probable that he will go back to his country with the message that whatever may be thought of the judgment there was not the slightest question of the sincerity, the independence and the thoroughness of the consideration of the case. If he were not there, if no national of a State which is a party to the dispute were on the Court, it would be far easier to give currency to notions of the intrusion of political and partisan considerations.

In the comprehensive discussions in the consultation room, there is, of course, opportunity for vigor and effectiveness in debate. Judges are not only human in their limitations, but in their aspirations. They desire the respect of their colleagues. They hope for the esteem of the world. There is only one way that they can get either or both, and that is by using all the ability that God has given them, by unremitting industry, by candid expressions. That I have found to be characteristic of the International Court.

Whatever defects it has are those which inhere in all our imperfect human undertakings. They are found in our domestic courts, even in the highest. The one thing that has impressed my mind is this. After sitting alone, with one's own task, endeavoring to reach a conclusion as to the merits of a stubbornly contested dispute, wondering what one's colleagues think of the different points that have been laboriously argued, one cannot but have a feeling of exaltation in reading the preliminary opinions as they come in, and in realizing to what extent the minds of men drawn from many countries move along the same lines of careful reasoning.

Whether one agreed or not with this or that opinion, one's respect was heightened by the exhibition of intelligent and conscientious application of learning and mastery, of the power of analysis and cogent statement, which are the marks of judicial work of superior excellence. There has always been danger in all tribunals, both domestic and international, whether constituted by arbitral arrangements or otherwise, of the alloy of policy, even of intrigue, of attitudes taken in deference to power rather than to justice.

I am inclined to think that this sort of influence is much more to be dreaded in international arbitrations, such as it is in most cases practically possible to set up, than in such an organization as the World Court. The way to meet such intrusions is by the earnestness and ability of judges who are not respecters of persons or particular governments, but of the law and of justice, by winning the victories of reason in intimate debates, by well considered deliverances which satisfy intelligent opinion. In this way the Supreme Court of the United States, despite all the difficulties that surrounded its early days, has come to be more firmly established in the respect and confidence of our people than any of the other institutions of government."

Our own view is that our Senate should take hold of this problem, analyze it, and solve it. To defer longer will be sure to give rise to unfriendly interpretations as harmful as they are unnecessary.

THINKING the thing out is fairly descriptive of the hard-headed man of today in matters of war and peace. One of America's leading business men writes to us with great candor about the peace movement. He points out that perhaps there never was a time in our life when progress in the directing of the sane reduction in armaments was more probable, that we all recognize the success of this effort depends upon leadership and good fellowship. He raises the question as to what we can really do. We quote from his memorandum the following:

Unfortunately we cannot turn to the peace societies of the United States. Some of these have had a long and honorable history, but most of them have so far missed their opportunities, or so far failed to inspire public confidence, that they have done the cause of peace more harm than good. Indeed, at the moment it is quite possibly true that the disclosures in the Shearer investigation, showing what jingo corporations and individuals have been doing, have done more for the cause of peace than all the preachments of the pacifists. So again we come back to the question: "How shall the men and women of the country proceed, who sincerely want to help the cause of peace, who are sufficiently sane to know that we cannot do it all at once, and that we can only make progress slowly?"

Perhaps the best way would be to appeal to the man who has already taken the lead in this question, the President of the United States. Perhaps, if a group of citizens of character should offer to assist him, that would be the best method of approach. Perhaps it would be wise for such a group to offer the President a substantial sum of money, say \$250,000, to make the investigation, and so relieve the necessity of going to the Bureau of the Budget, or to Congress, to ask for an appropriation. Coupled with this offer, they might also suggest to him that, if he thought well of the plan, he appoint a committee of citizens representing different sections of the country and different points of view, to assist him in preparing a constructive program for the future.

Of course, it may be said by the critics that such a committee could not possibly act in time to help either the London conference or the subsequent debates in Congress, especially in the Senate; but I believe that the mere announcement of such a plan would alone be helpful. The selection of such a committee would certainly arouse a great amount of public interest. The builders of ships and the makers of munitions are well organized. Every officer of the Army and Navy is professionally committed to the use of arms in the settlement of international disputes. The forces of peace are poorly organized, and, in the opinion of many intelligent men, have hurt and are hurting the cause of peace more than they are helping it. This program is simply offered as a suggestion.

There are readers of this magazine who could furnish us with "good copy," discussing these views. We hope they will do it. There is no doubt that the "forces of peace are poorly organized." Some of them may be "hurting the cause of peace more than they are helping it." If so, what is the matter with us? It is only a cheap imitation of a peacemaker who is afraid to face this question openly and squarely.

SOME days ago the press reported the publication of a British "White Paper," without giving the full contents of the paper, and considerable comment and discussion was excited here by the supposed assertion therein that in any future war there could be no neutrals. It was apparently assumed here that this assertion had been made by the British Government as a general fact without any limitations, and that the British Government contended that this situation followed as a result of the execution of the Kellogg-Briand Pact.

Our Secretary of State believes that these assumptions as to the position of the British Government are quite unfounded. The argument made by the British Government

was based upon the relations of that government to its fellow-members in the League of Nations, and upon the obligations assumed by members in that Covenant; and its argument was that "*as between members of the League* there can be no neutral rights because there can be no neutrals."

Their argument thus does not apply to the position of the United States as a signatory of the Kellogg-Briand Pact. As has been pointed out many times, that Pact contains no covenant similar to that in the Covenant of the League of Nations providing for joint forceful action by the various signatories against an aggressor. Its efficacy depends, as has been pointed out many times, solely upon the public opinion of the world and upon the conscience of those nations who sign it. There is nothing said in the British "White Paper" contrary to this fundamental distinction. The entire argument of that paper clearly shows that it was addressed solely to the obligations created by the League of Nations.

German Government would "welcome the nomination of that eminent jurist."

THE Honduran-Guatemalan Boundary Conference opened its sessions in Washington, January 20. Our Government invited these powers to meet in Washington with the view of offering opportunity for a frank and friendly exchange of opinions, and to bring about, if possible, a settlement of the boundary question which has threatened for so long the peaceful relations between them. For several years, the Government of the United States, at the request of both parties, has been exercising its good offices in an effort to find the basis upon which such a settlement could be affected. As a result the conferences and discussions, which have already taken place, have served to define the issue, to make clear the aspirations of both governments, and especially to demonstrate the desire of both parties to adjust their differences by fair and peaceful means. As stated by the acting Secretary of State at the opening session:

ON JANUARY 8, 1930, the White House announced the appointment of Mr. Roland W. Boyden of Boston as Umpire of the Mixed Claims Commission, United States and Germany, to succeed the Honorable Edwin B. Parker, who recently died. The agreement of August 10, 1922, between the United States and Germany provides that the two governments shall select an Umpire for the Mixed Claims Commission and the Department of State consequently inquired of the German Embassy whether the selection of Mr. Boyden as successor to Judge Parker would meet with the approval of its government. The German Ambassador, in informing the Department that he had brought the matter to the attention of his government, stated that the

The settlement of international disputes by means of direct and friendly conferences, or through orderly processes of arbitration, is one of the outstanding characteristics of the political system of the Western Hemisphere. We can say with pride that the nations of America have resorted to these orderly processes instead of to measures of force in every international difficulty which has arisen on this continent for many decades. We can point with satisfaction to the peaceful adjustment of many other boundary disputes within our very recent memory. When we consider the difficulties which some of these presented we cannot but feel the utmost confidence that two nations which are united by such close historical ties and such long-standing friendship as have existed between Guatemala and Honduras will be able to find an adequate solution of the problem which brings you here.

TREATIES of arbitration and conciliation continue to engage the lively interest of our Department of State. January 14, such treaties similar to those recently signed between the United States and various other countries, were signed at Riga by our American Minister to Latvia and by the Latvian Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Arbitration treaties have been signed since December, 1927, between the United States and the following countries: Albania, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, Estonia, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, The Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Sweden, and Yugoslavia.

Negotiations for arbitration treaties are in progress between the United States and Great Britain, Japan, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, Greece, Siam, China, and Persia.

Conciliation treaties have been signed since December, 1927, between the United States and the following countries: Albania, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Estonia, Ethiopia, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia.

Negotiations for conciliation treaties are in progress between the United States and Japan, Turkey, Greece, Siam, and Persia.

THE LEGAL STATUS of women, referred to with such wisdom and fullness elsewhere in these columns by Dr. James Brown Scott, was clarified still more on January 17 by the Third Division of the United States Customs Court in a decision unanimously upholding the right of Mme. Ganna Walska McCormick, wife of Harold F. McCormick of Chicago, to exemption from customs duties on the ground that, notwithstanding her husband's residence in Chicago, her legal residence is in France. It appears that a year ago last September,

customs officers at the port of New York held her liable for duty on personal effects she brought with her from abroad on a visit to her husband in this country. According to the decision of the court, the wife is now a distinct legal entity. She stands upon terms of equality with her husband in respect to property, torts, contracts, and civil rights. The wife may acquire a domicile separate and apart from her husband by reason of his misconduct, or abandonment, or by his agreement, either expressed or implied. This decision, granting that the residential status of a wife is not necessarily that of her husband, is quite in line with our laws that tax women and impose upon them the same liabilities as upon men. Incidentally, the decision is in perfect agreement with arguments set forth by Dr. Scott.

HAMLET'S ADVICE to the players that in the very torrent, tempest and whirlwind of passion they acquire and beget a temperance that may give it smoothness, and that they o'erstep not the modesty of nature, is one of those abiding things at the very heart of human society. Now we run across a remark by Richard Roberts, somewhat to the same effect: "Uplift—I am sick of hearing about it. Uplift, indeed, and to what level? Our own, of course. But what do you and I know about life, about its high places?" As long ago as Titus M. Plautus of Umbria, some two hundred years before Christ, it was a common saying that "a word to the wise is enough." Verily!

THE GROWTH OF OUR America during the last fifty years is a fact of sobering importance. When we are reminded that the mileage of our railways has risen from ninety-three thousand to two hundred fifty thousand; that in 1880 the income produced from manufactures

amounted to little more than two billion dollars annually, while at the present time the value added yearly to the material fabricated in the mills of this country is nearly thirty billions, while the value of all manufactured products is not far from fifty-five billions annually; that there has been a thirteenfold increase in the output of our mines and oil wells within this period, and that during the last fifty years our crops have increased fourfold in value, we know even after allowing for price changes that Dr. Julius Klein, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, is justified in calling these figures "gigantic." Our emphasis today is entirely different from that of half a century ago. We have changed from expansion to intense specialization. We are in a machine age. Our pioneers have turned from prairies to sparkplugs. The technician, the scientist, the organizer, and manager are upstage. Efficiency, speed, motion, salesmanship, markets, and mass production, are our shibboleths of the day. They bulk colorful, glamorous, and unparalleled in history. Dr. Klein, who knows all this perhaps better than anybody else, says of it:

"One thing that strikes us with compelling force is the constant increase, from decade to decade, in the tempo of that progress, in the speed of change. Science, industry, and commerce have been moving faster and faster, and the material phases of our life have flowered and flourished at a proportionate rate.

"And this most recent decade, this thrilling decade of 1920-1930, has been the swiftest of all—the most dynamic, change-ful, swirling, kaleidoscopic. It has witnessed the most drastic re-shaping—the most world-shaking transformations in the things that business deals with."

This complex and astonishing situation, confronting us at the dawn of a new decade, is a major factor in the total problem of international relations. In proportion as we comprehend this development, and only as we are able to understand it, can we

hope to make use of it unto the ultimate advantage of America, or to do much for the healing of the nations.

THE NATIONAL CARILLON ASSOCIATION, of Washington, D. C., proposes for the capital of our nation a "National Peace Carillon," a carillon of fifty-four bells of the highest musical quality, in a tower soaring 350 feet, "to out-rival the famous towers of all the world." The fifty-four bells, it is proposed, will form a complete musical instrument of four and one-half octaves, capable of yielding the most wonderful effect of feeling and harmony ever produced by bells. It has been suggested that such a structure would form a happy part of the international building proposed as the headquarters for the American Peace Society.

TO JOIN or not to join the League of Nations is set forth in *Current History*—instructive magazine—for January. H. V. Kaltenborn, Associate Editor of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, and John H. Clarke, former Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, defend the affirmative. David Jayne Hill, former Ambassador to Germany, and Philip Marshall Brown, Professor of International Law, Princeton University, both of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society, stand for the negative. We are glad to recommend the reading of these thoughtful utterances to our readers.

THE Tripartite Convention between the United States, Great Britain and Iraq was signed by the American Ambassador at London, January 9. This convention, negotiations with regard to which were commenced in 1926, will regularize the position of the United States and its na-

nationals in Iraq. It is therefore similar in purpose to the convention concluded with Great Britain on December 3, 1924, with respect to Palestine, and to the convention concluded on April 4, 1924, with France with respect to Syria and the Lebanon.

The terms of the present convention provide that the United States and its nationals shall enjoy in Iraq all the rights and benefits secured to members of the League of Nations, notwithstanding the fact that the United States is not a member of the League. Among such provisions are those affecting taxation, commerce and navigation, the exercise of industries and professions, and the treatment of merchant vessels and civil aircraft. Provision is also made with respect to the treatment to be accorded to American educational and philanthropic institutions.

The convention also provides for the recognition by the United States of the independence of Iraq. Similar recognition has previously been accorded to Iraq by Great Britain as well as by several other Powers.

OUR country's arbitration treaty program took another step forward on January 13, when our acting Secretary of State, Joseph T. Cotton, and Mr. J. H. van Royen, Minister of the Netherlands, signed a treaty of arbitration between the United States and Holland. The treaty will supersede the Root Arbitration Treaty of May 2, 1908, between the United States and the Netherlands, which will expire by limitation on March 25, 1930. A conciliation treaty (Bryan Treaty for the Advancement of Peace) signed with the Netherlands on December 18, 1913, is still in force.

Arbitration treaties of the Root type are still in force between the United States and Brazil, Ecuador, Haiti, Liberia, the Netherlands, Peru, and Uruguay. During the last two years arbitration treaties, in-

cluding the one signed with the Netherlands on January 13, 1930, have been signed with twenty-one countries, fifteen of which have been brought into force by exchange of ratifications.

"THE method of warfare is generally wrong," is a statement with which few will disagree. If one starts to analyze this statement, one soon finds one's self easily befuddled in logic and possibly in ethics. Nowhere more than in the peace movement does dogmatism, absolutism, authoritarianism tend to run riot. If "the method of warfare" has broken out, as a matter of practical behavior, certain nations may be expected under possible circumstances to overcome such a method of warfare with force if possible, which in itself may take on the "method of warfare." This is what has happened before and may happen again. Here are two sentences from one of our recent magazines: "To wage war for the highest ideals of liberty and justice, in all sincerity, is nevertheless damnable. To employ armed force to further human brotherhood itself does not cease to be organized murder." In all charitableness, utterances like these have played their tragic part in discrediting the whole peace movement. Peacemakers may be profoundly skeptical of force in the solution of social problems, but Prof. Rufus M. Jones puts the matter more truly when he says: "Pacifism means peacemaking. The pacifist is literally a peacemaker. He is not a passive or negative person who proposes to lie back and do nothing in the face of injustice, unrighteousness and rampant evil. He stands for the 'fiery positive.' Pacifism is not a theory; it is a way of life. It is something you are and do."

THE "international peace profession" is now something to think about. International peace is an area of human activity

about which there are persons who claim expert knowledge. As in the case of law, baseball, theology, diplomacy, dancing, engineering, killing, there is a profession for each, so there is in the realm of international practice an international peace profession. In fact it is one of the oldest of the professions. And yet it has no standardized degrees, no code of professional ethics, no educational requirements; it has no legal status, no professorships, no punishment for malpractice. And yet by every dictionary test, there is an international peace profession as highly specialized as any of the other professions. It is made up of practitioners as devoted, as cantankerous, as sensitive and jealous, as cocksure and self-sacrificing, as informed and full of charlatantry, as charged with high purpose and strange humors as the practitioners in any of the other professions. We may well begin to use the phrase "peace profession," for it is in the cards. Colleges may soon be granting P. D.—Peace Doctor—degrees. Why not? If there is any profession needing co-ordination and standardization, regulating and sanitation by law it is the international peace profession; for malpractice in this profession is liable to wreak more harm than is the case with any other profession. Indeed, malpractice in this profession all but wrecked civilization, once in Greece, once in Rome, once in Vienna, bringing on anarchy, tyranny, alliances, and finally a world eruption, a fever in the blood of civilization that goes on burning even yet. As doctors in the medical profession base their practice on the disposition of Nature to behave seemlywise if left to herself, so the doctors in the peace profession, radicals and conservatives, start with the thesis that war is a disease, in the language of George Washington, a "plague of humanity;" but that nature properly freed and left to herself will have nothing of it.

TO DRAFT property the same as we draft men in time of war is a scheme advocated in a number of influential circles. Senator Reed of Pennsylvania has tried to introduce a resolution in the Senate for the purpose of having a commission appointed to investigate and report as to what kind of legislation would enable the Congress to make such drafts. In light of the Constitution, particularly of the fifth amendment, where it is held that no person shall be deprived of private property for public use without just compensation, it has seemed to us that the proposal to draft property even in time of war, except in the form of taxes, would require an amendment to the Constitution. Such an amendment would have to grant to Congress the power in time of war to take private property for the purposes of national defense, without compensation if necessary. Senator Dill of Washington has introduced a Senate joint resolution proposing just such an amendment, which amendment is now before the Committee on the Judiciary. The outcome is of course in the lap of the gods.

WE are glad that our Government is planning to participate in the celebration of the one thousandth year of the Icelandic Parliament, to be held in Iceland, June, 1930. For those who are worried about the future of parliamentary government here is something to think about.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES for the promotion of peace may be said to date from 1843, when there was a conference, planned two years before at the headquarters of the American Peace Society, held in the city of London. According to Mr. Ivy Lee, between 1840 and 1849 there were nine international conferences for preserving peace. From 1850 to 1859 there were 20; 1860 to 1869, 143; in 1907,

70; in 1914, 140; and in 1927, 367. While we do not pretend to vouch for the accuracy of these figures, we judge they represent fairly well the growth of international conferences in the interests of international peace.

TO those who preach that war will never be entirely abolished, we call attention to the following, dug up by the *Christian Science Monitor* from a New York newspaper of the year 1861:

A man about forty-six years of age, giving the name of Joshua Coppersmith, has been arrested for attempting to extort funds from ignorant and superstitious people, by exhibiting a device which, he says, will convey the human voice any distance over metallic wires so that it will be heard by listeners at the other end. He calls the instrument a "telephone," which is obviously intended to imitate telegraph and win the confidence of those who know the success of the latter instrument without understanding the principles on which it is based. Well-informed people know that it is impossible to transmit the human voice over wires, as may be done with dots and dashes and signals of the Morse Code, and that, were it even possible to do so, the thing would be of no practical value.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

THE TARDIEU GOVERNMENT

ON NOVEMBER 3, after negotiations lasting almost two weeks, M. André Tardieu succeeded in forming a new French Cabinet, which commands a majority in the Chamber of Deputies. This is the first time in many years that a government has been formed in France without the participation of any of the important Socialist groups.

COMPOSITION OF THE NEW CABINET

The Tardieu Cabinet is constituted as follows:

M. André Tardieu, Prime Minister and Interior
 M. Lucien Hubert, Vice-President of the Council and Justice
 M. Briand, Foreign Affairs
 M. Maginot, War
 M. Georges Leygues, Navy
 M. Pierre Marraud, Education
 M. Henry Chéron, Finance
 M. Pernet, Public Works
 M. P.-E. Flandin, Commerce
 M. Jean Hennessy, Agriculture
 M. Loucheur, Labor
 M. Pietri, Colonies
 M. Laurent-Eynac, Air
 M. Gallet, Pensions
 M. Germain-Martin, Posts, Telegraphs, and Telephones
 M. Rollin, Mercantile Marine

The new cabinet also includes the following Under-Secretaries of State:

M. Marcel Heraud (Prime Minister's Office), M. Manaut (Interior), M. Malarmé (Public Works), M. Petsche (War), M. Deligne (Navy), M. Oberkirch (Health), M. François Poncet (Fine Arts), M. Barety (Technical Education), M. Serot (Agriculture), M. Henri Paté (Physical Education), M. Champétier de Ribes (Finance), M. Alcide Delmont (Colonies).

The new cabinet is composed of sixteen Ministers and twelve Under-Secretaries of State, and is thus considerably larger than M. Briand's late cabinet, which comprised only fourteen Ministers and four Under-Secretaries. Two portfolios have been re-created: the Postal Administration has been raised once more to the status of a Ministry, and the old Ministry of Mercantile Marine has been revived. These additions reflect the difficulty M. Tardieu encountered in satisfying the demands made upon him by the numerous small groups for representation in his government as a return for their support. There are four senators in the Ministry—M. Lucien Hubert, M. Marraud, and M. Gallet, who belong to the Democratic Left, and M. Henry Chéron, of the Republican Union.

The rest are all Deputies. The parties are represented as follows:

Left Republican (Centre), 8; Radical Left (Centre), 6; Republican Democratic Union (Right), 3; Action Démocratique et Sociale (Right Centre), 2; Socialist Republican (MM. Briand and Hennessy), 2; Left Independents (Centre), 2; Popular Democrat (Right), 1.

The cabinet is thus seen to be predominantly Centre, with some support from the Right. Among the prominent members of the old cabinet who have disappeared are M. Barthou, who was Minister of Justice, and M. Painlevé, Minister of War. The latter office passes to M. Maginot, who held it on a former occasion and has become prominent for his vigorous action in favor of a strongly fortified eastern frontier.

It is noteworthy that the Socialist-Radicals have no share in the new cabinet. By 48 votes to 26 (out of a party which is composed of 149 Senators and 121 Deputies), a motion to accept M. Tardieu's offer of six portfolios on the basis of an agreed program was rejected, and an alternative resolution was adopted, under which the Socialist-Radicals undertook to judge the new cabinet by its actions and without prejudice.

When the decision of the Socialist-Radicals was made known to M. Tardieu he expressed his regret, but announced his determination to go on without them.

NEW GOVERNMENT'S POLICY OF PEACE AND SECURITY

On November 7, Premier Tardieu presented to the Chamber the new government's program in which he dealt at length with the immediate needs of the country, especially from the point of view of peace and security. Much, he agreed, has been done by his predecessors to liquidate the legacies of the War. The devastated regions had been reconstructed, budget equilibrium had been restored, the treasury had been accorded relief, the short-term debt had been consolidated, a sinking fund had been set up, the currency had been stabilized, and a settlement of the War debts had been arranged. But a constructive policy must follow upon this liquidation, and in the forward march to the goal his government proposed to lead the way.

First, however, it must achieve a settlement of the serious problems of an international character left over from the previous administration. He announced three general principles that must guide them in organizing the peace of the world and the security of France. These were: (1) To conclude nothing conflicting in any way with the liberty of the Chamber to examine and ratify agreements; (2) to put before it nothing that could in any degree diminish the material and moral guarantees of France's independence; and (3) subject to these, not to refuse any agreement calculated to allay irritation bequeathed by the past, but rather to strengthen the foundations of peace and to develop understanding and confidence between the nations.

After that, M. Tardieu proceeded to outline the policy which his government intended to pursue at the reparation conference at The Hague and the Naval Conference at London.

PROGRAM OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

In a later part of his program speech, M. Tardieu outlined a scheme of national development proposed by his government, and on November 25 he introduced a bill, embodying these proposals. The bill provides for the expenditure of 5,000,000,000 francs over a period of five years, of which sum 1,500,000,000 francs will come out of the 1930 budget. In the preamble to the bill it is pointed out that the reduction of deliveries in kind provided for by the Young Plan leaves the government with a greater freedom of action in carrying out schemes of development which are now possible owing to the healthy state of the nation's finances.

The distribution of expenditure is made up under the following headings:

Interior, 550,000,000f.; public instruction, 750,000,000f.; hygiene and social services, 700,000,000f.; agriculture, 1,105,000,000f.; public works, 1,590,000,000f.; merchant marine, 30,000,000f.; telegraphs and telephones, 275,000,000f.

The principal item of expenditure under the heading of Interior is the allocation of 300,000,000f. to the fund for advances to communes which have insufficient revenue to develop properly. As these communes

are chiefly in the rural districts this sum can be considered as an addition to the provision made for agriculture.

One of the greatest items of expenditure on public works is 630,000,000f. to be devoted to the improvement and extension of ports. By adding the amount set aside for the merchant marine a clear indication of the growing activity of French maritime effort is provided. National roads claim a total of 700,000,000f. for rebuilding, improvement, and the removal of the many level crossings which take a heavy toll of death each year, while 100,000,000f. is set down for advances to further development of hydraulic and hydro-electric power. For the encouragement of tourists 30,000,000f. is set aside. Education is to receive 172,000,000f. for the improvement of existing schools and universities. A further amount of 500,000,000f. goes to the construction of new elementary schools.

The expenditure on hygiene is notable for a grant of 400,000,000f. towards combating tuberculosis, by the improvement of existing clinics and hospitals, the construction of new ones, and by educational campaigns. For general hospitals 300,000,000f. is provided.

The sum of 225,000,000f. is provided for the development of an automatic telephone system in rural districts. A new form of development is foreshadowed by estimates for the spending of 50,000,000f. on the creation of a broadcasting system in country districts in order to end so far as possible "intellectual isolation."

FRENCH ARMY ESTIMATES

Early in December, in connection with the general debate on the budget, the government presented to the Chamber the 1930 estimates of military expenditures. The army budget for this year consists of 6,495,000,000f., but by a new method of presentation the credits are allotted to three separate accounts instead of being grouped in one general estimate. The first account is for home defense, and calls for 4,305,992,350f.; the second is for over-sea defense, and calls for 1,762,954,070f., and the third is for the Army of the Rhine, 426,000,000f.

The reasons for this separation were given by M. Bouilloux-Lafont, the *rapporteur*, in a preamble to the bill. He

pointed out that similar distinctions are made by other European powers, and that, apart from the confusion entailed in putting estimates under one general heading, there is the danger of furnishing hostile critics with a superficial excuse for an accusation of militarism against France, even at a time when she has reduced both the length of service and the numbers of her army. Furthermore, the system of separate estimates shows clearly and simply the expenditure devoted to the protection of oversea possessions.

The items of expenditure are in round figures as follows:

Upkeep of military personnel, 3,620,000,000f.; upkeep of civilian personnel, 600,000,000f.; upkeep of animals, 400,000,000f.; upkeep of material, 575,000,000f.; new material and construction, 590,000,000f.; military education, 385,000,000f.; transport, 280,000,000f.; miscellaneous, 50,000,000f.; total, 6,500,000,000f.

Only a guarded reference is made to the item of 590,000,000f. for "new material and construction," which, in fact, covers frontier defense and provision for mobilization. This "infinitely delicate problem" is considered to be of great urgency in view of the coming evacuation of the Rhineland, and it is frankly stated that this sum is no more than sufficient to allow the beginning of a work which will certainly demand larger credits in future budgets.

In his address to the Chamber, supplementing the written report, M. Bouilloux-Lafont declared that, whereas practically every other power showed today a greatly increased figure of military expenditure over its pre-War budgets, the French estimate for 1930 actually showed a decrease if the depreciation of the franc were taken into account. In 1913 the French military credit amounted to 1,400,000,000f., or 7,000,000,000f. in the currency of today. It was true that the existing number of effectives was less, but the increased cost of everything more than offset this consideration. Moreover, in consequence of the reduction of the period of military service to one year, the number of regular troops would have to be increased, while increases in pay, the training of reserves, and the

provision of better conditions for the troops all entailed heavy expenditure.

The expected attack from the Left was delivered by M. Daladier. He declined to accept the government figures. Taking into account the expenses of military aviation and other items in the general budget, he set the real military expenditure at 8,450,000,000f., which was certainly greater than that of 1914. If all forms of expenditure on national defense were included, the amount rose to 12,207,000,000f. Against this only 12,098,000,000f. were set aside for productive expenditure. In spite of the examples of foreign military budgets, was there any other country which spent more upon defense than upon productive works? A few soldiers more or less, he said, have nothing to do with security; that depends alone upon the will to peace of the peoples of the world. If the security of France lies anywhere, it is in the hearts of the people who already saved her in 1914.

RUSSO-CHINESE CONFLICT

ON DECEMBER 2, the United States, Great Britain, France, and several other signatories of the Kellogg Pact, presented identic notes to the governments of Soviet Russia and of China, appealing to them not to violate the Pact by engaging in organized military warfare in Manchuria. At the time that the notes were delivered, direct negotiations were already in progress between representatives of the Moscow government and of the government of Manchuria. The Soviet Government chose to regard the presentation of the notes as an "unfriendly act," designed to interfere with these negotiations, and its Acting Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Maxim Litvinoff, dispatched sharp reply notes to the appealing powers, especially to the United States.

TEXT OF OUR NOTE TO CHINA AND RUSSIA

The text of the note dispatched by Secretary Stimson to Russia and China was as follows:

The government and people of the United States have observed with apprehensive concern the course of events in the relations between China and Russia in the phase which has de-

veloped in reference to the situation in Northern Manchuria since July 10.

On July 18 this government took steps, through conversations between the Secretary of State and the diplomatic representatives at Washington of five powers, to see that the attention of the Chinese and the Russian Governments be called to the provisions of the treaty for the renunciation of war, to which both China and Russia were signatories.

Both the Russian and the Chinese Governments then made formal and public assurances that neither would resort to war unless attacked. Since that time that treaty has been ratified by no less than fifty-five powers, including China and Russia.

The American Government desires again to call attention to the provisions of the treaty for the renunciation of war, particularly to Article II, which reads:

"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," and the American Government takes occasion to express its earnest hope that China and Russia will refrain or desist from measures of hostility and will find it possible in the near future to come to an agreement between themselves upon a method for resolving by peaceful means the issues over which they are at present in controversy.

The American Government feels that the respect with which China and Russia will hereafter be held in the good opinion of the world will necessarily in great measure depend upon the way in which they carry out these most sacred promises.

SECRETARY STIMSON'S EXPLANATION OF THE ACTION

In announcing the dispatching of the notes, Secretary Stimson made the following statement:

We have been engaged in discussions with the governments of several of the other powers signatory to the Pact of Paris in regard to the situation in Manchuria. During the past few days organized Russian forces have been in conflict with organized Chinese forces near Dalainor in Northern Manchuria. It is credibly reported that many casualties occurred and that thousands of the inhabitants of the neighboring towns have been driven from their homes.

Although the causes of the conflict are in dispute and the accounts are somewhat contradictory, it is clear that serious encounters between military forces of China and Russia have occurred. It also is clear that during the months since this controversy began no effective steps have been taken by the Chinese and Russian Governments looking toward an arbitration of the dispute of its settlement through neutral conciliation or other pacific means.

The efficacy of the Pact of Paris depends upon the sincerity of the governments which are party to it. Its sole sanction lies in the power of public opinion of the countries, constituting substantially the entire civilized world, whose governments have joined in the covenant. If the recent events in Manchuria are allowed to pass without notice or protest by any of these governments the intelligent strength of the public opinion of the world in support of peace cannot but be impaired.

We have found in our discussions referred to above community of view with regard to the fundamental principles. There has been in these discussions no suggestion of intervention of any kind. Discussions have been directed to discovering the best means of expressing the opinion of each of the nations by way of remonstrating against the use of force by either side in this controversy.

TEXT OF THE RUSSIAN REPLY

Following is the text of the note handed by Litvinoff to the French Ambassador in Moscow for transmission to Washington:

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics from the first day of its existence has pursued a policy of peace, and unlike other powers has never resorted to military action except as a necessary step for defense, due to direct attack on the Union or armed intervention in its internal affairs. The Soviet Union has consistently pursued this policy and intends to pursue it independently of the Paris Pact for abolition of war.

During recent years the Nanking Government, evading by its usual methods settlement of the conflict by diplomatic ways, has carried on toward the Soviet Union a provocative policy of violation of the customary rules and treaties, notwithstanding the fact that these treaties were not imposed on China by force, but were concluded on the basis of full equality and free will and that the Soviet Union voluntarily surrendered in these treaties extraterritorial consular jurisdiction and other privileges which the Chinese Gov-

ernment until now has been vainly trying to abolish in regard to other powers.

The climax of this policy was the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway without any warning or preliminary presentation of any claims, in violation of existing agreements regarding the joint administration of the railway.

The Soviet Government believes that if action such as that of the Nanking Government were taken toward the United States, Great Britain or France it would be considered by their governments sufficient cause for putting into force reservations they made when signing the pact.

The Soviet Government declared when signing that it did not recognize the reservations and did not intend to use them.

The Nanking Government not only resorted to illegal seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway, but mobilized along the Soviet Manchurian Railway an army, various sections of which, together with counter-revolutionary Russian bands included therein, made systematic attacks on the U. S. S. R., crossing the frontier and firing on units of the Red Army and frontier villages, robbing and violating a peaceful population, causing thereby losses of lives and population.

Despite frequent warnings through the German Government, these attacks did not cease, but rather increased and compelled the Soviet Far-Eastern Army, in the interests of defense, protection of the frontier and the peaceful population, to take counter measures. Thus the actions of the Red Army had due considerations of self-defense and were in no wise violations of any obligations of the Paris Pact.

That cannot be said of armed forces in Chinese territory and Chinese ports of those powers who have applied today to the Soviet Union with identical declarations.

The Soviet Government states that the Government of the United States has addressed its declaration at a moment when the Soviet and Mukden Governments already had agreed to several conditions and were proceeding with direct negotiations which would make possible prompt settlement of the conflict between the Soviet Union and China.

In view of this fact the above declaration cannot but be considered unjustifiable pressure on the negotiations, and cannot therefore be taken as a friendly act.

The Soviet Government states further that the Paris Pact does not give any single state or group of states the function of protector of this pact.

The Soviet, at any rate, never expressed consent that any states themselves or by mutual consent should take upon themselves such a right.

The Soviet Government declares that the Soviet-Manchurian conflict can be settled only by direct negotiations between the Soviet Union and China on the basis of conditions known to China and already accepted by the Mukden Government, and that it cannot admit interference of any other party in these negotiations or the conflict.

In conclusion, the Soviet Government cannot forbear expressing amazement that the Government of the United States, which by its own will has no official relations with the Soviet, deems it possible to apply to it with advice and counsel.

Notes identical in text with the above, except for the omission of the last paragraph, were dispatched to the other appealing powers.

MOSCOW'S EXPLANATION OF ITS POSITION

The Moscow newspapers, in leading articles, furnished a certain amount of explanation of the position taken by the Soviet Government. The official organ of the Soviet Government, the *Izvestiya*, wrote as follows:

Did the Government of the United States know about direct negotiations between Mukden and Moscow before it sent the note, or did it not? If it did know, then its intervention and pressure upon the said negotiations cannot be regarded save as an unfriendly act. If it did not know, for the precise reason that its Chinese informants concealed this vitally important fact, then, considering the situation of relationship—or rather the absence of relationship—between the United States and Russia, its action cannot be regarded as correct or friendly to the Soviet Union.

What is more, it is worth remarking that the importance and authority of the Kellogg Pact are not enhanced if certain of its signatories take upon themselves to reproach a co-signatory for insufficient observance of the pact without previously making themselves acquainted with all sides and circumstances of the conflict involved.

Pravda, the official organ of the Communist Party, maintained that the whole attitude of the United States and of the other "imperialist" powers has been unfriendly to Soviet Russia from the beginning of the Manchurian crisis. Its lead-

ing article pointed to the Stimson memorandum of last summer, the text of which has never been made public, but which, according to the Moscow paper, contained a proposal for an internationalization of the Chinese Eastern Railway. It asked why the signatories of the Kellogg Pact failed to invoke it when the Chinese were raiding Russian territory, but hastened to do so when Russian troops found themselves forced to invade Chinese territory as "a measure of self-defense."

SIGNING OF THE RUSSO-MANCHURIAN AGREEMENT

No reply to the Russian note was made by the Department of State. On December 5, Secretary Stimson announced that so far as our government is concerned, the incident may be considered as closed, while any imputation to us of unfriendly motives is preposterous. He pointed out, however, that the notes no doubt played an important rôle in bringing about agreement between Russia and Manchuria, the text of which was announced the same day by the official Soviet news agency, the Tass. The agreement as signed in Nikolisk-Ussurisk by Messrs. Tsai and Simanovsky, the Mukden and Soviet representatives respectively, runs as follows:

On behalf of the Mukden Government, the diplomatic commissar, Mr. Tsai Yun Sheng, declares that the chairman of the board of directors of the Chinese Eastern Railway, Mr. Lu Jung-Huan, has been dismissed from the post of chairman of the board.

On behalf of the Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics the agent of the Foreign Commissariat at Khabarovsk, Mr. Simanovsky, declares that when the chairman of the board of directors of the Chinese Eastern Railway, Mr. Lu Jung-Huan is dismissed from the post, the Soviet Government, in accordance with the declaration of the Acting Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Litvinoff, handed to the German Ambassador at Moscow on August 29, will be ready to recommend new candidates for the post of manager and assistant manager of the Chinese Eastern Railway instead of Messrs. Emshanov and Eismont. But the Soviet Government reserves the right to appoint Messrs. Emshanov and Eismont to other posts on the Chinese Eastern Railway. Whereupon Mr. Tsai Yung-Sheng in personal conversation with Mr. Simanovsky expressed his consent.

The Deputy Commissar, Mr. Tsai Yung-Sheng, of the Mukden Government declared that the latter, desiring by all means to contribute toward the settlement of the conflict between China and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and to remove all causes for further complications, will strictly conform with the Mukden and Peking agreement of 1924 in whole as well as in each part.

The agent of the Foreign Commissariat at Khabarovsk, Mr. Simanovsky, on behalf of the Soviet Government, accepted with satisfaction the declaration of Commissar Tsai Yun-Sheng that the Mukden Government will fulfill the agreements of 1924, and declared on his part that the Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, which has always stood on the basis of the agreement existing between China and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, will of course strictly fulfill them in whole as well as in each part. The above declarations in the first and second clauses of this protocol are considered as accepted by both parties.

It is not certain, as yet, whether this agreement will really serve to liquidate the Manchurian controversy, since the Nanking Government has expressed its dissatisfaction with it. It has, however, put a stop to military activities on the Manchurian frontier.

ANGLO-SOVIET RELATIONS

FOLLOWING the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Soviet Russia, an exchange of ambassadors between the two countries took place last December. Great Britain is now represented in Moscow by Sir Esmond Ovey, who had shortly before been appointed British Ambassador to Rio de Janeiro, but received the new appointment before he had proceeded to his Brazilian post. The Soviet Union is represented in London by Gregory Sokolnikoff, former Commissar of Finance. The exchange of ambassadors, in accordance with the Anglo-Russian protocol signed on October 3, 1929, was immediately followed by an exchange of assurances against propaganda.

EXCHANGE OF NOTES ON PROPAGANDA

On December 20, the Soviet ambassador handed the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs the following note:

Sir, By Clause 7 of the protocol signed on October 3 last by the Soviet Ambassador in Paris on behalf of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on behalf of his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, both governments engaged themselves to confirm the pledge with regard to propaganda contained in Article 16 of the General Treaty signed on August 8, 1924, between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

The terms of that Article were as follows:

The contracting parties solemnly affirm their desire and intention to live in peace and amity with each other, scrupulously to respect the undoubted right of a state to order its own life within its own jurisdiction in its own way, to refrain and to restrain all persons and organizations under their direct or indirect control, including organizations in receipt of financial assistance from them, from any act overt or covert liable in any way whatsoever to endanger the tranquillity or prosperity of any part of the territory of the British Empire or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or intended to embitter the relations of the British Empire or the Union with their neighbors or any other countries.

It was further agreed that effect should be given to this clause of the aforesaid protocol not later than the day on which the respective ambassadors presented their credentials.

Having this day presented to his Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, the letters accrediting me as Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to his Majesty the King, I have the honor by the direction of the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs and on behalf of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to confirm the undertaking contained in the article quoted above, and to inform you that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics regard that undertaking as having full force and effect as between themselves and his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of India.

I am instructed to add that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will be happy to receive in accordance with Clause 7 of the Protocol of October 3 a corresponding declaration from his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of India.

I have the honor to be, sir, with high consideration,

G. SOKOLNIKOFF.

Mr. Henderson made the following reply:

Your Excellency, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the note, dated today, in which your Excellency confirms, on behalf of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the pledge regarding propaganda contained in Article 16 of the General Treaty signed on August 8, 1924, between Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

In taking due note of this declaration I have the honor to inform your Excellency that in accordance with the understanding between his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as recorded in the Protocol of October 3, 1929, his Majesty's Ambassador in Moscow has been instructed to inform the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics that his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of India, for their part, also regard the undertaking contained in Article 16 of the Treaty signed on August 8, 1924, as having full force and effect as between themselves and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

I have, etc.,

ARTHUR HENDERSON.

Similar notes were exchanged in Moscow. At the same time, the Soviet ambassador presented to the British Foreign Office a *note verbale*, stating that the same assurances regarding propaganda would be given to the British Dominions, as soon as their respective governments had taken steps to regulate their relations with the Soviet Union.

QUESTION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Debates on the subject of Anglo-Soviet relations in the House of Commons have repeatedly been concerned with the question of whether or not the assurances given by the Soviet Government regarding propaganda were binding for the Communist International as well. Mr. Henderson,

replying to his critics, declared that in his understanding both the Soviet Government and the Comintern were bound by the agreement. This statement of the British Foreign Minister caused a sharp retort on the part of the Moscow *Izvestiya*, the official organ of the Soviet Government, which categorically denied Mr. Henderson's interpretation. In a leading article, the Soviet organ dwelt at great length on "Mr. Henderson's very peculiar interpretation of the mutual undertaking to abstain from propaganda." The article declared that it is futile for Mr. Henderson to pretend that this undertaking in any way concerns the Comintern, as the Soviet Government can neither speak for the Comintern nor undertake any responsibility for the Comintern's activity. The agreement of 1924 and the Protocol of October 3, 1929, do not contain, and could not contain, a single word relating to the Comintern, but the Labor Government continues to be captivated by the Conservative story of the relationship existing between the Soviet Government and the Comintern and "does not even shrink from distorting the agreement just concluded. But so long as Mr. Henderson limits himself to persuading the Conservatives that he has not departed far from the attitude of Sir Austin Chamberlain, this distortion has no serious importance and remains purely a domestic matter for Great Britain, in which we do not intend to meddle. But Anglo-Soviet relations," the paper continues, "are about to begin a new page, and for the future it is exceedingly important that the British Government should not repeat the criminal mistakes of their predecessors."

SOVIET AMBASSADOR'S STATEMENT

Simultaneously with the exchange of notes on propaganda, the Soviet ambassador in London issued the following statement:

The full renewal of diplomatic relations between the U. S. S. R. and Great Britain is a step undoubtedly based on sound economic and political necessities. The absence of normal relations between the two governments rendered the international situation more acute and was a constant menace to the maintenance of peace, in which the working masses are vitally interested. On the other hand, under such conditions it was im-

possible to develop stable trading relations, founded on mutual confidence, and the well-known figures for the trade turnover between Great Britain and the U. S. S. R. confirm this.

I hope that the renewal of relations and their further consolidation, by taking into account the interests of both countries, will be followed in the coming year by favorable results and will induce a movement of the trade turnover in an opposite direction. It is a favorable sign that already the orders of Soviet organizations in London amounted in October and November, 1929, to £3,687,000, as against £1,195,000 in the corresponding months of 1928.

However, it does not follow from this that it would be advisable to shut our eyes to the difficulties which have to be overcome before trade between the two countries will reach the proportions corresponding to their economic possibilities and requirements.

At the present time nobody can deny the extraordinarily rapid growth in the national economy of the U. S. S. R. The five years' plan of economic development has already, in the first year, not only been fulfilled, but the estimates provided in the five years' plan for 1928-29 have been exceeded. The increase in the output of industry in 1928-29 was 24 per cent over that in 1927-28, and in 1929-30 it is estimated to increase the output by 32 per cent over that in the previous year (the calculations are made throughout in unchanging values), whereas the annual increase was put down in the five years' plan at 20-21 per cent. The capital investments in industry and the construction of electrical power stations in 1929-30 are estimated at nearly £450,000,000. The greater part of this capital expenditure is to be used for the construction of new factories and the re-equipment of old ones. This, in its turn, will make it necessary to import large quantities of machinery and all kinds of equipment.

Consequently, and this is particularly important for the prospect of Anglo-Soviet trading relations, the demand on the part of the U. S. S. R. is growing, particularly for metallurgical products, machinery and tools, products of the electrical and chemical industries, means of transport (ships), etc. The very rapid development of state and cooperative large-scale agricultural enterprises is creating an enormous demand for tractors and combines and other complex agricultural machinery. The demand of the Soviet market will make it desirable for British industry to study seriously the question of adaptation to the peculiarities of that market, and at the same

time it may lead to the expansion of those branches of industry, the products of which can find a large sale in the U. S. S. R.

FINANCIAL CLAIMS AND OBLIGATIONS

On the subject of financial claims and obligations the Soviet ambassador had the following to say:

Another problem to be faced is that connected with finance. Without the necessary financial arrangements for the purpose of establishing stable and rapid extension of trade between Great Britain and the U. S. S. R., the development of economic relations is bound to proceed more slowly. Endeavoring to carry out more rapidly and successfully its plans of Socialist reconstruction, the Government of the U. S. S. R., on its side, will be ready to take steps toward a settlement of the financial claims which are being made upon it, taking into account our counter-claims.

But whatever steps the Soviet Government may take for this purpose, they must be directly connected with measures favorable to the further development and consolidation of the national economy of the U. S. S. R.

I hope that these questions will be investigated very thoroughly in the coming negotiations, and that every effort will be made to find a solution to the problems confronting us. I should at the same time add that the Soviet Union, i. e., the wide, toiling masses, who welcome the restoration and development of Anglo-Soviet economic relations, are at the same time fully conscious of the important successes achieved by the Soviet economy, in spite of the almost complete foreign financial isolation.

We have every intention of fulfilling loyally any obligations which we undertake, and at the same time rely on countries in friendly relations with us taking into account, on their side, the unalterable basis of our political and economic system. Under such circumstances it will be possible to consolidate the relations between the U. S. S. R. and Great Britain, founded, as they will be, on mutual benefit, and to lay the foundation of a lasting and peaceful cooperation between the peoples of the two countries.

TRIUMPH OF PARLIAMENTARISM IN POLAND

ON DECEMBER 5, the Polish Parliament reconvened after a five-week recess, caused by the fact that on October

31 the President of the Chamber suspended its session as a protest against what the Parliament considered as attempts made by the army command to control civil affairs. The first action of the Chamber, when it reconvened, was to pass a vote of no confidence in the Cabinet headed by Premier Switalski, because the Cabinet was frankly under army influence. The Switalski Cabinet resigned, and after negotiations lasting three weeks a new Cabinet was formed under the Premiership of Professor Bartel, Mr. Switalski's predecessor in office.

The return of Bartel to the premiership is generally regarded as a triumph of parliamentarism over dictatorship. Ever since the *coup d'état* of 1926, Poland's political life has been dominated by Marshal Pilsudski, who, however, holds only the portfolio of Military Affairs. His immediate entourage consists of two main groups. One of these groups, headed by Professor Bartel, has been urging the Marshal not to embark upon a career of open dictatorship, but to use his tremendous influence toward strengthening a parliamentary régime. The other group, known as the "Colonels," consisting mostly of military advisers, has been pushing the Marshal in the direction of an open dictatorship. The Switalski Cabinet was sympathetic with the "Colonel" group, and the fact that the Marshal has raised no opposition to its resignation and to a return of the Bartel element shows clearly that the parliamentary group is again in the ascendant, although some representatives of the "Colonel" group still remain in the Cabinet.

The new Cabinet is made up as follows: Professor Bartel, Prime Minister; M. Josewski, Interior; *M. Zaleski, Foreign Affairs; *Marshal Pilsudski, Military Affairs; *M. Matusewski, Finance; M. Dutkiewicz, Justice; *M. Kwiatkowski, Industry and Commerce; *M. Kühn, Communications; *M. Czerwinski, Religions and Education; M. Lesniewski, Agriculture; *M. Staniewicz, Agrarian Reform; Professor Matakiewicz, Public Works; *Colonel Prystor, Labor and Social Welfare; *Colonel Boerner, Posts and Telegraphs.

Of the five Ministers who have been displaced, M. Switalski (Prime Minister), General Skladkowski (Interior), and M. Car (Justice) were of the "Colonels" group; M. Niezabytowski (Agriculture) was the last remaining representative of the Conservative squirearchy; and M. Moraczewski (Public Works) was a former Socialist. Three representatives of the Colonels group, M. Matusewski, Colonel Prystor, and Colonel Boerner, remain.

M. Josewski at the Ministry of the Interior is the most interesting of M. Bartel's new recruits. He is an Ukrainian Pole, born and brought up at Kieff, who, after commanding the secret Polish military formations in the Ukraine during the war, became Minister for Polish Affairs in the short-lived Government of the Western Ukraine formed under the leadership of the Hetman Petlura. Afterwards he entered Polish politics, acting after the Pilsudski *coup d'état* as *chef de cabinet* to M. Bartel. For the last eighteen months he has been Voivod of Volhynia and has conducted the administration of that predominantly Ukrainian province on extremely liberal lines.

NEW GOVERNMENT IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

THE general parliamentary election, held in Czechoslovakia on October 27, 1929, resulted in a Cabinet crisis, which lasted for six weeks. As a result of the election, the Socialist parties greatly improved their position in Parliament, but did not succeed in winning a sufficient number of seats to enable them to form a government. As a result, the task of forming a coalition government again devolved upon the Czech Agrarian Party, which is still the largest single parliamentary group. Under the leadership of M. Udrzal, who has taken the place of the former Prime Minister Svehla, who is very ill, as the head of the Agrarian Party, a Cabinet representing a coalition of eight parties was finally formed on December 8.

The new Udrzal Cabinet is made up as follows: *M. Udrzal (Czech Agrarian), Prime Minister; *Dr. Benesh (Czech National Socialist), Foreign Affairs; Dr. English (unattached), Finance; Dr. Slavik (Czech Agrarian), Interior; Dr. Derer

* Held the same portfolio in the late Cabinet.

(Czech Social Democrat), Education; Dr. Meissner (Czech Social Democrat), Justice; M. Bechyně (Czech Social Democrat), Food; *Dr. Vyskovsky (Czech Agrarian), National Defense; M. Bradac (Czech Agrarian), Agriculture; *Dr. Spina (German Agrarian), Health; Dr. Czech (German Social Democrat), National Welfare; Dr. Matousek (Czech National Democrat), Commerce; *Mgr. Sramek (Czech Clerical), Unification of Laws; M. Dostalek (Czech Clerical), Public Works; M. Mlcoch (Czech Small Traders), Railways; Dr. Franke (Czech National Socialist), Posts and Telegraphs.

Dr. Benesh is probably the only Foreign Minister in any country to hold office continuously since 1918, and Dr. English, Finance Minister, has been a member of six governments. The participation of two German parties in the government is generally regarded as a proof that German co-operation, which was at first tried as an experiment, has come to stay. The new Coalition will command rather more than a two-thirds majority in the Chamber.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM IN GERMANY

IN THE second half of November, the sub-committees of the Constitutional and Administrative Reform Committee (an offshoot of the Federal Reform Conference which met in January, 1928) met in Berlin in a joint session, at which important decisions were reached regarding constitutional reorganization of Germany. Perhaps the most important result of the session was the adoption of a compromise solution of the problem of dualism as between the Reich and Prussia. Known by the clumsy title of the "Differentiating general solution," the compromise formula follows closely the preliminary proposals issued by the Constitutional Sub-Committee last March. It would make all the main territorial divisions nominally States (Länder), but would differentiate between the newly organized North German States and the larger and older Federal States, Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg, and Saxony.

Prussia, under this scheme, would disappear as a unit altogether, and the Prussian and Reich Governments would be amalgamated. The Prussian Provinces would be labeled "States" and would thus stand in the same direct relationship to the Reich as the big Federal States. They would, however, retain their present provincial constitutional characteristics; their governments would be appointed for a specified time—probably four years—and not be subject to the whims of Diet majorities. Provision would be made for the other States (now free States or free Cities) to adopt similar constitutions. The Reichstag and the Prussian Diet (Landtag) would be amalgamated. During a transition period a common Diet for all the States of the new type might be constituted. The composition of the Reichsrat (Federal Council) would be determined by the population of the States represented.

It is significant that a motion introduced by the Bavarian Premier to the effect that the proposed solution was neither necessary nor suitable and was politically dangerous was rejected by a large majority, and after that the various clauses were adopted mostly by as many as eight votes to three, Bavaria, of course, being always among the dissentients.

REPARATION CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE

ON JANUARY 3, the second reparation conference for the institution of the Young Plan met at The Hague. The conference lasted until January 20, when an agreement was signed, comprising a protocol of adoption of the Young Plan, five separate treaties—with Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia—regarding reparations, and a treaty with Switzerland defining her relations with the Bank for International Settlements. In spite of the fact that the January conference had been much better prepared diplomatically than the first conference on the Young Plan, held at The Hague in August, 1929, and that a great deal of work had been done by the commissions set up by the August conference,

* Member of the late Cabinet.

some of the January sessions were as stormy as those in August, when Mr. Snowden, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, fought so hard to obtain for his country a somewhat greater share of the reparation receipts than had been arranged by the Young Committee.

COMPOSITION AND PROBLEMS OF THE CONFERENCE

The first Hague conference consisted of representatives of fourteen nations. Besides Germany, her twelve reparation creditors were present, and the United States had an observer. At the second conference, because of the inclusion among the questions under discussion of the problem of eastern European reparations, five more powers were invited to participate. Finally, Switzerland was represented for the purpose of making arrangements that would finally place the International Bank at Basel.

So far as German reparations were concerned, the conference was confronted primarily with the problem of accepting or rejecting the reports of the commissions set up last August, and to work out agreements on certain important points of interpretation as regards the Young Plan itself and the commission's reports. The real difficulties of the conference lay in the adjustment of eastern European reparations, on which the commission concerned with the question could arrive at no definite agreement. An interesting problem was presented by the conclusion of a separate funding agreement between the United States and Germany regarding American claims.

AMERICAN-GERMAN AGREEMENT

The American-German agreement was signed by Mr. Edwin C. Wilson, our unofficial observer at the Reparation Commission, representing the United States, and Herr Ritter, representing Germany. It is drawn up along the lines of our debt-funding agreement with the former Allies. It begins by saying that Germany is obligated under the Armistice and the Treaty of Berlin to pay the American mixed claims and the occupation costs, and that while America has received some payments, the present treaty is to settle the affair finally.

Article I fixes the amounts. On the mixed claims, Germany is to pay 40,800,000 marks (about \$9,792,000) yearly until 1981. For occupation costs the annual payments range between 8,000,000 marks (about \$1,920,000) and 17,000,000 (about \$4,080,000) annually until 1965.

Article II sets forth the form of the bonds representing semi-annual payments. There are to be 103 bonds for mixed claims and seventy-three bonds for occupation costs. Article III sets forth the mode of payment at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York for the account of the United States Treasury. In Article IV the United States leaves payments to Germany's good faith.

Article V refers to possible postponements, Germany receiving the right to defer payments to the United States for two and one-half years, as compared with the two years fixed in the Young Plan. Article VI provides for prepayments. Article VII exempts the bonds from German taxation. Article VIII provides the machinery for notifications between the two governments. Article IX refers to legal details, while Article X is protocolar.

The draft note agreeing on the interpretation of Article IV also sets forth that under the agreement the United States cannot be asked to give up further German property except as it has or will agree to of its own volition and surrenders American rights under the Dawes Plan. There then is an exchange of letters between Mr. Wilson and Herr Ritter in which the American says the interpretation of Article IV is satisfactory to the American Government, which will submit it along with the treaty to Congress for ratification.

In the Young Plan, German payments to the United States were included in the general reparation totals. The conclusion of a separate American-German agreement rendered it necessary for The Hague Conference to subtract the American payments from the annuities fixed by the Young Plan.

THE QUESTION OF POSSIBLE MORATORIUMS

The character of the American agreement served to intensify somewhat two important questions which were coming up for discussion anyway. These were

the problems of moratorium and of sanctions.

According to the Young Plan, Germany enjoys the right to apply to the International Bank for a moratorium as regards reparation payments for a period of two years. A disagreement arose as to the meaning of this provision. The Germans maintained that it gave them the right to apply for a moratorium at any time and that the unfulfilled payments would then be postponed to some period following the period of the prescribed annuities. The creditor nations, on the other hand, demanded that Germany undertake to clear up any arrears resulting from a moratorium before she can apply for another postponement. After long negotiations, Germany finally agreed to this interpretation.

At the same time, fears were expressed in many quarters that Germany might continue to fulfill her obligations to the United States while enjoying a moratorium under the Young Plan. Accordingly, the following provision was written into the protocol:

The German Government will not take advantage of the rights of a moratorium except simultaneously toward all the powers whose claims are accepted in the report of the experts.

Nothing contained hereinabove shall be construed as impairing in any way Germany's rights or obligations under agreements already signed or initialed.

At the last moment the words "or initialed" were added to cover the status of the German-American treaty. This latter paragraph is intended to constitute the former Allies' agreement, so far as they are concerned, that Germany should pay America directly. The former paragraph insures that she pay America only in proportionate measure as she pays the other creditors.

THE QUESTION OF SANCTIONS

On the question of sanctions, the American-German agreement leaves the fulfillment to the good faith of the debtor. The reparation creditors were not content with this. At the insistence of France, in which Great Britain concurred, Germany accepted a compromise formula which would

give the creditors an additional guarantee. In an annex to the protocol, the creditor nations accept Germany's solemn promise to execute her obligations, but set up a machinery to handle differences of opinion as to Germany's good faith. This machinery is described as follows:

However, there exists a hypothesis outside the accords signed today. The creditor governments are forced to consider it without wishing to reflect on the intentions of the German Government. They believe it is indispensable to consider the possibility that in the future some German Government failing in the obligations solemnly undertaken today might resort to acts showing a desire to destroy the new plan.

The creditor governments have the duty to declare to the German Government that if such a case arises comprising basically the work undertaken here in common, a new situation will be created, in view of which the aforesaid creditor governments ought now to make all the necessary reservations of their rights.

However, even in this extreme hypothesis the creditor governments, in the interest of general peace, are disposed before undertaking any action to appeal to an international jurisdiction of unquestioned authority for a ruling on the facts in the case. The creditor power or powers, considering themselves concerned, will submit to the Permanent Court of International Justice the question of whether the German Government had committed acts showing a deliberate wish to destroy the new plan.

Germany declares here and now that in the event of an affirmative decision of the Court she will accept as legitimate that in view to assume the execution of the obligations of the debtor power as laid down in the new plan the creditor power or powers recover full liberty of action.

The creditor countries are persuaded that the hypothesis in question will not occur. They are confident that the German Government shares this conviction. But they consider that it is for them an obligation of loyalty and duty toward their respective countries to formulate the preceding declaration to cover the possibility of such a hypothesis.

There is annexed a German statement in which the Reich's delegation declares its belief that no German Government will ever deliberately sabotage the Young Plan. But if the World Court decides that such a case has arisen, it is declared that the

Germans regard it as legitimate that the credit powers regain full liberty of action.

PROBLEM OF THE INTERNATIONAL BANK

A dramatic element was introduced into the conference in connection with the discussion of the Bank for International Settlements. A special commission set up by the First Hague Conference drew up the statutes of the Bank last autumn. These statutes departed, in some important respects, from the provisions regarding the bank contained in the Young Plan, but the changes had been accepted by all the Powers concerned, when Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, the President of the Reichsbank, suddenly appeared at The Hague and announced that he would refuse to permit his bank to subscribe to the shares of the International Bank. He described his refusal to participate in the bank as a protest against the various changes, all of them detrimental to Germany in his opinion, which have been made in the Plan since its signing by the experts in Paris last summer. Previously to the second Hague Conference, Dr. Schacht issued a memorandum, in which he enumerated the following six instances, in which, according to his belief, German interests had been sacrificed:

(1) The renunciation by Germany of The Hague Protocol and the five months' surplus of 400,000,000 marks arising through the overlapping of the Dawes and Young Plans.

(2) The increase, according to the same Protocol, of the unconditional portion of the German annuity precisely in those early years of the Plan during which facilities are of decisive importance to the success of the whole scheme. This increase amounts in the first year to 40,500,000 marks.

(3) Germany, according to the statements of the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, is to renounce the 30,000,000 marks surplus from the past liquidations of confiscated German property in Great Britain.

(4) The recent German-Polish Agreement provides for the renunciation by Germany of exceptionally large property claims, a measure which is bound to compel the German Government to compensate the German owners in full.

(5) According to the proposals of the Paris Committee for the Liquidation of the past, Ger-

many is to renounce a whole series of financial rights involving considerable sums.

(6) The losses mentioned do not include the annuity, averaging 19,500,000 marks, for 37 years imposed on Germany by the German-Belgian Marks Commission.

Dr. Schacht, who, by his own choice, was not an official representative of Germany, was not, however, supported by the official delegation of his country. As a result, his objections were withdrawn, and the statutes of the bank officially approved.

Plans were also approved at The Hague for the flotation, by the Bank for International Settlements, of a 300-million-dollar reparation bond issue, based on the unconditional portion of the annuities. One-fifth of the issue will be offered in the United States, and the remainder in the principal money markets of Europe.

EASTERN EUROPEAN REPARATIONS

Non-German reparations represented the real snag which almost wrecked the conference. The questions involved here comprised the reparation liability of Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria, and the various claims of these countries against Russia and vice versa. The Austrian and the Bulgarian problems were disposed of with comparative ease. Austria, which has a reparation moratorium until 1943, agreed to make small payments after that date, while Bulgaria, which under existing agreements has to meet, from 1934 on, an annuity of forty-three million Swiss francs, obtained a reduction of payments, making her average annuity eleven million francs.

The Hungarian case was complicated by the fact that her private citizens who were owners of land in those portions of Hungary which had been ceded to Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, have claims against the governments of these countries for the expropriation of their land. The Little Entente Governments wanted these claims cancelled against their own reparation claims against Hungary, and to this Hungary would not agree. The Hague agreement on the Hungarian question was based on a compromise solution, the precise formulation of which was left to a future drafting committee.

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY'S PROGRAM

AN ANNOUNCEMENT of the program of the American Peace Society for 1930, adopted by the executive committee, was released to the press on January 20 by President Fortune. The program, as here set forth, calls for study by experts of existing agencies with a view to determining how they may be adapted to everyday usage on a basis acceptable to the United States and to all nations. President Fortune's statement follows in full text:

What are the "pacific means" available to nations for composing their differences, instead of war? How may they be made acceptable to all nations?

The American Peace Society, the Nation's oldest peace organization, today announced a program for 1930 involving study of existing "pacific agencies" by experts in international relations. How existing peaceful agencies may be adapted for use by all nations will be the prime object of the experts' study. The Society for more than a century has devoted its efforts to advocating peace through justice. Its new program involves no change in the original purpose of the Society.

"Pacific means," the Peace Society believes, are the paramount words in the peace movement today, and on these two words will largely hinge practical efforts for establishment of peace in the future, by the Kellogg-Briand Treaty we have outlawed war, and agreed to use only pacific means in settling international disputes. The problem of defining and establishing the pacific means that will be practical and acceptable to all signatories of the treaty is of the greatest importance to the world. It is by the peace experts, and the peace organizations that this problem must be solved. We believe the American Peace Society's most important function in the present situation is to attack this problem. Far more important to the peace of the world, and far more effective, is a program with that purpose than any program of propaganda on controversial subjects.

The commission of experts will examine into the relationships of the United States

Government to existing "pacific means" to make recommendations "calculated to point the way to such changes as may be found possible to the end that the United States may function more freely through these 'pacific means.'" Six other permanent commissions of the Society will study the "pacific means" of settling international disputes in the realms of industry, education, social work, religion, and the various processes of justice.

As a further means of usefulness in the present situation, a referendum system will be used to get the expression in a democratic way, of the Peace Society's membership on important questions affecting the peace problem. Experts will prepare impartial statements of the pro and con of each question submitted for a vote of the membership.

A commission created at the world peace conference held by the Society at Cleveland in 1928, celebrating its centennial, for the purpose of studying the possibilities of co-ordination of peace efforts is soon to make its report.

The commission to study existing "pacific means" is regarded as the most important phase of the Society's program. Such existing methods as are available in the diplomatic and other governmental agencies, treaties and old existing agencies of co-operation are to be studied.

The new program of the Society is in harmony with its century-old purpose, to promote international peace through justice, and to advance in every proper way the use of conciliation, arbitration and judicial methods in adjusting international differences.

We have endeavored to ascertain what practical things the Peace Society should do to be of real aid to permanent world peace. Permanent peace is an ideal and the goal of idealists, but its achievement is a practical problem. It demands the best thought of the practical minds of this country and the whole world.

A BOUNDARY IN THE PACIFIC

A CONVENTION between the United States and Great Britain delimiting definitely the boundary line between the Philippine Archipelago (the territory acquired by the United States by virtue of

the Treaties of December 10, 1898, and November 7, 1900, with Spain) and the State of North Borneo under British protection, was signed today at the Department of State by the Secretary of State and the British Ambassador. By this convention all islands to the north and east of an established line and all islands and rocks traversed by that line, should there be any such, shall belong to the Philippine Archipelago, and all islands to the south and west of the said line shall belong to the State of North Borneo.

The convention also makes Article XIX of the Washington Treaty of February 6, 1922, limiting naval armament, applicable to all islands in the Turtle and Mangsee Groups which are or may be deemed to be

comprised within the territories of the Philippine Archipelago on the one hand and the State of North Borneo on the other hand in consequence of the establishment of the line fixed by the convention.

At the same time it was arranged by an exchange of notes between the Secretary of State and the British Ambassador that the British North Borneo Company should, subject to certain stated conditions, temporarily be left undisturbed in the administration of certain islands off the coast of Borneo which have been administered by that company in accordance with an arrangement effected by an exchange of notes between His Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States on July 3, and July 10, 1909.

At the Raleigh Tavern

By ALFRED NOYES

(In New York Times)

*In the lost woods of Virginia, I found, at
break of day,
An old Colonial tavern, by a grass-grown
way,
With white porch pillars where the wild
wistaria grew,
Rosy with the dawn flush, and misty with
the dew.*

*Now I'd been rambling in the woods to
find the heart of things,
For all my mind was broken with the
wicked ways of kings,
When a low wind shifted all that deep, dim
bloom,
And showed the golden name above the old
Apollo Room.*

*I had found the Raleigh Tavern, and the
ghostly door was wide,
And I saw two shadows talking, by the
dark fireside.
One was in a laced coat, and one in buff
and blue;
And both of them were dead men, with
faces that I knew.*

*Yes; there was Patrick Henry, in an oak
armchair,
With his long church-warden, and his fiery
mop of hair;*

*And he looked up, grimly: "Mr. Jefferson,"
he said,
"If Peace has come on earth at last, the
Devil must be dead.*

*"I'm Scots and Welsh; but, if he's dead,
and left no heads to break,
I'm thinkin' that auld Nick will have a
royal Irish Wake.*

*For the Irish will be feelin' like the lad from
Venus-land
With the olive buds all sproutin' on the
blackthorn in his hand.*

*"There's just one hope! If half the world
agrees that war shall cease,
Ye'll have to call the Irish up to keep the
rest at peace!*

*But England?" "Ah," says Jefferson, "they
won't say 'nay,'*

*If a Saxon chief named Washington should
lead us on the way.*

*"When with Adams, Lee and Stockton
(England's blood and England's bone)
We stood for her own freedom, in the face
of court and throne;*

*When we wrenched it from the Hessian;
when we sealed our living creed
As the last red scripture on the scroll of
Runnymede.*

"There was many a golden Irish lad that
followed our Saint George
With his tattered, starving armies thro' the
snows of Valley Forge——"

"There's an auld cracked Bell," says Pat-
rick, "and it talks in Shakespeare's
tongue;
But the bones of the dead men remember
and grow young.

"As I saw him, in the darkness, looming
up against the skies,
A great ghost, riding, with the battle in
his eyes,
I have seen the New World rising, with the
splendor of her stars
And a Captain rides before her that shall
make an end of wars.

"From his tomb by the Potomac, on his
proud white steed,
Well I know who comes to lead us, as of
ould he used to lead;
And the lost drums answer, and the judg-
ment trumpets roll,
It's the Father of His Country, and it's
England's living soul."

Then softly—very softly—while the shad-
ows died away,
In the ancient Raleigh Tavern, at the
dawning of the day,
"By God's good grace," quoth Jefferson,
"if both our hearts be true,
We, who split the world asunder, may unite
the world anew."

"Is 'at So?"

By WILLIAM HERSCHELL

Full many a fight has gone unfought
And many a coffin's yet unbought,
Because mere words sufficed to do
What bullets did at Waterloo.
Take Youth—how often Youth escapes
The dire effect of many scrapes
By using words in banded flow
To halt a hard, impending blow:
"Is 'at so?" "Yes; 'at's so!"

With faces drawn in boyish wrath,
Youth waits for Youth to cross its path;
Fists grip for fight, but fists don't fly
Till one has met the other's eye.
And so it is that words must do
The fighting neither's wanting to.
They stand at guard, with toe to toe,
But here's as far as they will go:
"Is 'at so?" "Yes; 'at's so!"

How peaceful this old world would be
If men showed such diplomacy.
Full many a tear would go unshed
If blows were made of words instead
Of bullets, guns and tools of war,
Tools humankind should e'er abhor.
Far better it would be to show
That words are all the war we know.
"Is 'at so?" "Yes; 'at's so!"

Nicaraguan Canal

By SENATOR WALTER E. EDGE

Former Chairman Senate Committee on Interoceanic Canals and Member of the Committee on Foreign Relations; now our Ambassador to France

AFTER a lapse of 30 years the United States Government is again moving in a material way to ascertain the feasibility and practicability of constructing a canal across Nicaragua uniting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.

The last survey was completed in 1901, following which the Panama Canal was authorized, notwithstanding the commission recommended the construction of a Nicaraguan canal.

At the last session of Congress a joint resolution which I had the privilege of sponsoring was passed and became a law appropriating \$150,000 for the purpose of bringing the old survey down to date and of ascertaining other essential facts, and of getting a report within two years to the President and Congress.

Only a few days ago the first contingent of engineers, in command of Maj. Dan I. Sulton, United States Army, sailed for Nicaragua to carry out the terms of the resolution.

In view of the circumstances, it will probably be interesting briefly to review the economic results following the opening of the Panama Canal and the reasons leading up to the proposal possibly to construct a second interoceanic waterway.

Engineers have reported that the waterway at Panama faces the prospect of some day becoming overcrowded and thus confronting cargo carriers with the alternative of costly delays or again rounding the Horn. Military strategists have pictured the serious problem facing the Navy should the present canal be crippled in time of war. Statesmen have pointed out the contribution toward international understanding and Central American development which a new trade artery might assure.

These three considerations—economic, military, and diplomatic—attach a pro-

found significance to the Nicaragua canal project. By shortening the time and distance between certain Atlantic or Gulf ports and those of Central America, our own west coast and Alaska, as well as by opening a new sea route to important South American and Far Eastern harbors, the canal would prove a new stimulus to trade. By bringing to Nicaragua the progress and benefits now apparent at Panama it would do much to solve the difficulties with that Republic which have in times past harassed our State Department. The establishing of two water routes instead of one from ocean to ocean would prove a great military asset. Under present conditions the blocking of the Panama Canal by bombs dropped from aircraft could effectually separate the Atlantic and Pacific fleets and place the United States in war times in a position similar to that of 1898, when the battleship *Oregon* made her historic voyage down the west coast of South America, through the Strait of Magellan, and up the east coast to the Caribbean.

Before discussing in detail the military and commercial advantages offered by the proposed Nicaragua cut, it seems wise to outline the present situation at Panama. Official reports show that the commercial business of the canal has doubled approximately every five years from the first year of operation, and indicate that if the present ratio of increase continues the waterway may reach the point of maximum capacity in less than ten years. This, however, seems to be only a possibility. A greatly increased tonnage in the near future would be necessary before the commercial business of the canal could continue to double every five years. In my own judgment, formed after a careful survey of the situation, the present capacity of the canal will, however, be reached between 1940 and

1960, which means that unless immediate steps are taken to prepare for the future the capacity limit may be reached in not more than twelve years.

It seems to me apparent that improvements to the Panama Canal can help, but not entirely remedy, the situation thus threatened. A supplementary water supply has already been authorized, but this can do little more than assure maximum use of existing facilities. A great need for additional water is now felt during the dry season, and estimates indicate that about \$12,000,000 in money and five years in time will be required to provide a storage-dam system. A third flight of locks, paralleling the present two flights, has been suggested also as a method of increasing the present canal capacity. Proponents of this plan assert it would increase facilities 70 per cent, thus fixing the maximum capacity of a high-level canal for all time at approximately 100,000,000 tons annually. According to engineering estimates, these changes would cost from \$125,000,000 to \$150,000,000. The cost of transforming the canal into a sea-level waterway would be far greater. I have, in fact, heard no estimate for this under a billion dollars. But even if the changes were completed, the great difference between the rise and fall of the tide in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans would still necessitate tidal locks. Thus, it seems apparent that no matter how the Panama Canal problem may be met, there will still exist a situation demanding early and practical consideration of the construction of another waterway between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.

As is generally known, the Nicaragua canal project was seriously contemplated among the earliest plans to open a gateway between the two oceans. When the Isthmian Canal Commission in 1901 estimated the total cost of a canal by the Panama route at approximately \$250,000,000, which included reimbursing the French, it also computed the total cost of the Nicaragua project at about \$190,000,000, or some \$60,000,000 less. More recently the cost of a Nicaragua canal has been estimated at a figure as high as a billion dollars; but that is, of course, purely speculative.

It is impossible to fix an accurate cost of the project until the survey for which the legislation provides has been completed. In proportion to the length of the canal, com-

paratively little dredging or digging would be required. By actual comparison the Nicaragua canal as contemplated would be approximately 183 miles in length as against the forty-nine mile length of the Panama waterway, but actual digging would be necessary only through the twelve miles separating Lake Nicaragua from Brito on the Pacific coast. The San Juan River, connecting Lake Nicaragua with the Atlantic Ocean, would require dredging and excavation, a feat presenting no extraordinary engineering difficulties. Suggestions that earthquakes might destroy the work appear to be answered by the fact that the city of Granada, founded in the sixteenth century, still stands intact in what has been described as the earthquake country. Modern reinforced locks could doubtless resist whatever tremors occurred, as the city of Granada has resisted them for four centuries.

Construction of the canal involves difficulties no greater—if as great—than those encountered in the building of the Panama Canal, and probably none so serious as the famous Culebra Cut. The Nicaraguan route would pass through the lowest gap in the Cordilleras. Its elevation would be 155 feet above sea level, as compared with more than 300 feet at Panama. Of the total length of 183 miles, seventy would be lake navigation and about forty on lake level extended above a dam, as in the upper end of Gatun. Nor is the route unhealthful. It has been reported as unusually free from malaria and other endemic diseases. Unquestionably there are still other advantages for constructors, or the distinguished engineers of the 1901 commission would not have recommended such a canal. These features must, of course, be studied in the survey which will precede construction, and can not be adequately discussed at this time.

What can be presented, however, are the economic, military, and diplomatic advantages offered by the project. It is axiomatic to say that an interoceanic canal makes traffic and increases commerce. This has been proved by both the Suez and the Panama canals. Construction of the Nicaraguan canal, I am convinced, will prove of incalculable value to both our industrial and our agricultural industry, as well as to a great portion of Latin America, the west coast of the United States, the Orient, and

various American territorial possessions. Consider, for example, the advantage it would afford vessels traveling from our Atlantic and our Gulf ports to the west coast or Alaska. Because of its more northern location, the proposed canal would open to those ships a route 434 statute miles shorter than the one now available through the Panama Canal—a saving in time alone of from two to three days. This estimate allows for the fact that because of greater length the passage through the proposed canal would consume approximately twenty-two hours instead of the eight hours required to traverse Panama. The advantage would not apply, of course, to vessels between our Atlantic coast and the west coast of South America, for which established sea lanes make the Panama route shorter. Recent reports show, however, that only 21 per cent of the present canal traffic is in this category. The remaining 79 per cent of the vessels are bound elsewhere. For the majority of vessels included in this 79 per cent the proposed canal could effect a tremendous saving in money as well as in time. The United States Shipping Board estimates that the average operating expenses per sea day of a cargo shipper is \$500, varying, of course, with the size and other characteristics of the vessel. It may be estimated that if 79 per cent of the ships now using the canal could save two sea days, an annual saving in operating expenses alone amounting to \$3,400,000, or about 3½ per cent on \$100,000,000, would be effected.

It is, of course, logical to assume that traffic through the new canal will far exceed such estimates. Our trade with Latin America and other countries and territories is expanding at an unprecedented rate. There is, further, every indication that American shipping will increase to meet the new demands. The provisions of the Jones-White Act, offering substantial compensation to American steamship owners and operators engaged in foreign trade, through mail contracts over important trade routes, promise a new stimulus to both shipbuilding and ship operation in this country and a revival of America's former status as a leading maritime nation.

These facts answer any suggestion that a Nicaraguan canal might divert business from the Panama Canal to such an extent

as to impair the latter's usefulness. Consideration of the increasing commerce between the east and west coasts of the United States and the east and west coasts of the South and Central Americas will show that before many years there will be ample business for both waterways. My judgment, based upon a thorough survey of our trade conditions, is that we shall require two interoceanic arteries most urgently in the not-far-distant future if we are to cope adequately with the increasing imports of our manufactured products alone by the South and Central Americas, as well as by our Territories, the new China, and the rest of the Far East. To delay too long in building the Nicaragua canal would invite the risk of hampering our future industrial, commercial, and agricultural interests.

Considering the interest aroused by President Hoover's Latin-American travels, and the recent developments in highway, railway, and airway projects, it becomes apparent that our trade with both Central and South America is destined for still greater expansion than even the past decade has witnessed. Mr. Hoover's visit to Nicaragua and Costa Rica has in fact done much to create sentiment for the canal project, not only in the countries involved but in the United States as well.

Another significant example of trade expansion interesting to those concerned with the development of oceanic canals is furnished by a number of our own possessions outside the territorial limits of the United States. Alaska, Hawaii, the Philippine Islands, Porto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, and the Panama Canal Zone have all shown great increases in imports and exports from and to the United States during the past ten years. These exports were exceeded in 1927 only by our imports to the United Kingdom, Canada, and Germany. During that year the Territories and possessions purchased American merchandise totaling \$273,181,000 and supplied the United States with raw materials, tropical foodstuffs, textile products, canned fish, and other imports worth \$371,639,000.

Apart from the advantages the Nicaragua canal would offer our Atlantic and Pacific ports, the project looms increasingly important when considered in relation to

our foreign and territorial commerce, particularly if the possibilities of congestion at Panama are considered.

As is generally known, the United States Government has already invested \$3,000,000 in Nicaragua canal rights under the Bryan-Chamorro treaty and need anticipate no difficulties in obtaining whatever other rights are necessary. The example of Colombia and Panama, whose difficulties with the United States were solved, whose commerce expanded, and whose material well-being greatly improved as a result of construction of the Panama Canal, emphasize this point. Nicaragua and Costa Rica would undoubtedly welcome a similar invasion of American capital. Both the President and the President elect of Nicaragua, in discussing the plan after a visit to Mr. Hoover aboard the battleship *Maryland* last November, strongly advocated the canal, describing it as a "bulwark of freedom and a demonstration of liberty."

There is no reason to doubt that a Nicaraguan canal zone could be transformed into an American zone, like that of Panama, with a military reservation, and be administered by the War Department. The benefits which would follow for both Nicaragua and the United States are obvious. As an element in our national defense its value would be great. At the last session of Congress there was much discussion of the old problem of "freedom of the seas." During debate on the construction of fifteen additional cruisers for the United States Navy the emphasis was on methods of protecting our growing maritime commerce. It is apparent that if we are to maintain a mobile force of swift, well-armed cruisers for the protection of our trade it would be

to our advantage to place at their disposal not only one but two canals, to facilitate their movement between the Atlantic and the Pacific. A glance at the map will show naval bases of other nations now in the near vicinity of the Nicaraguan area. In view of the great expansion of air forces an additional aviation base in Central America would also prove of tremendous strategical value.

Like the engineering and military possibilities, the financial aspects of the Nicaraguan project seem at this time encouraging. A glance at the records of the Panama Canal will illustrate this point. When finally completed the waterway cost \$390,000,000, of which \$275,000,000 represents the investment in a commercial sense, and \$115,000,000, including the \$40,000,000 paid to the French as reimbursement for the work they had done, has been charged to the national defense. In 1928 the net annual revenue from canal tolls amounted to approximately \$20,000,000, an income representing about 7½ per cent on the \$275,000,000 commercial investment. There seems to be no reason why a parallel waterway should not in time become to a comparable degree self-supporting.

The legislation approved by Congress neither authorizes nor appropriates for a new canal. It provides instead for a thorough survey, which will enable the Government to act intelligently on the project. With this information at hand the United States will be in a position to determine whether or not it should approve a plan which, in the light of present knowledge, seems highly important to her future commerce, her diplomatic relationships, and her national security.

"I speak truth, not so much as I would, but as much as I dare; and I dare a little thus more as I grow older."—Montaigne.

Nationality*

By JAMES BROWN SCOTT

THERE is no topic of present interest, involving as it does the status of men, women and children of various countries, and even of birth in the same country, as that of nationality. It bristles with difficulties! To begin with, various terms are used, apparently meant to mean one and the same thing, although, unless they are carefully defined, they may refer to different aspects of the subject. For example, "national" is used as a synonym for "subject" or "citizen," yet one may be a national of a country, and subject to its jurisdiction, without, however, being a citizen—as in the case of the Filipinos, who are, indeed, subject to the Government of the United States and entitled to its protection abroad, although they are not citizens either in the sense of international or of national law. Then there is a difference of opinion as to the branch of law to which the matter belongs—the English-speaking peoples regarding it as forming part of the public law of nations, whereas others consider it as more properly falling within the domain of private international law, to which, in turn, the English world gives the not inappropriate designation of conflict of laws.

The Problem

But whether the topic belongs to international law, public or private, about which the learned differ, there is no doubt that there is a conflict of laws in well nigh every phase of the subject, which we may only hope to remedy, not by uniform laws of the different countries, but by an international compact, or convention, to which the nations at large would be contracting parties. The confusion is so great, so universal, and so embarrassing, not to say exasperating, that in the First Conference for the Codification of International Law, which is to meet at The Hague in the course of the coming year, "nationality" is the first of the three subjects (the others

being the "responsibility of States" and their "maritime jurisdiction") which the nations of the civilized world have, in their wisdom, singled out for an international agreement, in the first of their official conferences for codification.

The trouble is that there seems to be no single principle which the nations appear willing to accept as a test of their laws on the matter of nationality, some preferring the *jus sanguinis* (blood relationship), others the *jus soli* (birth within a particular country), or a combination of both, in differing degrees. There are at present seventeen countries in Europe in which *jus sanguinis* is the sole test of nationality, but there is no American country which accepts that principle as the sole test of nationality. There is one American country whose laws are based on *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis*; on the other hand, there are five American Republics whose laws are based principally on *jus sanguinis*, but which also contain provisions based on *jus soli*: Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Mexico and San Salvador, or that was the case on the 1st day of January, 1929. There are twenty-seven countries whose laws are principally based on *jus soli*, but which contain provisions based on *jus sanguinis*, if those already given and the colonies of Great Britain are to be included in the enumeration. Among these are the American Republics of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, the United States of America, and Uruguay.

Is there not, however, a principle which can be stated, and which, if universally and equally applied, would rid us of double or triple nationality, or even of statelessness? Is there not reason to believe that the nations would be willing to accept it in law, and in all its implications, if such a principle could be found, possessing the healing virtues which would have to be claimed in its behalf? It is suggested that the principle is that of birth within a country, which would confer the same national-

*An address at the opening session of the American Institute's Academy of International Law at Havana, Cuba, November 8, 1929.

ity upon all persons born within its jurisdiction, and which, when those in being at its adoption had passed away, would have invested all human beings born within the country with but a single nationality, by a single but universal law acting equally and effectively upon all persons.

For example, if the Government of the United States should adopt as the exclusive test of nationality birth within its territory, then all persons born within and subject to its jurisdiction, after the promulgation of the law to that effect, would be deemed its nationals. In like manner, all persons born in France, or in Germany, would be French, or German nationals.

If the right of expatriation were accepted by the nations at large, and if a uniform law of naturalization were adopted, all persons wishing to change their nationality of birth could do so in accordance with its provisions, and thus gain a single nationality to replace the single nationality which they had renounced. The principle of birth within a country conferring its nationality is a natural principle, because resulting from birth—itself a natural process—and applying alike to all persons born in the country, without reference to the nationality of their parents. It is an objective principle; it is relentless and without a remnant of consent upon the part of the person born. It is universal, as law should be, making the test one of fact: that of birth within the country in question.

If we could suppose that there was but one State in the world, it would be a matter of indifference as far as we are concerned whether nationality were made to depend upon *jus sanguinis* or upon birth within the jurisdiction of the State. If we were permitted to contemplate a period when there were but two States, either principle would be acceptable, provided each of the two States lived in solitary isolation. If, however, subjects of each visited and settled within the territory of the other, the question of nationality would begin to present itself in various forms. Could the foreigners become nationals of the State in which they resided, and, if so, upon what terms? An increase in the number of States would be an increase of the difficulties, until we should find ourselves in the uncertainty, confusion and perplexity of the present day.

Backgrounds

Without discussing supposititious situations, it is permissible to say that in primitive States the family, instead of the individual, seems to have been the unit, and that the aggregation of such units formed the group or society which we may, for present purposes, call the State; and that the family, as well as the groups of families forming the society, status, or State, was one of blood relationship. Later it appears that the State, conscious of its existence as a status, caused individuals beyond the blood relationship to enter into the family, and to possess the rights that members of the blood had alone previously enjoyed. The law permitted adoption, and the family was enlarged until it was no longer a matter of blood. The citizen was a creation of the State; all inhabitants were admitted to citizenship, and each and every citizen could say with pride: *civis romanus sum*, because of birth in the State, and without reference to blood relationship of the family.

There is another matter that may be mentioned, if not dwelt upon—the introduction of Christianity. Little by little, Europe became Christian, with the head of the Church in Rome. For us, the importance of the extension of Christianity lies in the fact that Europe became, as it were, a larger family than that of the State—larger, indeed, than the world had ever known, and whose members were, without respect to nationality or sex, members of a community transcending the frontiers of every Christian State. Blood counted for nothing in the community of the faithful. Their allegiance was independent of descent from common ancestors; the relationship was that of association, entered into voluntarily, by acceptance of the doctrine and practices of the Church, and through their acceptance of a spiritual superior. Every person, without reference to sex, became a member and, as it were, a citizen of the Christian community.

In the temporal world, a not dissimilar transformation occurred. States had become feudal. A feud or estate was given for life, and later made inheritable, in return for which the tenant of the feudal estate swore allegiance and military service, and the feudal superior promised pro-

tection. Here, again, this feudal relationship had nothing to do with common blood or descent from common ancestors. The relationship was, on the one hand, one of contract, and, on the other, one of *jus soli*, in Europe and in Asia, at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The reasons for the political compact and for citizenship by birth within a given country were admirably stated at the beginning of the nineteenth century, in two passages, one by an able Chief Justice of the United States, the other by the Dictator of Europe.

The Williams Case (Wharton's State Trials, 652), decided in 1799 by Chief Justice Ellsworth, in the Circuit Court of the United States, was one of citizenship. In the course of his opinion, the Chief Justice said: "The present question is to be decided by two great principles; one is, that all the members of civil community are bound to each other by compact. The other is, that one of the parties to this compact cannot dissolve it by his own act. The compact between our community and its members is, that the community will protect its members; and on the part of the members, that they will at all times be obedient to the laws of the community and faithful in its defence."

The second passage is from no less a person than Bonaparte. His opinion on nationality, and his preference for nationality by birth is thus stated in a work of authority, whose author, it should be said, was an uncompromising advocate of *jus sanguinis*. The First Consul (for that was then his position) "sought to justify by the presumed attachment of a child for his native land the application of *jus soli* to the determination of his nationality of origin; "it could not but be to the advantage of the State," he said in the course of the debates in the Council of State, "to extend the empire of French laws to the sons of foreigners who are established in France and have the French spirit and French habits, who have the attachment which anyone naturally feels for the country where he was born."

The law at the time of Ellsworth's decision, and of Bonaparte's statement, was that of *jus soli* in Europe, as well as in the rest of the world. It is admirably stated by the Frenchman, Pothier: "Citizens, true

and native born citizens are those who are born within the extent of the dominion of France," and, he continues, "mere birth within the realm gives the rights of a native born citizen, independently of the origin of the father and the mother and of their domicile."

Why did not this state of affairs continue? The answer is that the French Revolution had created a spirit of nationality and fraternity for Frenchmen, as such, which spirit passed to the peoples of Europe. Everywhere across the Atlantic it became so strong and so determined that the First Consul yielded to it at home, and the French Empire was ultimately crushed by the patriotism which this spirit of nationality had created abroad.

The Western World

At the time of the French Revolution, there was only one independent country in America—the United States—which our Latin American friends not inappropriately term "El Mundo de Colon." Independent Republics of America are now twenty-one in number. They were settled by emigration from Europe, with considerable numbers of colored persons brought as slaves to America, who are now free and nationals of the various American Republics. The immigrants came overwhelmingly from countries in which, because of the French Revolution, nationality by blood prevailed. If the doctrine of *jus sanguinis* and that of the impossibility of expatriation without the consent of the mother country had prevailed, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for the American Republics to have had nationals and citizens of their own, who would have owed them exclusive allegiance.

Nationality by blood can be without limitation as to time, although its advocates apparently feel that it should not be extended to their nationals born in a foreign country beyond two or three generations—a limitation which seems to question the feasibility of a doctrine which is not susceptible of limitless application. It therefore seems advisable, in this place, to observe how the Western World has created its nationality and made of foreigners patriotic citizens. At the same time, it will be necessary to say a word in passing about the matter of expatriation, because

if it had not been permitted in fact, although denied in law, the emigrants coming across the Atlantic in increasing numbers could not have been naturalized by the independent American Republics, or, if naturalized under their laws, their naturalized citizens could have been claimed by the countries of their origin, and their naturalization frustrated or endangered.

I refer again to the *Williams Case*, from which a few phrases have been lifted. Chief Justice Ellsworth was doubtless illogical in allowing the Europeans to expatriate themselves, while denying to American citizens the right to do so. He was, however, an outspoken man, who stated the problem and policy of the New World in two short, but pithy sentences: "In countries so crowded with inhabitants that the means of subsistence are difficult to be obtained, it is reason and policy to permit emigration. But our policy is different, for our country is but sparsely settled, and we have no inhabitants to spare."

Before him, however, the whole question had been treated in a large and humanitarian way by him whose hand had penned the Declaration of Independence of the United States. As Governor of Virginia, Jefferson was responsible for the Act of the Legislature of his State, of 1779, "declaring who shall be deemed citizens of this commonwealth." Foreigners were to be admitted as citizens through the process of naturalization, as stated in the Act; and as Jefferson was a logician, he saw that the right of a foreigner to become a citizen of the State of Virginia involved the right of that foreigner to divest himself of his original nationality. Therefore, he put the ax to the tree, and in a statute of less than two printed pages, stated sound law and enlightened practice. The Act in question determines:

I. *Who are to be considered citizens of Virginia?*

" . . . all white persons born within the territory of this commonwealth, and all who have resided therein two years next before the passing of this act; and all who shall hereafter migrate into the same, other than alien enemies, and shall before any court of record, give satisfactory proof by their own oath or affirmation that they intend to reside therein; and moreover shall give as-

surance of fidelity to the commonwealth. . . . The clerk of the court shall enter such oath of record, and give the person taking the same, a certificate thereof, for which he shall receive the fee of one dollar."

II. *Who are to be deemed aliens?*

" . . . all others not being citizens of any of the United States of America shall be deemed aliens."

III. *What is expatriation?*

" . . . that natural right which all men have of relinquishing the country in which birth or other accident may have thrown them, and seeking subsistence and happiness wheresoever they may be able, or may hope to find them."

IV. *How is the right of expatriation to be exercised?*

" . . . whenssoever any citizen of this commonwealth, shall by word of mouth in the presence of the court of the county wherein he resides, or of the general court, or by deed in writing under his hand and seal, executed in the presence of three witnesses, and by them proved in either of the said courts, openly declare to the same court that he relinquishes the character of a citizen and shall depart the commonwealth, such person shall be considered as having exercised his natural right of expatriating himself, and shall be deemed no citizen of this commonwealth from the time of his departure."

It was only in 1868 that the American Congress enacted the theory of Jefferson into a law of the United States, declaring the right of expatriation to be "a natural and inherent right of all people, indispensable to the enjoyment of the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Although the policy of the United States may have been, for the reasons advanced by Ellsworth, opposed to the expatriation of its own citizens, its policy as to the right of foreigners to expatriate themselves, and to become citizens of the United States by naturalization, was clear and beyond question. The policy of the American Republics in the matter of naturalization of foreigners has been to the same effect. As a result of long and acrimonious controversy, the principle of expatriation of their own nationals was recognized by European States in the so-called Bancroft Treaties, negotiated in 1868, the year of the Congressional Act recognizing expatriation.

In 1783, when the independence of the United States was recognized by Great

Britain, there were only some three million inhabitants in the vast domains of the American Republic; therefore, desirable foreigners were invited to settle within its territory. Because of this policy, millions and millions of people have come to American shores. Under the laws of the United States they have been naturalized and, eventually, their naturalization has been recognized by their home countries. Their children have been born in the United States and, by virtue of the *jus soli*—that is to say, birth within the territory subject to the jurisdiction of the United States—they have been born American citizens. The acceptance of the place of birth as the principle of nationality and of citizenship, and the rejection of the doctrine that persons coming from Europe should remain nationals of the country from which they departed, and that their children, born in the United States, should continue the citizenship of their parents, has enabled us to develop a single nationality and a uniform citizenship in the United States, which otherwise would have been impossible.

In like manner, the various Latin American Republics have insisted upon the principle of nationality of birth within their respective jurisdictions, and each has thus created an American nationality and a citizenship of its own.

The *jus soli* has made the fortune of the Western World.

Thus it is evident that the rôle of blood relationship in primitive society has given place to a relationship created by law, and that for various reasons, and through different processes, there seems to have been a general agreement on the application of the *jus soli* prior to the French Revolution. Because of that catastrophe the conception of nationality based upon blood took possession of the European mind, and has been incorporated in the policy and practice of many of the European States and, indeed, in a lesser degree, in those of non-European communities. The advantages, however, of the principle of *jus soli*, shaken to its foundations by the French Revolution, reappear in the New World, which has built the nationality and citizenship of each of its Republics upon birth within the country and subjection to its jurisdiction.

The question is unavoidable: Why should not the waters of revolution subside, and the principle of nationality, generally if not universally obtaining before the convulsion in France, be restored, especially as the old doctrine has enabled the American Republics to create a uniform nationality, and a uniform citizenship within their respective jurisdictions and an American patriotism at least equalling that of Europe?

Various Elements

There are various elements to be considered in the matter of nationality:

(1) The State, which is the technical and generally recognized name for an aggregation of men, women and children grouped within certain artificial lines, which we call boundaries, wherein the group exercises, as a unit, exclusive jurisdiction among other matters, of a juridical, political and social nature. The State is in law, and should be in fact, the equal of every other State forming part of the all-comprehensive international community.

(2) The State is an artificial conception, created by the human beings forming the group. It is not an end in itself, but a means to an end: the well-being of the men, women and children of each group, organized for certain stated purposes.

(3) The members of the group are termed, in our day, "nationals"—a word indicating in itself nothing more or less than that they are members of a particular group, as distinguished from others; and that in foreign parts they are entitled to the protection of their rights under the law of nations, by the particular State whereof they are members.

(4) As nationals of their State they are, in the language of the Declaration of Rights of Virginia, of June 12, 1776—the first of its kind—which cannot be too often quoted, stating, as it does, the American conception of things, which is little by little becoming as universal in fact as it was, is, and always will be in theory: "by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and

pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety."

Nationality, in the sense in which we use the term, applies only to human beings: men, women, and children. We shall, therefore, say something of each of these categories of persons which should, and some day will be subjected to a law, just in all its parts, and equally applicable and equally applied to all persons within the jurisdiction of the country of which they are nationals.

Of each of these elements in turn:

First, MEN. We are recognizing that all men are equal; that they are entitled to equal laws, which they make, and their equal application, which they apply. In the matter of nationality, the law should be, in our opinion, that of the *jus soli*, to use the appropriate technical phrase. Nationality would then be a fact dependent upon the antecedent fact of birth within the country conferring the nationality.

Second, WOMEN. Recognizing, as we must, that women are human beings, they are entitled to the rights of human beings; and recognizing that they are persons, we must apply to them the law of persons. This means that the rights of men and women as human beings must be identical, and that their rights as persons must be equal in fact and equal in application.

Third, CHILDREN. They, too, are human beings, and persons. The laws concerning them must be general, and generally applied. It is of the essence of the law to be universal and equal in its application, otherwise it is a privilege, unequal and unjust. By the *jus soli* they should acquire the nationality of the country of their birth, irrespective of the nationality of one or the other of their parents. They have the right to this nationality, not because their parents may be nationals of the same country (they might well be, and may increasingly be in the future, of different nationalities), but because they have a right, as human beings, to the nationality of the country of their birth, and that nationality only, for precisely the same reason that parents have the right to the nationality of the place of their birth.

Let us now reduce these general observations to concrete applications: (1) Every person should have a nationality; (2) no

person should have more than one nationality; (3) no person should be State-less; (4) every law affecting a person should apply to every person as such.

The Proper Basis

I venture to adopt as the proper definition and limitation of nationality the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America, which, as applying to the States of the American Union in their equal and sovereign capacity, is, in effect, if not in form, a diplomatic compact and, therefore, as proper for the nations of the international community as for the forty-eight States of the American Union: "All persons"—not merely men, but women and children—"born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens"—that is, nationals—"of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." The phrase, "subject to the jurisdiction thereof," was meant to exclude children of diplomatic agents who, born within the United States, are not, under the law and practice of nations, subject to their jurisdiction. The clause, "citizens . . . of the State wherein they reside," would mean in a country not made up of States, that they possessed the rights of nationality in any and every province, and in every foot of its soil.

The implication of the amendment is that every law of nationality should apply equally to all persons, and that nationality, other than that of birth within the country, should be equally acquired, and equally lost. That is to say—to speak of the Republic whereof I have the honor to be a natural born citizen, to use the express language of the United States Constitution—that marriage should affect equally the parties to it; and if the male's nationality is not acquired nor lost by it, the female's nationality should be neither acquired nor lost in the process. However, the Statute Law of the United States in the matter of nationality creates a privilege and, as it is unequal, it is therefore, in respect to the privilege, unjust.

The first two sections of the so-called Cable Act, of September 22, 1922, are universal, and, therefore, just and equal, providing as they do, "that the right of any

woman to become a naturalized citizen of the United States shall not be denied or abridged because of her sex or because she is a married woman."

"That any woman who marries a citizen of the United States after the passage of this Act or any woman whose husband is naturalized after the passage of this Act, shall not become a citizen of the United States by reason of such marriage or naturalization; but, if eligible to citizenship, she may be naturalized upon full and complete compliance with all requirements of the naturalization laws."

The third section is special. It is unequal, and, therefore, unjust, providing, as it does, "that a woman citizen of the United States shall not cease to be a citizen of the United States by reason of her marriage after the passage of this Act" (so far the text is faultless, but the succeeding clause, in the guise of conferring a privilege, is inequitable) "unless she makes a formal renunciation of her citizenship before a court having jurisdiction over naturalization of aliens." This last clause is not only inequitable—as it is inapplicable to men—but it is also iniquitous, as permitting a woman, in a moment of agitation and under the control of emotion, to renounce her nationality—the most precious of rights.

There is a further clause of the section which is inequitable, although not iniquitous, applying to a native born woman a provision applicable only to a naturalized person. According to the Act of March 2, 1907, a naturalized person may be presumed to have lost his or her acquired citizenship if one or the other returns to the country of origin and resides there for a period of two years, or for five years in another foreign country. It is not necessary to intimate an opinion as to the propriety of this provision of the Act of 1907. It is, however, proper to say that the application of its terms under the Act of 1922 only to native born American women and not to men in the same circumstances sins against the canon of equality.

The third section of the Cable Act, I venture to call the Chapter of Abominations; and in further evidence I quote the first of these provisions: "That any woman citizen who marries an alien ineligible to citizenship shall cease to be a citizen of

the United States," and that she cannot be "naturalized" during the continuance of the marital status. A male citizen can marry an alien woman incapable of being naturalized without being penalized for his action. I do not dare to comment, beyond the jurisdiction of the United States, on the racial discrimination involved in the disposition. The children of such a marriage are, however, citizens of the United States, if born within its jurisdiction.

So much for nationality by birth. We must now shortly consider the case of naturalization or adoption by the State of foreign persons into the family, irrespective of blood relationship. There are here two fundamental elements: expatriation, or the right of every human being to renounce the citizenship of the place of birth; and naturalization, or the right to settle in a foreign country and, in accordance with its laws, to become its national and, indeed, its citizen.

Expatriation and Naturalization

Admitting, or rather accepting, as a first general principle, that nationality is acquired impersonally by the mere act of birth within each and every country, the question of nationality by birth would seem to be settled. We have, however, a second general principle: the acquisition or loss of nationality; for acquisition on the one hand should imply loss on the other through what is known as naturalization. This is the adoption of a foreigner into the large family which is synonymous with the State, in accordance with its laws. The law should apply alike to men and women, whether single or married, produce a like effect in each case, admitting the naturalized persons to all the rights possessed by nationals, without reference to sex, race, or previous nationality.

These dispositions of a general nature could and should form the subject-matter of an international agreement. The process of naturalization being an internal matter might, and probably should, be left to the domestic legislation of each and every State which is a party to the treaty or convention. The main point is that there should be no discrimination. If we admit that there should be equality, there are, indeed, two ways in theory, but only one way in fact, to obtain it. To those who

insist that there is no discrimination, or so slight, if at all, as to be negligible, we may suggest that the man be accorded, in all respects, the legal status of the woman. I do not know any man who would be willing to accept a disposition of this kind. It would be, to the masculine mind, equality by "levelling down." As men have made, and still make the laws, the thing is unthinkable.

The other method is by according to women the legal status of men, which is equality by "levelling up"—a process acceptable to the women, who only wish the same, not greater rights than the men; a process in harmony with civilization, which is nothing more or less than progress onward and upward, not of one class, but of all classes of human beings, and of all persons composing them. From the internal point of view, this could be accomplished if the various nations should apply their existing nationality laws equally to all their nationals, without discrimination of sex. I had the honor to lay this proposal before the Governing Board of the American Institute of International Law at its meeting in Habana on October 31st of the present year, and the proposal had the good fortune to be unanimously approved. There is here no changing of the law; it is taken as it exists. The man is not deprived of a single right or privilege, but the right, or privilege, whatever it is or may be, is extended to the woman. It is but the process of levelling up.

This method, sufficient in the single case, is inadequate in the world at large, as implying a uniform statute. Even if this were possible, it would be difficult to obtain, and it would lack the guarantee of permanency. The State which made it might unmake it. A single international agreement in the form of a treaty or convention would introduce the principle and practice of equality in the matter of nationality in every State which would be a party to the agreement, and its permanency would be guaranteed, as State legislation inconsistent with the treaty or convention would be a violation of one or the other to the extent of the inconsistency and, therefore, null, void and of no effect in the international community. There is a Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague—one of whose most distin-

guished judges honors us by presiding at this session of the American Institute's Academy of International Law—which would so hold.

The distinction between national law and an international agreement is important, although elementary. The law of the State is a unilateral act of internal sovereignty, binding all persons within its territory, and subject to its jurisdiction; the international agreement is a bilateral contract binding the two States which are parties to it, or a multilateral contract binding all the parties, no matter how many, which have signed, ratified, and exchanged and deposited their ratifications in accordance with the terms of the treaty or convention. Hence it is that the national sovereignty may, so far as it is concerned, renounce the privileges under a treaty, but cannot affect the rights of the other parties; and equality in the matter of nationality is a right of all and, therefore, a duty of each and every contracting party.

Hence the need of an international agreement in some such form as the following:

"The Contracting Parties agree that from the going into effect of this treaty, there shall be no distinction based on sex in their law and practice relating to nationality."

Dispositions of this kind are but the consequences of the proposal of the equal administration of national laws. Therefore it was that the Governing Board of the American Institute of International Law approved unanimously at the session of October 31st the text of this article which I had the honor to propose on the same occasion.

If the treaty requires changes in the internal laws of the contracting States, this is to be expected, inasmuch as reforms require changes—otherwise they would not be reforms. In the progress of the ages, what may have seemed just at one time appears to later generations to be unjust; and we should rejoice at the opportunity offered us by the meeting of the First Conference for the Codification of International Law at The Hague, in the course of the coming year, to incorporate in an international agreement the equal rights of

human beings, leaving it to the States to modify their internal legislation, in order to render the provisions of the international agreement effective in each of the contracting countries.

Special Cases

There are special situations that may suggest special treatment. Two, only, may be mentioned. They refer to children born beyond the jurisdiction of the State which wishes to impose its nationality upon them. Perhaps the best way to present the case is to quote a few lines from a Statute of the United States which, in principle, dates from the year 1790, incorporating the practice of the one-time mother country in the premises.

It is to the effect that persons born out of the limits and jurisdiction of the United States, but whose fathers are citizens thereof, are themselves citizens of the United States, but that "the right of citizenship shall not descend to persons whose fathers have never been resident in the United States," provided further that the father shall have resided in the United States before the birth of the child in question.

This is an attempt to graft on the *jus soli* the supposed advantages of the *jus sanguinis*. If the clause is to be maintained, it should apply to father or mother, by the use of some such phrase as "one or other of the parents," etc. But are not the advantages in question more specious than real? Is it in the interest of a country, the United States, for instance, to consider as its citizens persons born in a foreign country, who grow up in a foreign country, whose parents only need to visit and to reside in the United States for an indefinitely short period before the birth of their foreign born children? What is the real situation? Americans preferring, for one reason or another, to reside abroad, marry at home or in a foreign country, give birth to children, and bring them up in the foreign country of their choice and of their residence. The parents have, for the most part, expatriated themselves in fact, if not in law; their children are brought up as foreigners, and swell the colony of Americans abroad, who, without performing their duties to the United States, insist upon their protection as American citizens.

If they wish their children to be Americans, Columbus has shown them the way—board a ship and speed westward. If they are not willing to undergo a sacrifice for American nationality, it is merely a convenience to them and should not be accorded.

Diplomatic agents and their families do not lose their nationality, and the families of other officials might be treated in like manner. As regards the children of other nationals, born in foreign parts, they should acquire the nationality of the foreign country in which they are born; and if a concession is to be made to them, for which there seems to be no sufficient reason, they should only acquire the desired nationality upon assuming a residence in the country of their parents, if they have the same nationality, or in the country of one or the other, as the case may be, if they have different nationalities, in accordance with the laws passed for this purpose, in pursuance of an international agreement to that effect. In any third country their status would be determined by the ordinary laws of that country.

There is a problem relating to children which does not present itself in the cases of men and women of legal age. They are supposed to be competent when, in the English-speaking world, they become twenty-one years of age. When they are younger, and of what we call "tender years," they are minors and are unable to conduct their affairs as do their elders, therefore they are not permitted to determine their nationality. There is here no discrimination of sex, nor a distinction of legal capacity. They are not chattels, however, to be disposed of at the will and whim of their parents. If marriage is not to change the nationality of the contracting parties, or, as we hope, their legal rights, it is difficult to see how or why the nationality of the offspring of the marriage should be affected. By *jus soli* they may have a nationality separate and distinct from each of their parents, and it is well-nigh unthinkable that their nationality by birth within a country should suffer.

Let us suppose that an Argentinean lady marries a Uruguayan; each is a national *jus soli*, and each by the laws of their countries retains the nationality acquired by birth within their respective countries.

They visit the United States, where a child is born to them. It is a national of the United States. Let us suppose that the father dies, and that during the minority of the child the widow, who has gone to reside in London, marries an Englishman. The mother acquires British nationality. Why should the child become British? The minor, whether boy or girl, should not be the plaything of its parents and of their marital adventures. The nationality *jus soli* should continue in such cases until it is changed by naturalization. The question of the unity of the family is not involved, for the father was Uruguayan, the mother Argentinean, and their offspring American.

The unity of the family is not one of laws, but of the spirit.

There are two further matters which should be mentioned in passing. The first is that of a foundling—a child which has been abandoned without indication of its parentage. Here the *jus sanguinis* breaks down, and the *jus soli* steps in, according to the child the nationality of the country in which it is found, on the presumption that it was born within that country.

The second matter is that of the illegitimate child, whose father is unknown. Here, again, the *jus sanguinis* breaks down, for it cannot have the nationality of an unknown father. Generally, however, the mother is known. In this case, *jus sanguinis* allows the child to have the nationality of the unfortunate mother. It is not a concession to the woman, however, but a penalty for bringing an infant into being. If, however, the father discloses himself and wishes to adopt the child (which sometimes happens) many man-made laws enable him to do so, and to impose his nationality, on the theory that the father's blood permeates his offspring, and that it should have his nationality.

Why not adopt *jus soli* without raising the question of blood? We are struggling to get rid of discriminations of race and nationality; why perpetuate them? Why not adopt the impersonal standard of birth within the country, without reference to race, or previous nationality?

The *jus soli* would seem to be the way out of these difficulties, and why complicate the simple system of *jus soli* with certain vestiges of the *jus sanguinis* which,

when examined, are advantages at most in name and in theory but assuredly not in fact?

Conclusion

Let me bring these observations to a close by a reference to an incident which happened within the past year, and is within my personal knowledge.

On the 7th of February of the year 1928, a memorable scene took place in the beautiful Aula of the noble University in which I have the honor of addressing you.

A special session of the Sixth Conference of the twenty-one American Republics (for all of them were represented, and for the first time, by their official delegates) was organized. The women of America were invited by the officials of the Conference to appear, and to lay before that body the reasons for legal equal rights possessed by men, to which the women claimed that they were properly entitled. They did so, and for the first time the voice of the women of the Americas was heard in an official and international gathering.

The President of the Conference was none other than Dr. Antonio Sanchez de Bustamante y Sirvén, who does us the honor to preside at this afternoon's session of the Habana Academy of International Law, which is opening its doors to the élite of America, and of the world, without discrimination of sex, either in the choice of instructors or of students.

At the conclusion of the addresses of the women in the special, and, indeed, extraordinary session of the Conference, Dr. Bustamante said—and I quote literally from the minutes of the session:

"Merely a word before closing the session, to congratulate, from the bottom of my heart, the women of America for this afternoon's splendid session. If there were, in the minds of any, doubt as to their ability, it should be dissipated for they have proved here and now that they merit the rights which they claim."

With this statement I agree, for I was permitted, in an humbler capacity, to hear the addresses on that occasion.

Because of their appearance, the Inter American Commission of Women, created by a resolution of the Conference of Feb-

ruary 18, 1928, is engaged in a study of the legal status of women in the Americas, to be submitted to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union and, by that body, transmitted to the Seventh of the Conferences of the American States, which is to meet in the course of the next few years in Montevideo, the impressive and historic capital of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay.

Standing here in the Aula of the University, and now, as then, under the presidency of Dr. Bustamante, but no longer as a delegate of the most northern of the American Republics, I avail myself of the occasion to declare in a personal capacity my unreserved and unqualified adherence to the doctrine of equal rights which the women of America urged in the historic session of February 7th of the year that is past, without discrimination in the law and its equal application to the rights and duties of all human beings as such.

I bow in reverent admiration at the name of Lucretia Mott, who initiated the movement for an amendment to the Constitution now pending, after many years, in the Senate of the Northern Republic, that "men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to their jurisdiction." I salute the memory of Susan B. Anthony, who devoted her long life to secure the equal rights of suffrage in the United States, now embodied in the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America.

I favor the article which the women of America presented for a proposed treaty, to the Sixth Conference of the American

Republics assembled in extraordinary session in the City of Habana, in this university center, to the effect that: "The Contracting States agree that, upon the ratification of this treaty, men and women shall have equal rights throughout the territory subject to their respective jurisdictions."

And within the lesser domain of nationality, I approve the article drafted by the Chairman of the Inter American Commission of Women and unanimously approved by the Governing Board of the American Institute of International Law on October 31st of the present year: "The Contracting Parties agree that, from the going into effect of this treaty, there shall be no distinction based on sex in their law and practice relating to nationality."

The past belongs to inequality and to prejudice. The future must bring with it equal rights for all human beings through equal laws and their equal application, with special privileges to none and without relation to sex, to race, or to nationality.

We must not merely have on our lips equality under the law in all human relationships—we must have equality in our hearts, indeed, in our every outward action.

Only the power of the spirit can guide us in the fulfilment of our noble mission: the spirit of indomitable perseverance which Nicolás Fernández de Moratín expresses in these admirable lines:

And it is said, dismounting,
The Cid swore on the cross
Of his conquering sword
Not to remove his helmet
Till he should take Madrid.

What Is International Law?

By JACKSON H. RALSTON

WHAT answer is given today to the question "What is international law?" If it be sufficient our quest is ended as soon as begun. We are told in a word that "international law is the law which governs the relations of nations." This is a statement which really tells us nothing. A succession of queries arises: What and when are nations? What relations between them are governed by international law? How may we know when a thing is law and will be so regarded? How is such law created or discovered? A score of others suggest themselves.

COMMON EXPERIENCE OF MANKIND

The statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice enlarges the answer without altogether clarifying it. In arriving at its decisions the Court, we learn, is authorized to examine international conventions, established rules expressly recognized by the contesting States; international custom as evidence of a general practice accepted by law; general principles recognized by civilized nations, and the judicial decisions and teaching of the most highly qualified publicists.

For a lawyer whose only interest is in winning a case at bar perhaps this is sufficient in the large majority of instances. He has only to consider whether or not the issue falls within the lines of what has been written down in some textbook or convention and the matter is ended. Whether the rule is born of force or of fraud, whether the custom appealed to is reasonable or just, or the opposite, concerns him not. *Ita scripta est* is sufficient to justify him in saying that the rule or custom cannot be questioned.

To rise to the full dignity of lawgiver or interpreter it will be well to examine into the fundamental soundness of the positions taken. No one will be, as the scholar so often mistakenly is, so much concerned in the study of what is called

law and dogmatically laid down, as in testing the actuality of its supposed existence. One will not accept as law what is oftentimes the negation of all law. He will not, when entering the domain of international law, throw aside all that mankind, through long centuries of toil and study, has learned within the nations. He will build the international law of the future from the ground up, and regard it as the capstone upon all that has gone before. He will reject the idea, so often unconsciously followed by international law writers, that international law originates from the top and will find its true foundation in the common experiences of mankind.

UNIVERSALITY OF LAW

Everywhere we find the material universe the subject of law. Law governs the union of two atoms and of every association of molecules. Law governs the contacts of molecules of one description with those of another. Law directs light, the falling of the apple to the ground, and the great movements of the universe. No human power enables us to set aside the great laws of Nature governing all material things though we are able to take advantage of many of these laws to our own satisfaction and advantage. This material side of the great question of law I shall not take time to discuss. Fundamentally, it is generally accepted as being beyond debate.

Let us turn to men as individuals, for there can be no true international law which ignores the individual and his experience as such in association with other individuals, and which ignores rules he and they in their major and minor relations have found to possess the sanctity of law.

We find man almost helpless save through association with his fellows. So soon in the career of mankind does this fact appear that we perceive him speedily forming governments for his special aid and

assistance. Indeed, except as government furthers the great purpose of co-operation among men in doing that which the individual lacks the power to do for himself it fails in its reason for being. Except it advance the comfort and interests of the individual it is not entitled to life.

When the individual joins with others in the business of government he discovers, if he be thoughtful, that there are certain laws to which he must submit as the conditions of his association. He must recognize laws of property as, on the whole, best for every individual, although he may leave to government to determine what, under the circumstances of the case, is to be regarded as property. He must not take life as such conduct is prejudicial to the general welfare; he must preserve order. The rules prescribing these things are not simply made by government—they are born of the conditions under which the atoms we call men associate. The inhibitions they involve exist before any formal law is called into action. Murder and robbery did not become offenses because the Mosaic Law said so. This came from the necessary existence of society and its need for self-preservation and preservation of the welfare of its units. Violation of these laws, which may without too much straining of words be called laws of Nature, became anti-social acts. They are, as it seems to me, as directly laws, though born of human nature and human relations, as are those laws which govern the union of atoms and the relations of molecules between themselves and with molecules of another character.

As society grew those enumerated and other offenses violative of the highest good of mankind became better defined. In the clash of interests and from the innumerable debates incident thereto the rights of the individual and the rights and duties of society became clearer. Thus from the multiplying experiences of mankind we find codes written governing the conduct of the citizen. These codes, like the Mosaic Law, were but the result of the common experiences of man under the artificial structure we call government. They epitomize the observation of mankind with reference to the necessities of the individual. They deserve the name of law because they are, in the opinion of mankind, the written ex-

pression of the rules under which he should live. Insofar as they fail in correctness it is because they are made subject to human misunderstandings and human weakness. Generally speaking, they summarize the law which was antecedent to its written expression.

If I am right thus far, law is something which bases its foundation not in textbooks but on the foundations upon which the textbooks should rest—the experiences of mankind. In so saying I am taking no account of customs which grow up in nations of doing particular things in some particular way. These are the externals so far as our argument is concerned.

A DEVELOPING PROCESS

Let us look for a moment at some of the things we have learned from the development of local law. We have found much as to the foundation of the laws affecting the preservation of order within the State. No longer may men take the administration of justice into their own hands. They may not act as accuser, judge and executioner in their own behalf. The accuser and the accused are brought before some presumably impartial tribunal which, after examination, determines the merit of their respective contentions. If such determination be wrong it is ordinarily due to the defects of the human nature of the judges or the weakness of the standards of their community. This is all the while improved as knowledge of right conduct grows. If, for instance, only a few centuries ago a woman could be hanged for stealing a loaf of bread to sustain a starving child, such is no longer the case. Knowledge of the right and not the adventitious law grows. For centuries innumerable the best brain of the human kind in countless court conflicts has striven to discover what is permissible and what is forbidden in human affairs.

As the result of the brief sketch I have given, it must appear that our knowledge of law—and I distinguish between law and our knowledge of law—as applicable to the developing circumstances of civilization has presented a fairly consistent, though often irregular, method of growth. Experience has guided our footsteps all along the way. Mankind has experimented. A certain application of the idea of "trial and error," the system so often employed in the natural sciences, has existed in the law.

If one method has not seemed to return good results another has been tried. The written law has not been static but dynamic in that it has sought all the while a true solution under all the circumstances of the different problems before judges and legislators. That there is a fundamental law in the nation, though often elusive, cannot be doubted any more than the scientist in the material world can question its existence. It has been something more than a figment of the imagination indulged in by judges when they have asserted that they were only the exponents of the law which had always existed ready to spring into action when the necessity arose. Such expressions show a constant struggle on the part of judges to reach the principles which should govern the relations of human beings in society.

If the foregoing be correct, we may believe that law as applied to human affairs means in its highest sense, the fundamental principles which control the actions of men whether for good or for evil.

I have spoken of "trial and error" as affording one method of determining whether in fact a thing is or is not according to law. If we find that a certain action results in a definite benefit to the social system we may ordinarily believe that such action is according to law and prepare the statutes accordingly. If, on the other hand, we find that only evil results from certain antecedents we may believe that such things are against the law and legislate correspondingly. The innumerable contests between man and man decided by the courts have furnished us to no small degree with our "trial and error" system. We may follow eminent authorities in calling this method "utilitarian" or "pragmatic," but it brings results as true as anything human can be.

LAW FOR THE NATIONS

Let us turn from the field of law within the state to that of law between nations. We find in the ancient world there was no real appreciation of such law, because there was no such conception of nations as we possess, distinct entities entitled to respect or subject in any degree to the control of law. There were conspicuously the city states of Greece. There were many dynasties having little intercourse with others

except in time of war. There was Rome which failed to recognize the existence of an equal. From these sources came only traces of international law or intercourse upon which such law must be based.

We pass to the period of the Middle Ages. With the breaking down of the feudal system—at least of some of its most salient features—we witness the rise of what afterwards became the modern state. With its origin arose the consciousness of the necessity of a law to govern nations. To this period we have to attribute all the misunderstandings as to what constitutes international law which have disfigured its progress up to the present.

What we call the modern theory of international law was born and began to take form some three or four centuries ago. It arose from the necessity for fixing the terms and conditions under which the newly created states should approach and deal with each other. Naturally it should have been the flower of all the preceding efforts of man towards social justice. The principles which have been established as between man and man and the terms of their applicability as between states should have been the study of the philosophers as they approached this new development. But our students, Grotius and the rest, began high in the air, turning to the ground at only a few points and accepting even this support with apparent hesitation. They built up a false idea of the laws of Nature, disregarding at the same moment nearly all the teachings of experience.

SLIPPERY FOUNDATIONS

Let us glance at a few of their postulates. In the center of the picture, from which everything radiated, they placed the king as the representative of government. Upon him and in him they vested all the power and majesty on earth which they accepted as belonging to God as the ruler of the universe. The war, which he as supreme ruler conceived to be just, was just. The sovereignty which belonged to the ruler of heaven pertained in only a lesser degree to the national dictator of terrestrial affairs. This sovereignty was unimpeachable by his subjects or by another sovereignty except as it proved its right by superiority in war. That personal sovereignty denied to the individual as anarchy

became absolute in the chiefs of nations. The immediate result of this idea in international law was to sanction as rightful a state of international confusion. Such theory has lasted until the present day among international-law writers. They have refused to look back of the unrealities of their position to the realities of life within the nation. To follow an absurd conception they have abandoned consideration of the interests and rights of the individual and the welfare of mankind.

Relying upon this aerial and unsupported theory the sovereign declares war and the teachers of international law vindicate his act. Sometimes they call it his "right of self-redress." Whence sprang such a right we are never informed. Suffice it must, for the common man to be assured that such right exists and that it is sanctioned by the international-law writers. Is it not a terrible farce that men of presumed intelligence, from the days of Grotius to the present textbook writers, should assert that such a doctrine is well founded in law and may not be gainsaid?

Manifold evils have arisen from such a pronouncement. With war—which is in itself nothing but anarchy—declared to be a right of sovereignty, we witness the slaughter of millions of innocent men and women who die without any realization of the reason for their extinction. And among other evils we find that commerce is interfered with even when carried on by those who take no part in the quarrel. Neutrals put up with this because they find it cheaper than to fight or because they think that upon some future occasion similar depredations may protect their existence and alleged sovereignty. What law is there in all this? What is it in reality save the negation of all rule and, had it been advocated within the state, would have been so adjudged? Yet our writers again discuss what are the rights and duties of belligerents and neutrals when a state of war exists. May we not question if they are talking about law in any sense of the term.

With little variation the writers who have been so potent in influence for ill still continue to obsess the public mind. So-called democracies without thought have merely changed their position under such influence from the "the king can do no wrong" to "the state can do no wrong," democracies

often wrongly imagining the state to be something over and beyond a collection of human atoms.

The fact is that no nation is sovereign save over its own nationals, and no nation ever in fact admits the full sovereignty of any other nation as against itself. Nevertheless this mischievous fiction is consecrated in all the books.

FALLACY OF CUSTOM

Again, from Grotius down to the present day, the customs of nations have been admitted as one of the great sources of international law. The statute of the Court of International Justice so says as to some branches of what is called law. Although ordinarily in fundamental law this may be cheerfully admitted, as a broad statement having international value it must be denied.

Let us for our present purposes recall the rules of the municipal courts as to customs within nations. If evidence of the existence of a custom is offered in the civil courts the judge will ask at least three questions: Is the custom reasonable? Is it general? Is it against the public interest? Only when the custom is shown to be reasonable, general and not against the public interest will evidence to show its existence be sustained. There were many customs, particularly of war, which Grotius deprecated as inadvisable and in the long run to be abandoned as contrary to the interest of the state indulging in them. He would not undertake to declare them illegal and what he failed to do his successors have not done save in chance instances. Thus, so far, customs among nations contrary to the good of humanity have survived to the present day without repudiation. The writers have gravely called such acts legal according to the law of nations when, were they looking to the acts of individuals, like customs would have received the severest condemnation.

What shall I say of the time-honored practice among nations for the victor to despoil the vanquished and to measure out the penalty of defeat even unto unborn generations? Can such an idea be in any wise consonant with law if the term law is to be given its true meaning? Turning to the interior law of nations we find such conduct absolutely unthinkable as legal.

Yet the earlier writers upon international law have no word of condemnation, and the later writers have not disagreed with them. There is none to cry out that theft is theft, murder is murder, extortion is extortion, whether committed at the direction of a sovereign or of a common man. All customs of this sort are called legal. If our suggestions be well founded, and none can deny, can we wonder that international law has not risen to the high plane upon which it should move?

None of the tests of the validity of custom have been made to the acts of which I have spoken nor have the writers sought to apply them. They have asked nothing as to whether the custom appealed to the common sense of a reasoning man and was therefore reasonable, or whether it was general, or whether it was against the public interest of the whole family of nations. Till this is done can we say that the provisions of international law are necessarily to be found by reference to the writings of those distinguished in its field? Can we not rather say that the writers have submitted a narrative of what has been done, given a recital of past affairs, rather than stated a principle of law? Could they not with equal propriety have narrated the events of a series of robberies and from the facts deduced a theory of robbery and called it law?

From the foregoing and from many other like instances which might be adduced we may believe, as is the fact, that the state is considered as an actor in a kind of Punch and Judy show, wherein Punch kills his wife with the most perfect equanimity and without any thought of the moral principles to which human beings in their ordinary relations attach so much importance. Or may we not, changing the similitude, compare it to a Juggernaut which remorselessly kills without considering the sufferings, or being capable of appreciating the feelings, of those whom it slays. The state, under ordinary teachings of international law, becomes thus a great unmoral creature to which no thought of the right and wrong of actions can possibly be attributed. What it is believed to want and what it has the power to take, that it takes, whether life or property. Such, in truth, is international law as taught by all the great teachers with little disguise.

SO-CALLED LAWS OF WAR

Then we have that immense body of so-called law which masquerades under the name of the laws of war. Grotius thought so much of it that he gave it the principal place in the title of his work. Modern writers, it has to be confessed, are becoming more and more modest as they commence to realize that war has no affinity whatever with law despite all efforts to marry the two as was done in the case of many of the Hague conventions. They begin to comprehend that war and law are two incompatible things, that in the midst of arms laws are silent. They have come to realize that these so-called laws are simply the usage which nations have found more or less useful to adopt when carrying on war, and are in no sense laws of conduct controlled by any underlying principles. Veritable international law cannot in any sense deal with the customs of war.

THE WRITERS

Many things are lumped together under the name of law which have a varying degree of sanctity. First and foremost, I would put that type of real law of which I have spoken, that which springs from the inmost recesses of human nature, experience and necessity, and which, therefore, is universal in its scope. This is the sort of law which, in my opinion, mankind has been learning from the earliest stages, failing only in its application to the newest relation prevailing among men—that is, between states. Its highest development will one day be in the law of nations and when it comes fully must be of necessity the natural growth from all that has preceded it and not the unnatural graft upon the tree of knowledge which we encounter today. This is the law of nations in its noblest sense, often ignored, often misunderstood, and yet always silently controlling because its violation carries with it, in one way or another, the punishment which comes from all our violations of the laws born of the essential unity of mankind.

There are laws of a degree of sanctity so much less than these that the two are only, by strained use of words, to be classed together. These are in fact rules of action and convenience, and not in the highest sense laws at all. Such are the con-

ventions by which men arrange matters between them which involve no deep principles and which may without any infraction of human rights be decided in any one of several ways. Much of what is called international law is of this description. Then there are also rules which are purely adjective, that is, relate to the manner in which the substantive law, whether of deep import or of the application of the agreements between men, is to be enforced. If the writers had recognized only these conventions and rules of lesser importance and had been content to ignore and not to falsify law in its exalted sense this earth had been happier.

But there is a world of progress being made which takes no account of the theories of books. The assumptions of scholars have become antiquated without their knowledge. While they still prate of sovereignty and of the right of self-redress, in the realm of affairs these doctrines have received severe blows. More and more sovereignty recedes into the background. More and more the march of the world renders self-redress obsolete. Whether the rulers of nations like it or not they find themselves compelled to part with sovereignty by agreeing to submit their differences to a world court or, it may be the examination of a commission of inquiry or to arbitration. Mere men determine if the acts of the highest potentates comport with justice and if not do not hesitate to condemn them. The former vicegerents of God have largely lost the divinity which hedged them. While heretofore Paraguay and Bolivia might have fought, with all other nations standing quietly on the sidelines, today they find such a course impossible. Russia and China awake to the fact that the Kellogg-Briand Treaty has an unexpected power behind it. Let this continue for but a few years longer and many of the old theories of Grotius will become as extinct as the dodo. The writers will discover the realities and let us hope no longer preach dead doctrines to the sorrow of a living world. This earth of ours has through intercommunication become so small that the injury of one demanding so-called self-redress has become the concern of all. Wars cannot be carried on in corners separable from the rest of the world. Can we not say that in an indirect but efficient way the great inventors who have

so far annihilated time and space have proven themselves greater developers and teachers of international law than all the writers?

THE NEWER WAYS

If we are entering into a new world of international relations where the law and the court are to supersede the will of the prince—where no longer a sufficient answer to a charge of national wrongdoing is found in the expression *fait du prince*, or governmental act—where shall we find the law which is to govern the states of the world? Where should we search save in the records of the common experiences of mankind which have been accumulating for so long a time?

The past hundred years have witnessed an increasing number of references to judicial settlement of the differences between nations. Have the writers upon international law, as such, furnished the courts with sure guides for their conclusions? Hardly has this been the case. As to methods of procedure the international courts have resorted to the conduct of the national courts for guidance. If the same courts have wanted to know how to interpret a treaty, again they have consulted the findings of national courts to learn the rules. Within even a few years the laws of prescription, whether acquisitive or extinctive, have been formally adopted by our institutes of international law precisely as the international courts had taken them from the common source indicated. All laws of evidence have had a similar history. Of course, it was right that this should be the case. International law, in substance I repeat, did not spring full-armed from the brain of some mythical Jove. Insofar as it could have any validity it had to be as a natural outgrowth and development of all in the way of law that had preceded it. Otherwise there could have been no firm foundation. Insofar as this principle has been disregarded the law of nations has failed of its highest aim and has brought us little save confusion and anarchy.

When we are told that international law was in many phases disregarded during the recent World War, let us ask: What were the rules so disregarded? Examination will show that almost invariably they were part of what are called the laws of war. But as these never had any solid

existence even though contained in international conventions, we need not spend much time mourning over their infraction. The primal violation of true international law—war itself—finds ample justification in that old theory of sovereignty consecrated by the writers. To veritable international law, and not to the spurious substitute for it which we have had furnished us, must we make our appeal.

Shall we conclude from all this that international law and our knowledge of it has made no advance since the beginning of states? Laws of war certainly have not. These have only changed according to changing ideas as to the most efficacious ways of bringing about want and distress and consequent surrender on the part of the opponent. The variations in detail mark no real progress.

In the lesser rules of intercourse between nations we have advanced in method and adaptation to the necessities of modern times. Doubtless many of the minor rules appropriate as affecting national property and national existence we have developed. Of the forward march of judicial settlement and of law of real moment thereby brought forth, I have spoken.

What of the future, which belongs to you? After all that has been said it must be evident that the essentials of international law have scarcely been touched. The study is in its infancy. To obstruct advancement we have had the stubbornness of nations whether ruled by kings or by our modern forms of democracy. This stubbornness has been amply supported by the language of textbooks. These have vindicated governments and in turn governments have quoted textbooks as their authorities. This has made a vicious circle which it is up to you to break.

SEEKING REALITIES

I have shown that in certain respects the writers were behind the actual practice of nations. Let us reverse the order for a

while. Why may not the rulers of thought in the future devote themselves to the consideration of what government really is and of the natural, fundamental relations between governments. Appreciate in theory if they will, always keeping their feet on the ground, the secret springs which control the movements of men massed in states. Let such men be in truth, what no internationalist has shown himself to be—a psychologist of nations, just as we have personal psychologists. Even better, let them be psychiatrists of peoples. Have them learn the principles which govern their opinions and actions in their worst moods; discover the reactions which, by the deep law of human nature, result from the actions of states and thus learn the true law of nations. Above all let us hope they may start from the ground, finding the foundation in the individual man, and building their superstructure upon this.

If this method is pursued they will be reversing the methods of the elder writers. True, their labors, though based upon the profounder teachings of history, will be largely theoretical and as such will be looked upon askance by the so-called practical man. Remember, though, this term usually describes a man whose mind is static. But one must recall that oftentimes in notable instances, the theorist has preceded the man of affairs. The telephone had to be demonstrated in theory to be entirely possible before any of its parts had been assembled.

Meanwhile we live in a world better prepared for such labors than it has ever been before. The sovereignty of nations submits to the Court of International Justice. The Kellogg-Briand Pact is fast becoming more than a pious aspiration—it is a living fact calling for a new examination into the structure of international relations. In ten years we have made more real progress in this field than in the preceding three hundred. This carries the augury of swift progress in the future.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

THE BRITISH REPLY TO THE FRENCH NOTE OF DECEMBER 20

The French position relative to the London Naval Conference was set forth in a memorandum released on December 20. Since the spirit of that memorandum is reflected in the British reply of January 17, the full text of that reply follows:

HIS Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom has given most careful consideration to the memorandum communicated to them on December 20, wherein the French Government explain their views upon various questions connected with the forthcoming London Naval Conference. His Majesty's Government much appreciate the frank and friendly attitude of the French Government in furnishing them with so comprehensive an elucidation of their point of view and in reiterating their assurance that they are determined to make the conference successful.

In issuing the invitation to the London conference, His Majesty's Government considered that it would not conduce to the success of the conference if the various governments were to entrench themselves before the conference opened in positions, based perhaps on misunderstanding, from which they could not recede; nor in the invitation did His Majesty's Government refer to the obligations contracted under the covenant or to the question of national security and such considerations because they are clearly inherent in all disarmament negotiations and must be in the mind of every nation taking part in the conference.

One of the great advantages in the frequent meetings at Geneva is that governments have opportunities to understand each other's respective positions and problems and His Majesty's Government felt it unnecessary to recite elementary obligations, internal or external, but rather to concentrate upon supremely important problems which have to be faced. Consideration at the outset in such friendly spirit of the French memorandum will, of course, be in the minds of all delegates.

It is true there may not yet have been devised complete machinery for sanctions to enforce the various peace agreements now in existence; but meantime much can be done and his Majesty's Government place considerable trust in the fact that fifty-six countries have declared their intention to renounce war as a measure of national policy and to resort only to pacific means for settlement of international disputes.

Urges Beginning of Reduction

Unless a beginning in the reduction of naval armaments is held to be justified by the measure of security already achieved through the Covenant of the League of Nations, the quadruple treaty relating to the Pacific, the treaties of Locarno, signature of the optional clause of the statutes of the Permanent Court of International Justice by thirty-three countries, and finally by the treaty for renunciation of war, public expectation will be disappointed, a tendency toward expansion in arms, which is only too evident already, will develop, and nations will be taught once more in practice to trust only to military preparations for security.

His Majesty's Government earnestly hope the nations attending the London conference may by agreement on reduced naval strengths register their confidence in the great advance made since the War in the provision for national security by political agreement.

His Majesty's Government observe with interest the distinction drawn in the French memorandum between the Pact of Paris and the Covenant of the League. They would suggest, however, that the two documents may also be regarded as complementary, one of the other.

From that standpoint the pact of Paris by its renunciation of war as a national policy may be held by States which are members of the League of Nations to have completed the structure of peace which the more restricted language of the covenant had for the time left unfinished. His Majesty's Government accept fully and unreservedly all obligations of the covenant, which, however, must not be held to have involved delay in progressive steps for disarmament for which the Pact of Paris is justification.

His Majesty's Government note the suggestion by the French Government that it is doubtless due to the absence from the Kellogg pact of any provisions for its methodical application that they have been deterred from contemplating any considerable reduction in naval establishment. His Majesty's Government desire to remove the error upon which this reservation rests. In response to better prospects of peace and of an international agreement, the British proposals as a matter of fact provide for a very considerable reduction in the strength which the British Empire has considered necessary in all categories of combatant vessels, from capital ships to submarines.

For Limits on Categories

In Part II, Section 1, of its memorandum, the French Government refer to a system of limitation of naval armaments by "global tonnage." His Majesty's Government have consistently expressed preference for dealing with the problem of naval disarmament by strict limitation of the types, tonnages and guns of all categories of warships, since they feel confident any other method of limitation must tend to preserve those elements of competition and uncertainty which will be one of the express objects of the conference to eliminate.

The problem of naval armament involves not only the amount of tonnage but the use to which it is put. Nevertheless, His Majesty's Government has studied with great care the "transactional proposal" to which the French Government refer and are ready to discuss the possibility of some arrangement based on that proposal.

The French Government emphasize in Part II, Section 2, of their memorandum that there is close interdependence between various defensive armaments of a country and give reasons why they regard this as a fundamental principle of their policy of national defense.

His Majesty's Government agree that problems of naval, land and air disarmament cannot be completely disassociated one from the other, but they do not take the view that no attempt should be made to deal with one unless all are being dealt with simultaneously. His Majesty's Government consider the approach to disarmament may best be facilitated by attacking the problem in detail as is now proposed in the naval conference.

In the end, a complete disarmament agreement must cover the whole field of arms, and steady and continuous work will be required until that field has been covered. They therefore join the

French Government in earnestly hoping that the conference will result in an agreement which will commend itself to all powers represented on the preparatory commission (of the League of Nations) and by facilitating the task of that body hasten the summoning of a general disarmament conference.

As regards Part II, Section 3, of the memorandum, His Majesty's Government note with satisfaction that the French Government while taking due account of the naval requirements imposed by the geographical position of France, will, like His Majesty's Government, continue to observe strict moderation in appraisal of their needs, and that the French delegation will have no difficulty in indicating the extent of the tonnage required to meet the needs of their country.

Stirred by Mediterranean Plan

His Majesty's Government have learned with interest of the views of the French Government regarding the desirability of a treaty of mutual guarantees and non-aggression between the Mediterranean powers. They agree that the four-power treaty relating to the Pacific, which resulted from the Washington conference, exerted a happy influence upon negotiations of the Washington naval treaty.

His Majesty's Government would only point out at this stage that a treaty such as that suggested by the French Government appears to go considerably further than the Pacific treaty above mentioned, which provided only for the summoning of a conference for settlement of controversies and for joint consultation in the face of aggressive action.

Inasmuch as all Mediterranean powers are members of the League of Nations, it would appear that facilities already exist for joint consultation in event of need. There is a great measure of security in this, but His Majesty's Government will be glad to exchange views on the subject with all the powers concerned.

In conclusion, His Majesty's Government note with particular pleasure the opinion expressed by the French Government that none of the problems mentioned in the memorandum amount to irremovable obstacles, and they share entirely in the confidence felt by the French Government that there will be cordial co-operation among the delegations to promote the great aims of the conference and that success will terminate their labors.

CHINESE EXTRATERRITORIALITY

UNDER date of December 31, the Department of State announced that it had been supplied by the American Consulate at Nanking, but not by the Chinese Government, with the following text of a manifesto which the Consulate states was issued by the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs on December 30:

For more than eighty years China has been bound by the system of extraterritoriality which has prevented the Chinese Government from exercising its judicial power over the foreigners within its territory. It is unnecessary to state here the defects and disadvantages of such a system; but the Chinese Government and people cannot leave this state of affairs without remedy.

Extraterritoriality is no ordinary diplomatic problem. It touches the life of the Chinese people in so many intimate ways that it must be considered by the Chinese Government as being likewise a domestic question of immediate moment. It is for this reason that the Chinese Government is compelled to declare that the year 1930 is the decisive time, and that the actual process of reestablishing Chinese sovereignty by the abolition of extraterritoriality begins on January 1st. With that in view it will undertake measures designed to release the sovereign rights of China from the trammels of extraterritoriality, and has accordingly ordered the executive Yuan and the judicial Yuan to instruct the Ministries concerned to prepare a plan for this purpose.

The Chinese Government, relying on the sympathy already shown and the assurance given by the powers concerned, believes that there is no difference of opinion between those powers and China regarding the principle involved; and it is prepared to consider and discuss within a reasonable time any representations made with reference to the plan now under preparation in Nanking. In this respect the issuance of the mandate on December 28 should be regarded as a step towards removing the cause of constant conflict and at the same time promoting the relations between Chinese and foreigners.

We of America are still waiting for assurance that there is enough of governmental unity in China to make such a course plausible at the moment.

UNITED STATES SIGNS COURT STATUTE

The American Charge d'Affaires ad interim in Switzerland, Mr. Jay Pierrepont Moffat, signed December 9, 1929, at Geneva, on authorization of the President and on behalf of the United States:

1. The protocol of signature of the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

2. The protocol of accession of the United

States of America to the protocol of signature of the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and

3. The protocol of revision of the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The American Chargé d'Affaires addressed a note to Sir Eric Drummond, in reply to Sir Eric Drummond's note of October 7, 1929.

The text of both notes follows:

To Sir Eric Drummond

I am instructed by the Secretary of State of the United States to acknowledge with appreciation the receipt of your note of October 7, 1929, in which you informed him of the action taken with regard to the protocol concerning the accession of the United States to the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, as well as the protocol to effect certain amendments in the statute of the Permanent Court. Note has been taken of the fact that fifty States have up to date signed the protocol of American accession to the Court.

In view of the almost unanimous acceptance of the protocol of accession by the members of the Court, it gives me pleasure to inform you that at the direction of the President of the United States I have been instructed to sign on behalf of the United States of America, the protocol of signature of the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice; the protocol of accession of the United States of America to the protocol of signature of the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice; the protocol of revision of the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The Secretary of State has requested me to express through you to the members of the Court who have signed the protocol of American accession, the appreciation of the Government of the United States for their friendly endeavors to meet the objections set forth in the reservations of the United States.

To the Secretary of State

Geneva, 7th October, 1929.

SIR:

On June 12th last I had the honour, on instructions from the Council of the League of Nations, to transmit to the United States Government the text of a protocol regarding the adherence of the United States to the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice subject to the reservations formulated by the United States Senate. This instrument had been drafted by a committee of jurists appointed by the Council, and had been adopted by the Council at its meeting of June 12th.

In accordance with a resolution adopted by the Council on August 31st, and a resolution of the Assembly of the League of Nations adopted on September 3rd, the protocol was next referred for examination to the conference of representatives of States parties to the statute of the Permanent Court which the Council had con-

vened for the purpose of considering amendments to the Court's statute. The United States Minister at Berne left with me on August 16th last a memorandum on the basis of which I had the honour to read to the delegates at the first meeting of the conference, the following statement:

"I thank you for giving me the opportunity of making this statement to the conference. I am informed from a sure source, which I cannot divulge but on which the members of the conference can absolutely rely, that the Secretary of State of the United States of America, after careful consideration, is of opinion that the draft protocol drawn up by the committee of jurists would effectively meet the objections set forth in the reservations made by the United States Senate and would constitute a satisfactory basis for the United States to adhere to the protocol and statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, dated December 16, 1920. After the States signatory to the protocol of signature and the statute of the Permanent Court have accepted the draft protocol, the Secretary of State will request the President of the United States for the requisite authority to sign and will recommend that it be submitted to the Senate of the United States with a view to obtaining its consent to ratification."

The conference unanimously and without change, except for the correction of a mistake of translation in the French ("The Secretary of State, Department of State, Washington, D. C., U. S. A., a. b. s. de la Legation des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, Berne) text, which has been notified to the United States Legation at Berne, adopted the protocol as submitted to you in my letter of June 12th.

The Assembly on September 14th followed the Council in unanimously giving its consent to the provisions of the protocol.

The protocol was thereupon opened for signature on behalf of the States signatories of the protocol of signature of the Court's statute and of the United States. Up to the present fifty members of the League have given their signatures, as shown in the list annexed.

I enclose an authenticated copy of the protocol; it is deposited in the archives of the Secretariat at Geneva, and I shall be glad to take any steps in my power to facilitate its signature on behalf of the United States, if, and so soon as, such signature had been decided upon. I beg also to enclose, for your information, a copy of the report upon the protocol which was made to the Assembly of the League of Nations by its rapporteur, Monsieur Politis (Document A. 49 1929 V).

I have at the same time the honour to transmit to you an authenticated copy of a further protocol intended to effect certain amendments in the statute of the Permanent Court which, as the result of decisions of the above-mentioned conference of government representatives and of the Assembly of the League of Nations, has been opened for signature on behalf of the States signatories of the protocol of signature of the Court's statute and on behalf of the United States. This instrument is deposited in the archives of the Secretariat and has up to the present received

forty-eight signatures as shown in the annexed list.

From the report on the amendment of the statute of the Court made to the Assembly by its rapporteur, Monsieur Politis, which I enclose (Document A. 50 1929 V), you will see that the amendments which the last-mentioned protocol seeks to effect in the statute of the Court, except for certain minor changes and for certain amendments in Articles 4 and 35 of the statute intended to establish general provisions for the participation in the election of members of the Court of States parties to the Court's statute which are not members of the League, without affecting the special agreements which it is proposed to make in the case of the United States of America, are identical with the amendments proposed in the report (Document A. 9 1929 V), of which I had the honour to send you a copy with my letter of July 12th last. I venture to call your attention more particularly to the provisions of articles 2 and 7 of the protocol dealing with the position of the United States as regards the acceptance by it, and as regards the entry into force, of this instrument, and to the commentary on this matter which is to be found at the top of page 4 of Monsieur Politis' report to the Assembly.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

ERIC DRUMMOND,
Secretary-General.

News In Brief

A WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE on Child Health and Protection is in preparation under the direction of H. E. Barnard, expert in public health. The committee consists of some twenty-seven outstanding leaders in child-welfare planning, called upon early in his administration by President Hoover to build up a larger organization to meet in a conference. Secretary Wilbur of the Interior Department is chairman of that committee and will be chairman of the larger conference when assembled. Preliminary studies are the present work of the committee.

NUMBERS OF MENNONITE RUSSIAN emigrés, who had been held in refugee camps in West Prussia, were, in January, transported to the New World. The Canadian and the Brazilian governments allowed nearly 3,000 of them to be transported to those countries. The expenses were shared by the German Government, the Mennonite organizations, and, in this hemisphere, the Canadian Pacific Railway.

THE TRULY INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER of science is once more illustrated in an announcement lately given out by the United States Department of Commerce. An Italian entomologist has discovered a germ which attacks and kills the malaria mosquito and some crop-destroying insects. The microbe will be used in addition to the methods already in use in this country to combat these noxious insects.

ANOTHER TREATY OF ARBITRATION has lately been signed, this time by Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania, based on the General Act for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes framed by the ninth Assembly of the League. This act was framed to fill gaps in the Covenant which might allow war. It provides that all future disputes, except those lying within domestic jurisdiction, shall be settled by judicial procedure or by arbitration. "The new treaty adds," says a contributor to *Central European Observer*, "one more thread to the net which is being woven to trip up the feet of Mars when he starts on the prowl again."

MORE THAN USUAL CEREMONY and enthusiasm attended the celebration, on December 17, of the forty-first birthday of King Alexander, of Yugoslavia. Deputations from Zagreb and other Croat towns, as well as other parts of the country, offered felicitations to the king. It appears that the anomalous position of the really democratic ruler, who has assumed dictatorship powers, has not lessened his popularity with the country.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS passed its tenth birthday on December 10; the Council on December 16th.

FORMER AMBASSADOR TO GREAT BRITAIN, Alan-son B. Houghton, became on December 18, the chairman of the Commission on International Justice and Good Will of the Federal Council of Churches. Mr. Houghton succeeds Hon. George W. Wickersham.

A CONVENTION FIXING THE BOUNDARY LINE between the Philippine Archipelago, belonging to the United States, and the State of North Borneo, which is under British protection, was signed at the Department of State, January 2. The convention confirms the line which existed between British and Spanish territories previous to the acquisition of the Philippines by the United States.

THE PAN AMERICAN UNION, now forty years old, has received recently from the United States Congress a grant of additional land, adjoining the group of buildings already in use in Washington. The two present buildings, which belong to all the American republics jointly, are to be supplemented by a third to accommodate the expanding activities of the Union. For this building program the Carnegie Corporation of New York has appropriated the sum of \$200,000. If the construction begins before October 30, 1930, an additional grant of \$300,000 will be made.

COMMANDER RICHARD BYRD, now on an exploring expedition in Antarctic regions, was made Rear Admiral on December 21. He will be the youngest officer of that rank. Admiral Byrd has also been awarded the David Livingstone Centenary Medal, which is the highest geographical honor that can be awarded by any scientific society. The medal was founded by the Hispanic Society of America. Admiral Byrd is the first recipient for five years.

ON DECEMBER 20 the Russian ambassador to England presented his credentials in London. The following day the British ambassador presented his credentials to the Russian Government.

THE WOODROW WILSON FOUNDATION has awarded its prize of \$25,000 to the League of Nations. Officers of the Foundation are reported to be in hopes that the League will use the money for bronze doors in honor of Wilson, in the new secretariat building.

DISTANT KANSU, CHINA, is to be linked with Nanking and Shanghai by regular airplane mail and passenger service. There will be stations also in Honan and Shensi.

THE CHINESE NATIONAL HIGHWAY PLANNING COMMITTEE, under the chairmanship of the Minister of Railways, has completed plans for the construction of a network of railways throughout China. The work has been apportioned to four stages, in which the trunk lines through the interior are given ten years for building; lines along the western border, twenty years.

THE CHILEAN GOVERNMENT HAS LATELY created an Institute of Educational Films to operate under the University of Chile. Not only will the Chilean schools profit by this educational work, but

the Institute expects to maintain relations with similar institutions in other countries, with frequent exchange of films.

GOOD WILL BETWEEN CHILE AND PERU was emphasized after a long period of estrangement when, on November 18, sailors on a Chilean training ship placed a wreath on the statue of the Peruvian commander, General Grau. Peru paid a similar tribute to the Chilean Captain Prat. Both officers were killed in the war of 1879 between Chile and Peru.

AN INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF UNIVERSITIES is announced for February 20-24, to take place in Havana, under the auspices of the University of Havana. Among the purposes of the congress is the plan to organize an inter-American institute of international co-operation in higher education.

THE INTERNATIONAL DANUBE COMMISSION, which meets every other year, had on its agenda for the meeting in Vienna, December 4, several important questions. Among them were the tug service at the Iron Gates, the disposal of the Iron Gates loan, and the building of a dam at Persenbach.

RUSSIA IS TO FOLLOW THE EXAMPLE of Turkey, Yugoslavia and some other countries and Latinize her alphabet. There will be at least eighteen important changes in the present intricate Slav alphabet and orthography in order to bring it into harmony with the simpler alphabet in general international use.

GENEVA IS TO BE EQUIPPED with a short-wave wireless station as well as the medium-wave station now in existence. The new equipment will be put up at the expense of the League of Nations. In normal times both stations will be managed by the Radio-Swiss Company, with guarantees to the League that its messages will receive the preference. The Secretary-General will also be a director of the Swiss board. In emergencies the two stations may pass entirely over to the management of the League, but with a Swiss Government observer allowed at the station to verify origin and destination of messages.

NEARLY HALF THE POPULATION OF JAPAN is utilizing the postal savings plan. The postal savings banks of Japan play an important part in

the nation's finance, and their influence, according to the United States Department of Commerce, is steadily increasing.

BELGIUM IS CELEBRATING THE CENTENNARY of her independence this year by two expositions. One, at Antwerp, aims to show the colonial and maritime development of the nation, and particularly that of the Belgian Congo. The Liège exhibition, opening in May, will be international in scope. Nearly thirty countries have agreed to co-operate, either officially or through business concerns. Five sections to this exhibition have been outlined. They are sciences, social economy, agriculture, industry, and music.

DELEGATES FROM ten national women's organizations met in Washington, January 14-17, for the fifth national conference on the Cause and Cure of War. None of the organizations calling the conference are specifically peace organizations.

MEXICO DEPOSITED with the United States Department of State, on January 9, its ratification of the General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration and the Protocol of Progressive Arbitration, signed in Washington in January last year. The Dominican Republic and Guatemala had already ratified the treaty and protocol. The General Convention of Inter-American Conciliation, also signed January, 1929, has now been ratified by the United States, Guatemala and Chile.

DENMARK IS THE LATEST to abandon the requirement that American visitors shall have passport visas.

IN PURSUANCE OF THE President's proclamation of November 6, 1929, inviting the nations of the world to participate in a World's Fair to be held in Chicago, Ill., in 1933 to celebrate the centennial of the incorporation of Chicago as a municipality, the Department of State has instructed its diplomatic representatives abroad to extend invitations to the governments to which they are accredited to participate in the World's Fair as outlined in the proclamation and the joint resolution of Congress quoted therein.

RATIFICATIONS OF THE CONVENTION between the United States of America and the United Mexican States to safeguard more effectually the live-stock interests of the two countries through the

prevention of the introduction of infectious and contagious diseases, signed at Washington on March 16, 1928, were exchanged January 17 in the Department of State by the Acting Secretary of State and the Mexican Ambassador at Washington. The treaty provides for the maintenance at designated border and sea ports authorized for the importation of animals, of an adequate livestock sanitary and veterinary police service for the inspection of animals, animal by-products, forage and other commodities that may be carriers of infectious and contagious diseases, with quarantine stations for the detention and observation of animals, and prescribes the adoption of measures by the two countries to prevent infection and contagion among livestock.

IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE REQUEST of the Secretary General of the first International Congress on Mental Hygiene, which will be held at Washington, D. C., from May 5 to May 10, 1930, the Department of State has instructed its diplomatic representatives abroad to extend invitations to the appropriate authorities of the governments to which they are accredited in behalf of the first International Congress on Mental Hygiene, to be represented at the congress.

While President Hoover has consented to act as Honorary President of this congress, it is not under the auspices or patronage of the Government of the United States.

THE RATIFICATIONS OF THE CONVENTION to aid in the prevention of the smuggling of alcoholic liquors into the United States, signed May 31, 1928, between the United States of America and Japan, were exchanged by the Acting Secretary of State and the Japanese Ambassador at the Department of State, on January 16. This convention is similar in its provisions to the conventions of the United States on the same subject, now in force, with Belgium, Cuba, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Panama, Spain, and Sweden, which confer upon the United States the rights to board, search and seize vessels of those countries which have committed or are committing or attempting to commit an offense against the prohibition laws of the United States, within a distance from the coast of the United States, its territories or possessions that can be traversed in one hour by the vessel suspected or endeavoring to commit the offense.

Book Reviews

Bernard Fay's Franklin

Professor Bernard Fay, author of the erudite *REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT IN FRANCE AND AMERICA AT THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY*, which was awarded the Jusserand Medal by the American Historical Association; of *THE AMERICAN EXPERIMENT*, an interesting and breezy analysis of contemporary American life, which is not so penetrating as the observations of Mr. André Siegfried; and of a less notable volume of short stories on American student life; has now charged the American reading market with a salable biography of *BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, APOSTLE OF MODERN TIMES*, published by Little, Brown & Co.* Seventy-five thousand copies are conspicuously advertised on the publisher's jacket for the first printing before publication. We hope that all 75,000 will be sold and many more, for in these pages Franklin lives as he has never lived before in any biography. Reading them, one is sure to make a real and a friendly acquaintance with the Boston candlemaker's son, the alert apprentice, the master printer in his leather apron and red shirt bustling about his Philadelphia shop, not too conscious of the shrill and able helpmate Debby; the stimulator of public opinion and organizer of civic movements; the founder of libraries, hospitals, insurance companies, universities; colonel of militia, representative of Colonial interests at the English capital, postmaster-general; scientist, correspondent of learned societies, inventor, linguist, social lion, legislator, diplomatist, statesman; in short—or in long—the great American virtuoso of the eighteenth century who shared honors with Voltaire as the world's best-known man; the veteran printer, philanthropist, philosopher, patriot.

Mr. Fay has covered a vast array of source material in Europe and America, a lot of it unprinted and still unexploited—one wonders that so much written by the world's best-known printer should have remained unpublished—relating to Franklin's long life which is in so many ways a survey of the eighteenth century. He has done this better than any previous biographer of Franklin. I wish he had documented his pages more precisely. In a biography which aims at and has a real claim to scholarship it would not be disfiguring to give footnotes for the more significant and novel statements and discoveries.

* Boston, Mass.

But if such notes make the author uncomfortable they could be put in an appendix at the end of the book with exact page and line references after the fashion of the REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT. The topical bibliographical references actually there are not sufficient for the professional scholar's requirements, though they doubtless suffice for the average reader who will not consult them at all.

As an apostle of modern life and a master bourgeois of his time—Professor Faÿ curiously calls him the first bourgeois—Franklin stands out of the pages to make us love his greatness and sympathize with his weakness. Some critics are bound to find fault with the liberal way in which the author mentions and keeps mentioning the loose relations with women which characterized Franklin's early life. With this the present reviewer finds no fault because they are a part of the picture, and we read the book to know the real man. But I don't like what seems to me Mr. Faÿ's impatience with the middle-class mind. Limitations of the book are inadequate treatment of Franklin's literary style, too little mention of Franklin's interest in and influence on agriculture, insufficient attention to the "Autobiography" and its place in literature, though it has been religiously used by the biographer as a source, and an overemphasis of the influence of Franklin's propaganda in favor of French intervention in the war of American independence. Probably one cannot easily overemphasize Franklin's influence on public opinion in France, nor the value of warm-hearted public opinion to support the cold-blooded foreign policy of Vergennes, but it is necessary to point out—which Mr. Faÿ does not do—that before any American representative had set foot on the soil of France, the French king had been persuaded by his own advisers to adopt a policy of secret assistance to the Americans and war at the opportune moment. We believe French intervention would have come, Franklin or no Franklin, but no representative could have handled American interests better in France in 1777 and 1778 than the great Philadelphian.

The captivating English idiom of this remarkable biography, written by a Frenchman whose English will not be equalled by many an American writer, is a charm and a pitfall. It is written in the close-clipped, eager style of best contemporary American university expression which Professor Faÿ knows by active contact, and it only rarely, very rarely, fails to fall nicely pat. The author acknowledges the assistance of Mr. Bravig Imbs, "who prepared the English version of this book with friendly zeal and his customary talent." I cannot believe it to be a mere trans-

lation; it is enough to compare the English translations of Mr. Faÿ's former French books. I believe the author himself wrote it in his good English idiom, and that the zealous and watchful Mr. Imbs worked it over. The result is simply marvelous as a readable book. But there is a tendency too easily to elude historical judgments by flinging off flippant phrases, fashioning clever sentences, putting down impertinent paragraphs of nimble words. The book is not *cautious* enough. For example: "France distrusted England as she had been her rival for six centuries, and distrusted America as the war had lasted too long. Vergennes distrusted Shelburne because he knew him; Jay because he didn't, Adams because of the unpleasant scene he was reminded of, and Franklin because he got along altogether too well with him. America distrusted England because of the events of the past twenty years, and distrusted France because it had been her habit to do so for a century. Franklin had not faith in George III, Adams had none in Vergennes, who had offended him, and Jay distrusted all the French ministers on general principles, being of Huguenot origin. Laurens distrusted everyone because his long prison term had soured his disposition. Adams thought Franklin was an atheist of no morality, and Franklin thought that Adams was a madman who was more dangerous as he was honest. And the members of this interesting group each judged themselves to be upright men and spoke highly of virtue on every occasion."

Part of the above can be established by historical documents and part of it represents only Mr. Faÿ's interesting juxtaposition of scintillating ideas and pleasant words.

This best biography of Franklin was written rapidly, reads rapidly, will sell rapidly. A final verdict as to its comparative merits in historical scholarship—and its merits as such are great—should be reserved by the reader until he reads another notable book by another notable Frenchman on another great American: Prof. Gilbert Chinard's biography of Thomas Jefferson, just appeared, which Little, Brown & Company would not hand out to this periodical for review. No sooner had Faÿ dubbed his Franklin the "Apostle of Modern Times" than Chinard made his Jefferson the "Apostle of Americanism." That much, at least, we have seen on the cover of Chinard's book. Two American apostles are seen close-up by two learned and sympathetic Frenchmen. May more foreigners study other American apostles in equally effective manner.

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

January 5, 1930.

DER GEDANKE DER INTERNATIONALEN ORGANIZATION IN SEINER ENTWICKLUNG. von Dr. Jacob ter Meulen. Zweiter Band; 1789-1839. Erstes Stück; 1789-1870. Pp. 363 and indices. Martinus Nijhoff. The Hague, 1929. Preis 9 Gld.

THE AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE, 1815-1860. By Merle Eugene Curti. Pp. 241 and index. Duke University Press, N. C., 1929. Price \$3.50.

The work on the development of the idea of international organization by Dr. ter Meulen, Director of the Hague Peace Palace Library, will be, when completed, a monumental study. It is written in the German language, though published in Holland.

The first volume appeared in the year 1917 and covered the period between the Middle Ages and the French Revolution. The present book, first half of Part Two, takes the subject on through the Vienna Congress to the year 1870. The theme is developed along broad lines, through many countries. The topic is distinctly international organization. It embraces plans in which the idea of peace, as such, is only one of several benefits contemplated.

Dr. ter Meulen has been most assiduous in unearthing and analyzing many schemes; not only those generally known, like those of Napoleon, Saint-Simon and others, but several less known yet evidently thoughtful plans. He has visited libraries in many countries to consult sources. An important section of the book, both in length and significance, is that part devoted to American and British work for organization. James Mill, in England, William Ladd, and the American Peace Society's prize essays on "A Congress of Nations," in America, are followed by a brief treatment of the co-operation of British and American societies, and the work of William Jay. In such a theme as this, William Ladd naturally holds the center of the picture in America, indeed in all later British-American work.

Dr. ter Meulen quotes at length from many sources. He analyzes the prize essays of 1840, especially that classic of Ladd's, quoting largely from each. He gives resolutions of the Massachusetts Legislature, passed in 1838 and submitted to other States and to the President. He alludes many times to the works of Ladd and Jay. The British-American period closes with the London Peace Congress in 1843.

The somewhat biographical method of subdivision pursued by Dr. ter Meulen will make the work of special interest to those who wish to

know more of the persons who, in many lands, have been so long building the international structure.

The German is uninvolved, the clear Latin type easy for the eye.

The book by Professor Curti covers also a definite period, 1815-1860, part of which coincides with that of ter Meulen. Since he confines himself to the American peace movement, with a few excursions into England, as the peace men in the two countries worked together, Curti is able to give a much more graphic and detailed treatment of the American efforts than is found in the book by ter Meulen. Another very vital difference in the two books, both so valuable, is the difference in approach. The German book, taking the idea of international organization as a theme, goes back from the present and traces its beginnings in many countries. It eliminates much peace work based purely upon religious or emotional appeal. It is, as it were, a study of an engineering project. Professor Curti, on the other hand, takes as his point of departure a philosophy of peace. He follows, not merely the slow, difficult building of methods by which nations may work together—though this has its place in his story—but scrutinizes all the expressions of the Christian, anti-war philosophy which inaugurated the American Peace Crusade. It was an absolutist philosophy, and, followed to its logical conclusion, led its crusaders into strange personal dilemmas.

If, on occasion, the author rather more than intimates approval of the left wing, and deprecates the conclusions of the conservatives, he is within his rights as an artist. A single point of view helps greatly to keep a narrative consistent. He has never, apparently, suppressed or consciously twisted any facts. The whole story is told and made interesting by a real historian.

Professor Curti also has gone to original documents, not only those in the possession of the American Peace Society, but to the Elihu Burritt papers in New Britain, diaries of Wright, Watson, Coues, the Charles Sumner papers, papers of Thomas Jefferson, Trist, and many others.

The book covers the period not only of the dawn of peace propaganda, but the time also when the contest between the absolutists and the pragmatists was the hottest. In fact this contest is never quite won by either side. It is still going on. There are always those who say "War being wrong, it is always and everywhere sinful for a man to countenance it." These insist on

pursuing the bee line, whatever the geography of the country they travel. And there are always those who say, "War being always the wrong way, I will find my way as best I can around and over and between the things athwart the path to a saner and peaceful world." These last, if they have the mind of the scientist, study the facts of the moment, and, holding ever the ideal as a goal, attempt an engineering job to lay out an easier path for those who follow. The American Peace Society has for the most part of its life tried to be of the latter category. No matter what other, even nearly allied causes, were dominant at the moment, it has doggedly held to its ideal of a better organized world—a chance for law and justice to operate, and the construction of means for its operation. That, perhaps, was work enough for one group. That such a stand was naturally acutely exasperating to men of the other type it is easy to see from the story.

The narrative closes with a conclusion, a chapter of six pages, which is truly a masterly summary of the accomplishments of the peace movement for these forty-five years. It had solved problems of organization and finance; it had developed arguments against war, and made definite plans for a Congress and Court of Nations; it had secured European co-operation and developed leaders. It had been weakened much by dissension and disagreement as to detail, and had not yet made war avoidable. But with all its hard work, and with final results still so far from achievement, the peace movement had built strong foundations before the Civil War. As told by Professor Curti, it is a stirring story.

The two books are admirable foils for each other, in fact one might almost call them complimentary. This is true for the American reader at least.—M. W. S. C.

SOME SPANISH-AMERICAN POETS. Translated by Alice Stone Blackwell. Pp. 559. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1929. \$3.

Some eighty-odd poets from all the Spanish-American countries are represented in this delightful volume. The collection, of course, is in no sense complete, but it does contain representative work of the most prominent poets, in some cases many selections from their work.

The Spanish language lends itself peculiarly well to poetic expression. It is also true that poets are held in great esteem all over Latin America. Yet it is also probably true, as the translator claims, "Even to those who are familiar with

European literature, the literature of the southern part of our own hemisphere is generally as unknown as the dark side of the moon." Surely this should be true no longer, once this charming book becomes known.

Translations, even the best, are traditionally inadequate to carry over just the same beauty and nuance of the original tongue. This difficulty is met here by running on the left-hand page the translation, always a truly poetic one, and, on the opposite page the original itself. It requires only a slight knowledge of the pronunciation of Spanish to get the music of the poem, after first absorbing the idea from the English version. In various places the translator has had the courage to make her version in poetic prose. A surprising number of the poems here take trees as a theme, notably several by Gabriella Mistral of Peru. There are excellent examples of the sonnet and other compact poetic forms. Altogether the book adds immeasurably to one's appreciation of Spanish-American culture.

EMPIRE GOVERNMENT. By *Manfred Nathan*. Pp. 253 and index. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1929.

This is a study, both interesting and informative, of the government of the British Commonwealth. The author enters very little into the history back of the present situation; he chiefly confines himself to an exposition of the present status. Part One groups together chapters dealing with the Dominions, Crown Colonies, Protectorates, India, and Mandates. They would, some of them, be more interesting and more exact perhaps were they less condensed. India has quite a lengthy treatment. But the four pages on mandated territories are scarcely more than a table. Some of the generalities should be scrutinized before they are swallowed whole, as, for instance, the following: "The mandates are irrevocable and therefore permanent." This statement requires modification.

It would have been interesting to include in the scope of the survey the influence of the American pre-revolutionary contention that the Colonies were responsible to the Crown but not to Parliament. The success of the American Revolutionary War influenced profoundly Great Britain's later treatment of her dependencies.

Part Two is a condensed treatment of the powers of the Crown today, of Parliament and of the Executive Government.

PUBLICITY FOR SOCIAL WORK. By *Mary Swain Routzahn* and *Evart G. Routzahn*. Pp. 376 and index. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1928. \$3.

Publicity for social work has several characteristics in common with advertising and other propaganda. It urges information upon people who do not ask for it. It aims to prod them to acts which they are inclined to postpone. It uses every possible means to reach its audience. It confidently, however, bases its appeal upon a recognition of the determined good intention of the public. In this it differs from business advertising. But it has also a large task of education to perform.

For all philanthropic institutions this book will prove most valuable. It provides an analytical study of methods used in definite publicity programs. It reviews the various ways of attracting and holding attention, creating good will, and obtaining some response. It uses, as examples, such societies as the Red Cross, the Boy Scouts, life insurance propaganda, and a number of organizations dealing with public health and sanitation. There is meat in it for those who are trying to do a similar publicity work.

THE USEFUL ART OF ECONOMICS. By *George Soule*. Pp. 244 and index. Macmillan Co., New York, 1929. \$2.

An industrial expert here tells the story of our national economy as if it were a large "plant." The picture is given in simple Anglo-Saxon idiom, almost biblical in its directness. The style is suited, however, not to children, but to the man who is better acquainted with practical affairs of business than with theories. Mr. Soule's thesis is that economic processes can be somewhat controlled, even before we know all about them. We need enlightenment, the whole body politic needs information, and for this we need increasingly growing bodies of accurate statistics. But the subject is not dull, it is sufficiently comprehensible to anyone who reads, inquires and observes. The chapters treat of farming, industry, banking, international trade, and present means of controlling these for human betterment.

In a way not quite so dramatic and humorous as that of Edwin E. Slosson in the field of science but in a manner no less lucid and accurate, Mr. Soule popularizes here a subject heretofore considered as dismal as it is difficult.

Memorials

By WINNIE LYNCH ROCKETT

*Gold stars! Each is a memory
That punctuates the agony
Of my deep night of misery
And black despair.*

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		
<i>Surveys</i>	<i>Six Commissions</i>	<i>Referenda</i>	<i>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

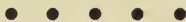


TO THE PRESIDENT
THE LONDON CONFERENCE
THE WORLD COURT, FOR AND
AGAINST
MONEY FOR THE INTERPARLIA-
MENTARY UNION
INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION
SINCE THE WAR
INTERNATIONAL LABOR
ONE-HUNDRED-SECOND
ANNIVERSARY
OF
THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY
THE NEW PRESIDENT

1914 and AFTER*

By James Oppenheim

*Would you end war?
Create great Peace . . .*



*The Peace that demands all of a man,
His love, his life, his veriest self;
Plunge him into the smelting fires of a work
that becomes his child,*



*Give him a hard Peace; a Peace of discipline
and justice . . .
Kindle him with vision, invite him to joy and
adventure:
Set him to work; not to create things
But to create man:
Yea, himself.*

*Go search your heart, America . . .
Turn from the machine to man,
Build, while there is yet time, a creative Peace . . .
While there is yet time! . . .
For if you reject great Peace,
As surely as vile living brings disease,
So surely will your selfishness bring war.*

* "Poems of Justice," compiled by Thomas Curtis Clark, Willett, Clark & Colby, publishers.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

ARTHUR DEERIN CALL, Editor

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Vol. 92

May, 1930

No. 2



JOHN J. ESCH
Seventeenth President
of
The American Peace Society

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

VOLUME
92

May, 1930

NUMBER
2

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

AMID uncertainties within and without our country that must weigh with heaviness upon you, the American Peace Society, about to celebrate its 102d birthday, extends to you its greetings and goodwill.

Since the major of our social distresses are directly or indirectly traceable to wars of the past or to the threat of wars that may come, this Society is pleased to recall certain of your public utterances and definite acts in behalf of a securer peace between nations.

In your inaugural address you announced that you coveted for your administration a record of contributing further to advance the cause of peace. You saw no reason why "in our lifetime" the world should not find a way to "permanent peace." In your Armistice Day address, pleading for a preparedness for defense and for a preparedness for peace, you called attention to existing machinery for the settlement of international disputes by pacific means and urged the importance of public opinion and good-will as the world's most hopeful checks to violence. In your message to Congress, standing for the principle of self-government and ordered liberty, you expressed opposition to domination, and your faith in open and equal opportunity, in education toward a tolerance of all faiths. You have shown that you are firmly behind the Paris Pact

for the Renunciation of War. By leading us to sit in the London Conference you have made the threat of competitive armaments a matter of our special concern and led us to a renewed faith in the co-operation of nations. It is evident that you believe that our United States should adhere to the Permanent Court of International Justice. We have just been represented in a Conference at The Hague for the further codification of international law.

Throughout all of these you have encouraged us of America to seek our highest interests with renewed diligence along the broad highways of law, which are the ways of justice. After these 102 years of continuous service to the cause of international peace, the American Peace Society felicitates you, Sir, upon the fine stand you have taken in these matters of such prime importance to our commonweal. Treaty or no treaty, the London Conference has been a clarifying agency of education and understanding of inestimable value to us and to the other interested powers. Our Society is engaged now in conducting a referendum among its members relative to the problem of our adherence to the Permanent Court of International Justice. We are ever mindful of the fact that achievements in our foreign relations depend upon you, Mr. President, in co-operation with the United States Senate. For this reason we have no other purpose than to co-operate with you, with you and the Congress, toward prac-

tical developments in a foreign policy calculated to promote the peace of justice between nations. You may count on us to continue this purpose with every instrument at our command.

THE SUCCESS OF THE LONDON CONFERENCE

THE London conference on the limitation of armaments, measured by the most reasonable of standards, was a success.

We are not overimpressed by the argument that the promotion of peace between nations must begin with efforts to limit armaments. Given the will to fight, nations will fight, armaments or no armaments. But an agreement by Great Britain, Japan and the United States to limit their fighting vessels is an agreement, and such an agreement ought to be a good thing. That this agreement does not include two of the five powers represented at the conference, namely, France and Italy, is a disturbing thing.

When the conference first met, we were given to understand that the purposes were to terminate competition in naval armaments, to reduce battleship replacement construction, to limit the operations of submarines, to establish parity between the United States and Great Britain by the end of 1936, to promote economy, and to advance the cause of peace between nations. Whether or not these aims have been achieved is largely a matter of definition. Under the terms of the agreements, the United States finds itself in need of very materially increasing its present cruiser strength to the end that there may be parity with Great Britain. This seems to have been accomplished without doing violence to the principle of no competition, but it means for us an increase; how much remains for us to determine. The

reduction of battleships is of little importance, as interest in this type of fighting vessels is apparently on the wane. We seem to have "humanized" submarines, whatever that may mean and for whatever it is worth. Parity with Great Britain we are to have, at least theoretically. Whether or not the treaty establishes any very great amount of economy depends upon one's bases of comparison. As for the promotion of peace, that may be said to rest among the intangibles of hope.

The men who met in London were faced with great difficulties. The French insistence upon "security" in terms of some form of protective military alliance and the Italian insistence upon the principle of naval parity with France were two of the stumbling blocks. It is evident that the long discussions between Ambassador Dawes and Premier MacDonald prior to the meetings on the Rapidan had not succeeded in fashioning the acceptable "yardstick" the situation seemed to demand. The arguments over coast lines, areas, length of communications, external trade and sea-borne traffic seem to lend themselves to infinite extension. The way these matters were stressed led Will Rogers, our international free-lancer, to conclude that conferences such as this, where war is talked about continuously, do more harm than good. We are not told how much attention was paid to land forces, to Russia, to the principle of the freedom of the seas, to aircraft, and to the disarmament of policy; and yet these are prime factors in the equation.

There is something grim about the sight of intelligent men, acquainted with the efforts to promote peace at Geneva, at Locarno, at Paris, aware of the collapsibility of governments, listening to France bent upon submarines with which to avoid blockades and to protect her communications with her colonies, advancing argu-

ments in the open that France wills to dominate the Mediterranean in place of Great Britain, warning of the possibilities of a Franco-Yugoslav control in the Adriatic, making open announcement that Italy must have a fleet able to face every situation. And there was sensible, pragmatic England, Premier MacDonald's England, insisting upon her superiority to the naval force of France, upon her two-power standard, just as before the war she was insisting upon twice the naval force of Germany and the equivalent of any two powers. It will be interesting to learn how far the fact that all of these powers have signed a contract agreeing to renounce war and to settle all of their disputes by pacific means affected the findings of the conference.

The success of the London conference, referred to elsewhere in these columns, lay primarily in a direction liable to be overlooked. The United States made it clearer than ever to Europe that it does not propose to participate in any "security pact." Europe knows now, as she should have known before, that the United States will not join even a consultative pact which by implication may be regarded in any sense as a guarantee in advance to fight in the interest of another power. It is evident that we are not opposed to consultation, for the London conference was itself a consultation. What we are opposed to is a system of consultation capable of ending in any form of an alliance. Our delegation took the ground that a limitation of armaments acceptable to all is a measure of security and an evidence of confidence and good will. That is sound sense. It is unfortunate that this position was not accepted by all.

It is said that the agreements reached at the conference will result in a saving to the world of approximately two and one-half billion dollars, and a saving to

the United States of one billion dollars. This statement is based, however, on figures stood for by Great Britain at the Geneva conference in 1927, which exorbitant figures were never acceptable to the United States. We can not agree, therefore, with Mr. Gibson's statement of April 7 that "the great achievement" of the conference was that it arrived at a basis for limiting all kinds of vessels in the three largest fleets "far below the lowest limit which was discussed at Geneva in 1927," for that "limit" is in no sense a proper standard of measurement. The purpose to reduce auxiliary vessels, as the Washington conference scrapped battleships, failed. Only by stretching words out of shape can the London conference be said to mean "reduction for the United States." Under Article XXI—the oscillator or "slippery" proviso—all hands may have to jump their building programs. As a result of the London agreement, Japan's ratio relative to the United States and Great Britain rises from 60 per cent, established at the Washington conference, to more than 70 per cent in the destroyer and cruiser classes and to 100 per cent in submarines. Another result of the conference may be that France and Italy will feel justified in the belief that we recognize and support the British demand that their fleet should be equal to that of any two European powers, which may yet breed offsprings of discontent, resentments at dictations from Washington and London.

And yet, we repeat, the conference was a success. The eight new battleships we might have laid down under the Washington treaty, will not be necessary. We are to scrap or demilitarize three battleships within eighteen to thirty months following the ratification of the London treaty and to postpone all replacements until after the next conference. Britain will demili-

tarize five battleships and the Japanese one, both of these powers declaring a similar capital ship holiday until after the conference to be called probably in 1935. It would appear that battleships of the old dreadnaught type are going the way of the dodo. No battleships have been built by any country during the last eight years.

The success of the London conference was the London conference. Seven of our best trained men—Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State; Charles Francis Adams, Secretary of the Navy; Charles G. Dawes, our Ambassador to England; Hugh Gibson, our Ambassador to Belgium; Dwight Morrow, our Ambassador to Mexico; David A. Reed of Pennsylvania, and Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas, both members of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United State Senate—are returning home better trained and more thoroughly informed than ever. Sitting on the sidelines, they have learned at first hand invaluable lessons. All these men should be on the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society.

America believes in international conferences such as this. We sent our delegates to meet with the representatives of other powers with the charge that they mutually agree, as far as possible, upon principles of interest to all the world, with the understanding that these principles shall be returned to the President and Senate for ratification. For us that is the way by which law for the nations develops. That is the course of justice between nations. It is the one sure road to international peace, as we believe.

We can quite understand Mr. Stimson's feelings when on April 21, speaking over the radio from London, he said: "The past fourteen weeks have given me more confidence in my belief that the peaceful methods of diplomacy can eventually take the place of war than anything I have

witnessed since the last war drew to a close." This confidence is evidently based on the fact that limitation of arms gives us an affirmative plan for promoting good relations. It is true that merely negative opposition to war gets nowhere. Progress in civilization comes primarily from the cultivation of habits of good will in concrete ways. Reduction, limitation, parity, or not, there is less spirit of competition now in evidence because of the London conference. The hard work and constant vigilance that translate good intentions into practical realities, as in this conference for naval limitation, is creative business. This, to us, is the encouragement of the conference at London. The conference was its own excuse for being.

The London conference was but one in the long series of similar conferences yet to come, all in the interest not only of a reduction of fighting vessels, but of the development of other and no less important pacific processes.

A METHOD FOR LIMITATION

THERE was one achievement of the London Conference that lay outside the treaty. That was the agreement upon a method for naval limitation. It was the difficulty of agreeing upon such a method that wrecked attempts at limitation in Geneva. The world may never know how much time and argument went into the analysis of this problem. Only one man of the delegation from the United States knew of it at first-hand; that was Hugh S. Gibson, United States Ambassador to Belgium. Mr. Gibson's familiarity with the work of the Preparatory Commission for the disarmament conference at Geneva in 1926, especially of the exhaustive labors of subcommittee "A," was of inestimable value to the conferees at London. The divergent views running through the conferences heretofore settled roughly into two

classes: One, that the way to limit armaments is by categories of ships; the other by total tonnage. At the time of the London conference, these two schools of thought were seemingly irreconcilable. The difference was very real. Limitation by categories would mean to fix the tonnage which each country might use for each type of ship and thereby fix the total tonnage to which each nation would be entitled. Limitation by total tonnage, commonly referred to as the "global method," would fix the total tonnage of each navy and allow each country to apportion that tonnage among the various types of ships as it might see fit. England and the United States stood for the limitation by categories, while France and others stood for limitation by total tonnage. When the Preparatory Commission met at its second session in 1927, this divergency of views had ended in a deadlock. It was the French delegate, M. Boncour, who brought forward a compromise proposal. In a modified form, this proposal became one of the most important elements in the discussions at London. In substance this compromise provided for the allocation of a total tonnage for the navy of each of the naval powers; with the understanding that this tonnage was then to be subdivided into four categories as follows: First, capital ships; second, aircraft carriers; third, surface vessels of 10,000 tons; fourth, submarines. The provision was added that each of the high contracting parties, while keeping within the limits of the total tonnage, could alter the employment of that tonnage subject to one year's notice, before laying down the portion of tonnage transferred from one category to another. Subsequently the four categories were increased to five by the division of the auxiliary surface vessels into two categories, each of varying tonnage. More-

over, as pointed out by Mr. Gibson, a limited right of transfer between the last three categories was recognized in principle, any tonnage added to one of the other categories being reduced from one or both of the other categories with the result that the total tonnage should never be exceeded.

Thus each school of thought sacrificed something in the interest of an agreement. It appears to be true that Mr. Gibson's familiarity with this story enabled the American delegation to suggest a reexamination of the proposal of the compromise suggested by M. Paul Boncour, quite as at the sixth session of the Preparatory Commission in April, 1929. The American Government has held the view that the method of limitation by categories is better calculated than any other method to end in a satisfactory limitation. If a system of "global" tonnage limitation were applied to all navies, the result would be a disturbing uncertainty. No nation would know exactly what its neighbor is planning. Every power would be faced with an unknown quantity, ending in uncertainty and insecurity. But the spirit of compromise, as is usual in such high matters, made possible the agreement reached at London. It is a great advance to have found a method for a limitation of fighting vessels.

WHY WE SHOULD JOIN THE WORLD COURT

WHETHER or not our United States should join the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague has become apparently one of the major issues in the foreign policy of the United States. Able and leading persons are lining up, some on the one side and some on the other of this issue. As in the case of most disputes, the differences seem to lie largely in differences of definition. That this is the situation appears from even a

cursory review of the pros and cons of the case.

Those who favor the proposal that the United States Senate should ratify the protocols and establish thus our membership in the Court have their arguments seemingly well in hand. From the beginning, they rightly point out, the United States has believed in justice as the foundation for any abiding peace between states. Therefore, in cases of disputes involving principles of justice, the United States believes in the necessity for a court of last resort 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 such controversies be individuals or States of the Union. By the same token, it is argued, there should be a court of last resort for the settlement of all legal disputes between nations.

Faith in due process of law and in a Permanent Court of International Justice for the nations has been prominently urged by laymen and statesmen of America, especially since the foundation of the American Peace Society in 1828. This faith was defended with such vigor by William Ladd, founder of the American Peace Society, and his disciples, that it became known here and abroad, and has been frequently referred to since as "the American Plan." The establishment of an international court of justice was advocated by delegates from the United States to the first Hague Conference of 1899, under instructions by John Hay, Secretary of State of the United States. Again, delegates to the second Hague Conference of 1907 stood for the plan, under instructions by Elihu Root, Secretary of State of the United States. Distinguished American jurists have urged the importance of an international judi-

ary in South America, in councils of learned societies, in international conferences. In 1918-19 they so urged upon the makers of the Treaty of Versailles.

The Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, organized in 1921, and holding its first session in January, 1922, is believed to be 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, sixteen advisory opinions, and handed down a number of orders. In each case the action of the Court has been accepted as final. Why, it is asked, should the United States hold itself aloof from such a beneficent organization?

The Court avoids the necessity of sporadic efforts toward judicial settlement, furnishing continuity and promoting confidence. The organization, competence, procedure, the matter of advisory opinions, and the judicial independence of the Court, are clearly defined in 68 articles known as the Statute of the Court. All of these elements in the Court rest upon foundations laid in 1920 by a committee of jurists of which Mr. Elihu Root, assisted by Mr. James Brown Scott, was a member. The Statute of the Court, incorporated in a treaty known as the "Protocol of Signature," opened for signature December 16, 1920, is now adhered to by 54 powers.

The functions of the Court are definitely stated as twofold: First, to render decisions in disputes brought before it by nations in accord with the legal merits involved; second, to render advisory opinions to the Council or the Assembly of the League of Nations upon request.

Our legislative branch of government favors adherence to the Court. In 1925

the House of Representatives, following a report submitted by Mr. Burton of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, under date of February 24, passed by a large majority House Resolution No. 426, expressing its cordial approval of the Court and an earnest desire that the United States give early adherence to it, with the reservations recommended by President Harding and President Coolidge. In 1926 the United States Senate voted—76 to 17—to adhere to the Court, with five reservations.

These reservations proved to be focal in all the after discussions. They were considered at Geneva in September, 1926, by a conference of states members of the Court. This conference drafted a protocol of eight articles, revealing substantial difference of opinion as to the second part of the fifth reservation. The matter seemed at a standstill. Some two years later, however, Mr. Kellog, Secretary of State of the United States, opened the way for further negotiation. 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 accession of the United States. 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 as set forth in the Senate Resolution of January 27, 1926. This formula, familiarly known as the Protocol of Reservations, contains the Root formula. Authorities, including Mr. Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State of the United States, agreed that the United States can under this formula safely adhere to the Court. In the language of Mr. Hughes: "In supporting the World Court in the manner proposed, we lose nothing we could otherwise preserve; we take no

serious risks that we could otherwise avoid; we enhance rather than embarrass 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 of 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."

Friends of our adherence insist that the Court is an independent court, open to every nation, member of the League or not. The League of Nations 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 make use of the League machinery to elect and to 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 President or the Senate because they are selected by the President and the Senate.

No nation can be haled before the Court without its consent, as the jurisdiction of the Court is limited to the cases which the parties refer to it. From the action of the Court in the Eastern Karelia case, it is argued that no advisory opinion will be given on a question without the consent of the parties.

There is already a body of law for the Court. Under the Statute of the Court, the Court applies the general principles of international law, recognized by civilized

nations, international customs and conventions. Article thirty-eight of the Statute provides that the Court shall apply rules recognized by civilized nations, judicial decisions and teachings of recognized authority. A decision of the Court has no binding force except between the parties and with respect to that particular case. The Court may decide a case in accord with the principles of right and equity only if the parties agree thereto.

Since all three protocols, including the Root formula, have been passed unanimously by the Council and by the Assembly of the League, signed by practically all of the important states; and since on December 9, 1929, they were signed on behalf of the United States, it is argued that the Senate should ratify without hesitation.

WHY WE SHOULD NOT JOIN THE WORLD COURT

AND YET there is an opposition to our adherence, and that by persons also of the highest rank. Opponents to our adherence to the existing Court are not against the principle of judicial settlement of international disputes. They grant that America is founded on the self-government of peoples within the separate states, all morally accountable to one another under laws agreed to and adopted by all, voluntarily and openly. They agree that this system of maintaining peace between states should be applicable to disputes between nations. They maintain, however, that the League of Nations and this League's Court are in no sense a fulfillment of our American practice. The Covenant of the League of Nations was designed as an instrument of power rather than as an instrument of justice. The Court is the League's Court and nothing more. As one writer puts it: "The hallmarks of the

League are written more than sixty times into the very fabric of the Statute of the Court, and for this reason as long as it remains unsatisfactory to join the League it will be undesirable for this nation to be identified with or in any way held responsible for the action of this Court." If the Permanent Court of International Justice were a real court, no sovereign state could refuse to accept its jurisdiction with respect to all really justiciable cases, that is to say, cases definitely covered by laws previously and mutually agreed upon. It is the absence of such laws previously and mutually agreed upon that enable the existing Court to render arbitrary and unacceptable decisions. All modern law is developed by the agreement of those who are to be governed by it. Our modern world, especially the United States, is opposed to a rule of action devised and imposed by an authority. Neither the League of Nations nor its Court is a judicial body in any sense familiar to the United States.

Not denying the fact of the Court's achievements, it is not acceptable as an international court of justice. It is not an independent court. The fact that we are asked to "join" it, would indicate that it is more in the nature of a club than a court, for, as asked by a former ambassador of the United States: "Whoever heard of a court requiring membership?" The Court is the League's lawyer, and thus an adviser to a political organization. The Court was established by the League of Nations.

The fact that both the House of Representatives and the United States Senate favored our adherence to the Court only with "reservations" is evidence of possible serious difficulties in the Court. The fact that our original reservations were not acceptable to the other powers, is at least evidence of a need for further definition.

The Court has within it "the germ of disaster." It is the advisory organ of the League of Nations. To impose upon a court the duty of advising a political body is to subtract from the court its substance as a court. As said by one formerly intimately associated with the Court, the advisory function is "admittedly inconsistent with and potentially destructive of the judicial character with which the Court has undoubtedly been invested." The use of the Court by the League means that the League may intermeddle in controversies between sovereign states. To meet this objection the Senate reservations were drawn. The purpose of these reservations was not to impose an arbitrary limitation upon the Court but to protect the Court and the United States from degenerating into a tool of a political organization. The Root formula, according to some, is a proposal that the Senate rescind its own resolution and pass another resolution, "wordy, obscure and ambiguous," emasculating the Senate safeguard by leaving the Court free to disregard our protest.

It is not true that the function of advisory opinions is limited to matters submitted by both parties to the dispute. Because in the case known as the Eastern Karelia case the Court recognized consent as necessary, it does not follow that the Court will take the same ground in all issues hereafter. In the Eastern Karelia case, the Council of the League of Nations called upon the Court for an advisory opinion in an issue between Finland and Russia. Russia notified the Court that she would take no part in the proceedings as they were "without legal value either in substance or in form." Four of the judges voted to entertain the request to render the opinion in spite of the Russian protest. These four judges recognized as a general principle that no government has any obligation to submit a case to the tribunal

without its consent; but they were of the opinion that that principle did not apply in the case of a demand emanating from the League. The decision of the Court to refuse the request of the League in this case led the Council of the League to censure the Court for its assertion of independence. It is evident the Council believes the Court is under duty to act when directed to do so. What assurance, therefore, is there that in some future case we may not see the Court handing down an advisory opinion in an issue between sovereign states even without their consent? In the Eastern Karelia case, it was one of the parties to the dispute that objected to the advisory opinion. As held by one of America's leading lawyers, "there is nothing in the case which indicates or even suggests that the Court would have acted as it did if the protest had come from a nation not a party to the controversy." With no violence to logic, the Court, faced with a perfectly possible state of facts, may yet hold that the principle of consent is not applicable in the case of a protest by a third party. If we were to adhere, therefore, to the Court we might find ourselves faced with intrusion by the League in matters of purely political nature.

The provision of the Root formula that on the last analysis we may withdraw from the Court is of no importance, for any nation can withdraw at any time. Furthermore, if we were to join the Court, and then, for any reason, to withdraw, we would find ourselves face to face with another political situation serious as it would be embarrassing.

The law for the Court is quite inadequate. We must beware never to sacrifice our detached position, our privilege to throw our influence at any right time on any right side. We must retain our popular control of our foreign policy, and never merge our identity in a mass of political

agreements to make war in circumstances which we cannot now foresee. To join in any political United States of Europe, or in any other European political machine, would mean for us nothing but danger. We can ill afford the risk of lining up one section of our own population against another, by siding with this or that faction in distraught and troubled Europe. We must not pawn our freedom to help the cause of justice in accord with the American principle "of co-operation today—freedom of action tomorrow." We only injure ourselves by posing eternally as "world fixers" and by calling to everyone "to listen to us, we know best."

While we favor an international court with power to sit in judgment on questions of law, it must be remembered that law for Europe is confined mainly to treaties backed by force, with many of which we are not in sympathy. The European outlook springs from a political and militaristic way of thinking. The law upon which the existing Court must base most of its decisions is not a law calculated to assure justice to the United States. This is the reason why ardent friends of our adherence to the Court are quick to assure us that there is no thought of asking the United States to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court.

Among other objections to our adherence it is asked, "In case we join the Court, who shall decide whether or not a given case shall go to the Court? Shall it be the President or the Congress? Shall we expect the Senate to renounce its right to decide? Shall we expect the Executive to formulate the issue to be adjudicated? Are we willing to accept the jurisdiction of the Court without qualification? If not, why? If the executive department, alone and without control, is to formulate issues to be adjudicated, in what manner and by whom is that formulation to be de-

termined? Are we to have unspoken reservations? Are we going to find ourselves in the Court under false pretenses?"

There are other objections. An ex-Senator of the United States points out that when we speak of a court the idea presented is of a just tribunal, acting according to just laws of our own making and deciding every question according to its merits. In a recent address he undertook to show that in no single respect does the so-called World Court meet with these conditions. He argued that it does not possess a single quality of a court as we understand that term. He argued that it is an assemblage of the political governments; that these political representatives decide every question according to the political necessities or advantages of their respective countries, and that the moment the element of prejudice or interest enters the mind of a judge, he becomes a mere instrument of oppression; that the whole idea of the League making laws for the Court to apply is to agree to a world government opposed in every fundamental thing to the enduring things at the foundations of America. In graphic phrase he said: "The World Court is the vermiform appendix of the League of Nations, it is attached to it, gains its vitality from it, and like the vermiform appendix in the human anatomy will become the chief source of irritation and inflammation."

THE EDITOR SUGGESTS

IF IN this exposition we have fairly summarized the leading contentions of both parties to this dispute, it is evident that our United States is not in position to adhere to the Court with that unanimity essential to dignity and success. Fortunately there is a "court" to which this issue is to be submitted, a "court" with a determining voice, the United States Senate.

This court will soon be face to face with a grave responsibility. The Senate will take this responsibility seriously. The differences between the two parties to the dispute, as Senators well know, are due primarily to lack of information and to misinformation as to the facts. When two parties differ as to the facts, it is usually because they are employing the same words but with different interpretations of the meaning of those words. The problem facing the American people, and soon to face the United States Senate, therefore, is a problem of agreeing first upon definitions. After nearly twenty years of continuous effort in the interest of a permanent court of international justice patterned after the Supreme Court of the United States, the writer of these pages is in favor of withholding our adherence to the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague until the terms of our agreement so to do are clarified and fully understood. When we join the World Court, as we are going to do, we should do it freely, intelligently, gladly, with all sails set.

MORE MONEY FOR THE INTER-PARLIAMENTARY UNION

THE United States should increase its contribution to the Interparliamentary Union. As set forth in the House Resolution 8960, page 21, the act making appropriations for the Department of state for the ensuing year, the United States contributes annually toward the maintenance of the "Bureau of the Interparliamentary Union for the promotion of international arbitration" the sum of \$6,000. This amount, appropriated by the United States for a number of years, should be increased to at least \$10,000.

The argument is simple. Under the new scale of contributions adopted by the Council of the Interparliamentary Union

last year, the contribution of the United States would be 63,000 Swiss francs, approximately \$12,000. Pending the fuller participation of other governments under the new scale, however, and upon the unanimous recommendation of our delegates to the conferences of the commissions at Geneva, in August of last year, the committee has agreed to favor fixing the contribution of the United States for the coming year at the smaller amount of \$10,000.

The expenditures of the Interparliamentary Union are carefully budgeted; and, considering the importance of the work, they are very small. The expenditures for 1929, set beside the budget agreed to by the Council in August of last year, are set forth in the following table:

	<i>Budget</i>	<i>Paid Out</i>
	<i>August 1929</i>	<i>1929</i>
	<i>Francs</i>	<i>Francs</i>
Staff salaries	86,000	85,951.50
Rent	8,500	8,293.55
Equipment and insurance.....	2,000	1,934.95
Traveling expenses:		
Committees (ordinary)	20,000	25,468.70
Committees (extraordinary) .	15,000	
Publications	20,000	14,117.45
Library—subscriptions	1,500	1,961.65
Office expenses	9,000	7,316.40
Annual conference	15,000	13,982.55
Unforeseen expenditures	2,000	
Total	179,000	159,026.75

The receipts in 1929 were wholly from the contributions of some 32 governments, ranging from 500 francs in the cases of Austria, Dantzic and Esthonia, to over 11,000 francs from Denmark, over 40,000 francs from France, over 7,000 francs from Great Britain not including her possessions, 10,000 from Japan, 7,500 from Germany, nearly 5,000 from Sweden, and 31,080 francs from the United States.

The New Scale of Contributions

Notwithstanding the fact that the work towards the reorganization of the finances of the Interparliamentary Union was begun only in June, 1929, it is gratifying to report that eleven groups have already accepted the new scale of contributions (March 1, 1930). Nine groups have increased their contributions, without determining as yet to accept the new scale. Three groups have asked for postponement, while only one group declares that it will be impossible to adhere to the new scale. At this time eight groups have not yet replied. Out of a total of 32 groups, however, 20 have already replied in a positive manner to the appeal of the Council.

The facts are set forth in the following resumé, which gives for each of the

groups the new proposed scale, the replies to the proposal, the contributions for 1930, and the contributions for 1928. From this table, it will appear that there has been an increase of nearly 50 per cent in the annual receipts of the Union within the last two years. It is reasonable to expect that this increase will not fall back; for there have been inserted in the 1930 column only those contributions which are assured. In the cases where no reply has been received from a group, the amount of the contribution is set as for 1929. It appears from the facts that the Interparliamentary Union is not merely passing through a wave of good will, but that it is now in position to count on a permanent increase in its funds. From the replies of the various groups to the proposed new scale, the following facts appear:

Groups	New scale Francs	Reply	Contributions	
			For 1930 Francs	In 1928 Francs
America (U. S.)	63,000	Hopes to obtain \$10,000	31,000	31,000
Austria	2,400	Accepts	2,400	500
Belgium	5,400	Increase in stages	4,300	2,000
Bulgaria	1,500	No reply	1,000	1,000
Canada	10,500	Will do its best	3,000	3,000
Costa Rica	300	Accepts	300	....
Cuba	2,700	No reply	....	....
Czechoslovakia	8,700	Increase in stages	2,000	2,000
Denmark	3,600	Ordinary, 4,100; extraord., 6,900	11,000	4,100
Danzig	900	Accepts 2 units from 1929	600	500
Dominican Republic	300	No reply	1,000	1,000
Dutch East Indies	13,800	Hopes for an increase	6,200	6,200
Egypt	9,000	Accepts	9,000	5,000
Esthonia	900	Accepts	900	500
Finland	3,000	No reply	2,000	1,000
France	23,700	Accepts	23,700	6,000
Germany	23,700	Accepts	23,700	9,000
Great Britain	31,500	£500 in 1930; decision reserved for future years	12,600	10,000
Greece	2,100	No reply	1,000	1,000
Hungary	2,400	fr. 2,000 in 1930	2,000	1,000
Ireland	3,000	Asks for postponement	2,000	2,000
Italy	18,000	fr. 10,000 from 1929	10,000	5,000
Japan	18,000	No reply	10,000	10,000
Latvia	900	Accepts	900	750
Netherlands	6,900	Accepts	6,900	3,000

Norway	2,700	Accepts	2,700	2,700
Philippines	6,300	No reply	4,000	4,000
Poland	9,600	fr. 5,000 from 1930	5,000	3,000
Rumania	6,600	Asks for postponement	3,000	3,000
Sweden	5,400	Accepts	5,400	4,100
Switzerland	5,100	Increase impossible	2,000	2,000
Venezuela	1,500	No reply	2,000	2,000
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Total	293,400		191,600	126,350

The Budget of Expenditures of 1929 and 1930

After a careful examination of the finances of the Interparliamentary Union for 1930, the executive committee has considered a number of questions, such as, Should the Interparliamentary Union establish a reserve fund following a decision made by the Council as far back as 1925, by taking the sum of 20,000 francs from the credit balance of 1929? Definite action upon this has been deferred until after July, 1930, when the most important payments of the year will be made. Traveling expenses have been increased by 5,000 francs. The expenses of the annual conferences have been increased from 6,000 to 8,000 francs. While the Council had authorized the executive committee to increase the item of expenses for the staff from 90,000 to 93,000 francs, it seemed to the Committee that 90,000 would be sufficient. It is felt, however, that the staff should be increased if, according to the development program submitted by the Committee on the organization of the Union, the *Bulletin* is to be enlarged and published every month. Decisions in these matters depend on whether additional groups accept the new scale of contributions or will increase their present subscriptions to any appreciable degree. The committee will make necessary decisions on this point at its meeting next month when the Council is to convene. If the Interparliamentary Union could expect an increase of 20,000 francs on payments already assured, the committee would feel

justified in authorizing such development of the activities of the Union and increase of the staff of the bureau as from next fall.

Pending this possibility, the budget of appropriations for 1930 is as follows:

	1929	1930
	Francs	Francs
Salaries of staff	86,000	90,000
Rent	8,500	8,500
Equipment and insurance.....	2,000	1,500
Traveling expenses—		
Comités (ordinary)	20,000	30,000
Comités (extraordinary) ..	15,000	.....
Publications	20,000	20,000
Library subscriptions	1,500	2,000
Office expenses	9,000	9,000
Annual conference—		
Ordinary	6,000	8,000
Extraordinary	9,000	.....
Informal meetings—		
Interparliamentary contacts...	5,000
Unforeseen expenditure.....	2,000	3,000
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Total	179,000	177,000

In conformity with its present policy in regard to its appropriations the bureau has kept its expenditures within its necessary limits. Indeed, it should be stated that the total sum of the appropriations for 1930 only exceeds those voted for 1929, including the two extraordinary contributions, by 1,000 francs.

If a total expenditure of 180,000 francs should be authorized for 1930, the balance set for the present year would be as follows:

	Francs
Total amount of receipts	245,000
Total amount of authorized expenditure	180,000
	65,000
	65,000
Of which a first payment into a reserve fund	20,000
Floating capital	45,000
	65,000

From these facts it will appear that the finances of the Interparliamentary Union are carefully guarded, and that an appropriation of \$10,000 by the United States toward the support of the Interparliamentary Union would be fair and equitable.

MONEY FOR THE AMERICAN GROUP OF THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

THE Congress of the United States is faced with the question whether or not it should again appropriate \$10,000 for the expenses of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union. It should. Furthermore, such an appropriation should have the authority of law. Such authority is provided in House Joint Resolution 258. This authorization act, approved by the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House, should pass unanimously.

From the United States Statutes at Large, volume 45, page 976, it will be seen that the Congress approved May 29, 1928, an act authorizing an appropriation for the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in order to assist in meeting the annual expenses of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1928, there is hereby appropriated the sum of \$10,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, such appropriation to be disbursed on vouchers to be approved by the president and the executive secretary of the American Group.

From the U. S. Statutes at Large, volume 45, page 1652, it will be seen that the Congress approved March 4, 1929, an Act as follows, to wit:

American Group of the Interparliamentary Union: In order to assist in meeting the expenses of the America Group of the Interparliamentary Union during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, there is appropriated the sum of \$10,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, such appropriation to be disbursed on vouchers to be approved by the president and executive secretary of the American Group; and any unexpended balance remaining of the appropriation made for this purpose by the Act approved May 29, 1928, is hereby made available until expended.

The purpose of the present bill, H. J. Res. 258, is to give the authority of law to appropriations for the present year similar to those made by the Congress in 1928 and again in 1929.

The Interparliamentary Union began upon the initiative of English and French statesmen in 1888, as an effort to promote arbitration treaties between England, France and the United States. Its purpose today is to unite in common action the members of all states, constituted into national groups, in order to secure the co-operation of their respective states in the firm establishment and democratic development of the work of international peace and co-operation between nations. It aims to study any question of an international character suitable for settlement by parliamentary action.

The Interparliamentary Union has an honorable record. The first president of the Council was Auguste Beernaert, former Belgian prime minister. Upon his death, Lord Weardale of Great Britain became president. He was succeeded in 1929 by Baron Theodor Adelsward, who was president of the Swedish Group. Its president is now M. Fernand Bouisson, president of the French Chamber of Deputies. M. Albert Gobart, Swiss national councillor, recipient of the Nobel peace prize in 1902,

was director of the bureau until 1909. Since that time the permanent secretary-general has been Dr. Christian L. Lange, of Norway, also honored with the Nobel peace prize.

The American Group of the Interparliamentary Union has existed continuously since 1904, the year the twelfth international conference of the Interparliamentary Union was held, upon the invitation of the United States Government, in our own city of St. Louis. The twenty-third conference of the Interparliamentary Union was held in 1925, again upon the invitation of the United States, in the city of Washington, with 41 parliaments represented, the largest number in the history of the Union. Conferences of the Interparliamentary Union have been held as follows: Paris, 1889; London, 1890; Rome, 1891; Berne, 1892; Hague, 1894; Brussels, 1895; Budapest, 1896; Brussels, 1897; Christiania, 1899; Paris, 1900; Vienna, 1903; St. Louis, 1904; Brussels, 1905; London, 1906; Berlin, 1908; Brussels, 1910; Geneva, 1912; Hague, 1913; Stockholm, 1921; Vienna, 1922; Copenhagen, 1923; Berne and Geneva, 1924; Washington, 1925; Paris, 1927; Berlin, 1928. The twenty-sixth conference is called to meet in London, July 16-22, 1930.

Members of the Congress of the United States attended the conferences of the Interparliamentary Union before the organization of the American Group, at the first conference in Paris in 1889; at Brussels, 1897; Christiania, 1899; Paris, 1900; Vienna, 1903. There have been delegates of the American Group at each of the conferences since the group was organized.

Subject to the decision of the entertaining group, every member of the American Group has a right to attend an international conference of the Interparliamentary Union and to take part in the debates. Under a carefully devised system of allocation, the American Group is now entitled

to 25 votes, five as a minimum allowed to each group, 19 because of the population of the United States, and one because 50 per cent of the members of the House are members of the group. If 25 delegates of the group were appointed to attend a conference, the sum of \$10,000 would be quite inadequate to pay the expenses of transportation, not to mention the \$7 per day allowance for subsistence provided by Government regulations.

The sums expended under the appropriation of last year for the expenses of our delegates to the meetings of the commissions of the Interparliamentary Union at Geneva in August, 1929, as set forth by the chief of the Bureau of Accounts of the Department of State, through whom the disbursements were made, are as follows: Secretarial expenses, traveling, subsistence and telegrams, \$1,021.60; expenses of delegates, \$747.23, \$634.32, \$716.82, \$646.37, \$801, \$806.42, \$613.80, \$792.62, \$740.41, \$772.38, \$649.02, \$599.38, \$755.18; total, \$10,296.55. Aside from the secretarial expenses, it will be noted that only thirteen delegates are included in this expense.

The American Group has expenses not included in the travel of delegates. There are items of stationery, postage, cablegrams, printing, expressage, and the like, items common to every organization.

In the light of these facts, \$10,000 is an appropriation not unreasonably large for the expenses of the delegates from our Congress and for the other necessary expenses of the group.

THE twenty-sixth conference of the Interparliamentary Union will meet in the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords, London, from the 16th to the 22nd of July, inclusive. The Union will be the guest of the British Group. This will be the first time that the conference has been held in London since 1906. The British parliamentarians assure the parliaments of

the world that they are looking forward with great pleasure to receiving their representatives. It is said that the Irish Free State Group of the Interparliamentary Union is taking advantage of the fact that the conference is being held in London to invite delegates to visit the Irish Free State after the conclusion of the conference. His Majesty's Government join with the British Group in extending the invitation to visit London.

THE conference on international law at The Hague convened March 13, and ended its work some four weeks later. The United States delegates were Messrs. Miller, Hackworth and Flournoy, and Mrs. Shipley of the State Department and Mr. Risley of the Labor Department. Some forty nations participated in the conference. Since no treaty or convention developed because of the conference, some have seen fit to call it a failure. Needless to say, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* has no sympathy with that view. It is upon such conferences that we must rely for the development of law for the nations, and without law the processes of justice are impotent.

THE Academy of International Law at The Hague is entering upon its eighth year. Instruction will begin on Monday, July 7, and end on August 30. As heretofore the period is divided into two terms of equal length, each term being a unit in itself. Ten subjects are down for the first term, July 7 to August 2; and ten others for the second term, August 4 to 30. Subjects range from the historical development of international law and international organization to continental and regional problems. The 26 specialists will deliver 148 lectures. The instruction, given in French, is for any who already possess

some knowledge of international law and are desirous of increasing their familiarity with this science. Ten scholarships of 400 florins each have been provided by the Government of The Netherlands. The *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* recommends this work without qualification.

OUR social temper was greatly lowered, not by the war but by the failure after that holocaust to carry on. The war was waged with democracy, brotherhood, social justice on our lips and in our souls. Our inability later to realize these on a higher plane ended in a spiritual collapse and a religious skepticism that turned for satisfaction to mirthless jazz. And yet, as pointed out by Horton in his "Theism and the Modern Mood," there remains a "wistful quest for religious certitude." So in the peace movement there are men and women anxious to avoid the merely amiable, the vague and uncertain, concerned to do something consonant with historical perspective, something based upon a knowledge of fact in our own time. There is nothing easier than to be uninformed or even misinformed upon the most commonplace of matters, not to mention the movement concerned with the future of nations. At a time when there are such numberless things of keenest interest to the millions, the peace movement will not be left out.

DIGNIFIED, respectable, cultured, yes; but dynamic also. That the peace movement must be. Strength as well as duty must sustain the sanctuary. Courage, confidence, even defiance; but as far as possible there must be an elimination of rant and cant. Kindly, of course; but kindling as well. As in Whittier's line—
"Blow, bugles of battle, the marches of peace."



The New York Times

THE THREE MUSKETEERS

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

THE LONDON CONFERENCE ON LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS

THE London Conference on the Limitation of Armaments met for its first session in St. James Palace, London, January, 21, 1930. As a result of its labors, the London Treaty for the Limitation of Naval Armaments was signed at

a final plenary session of the delegates from the five nations on Tuesday, April 22. This marked the end of fourteen weeks of deliberation in an effort, as set forth in the preamble of the treaty, to remove the dangers of war that result or may result from the increasing construction of naval craft. President Hoover announced on April 22 that the

treaty will be sent to the Senate for ratification immediately upon receipt in Washington of the official document.

As will be seen from the treaty, printed elsewhere in these columns, three of the powers, the United States, Great Britain and Japan, are concerned with the entire pact; the other two, France and Italy, have bound themselves by parts of it.

Amendments to the Washington Treaty of 1922 are set forth in the new limitation accord. France and Italy, however, may lay down replacements to which they are entitled under the Washington agreement.

Submarine limitations, including the restriction that no submarine may attack a merchant ship without first providing safety for ship's crew, passengers and ship's papers, unless the merchantmen refuse to stop on summons, require that none of the nations may build undersea boats larger than 2,800 tons displacement and mounting 6.1-inch guns. There may be only three of these. No other submarine must exceed 2,000 tons with 5.1-inch guns, according to the provisions. The treaty in full text appears on page 128.

Key Note

The American delegation consisted of seven members as follows: Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State of the United States; Charles Francis Adams, Secretary of the Navy; Charles G. Dawes, United States Ambassador to England; Hugh Gibson, United States Ambassador to Belgium; Dwight Morrow, United States Ambassador to Mexico; Senator David A. Reed of Pennsylvania, and Senator Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas. There were also the following advisors: Admiral William V. Pratt, Rear Admiral Hilliary P. Jones, Arthur Wilson Page, Theodore Marriner, Chief of the Western European Division, and Mr. George Rublee. The secretary of the delegation was Mr. F. Lamot Belin, First Secretary of Embassy at London.

Right Honorable Ramsay MacDonald, Prime Minister of Great Britain, was chosen to preside over the Conference.

The keynote of the Conference was struck by His Majesty, King George V, in an address which he delivered before the first session. His Majesty said:

Since the Great War all peoples are determined that human statecraft shall leave nothing undone to prevent repetition of that grim and immense tragedy. In the interests of peace which we are seeking to build up one of its most important columns is agreement between the maritime nations on the limitation of naval strength and reduction to a point consistent with national security.

The practical application of the principle of the reduction of naval armaments has in the past proved a matter of extreme difficulty. Great success was achieved in conclusion of the Washington Treaty of 1922 imposing certain limitations on the construction of capital ships and aircraft carriers. But hitherto all efforts to advance beyond that point have failed.

I believe that you to whom your governments have entrusted the high mission of continuing the task begun at Washington are animated with single-minded intentions of working not with any selfish and exclusively nationalistic purpose but with noble inspiration and the resolve to remove once for all this particular obstacle from the path of ordered and civilized progress.

Others addressing the same Conference—Mr. Stimson; Honorable J. L. Ralston, Minister of National Defense of the Dominion of Canada; M. Tardieu, Prime Minister of France; M. Wakatsuki, former Prime Minister of Japan; Signor Dino Grandi, Foreign Minister of Italy; and representatives of Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the Irish Free State and India—all expressed themselves to the same effect. Mr. Stimson was careful to point out in this first session that the American delegation did not look upon the Conference as in any sense final, and to remind the others that naval limitation is a continuous process. But he went on to say:

We are ready to stay here until the problems are solved, until the opportunities are grasped, and until we can give to the world an agreement that will carry us happily on to the time when we meet again in the same spirit to look over the situation anew.

American Opinion

On February 19, Senator Robinson, speaking at the luncheon of Association of

American Correspondents, gave his interpretation of public opinion in the United States as affecting the Conference. Senator Robinson said:

First. The American people in mass realize that permanent peace is inseparable from confidence in security. They believe that the fair limitation of all classes of armament by treaty will of itself add to and stir up national security and promote good will upon which lasting peace must rest. There is one principle almost universally adhered to, namely, competition in armament is calculated to arouse fear and may lead to war, hence the primary purpose for which the London Conference was convened is heartily supported. We are expected to agree on programs for the limitation of all fighting ships.

Second. They not only believe that the prevention of competition should be extended to all forms of combat vessels but that when just and well considered limitation has been assured it will prove helpful in arranging for reductions which would be impossible unless all categories are limited.

Third. Our people anticipate the extension of the arrangement in the Washington Treaty for capital ships so as to establish the same relation, substantially, between the United States, Great Britain and Japan in cruisers, destroyers and submarines as now exists with regard to capital ships.

"Parity" or equality in naval armament as between Great Britain and the United States is accepted as logical for the avoidance of possible competition between the two powers.

Fourth. They believe that when the limitation of cruisers, destroyers and submarines is in plain sight further reductions in battleships below the Washington Treaty plan will be logical and desirable.

Fifth. Our people realize that war cannot be made a pleasant pastime, but they would like to see inventive genius diverted from efforts to produce more deadly weapons through agreements to refrain from the use of such agencies and instruments as neither courage nor skill can effectively resist. They have comprehended the inhuman character of the submarine's attack against merchant ships without regard to safety of crews and passengers; and quite generally condemn bombardments from the air directed against unfortified cities and noncombatants. Americans and other peoples are becoming conscious of the amazing absurdity of exhausting

scientific efforts to invent more deadly and destructive weapons of war, while at the same time seeking in every possible way to repair the injuries and mitigate the sufferings of the victims of studied cruelty and inhumanity.

Sixth. American public opinion strongly supports a policy of reducing naval armament and they will be slow to accept any arrangement which does not have this end in view. They will realize, however, that by the limitation now of the categories left unregulated in the Washington Treaty and by further reduction of capital ships below the number in that treaty we may point the way to further conferences when it has been demonstrated that security is more likely to be found in reduced rather than in unlimited programs for naval armament.

Seventh. My understanding is that the people of the United States quite generally adhere to the traditional policy of our Government to avoid if possible involvement in European politics. They would repudiate emphatically any treaty expressly or impliedly obligating our Government to employ the Army or the Navy for the enforcement of obligations assumed by other nations. It is for this reason that they do not encourage their delegates to this Conference to join in guaranties of security respecting areas remote from territory or possessions of the United States. Americans realize that no power will deliberately violate its undertaking for the limitation or reduction of armaments. They believe that no sanction is necessary to assure the good-faith performance of any treaty for that purpose. This attitude does not imply indifference or lack of sympathy for the problems of others. It is grounded on the American conception of sound policy and constitutional limitations.

We are at peace with all mankind and confidently expect this condition indefinitely to continue. There exists no secret motive on our part against any people. We intend to keep faith both in letter and spirit with the pledge not to resort to war as an instrument of national policy and to seek the settlement of any dispute that may arise by only peaceful means. We cannot understand the consistency in wars to enforce the peace. We believe that the dignity, independence and security of nations, certainly of our own, lies along the pathway of co-operation, mutual understanding and the employment of good offices. These are calculated to preserve peace without undue impairment of sovereignty.

The conferees at London were conscious

of the popular interest in their work. They realized that their labors were a part of a comparatively new effort. At the first Hague Conference in 1899 the subject of the limitation of arms received scant attention, while at the second Hague Conference in 1907 the subject of armaments received no place in the program. Naval competition went on unchecked until the outbreak of the World War. Following the great war another and more serious competitive naval building race began, including this time the United States. It was in the face of this situation that the Washington Conference of 1922 was called by President Harding. The London Conference was called primarily for the purpose of carrying on the work begun by Mr. Hughes at Washington.

Defense of the London Conference by Mr. Stimson

Since perhaps the best defense of the London Conference was set forth by Mr. Stimson, broadcasting from London, April 13, pertinent extracts from his remarks follow. Beginning with Mr. Hughes' historical proposals at the Washington Conference, Mr. Stimson went on to say:

They were historic because they changed the moral standards of the world. Before those proposals were made human experience seemed to indicate that naval competition was inevitable. Since that day the conscience of the world has insisted that naval limitation by mutual agreement shall take the place of competition. The Washington Conference achieved enough to prove that what the conscience of the world demanded was a practical possibility. . . .

But though the success of that Conference was great it was not complete. Only two kinds of warships were limited; cruisers, destroyers and submarines were not; and after the Conference adjourned competitive building began in those types—competition which bade fair to become dangerous. The Preparatory Commission of the League of Nations tried again and again to agree upon methods of limitation but failed. In 1927 President Coolidge called the three-power Conference at Geneva, but that Conference failed to reach an agreement. Yet the work of these meetings was not entirely lost, for each one gave tangible evidence that the world believed in the principle of limitation and agreement. But each

failure showed the extraordinary difficulty of reaching an international agreement upon that most vital concern of every sovereign state—national defense. And the aftermath of each failure made it more and more evident that an agreement was necessary to the good relations and stability of the naval world. International suspicion, irritation and ill-will, the ugly children of naval competition, began to show their heads again. At the very time when the world needed all its resources to recover financially and economically from the exhaustion of the great war the navies of the world were beginning to build up an expensive and dangerous rivalry. It was time to try again to halt this process. The other naval powers suggested that Great Britain and the United States should see if they could get close enough together in their figures to give assurance that the failure of Geneva would not be repeated. Long negotiations took place last summer culminating in the visit of Prime Minister MacDonald to the United States. Then followed this naval Conference.

Peace Purpose Achieved

The problem which faced the American delegation here was difficult and complicated. Since the Washington Treaty the United States has laid down no battleships, no aircraft carriers and no destroyers—and only three submarines. Impelled by the cruiser construction of the other nations our Congress had instituted a cruiser program but only two ships of that program were in the water. Our Navy was ill-balanced. The end of the battleship holiday instituted by the Washington Treaty was approaching and most of our other ships were becoming old and approaching their normal time for replacement. The question was, should the United States replace the bulk of its Navy on a competitive basis or upon a basis of limitation reached by mutual agreement with the other naval nations of the world? Would the other countries whose navies were in better condition than ours agree to such limitation without taking advantage of their better bargaining position? It is to the credit of the faith in the principle of limitation held by Great Britain and Japan that they made no such effort.

Our principal objective when we came here was to extend the principle of limitation by agreement so that it should cover all the elements of the fleet and thus complete what had been left undone at Washington, at the League and at Geneva. So far as the fleets of Great Britain,

Japan and the United States are concerned, that purpose has been achieved. There can now be no competition between us. The relation of the fleets is fixed.

Furthermore, the habit of mutual agreement has received one more successful precedent. The principle of limitation is strengthened by its successful practice. At the first meeting of the Conference in January, I made this statement: "Naval limitation is a continuous process. We regard disarmament as a goal to be reached by successive steps, by frequent revision and improvement. Human affairs are not static, but are moving and we believe improving. . . . For that reason we feel that the sound and obvious course is to reach such agreements as may be possible now, with the knowledge that they are open to revision at appropriate periods." By our present agreement the favorable attitude of the world is made stronger than ever. The benefit of this momentum will not be limited to the three powers who have actually reached a basis of mutual agreement but will extend also to the efforts of our friends, the French and the Italians, to achieve that goal in the future. Limitation to be effective must be made willingly and with confidence. We have every hope that France and Italy will eventually join in a limitation of their fleets similar to that which we have attained, but that is a result which to be effective must come only when each country fully realizes the advantages which will follow.

As I have thus pointed out, the main purpose for which this Conference was called was to stop the dangers of competition in armaments and to establish the mutual confidence and good will which come with agreement. It is this purpose which connects the Conference with the great movement for world peace. Reduction in expenditures, important as it is to each individual nation, is merely a by-product of the other and primary purpose. Moreover, reduction is a benefit which will be increasingly realized as the nations of the world progress in the security obtained by agreement. It is only as mutual confidence develops with increasing experience that nations reduce more and more drastically their military protection. Thus experience under the Washington Treaty in regard to battleships has been such that the nations are eager now to reduce the battleship fleets more rapidly than was thought possible in 1922.

Savings

Nevertheless, it is proper for me point out the great reductions and economies which our agreement will accomplish.

The first great economy which we shall achieve is not a reduction but a holiday or postponement of construction of ships. Under the schedules of the Washington Treaty the United States was to lay down ten new battleships and to complete five of them during the next six years. Under our present arrangement none of these vessels will be laid down. This means that approximately \$300,000,000 which would otherwise have been spent during the next six years will not be spent. Furthermore, this holiday will, we believe, pave the way for further economies in battleship construction. There is a strong movement under way for a reduction either in the number or the size of our existing battleships. But there is a difference of opinion among the nations concerned as to which of these methods will furnish the best avenue for such reduction. This holiday gives an opportunity to settle this question and to decide upon the method for this further economy.

In estimating the actual reduction which will result from the present Conference you have doubtless read many varying sets of figures. These differences have occurred because of the different methods employed by the writers. Some have counted overage ships which happen still to be in commission; while others did not. Some others have counted ships authorized though not yet built; while others did not. And there have been many other variations. I will, however, give you two comparisons on battleships, cruisers, destroyers and submarines which I think will present the fairest picture of the reductions we have accomplished.

The first is to compare the limitations which we have fixed with the lowest limitations which were entertained at the unsuccessful conference in Geneva in 1927. In 1927 the lowest tonnage figures which Great Britain would discuss for cruisers, destroyers and submarines taken together were 590,000 tons. In addition to this, she insisted upon retaining until 1936 25 per cent of overage tonnage. As against this her tonnage in these types of ships under our present agreement will be 541,700 tons; a reduction of 48,300 tons. Japan has agreed to a reduction of 17,950 tons. In addition to this reduction, Great Britain has agreed to scrap immediately 133,900 tons of her

battleship fleet. We are to scrap immediately 69,900 tons of our battleship fleet and Japan 26,330 tons. If you add the total difference for the three fleets of these three nations between the Geneva proposals and our present agreement there is an aggregate reduction of 345,000 tons. And this is without counting the 25 per cent overage ships which were to be retained under the Geneva proposal.

The other comparison which I suggest is between the three fleets as they stand today, including ships built and building and appropriated for, and the same three fleets as they will stand in 1936 under our agreement. Taking these three fleets together there will be nine battleships scrapped and not replaced. Their combined tonnage is 230,130 tons. Their numbers are the same as the number of Japan's total fleet of battleships under the treaty.

Next there will be a reduction of 205,000 tons in the destroyers of the three powers. That amounts to nearly 40 per cent more destroyer tonnage than will remain in any of the three fleets in 1936.

There will be a reduction of 68,000 tons in submarines, and that is nearly 16,000 tons more than will be allowed to any of the three countries in 1936.

In American cruisers there will be an actual increase under the new agreement. But this is due solely to the fact that we have been idle in cruiser building for nearly ten years and now find ourselves with less than a quarter of the normal proportion of cruisers which we should have in respect to the rest of our fleet. Therefore, in order to create a smaller but better-balanced fleet than we now have and to achieve parity with Great Britain it is necessary for us to increase our cruiser tonnage. This increase is comparatively small because the British have agreed to reduce their tonnage by twenty cruisers in order to meet us, and for that same purpose the Japanese have agreed not to increase the number of their cruisers. As a result the total net reductions in the three fleets built, building and appropriated for is in the neighborhood of 460,000 tons. That reduction alone is greater than the total present Italian fleet.

Thus far, I have been speaking only of fighting ships. There are also, as you doubtless know, many service ships in the navy which are not classed as combatant but in discussing economy these ships very properly enter into the picture. In the three fleets of Great Britain, Japan and

the United States there are 220,000 tons of these ships which under our present agreement will not be replaced after they are retired for age. This means ultimately a reduction of 220,000 tons and a corresponding reduction in expenses.

In our present agreement we have reached the lowest level of limitation that I have ever heard seriously discussed before. We have reached a lower level than any of us on any delegation felt confident could be attained when we came here.

Power of Friendliness

Furthermore, this Conference has achieved certain great moral advantages. The experience of our negotiations has made it clear that naval rivalry between the United States and Great Britain is definitely at an end. No negotiations could have been more frank and cordial and satisfactory than those we have had with the British delegation. The same applies to our relations with the Japanese delegation. They have shown a readiness to join in the great aims of the Conference which is beyond praise. The very great improvement in the friendly relations between the United States and Japan which followed the Washington Conference will certainly be intensified and continued by this Conference. As our naval problems do not reach those of France and Italy we have not directly participated in the negotiations of those countries but our contacts with their delegations have been uniformly friendly and we believe that we have contributed to the present spirit of good will which makes it now seem probable that they will ultimately agree among themselves and add the limitation of their fleets to our present treaty.

And now a word about our own delegation. It has consisted of seven delegates who have worked together as a harmonious group. Every decision of importance has been discussed by every member before it was taken and every such decision has been unanimous. In technical matters we have had the advice and assistance of Admiral Pratt, the Commander-in-Chief of the United States fleet, and his very effective assistants, and until his departure a few weeks ago on account of illness we had the able help of Admiral Jones. In addition to this, we have had the advantage of the wisdom and advice of the loyal and capable staff of the Department of State and the American Embassy in London.

We believe we have successfully accomplished the mission with which we have been entrusted by our country.

Senator Reed's Summary

In a radio address from London, April 22, Senator Reed summarized the achievements of the Conference as follows:

What, then, has been accomplished? To begin with, we have all agreed to keep our present battleships, which are perfectly seaworthy and effective, and to take a holiday in new battleship construction to January 1, 1937. In that one stroke we have saved an outlay by the United States of about \$400,000,000. When we think of the number of miles of improved roads, or the number of bridges, or the number of public buildings, that can be had for that sum of money, I for one am convinced that civilization is the gainer by this agreement. Then in cruisers, although our present fleets are pitifully small compared with the cruiser fleets of Great Britain and Japan, our building power has been recognized and Great Britain has readily agreed to parity, and Japan has agreed to a satisfactory relationship between the fleets, with the result that while we build at moderate speed during these seven years the British and Japanese fleets are either reduced or will remain at about today's level, to the great relief of the taxpayers of all three countries.

The same is true of destroyers. We will scrap a considerable number of our wartime vessels, Great Britain scraps some and Japan scraps some, and the resultant fleets, which will be large enough for each of us and for all the normal police work that such vessels are called upon to conduct, will nevertheless represent parity with Great Britain and a satisfactory relationship with Japan. In submarines our problem has been different, because while we are encouraged by the agreement of the five powers to use the submarines in a humane way, nevertheless the temptation to sink merchant ships without warning is very great, and we felt that the world would be better insured against such a murderous submarine campaign as occurred in the last war if the submarine as an instrument of warfare were altogether abolished.

Some of the other nations were not ready to go so far, however, and the best we could do was to agree to a parity in such vessels at a low figure between Great Britain and Japan and ourselves, a figure that requires the destruction of a considerable number of these vessels in the British, the Japanese and the American fleets

and to that extent removes the menace to innocent life that results from the very existence of these rattlesnakes of the sea. So there is substance in our agreement. I have not undertaken to burden you with a lot of statistics on tonnages, but have tried to give you in fair outline the substance of the treaty that has been made.

The benefits to all concerned are very obvious. Please bear in mind that none of us considers that we have won a diplomatic victory. The treaty represents a victory for no one nation, but rather an honorable and reasonable arrangement which is fair to everyone. A great deal of rubbish has been talked about international relations and the friendliness of one nation for another, but I think it is not rubbish to claim that the accomplishment of this treaty means much for the preservation of friendly and peaceful relationships between these three great naval powers. Take Great Britain, for example. In the future she will know and we will know that in naval strength we stand upon an equality, that neither of us is likely to be surprised by a sudden outbreak of building on the part of the other. We go on about our affairs respecting one another, understanding one another better and without the apprehension that sometimes has characterized our thought of one another's naval power.

Then, on the other hand, take Japan. We know that her intentions toward us are friendly, for otherwise she would never agree to stand still in cruiser building, while we go on and build a cruiser fleet that is stronger than hers. And Japan must know, and I am sure that she does know, that our intentions toward her are friendly in the extreme, or we would not willingly scrap a great number of our destroyers and cheerfully consent to a parity with her in submarines. Japan and America have today given tangible evidences of friendliness which far exceed in value all of the oratory that was ever uttered. We have not merely said that we desire friendly relations between the two countries, but we both have proved it in a way so substantial that no skeptic can doubt it.

All in all, today has been a red-letter day in the cause of world peace. The members of the American delegation are starting home with the firm conviction that their countrymen will approve what has been done in America's name at the London Naval Conference.

TARDIEU'S SECOND CABINET

DURING the months of February and March, France passed through two cabinet crises. On February 17, the Tardieu Government, which had been in power for three and one-half months, was overthrown. Four days later, its place was taken by a cabinet of the Left, headed by M. Chautemps, President of the Socialist-Radical group in the Chamber. The Chautemps Government was overthrown on its first appearance before the Chamber, and on March 2, M. Tardieu returned to power as Prime Minister, at the head of a somewhat different cabinet from that which had gone down to defeat two weeks before.

DEFEAT OF THE FIRST TARDIEU CABINET

The defeat of the first Tardieu Cabinet had been foreshadowed by the growing disagreement between the Finance Committee of the Chamber and the Minister of Finance, M. Chéron, over the question of fiscal policy. The committee introduced a number of important amendments into the Minister's budget as submitted to it, and on most of these amendments, M. Chéron assumed a thoroughly intractable position. On the day on which the government was overthrown, the committee, under the influence of the opposition, introduced an amendment reducing the tax on unoccupied building sites. M. Chéron not only demanded the withdrawal of the amendment, but made the withdrawal a question of confidence. He carried the point, but only with a majority of 20 votes, whereas previously the government majority had been about 60. In spite of this warning, M. Chéron again raised the question of confidence when the next amendment came up several hours later. This time, the vote went against the government by a majority of one.

It was plain that the actual amendment on which the government was defeated was merely a screen for larger political issues. For some time previously, the opposition had been growing more and more impatient with the financial policy of the government as interpreted by the Minister of Finance, who insisted on a rapid amortization of the debt at the expense of the taxpayer,

and on a refusal to reduce the indirect taxes, while maintaining large treasury cash balances. In this M. Chéron was following the original precepts laid down by M. Poincaré in 1926, but at the expense of the government's popularity in the country. Even M. Poincaré then admitted that his severe taxation program was an urgent but temporary necessity and he held out the promise that it would be revised.

M. Tardieu had been holding the Chamber on a tight rein ever since he had assumed office. More than once the Chamber showed itself restive under the frequent crack of the whip, even when wielded by the Prime Minister himself. M. Chéron, his lieutenant, wielded it once too often. Prime Minister Tardieu was ill in bed when his government went down to defeat.

THE CHAUTEMPS CABINET AND ITS DEFEAT

The task of forming a new cabinet was entrusted by President Doumergue to the principal leader of the Opposition, M. Chautemps. The new cabinet was made up as follows:

M. Chautemps, Prime Minister and Interior.
 M. Steeg, Justice and Vice-President of the Council.
 M. Briand, Foreign Affairs.
 M. Charles Dumont, Finance.
 M. Palmade, Budget.
 M. René Besnard, War.
 M. Albert Sarraut, Marine.
 M. Daladier, Public Works.
 M. Jean Durand, Public Instruction.
 M. Georges Bonnet, Commerce.
 M. Queuille, Agriculture.
 M. Loucheur, Labor.
 M. Lamoreux, Colonies.
 M. Laurent-Eynac, Air.
 M. Julien Durand, Posts and Telegraphs.
 M. Gallet, Pensions.
 M. Danielou, Mercantile Marine.

The following appointments to Under-Secretaryships of State were made: Prime Minister's Office, M. Berthod; Interior, M. Paul Marchandau; Public Works, M. Charlot; Fine Arts, M. Léo Bouysson; Colonies, M. Archimbaud; Physical Education, M. Henry Paté; Technical Instruction, M. Chabrun; Agriculture, M. de Chappedelaine; War, M. Charles Lambert; Marine, M. Bellanger, Hygiene, M. Mario Roustan.

The Chautemps Cabinet clearly did not have behind it a necessary majority, and

the current political joke in Paris was that it would not last long enough for its members to go from the Elysée Palace to the Chamber of Deputies. Coming to power on February 21, it was defeated on February 25, on the very first vote of confidence.

COMPOSITION OF THE SECOND TARDIEU CABINET

The second Tardieu Cabinet was formed after consultations lasting a whole week. This period was taken up by efforts on the part of M. Tardieu—to whom the task of forming a government was entrusted by the President after M. Poincaré had refused the offer made to him to head the government—to consolidate a grouping that would give him a more or less reliable majority. As finally made up, the second Tardieu Cabinet is as follows:

- M. Tardieu, Prime Minister and Interior.
- M. Raoul Péret, Justice and Vice-President of the Council.
- M. Briand, Foreign Affairs.
- M. Paul Reynaud, Finance.
- M. Germain-Martin, Budget.
- M. Maginot, War.
- M. J. L. Dumesnil, Marine.
- M. Pernot, Public Works.
- M. Flandin, Commerce.
- M. Fernand David, Agriculture.
- M. Pierre Laval, Labor (with Alsace-Lorraine).
- M. Rollin, Mercantile Marine.
- M. Mallarme, Posts and Telegraphs.
- M. Piétri, Colonies.
- M. Laurent-Eynac, Air.
- M. Marraud, Public Instruction.
- M. Champetier de Ribes, Pensions.
- M. Desiré Ferry, Public Health.

The following were appointed Under-Secretaries of State: M. Marcel Héraud, Prime Minister's Office; M. François Poncet, National Economy; M. Manaut, Interior; M. Alcide Delmont, Colonies; M. Lillaz, Technical Education; M. Morinaud, Physical Education; M. Falcoz, Public Works; M. Sérot, Agriculture; M. Ricolfi, War; M. Rio, Marine; M. Lautier, Fine Arts; M. Petsche, Finance; M. Baréty, Budget; M. Oberkirch, Commerce; M. Cathala, Labor; M. Gaston Gérard, High Commissioner for the Tourist Industry.

The new government thus contains 18 ministers and 16 under-secretaries of state. Four ministers and one under-secretary are Senators, the rest Deputies. Two Deputies and three Senators belong to the Socialist-Radical party, and have joined M. Tardieu

against the decision of their party not to participate in the new government. Two Deputies, M. Cathala and M. Morinaud, both under-secretaries of state, belong to the Social and Radical Left, the party of M. Franklin-Bouillon. M. Franklin-Bouillon, who was offered a portfolio, declined on the ground that he preferred to retain the leadership of his group, but agreed to support M. Tardieu in the Chamber. His party held the key position in the previous crisis, and was solidly against M. Tardieu in the vote which brought his last government down. Its adhesion to the new cabinet is therefore an event of some importance. Among the members of the last Tardieu Administration who have not been included are M. Chéron (Finance), M. Leygues (Marine), M. Lucien Hubert (Justice), M. Hennessy (Agriculture), and M. Loucheur (Labor)—the last-mentioned, no doubt, as punishment for having joined the Chautemps Government. One new ministry and several new under-secretaryships have had to be created to make room for the necessary party representation in the new government.

PROGRAM OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT

In presenting his new cabinet to the Chamber, M. Tardieu read a declaration of policy, in which he said that the government would remain faithful to the general principles of its former declaration, accepted in November last by a large majority of the same Chamber. Such alterations as this had undergone were due to the march of events. He had hoped to present it as the program of a cabinet resulting from a political truce, but at least it reflected the needs of the situation. The first task would be to pass the budget and send it up to the Senate. Simultaneously they would continue and conclude the international negotiations for the reduction of naval armaments, for enforcing the Young Plan and the tariff truce, for the arbitration agreements, and for the optional clause. Immediately afterwards they would get to work upon financial and fiscal reform, adopt the social insurance scheme as amended by the Senate, and pass the Amnesty Bill, extended to the limits of public security. A further measure of free

education and the proposed colonial loans would be among the earliest matters put to the vote.

The unity and continuity of French foreign policy did not need to be reaffirmed, the urgency of the budget was not in dispute, and the government's obligations to Labor with regard to social insurance were common knowledge. He desired, however, to go into greater detail as to financial policy, which lay at the root of the recent crises. The government was determined to maintain the budget equilibrium and continue the amortization of the debt, a policy which in four years had served France. At the present time, when a world crisis of overproduction and low prices for raw materials were exercising their inevitable influence upon the economic life of the country, it was also determined to stimulate the national energy by all appropriate means.

In passing the budget the government would take the recommendations of the Finance Committee as the basis of discussion, and would adopt the pensions for ex-service men and the increase of salaries, subject to the budget balance being maintained. At the same time it would proceed with the scheme for the renewal of the economic equipment of the country, and would introduce without delay a measure for the relief of the taxpayer, not piecemeal, but on a really large scale. Thereafter a bill would be introduced for the better organization of the taxation system. It had been evolved haphazard, and was full of inequalities. To do this it would be necessary during the period of transition to make use of the large available Treasury reserves, which could be devoted to non-recurrent expenditure, without prejudice to the regular sinking fund operations in respect of the debt.

M. Tardieu foreshadowed measures for the assistance of agriculture during the present crisis, and promised further help and relief to the wine grower. In conclusion he declared that the only obstacle to the realization of these proposals lay not in the nature and substance of the questions themselves, but in the parliamentary situation and the relations between the groups. It was as well that the country should know this. He had hoped that, since there

was no disagreement as to the end, there need be none as to the means, and for this reason he had attempted a political truce for the period necessary to the solution of urgent problems. Since it had not been accepted, the government must approach the task in a spirit of republican union. It was his hope that the parties which supported the government, whatever differences might separate them at the outset, would be brought nearer to one another by association in the task confided to them by the country.

Immediately after the reading of the declaration, a resolution of confidence was introduced. It was accepted by a majority of 53 votes, which gives Mr. Tardieu a sufficiently secure margin for the time being.

RATIFICATION OF THE YOUNG PLAN

One of the first definite acts of the second Tardieu Cabinet was to proceed with the ratification of The Hague agreements instituting the Young Plan. The agreements were ratified by the Chamber on March 30 by 527 votes against 38. This result was achieved only after a long struggle. M. Tardieu had appealed for a unanimous vote, but a number of Deputies declined to support the measure on the ground that it made no real provision for the event of a possible default on the part of Germany. M. Tardieu indicated that this possibility had been discussed at The Hague, as between the French and the German delegations, with a frankness that left little to the imagination. At these deliberations M. Tardieu had informed the German Foreign Minister, Herr Curtius, that France was fully prepared to trust him and Germans of his own stamp, such as Herr Moldenhauer or Dr. Wirth, but that it was necessary to envisage the possibility that they might some day be confronted by a government under Herr Hugenberg, Herr Hitler or the Communists, any of whom might tear up the Young Plan and refuse to carry out its terms. M. Tardieu went on to explain to the Chamber that the French delegation at The Hague had discussed with the Germans themselves the best means of providing against this contingency. The normal procedure was that,

in the event of Germany's default, France should appeal to the international court at The Hague, and then to the League of Nations, under Article 13 of the Covenant (which provides for arbitration by the Council of the League in the event of a dispute). But in case the decision of the court and the Council should be ignored by the German Government of the day and thus be rendered ineffective, a contract had been entered into with Germany which provided that in such a case France should recover her liberty of action.

The opposition, especially M. Herriot and the Socialist leader, M. Léon Blum, demanded specific assurances from the Prime Minister as to whether or not "liberty of action" meant a possibility that France may, if she should so desire, apply military force in the event of default on the part of Germany. M. Blum put the following three questions to M. Tardieu:

(1) Was it understood that recourse to the jurisdiction of The Hague, as contemplated, was in harmony with the League Covenant. (2) Was it understood that there could be no question of applying Article 430 of the Peace Treaty. (3) And was it understood that the liberty of action reserved by France was limited by the Kellogg Pact and excluded any measure of military aggression?

To the first two questions M. Tardieu replied categorically in the affirmative. To the third he declared that France was not in the habit of signing international documents without weighing their consequences. If France had signed the Kellogg Pact, it was because her representatives considered that they could do so without endangering her independence and security. He added that the jurists of both countries at The Hague had agreed that the text of the contract with Germany was in perfect harmony with the League Covenant and the Kellogg Pact.

The vote was then taken with the result given above. M. Herriot and M. Blum voted with the majority.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN GERMANY

ON MARCH 27, the Mueller Cabinet went out of office, after governing Germany for 21 months. Its place was

taken by another coalition cabinet, formed along different lines and headed by Dr. Bruening, leader of the Center Party. This change of government was preceded by stormy political developments, with the unsolved problems still far from solution.

REASONS FOR CHANCELLOR MUELLER'S RESIGNATION

The Mueller Cabinet represented a coalition of five parties: Socialist, Roman Catholic Center, Bavarian People's Party, Democrats, and People's Party. Formed in June, 1928, it was really held together only by the need of performing the two vital tasks which confronted Germany during the past two years, viz., the ending of the Rhineland occupation and the reparation settlement. As soon as these two tasks had been performed, the coalition fell apart because of disagreement on important questions of internal financial policy.

The immediate issue at stake was the program of financial reform, which is generally admitted to be necessary if the obligations accepted under the Young Plan are to be carried out. Apart from proposals for taxation increases this year and possible tax reductions next year, the program includes provisions for placing on its own legs the insolvent Unemployment Insurance Institution, whose continued drain on the treasury has been a main cause of budget difficulties. Here a fundamental dispute began between the two wing parties of the coalition, the Socialists and the People's Party. The Socialists are committed to resist any reduction of benefits, though they would agree to increasing the contributions paid half by employers and half by employed; the People's Party, which represents many employers, is equally committed to the view that the contributions are high enough and that reform in the system itself is necessary.

The dispute lasted many months and finally wrecked the government. The *Berliner Tageblatt* has called it "a crisis over one-fourth per cent"—a reference to the contributions, but it really is a fundamental difference of view. The Socialists feel that they are fighting the battle of the unemployed man with a family; the People's Party that industry is already

saddled with unbearable loads in taxation and social obligations.

RATIFICATION OF THE YOUNG PLAN

The Mueller Cabinet's last accomplishment was the ratification of The Hague agreements concerning the Young Plan. In the face of determined opposition from the Communists and the Nationalists, Chancellor Mueller succeeded in obtaining the Reichstag's approval of the ratification laws. In asking for this approval, the Chancellor said that the new plan was the result of eighteen months of hard work, during which Germany's aim had been Rhineland evacuation and a new reparation settlement. The government was convinced that the new plan was an advance, and it looked to the creditor powers to fulfill the obligations devolving on them as honorably as Germany intended to fulfill hers. The plan brought no burdens other than those provided for or left for future agreement in the experts' report signed in Paris. The experts' report gave Germany no clear claim to the liquidation surpluses, but the government had tried hard to reclaim these, especially that from England, and deeply regretted its failure. The government was often asked how long the Young Plan could be complied with. Nobody could in sincerity prophesy this. In reply to Fascist taunts, he said that he himself had once doubted the continued existence of Germany as a state if parts of her territory were wrested from her, but his fears had been deceived.

"All we can say," continued Herr Müller, "is that Germany accepts the plan in the honest readiness to execute it and will do her best to fulfill it." He thought that the plan was a step towards world peace, and besides its advantages to Germany—release from control, reduced reparation payments, and Rhineland evacuation—he firmly hoped that the Saar would also soon be free. When the plan had been accepted only one course would be open to Germany; to fulfill to the best of her ability the heavy obligations she had undertaken, not willingly, but in order to avoid worse things.

With the ratification debate out of the way the international differences within the

coalition came to the fore. The position of the coalition had already been greatly weakened by Dr. Schacht's resignation as president of the Reichsbank as a protest against the changes introduced into the Young Plan by the conference at The Hague. In its weakened condition, the coalition became no longer tenable, especially when its two important component parts, the Socialists and the People's Party, found themselves in sharp disagreement.

THE BRUENING CABINET

The obvious impossibility of reconstructing a coalition in which both the Socialist and the republican bourgeois elements would be able to work together, led President Hindenburg to an attempt at forming a cabinet from which the Socialist would be excluded. The result was a *bloc* representing the Center, the Democrats, the German People's Party, the Bavarian People's Party, the Economic Party, and the People's Conservative Party (a group which had recently seceded from the Nationalists). The cabinet representing this *bloc* is made up as follows:

Dr. Brüning (Center), Chancellor.
 Herr Curtius (German People's Party), Foreign Affairs.
 Dr. Moldenhauer (German People's Party), Finance.
 Dr. Wirth (Center), Interior.
 Herr Dietrich (Democrat), Economic Affairs.
 General Groener (no party), Defense.
 Herr Schiele (Nationalist), Food and Agriculture.
 Professor Brecht (Economic Party), Justice.
 Herr Stegerwald (Center), Labor.
 Herr von Guérard (Center), Communications.
 Herr Schatzel (Bavarian People's Party), Posts.
 Lieutenant-Commander Treviranus (People's Conservatives), Occupied Territories.

The *bloc* cannot command a majority in the Reichstag without at least some support from the Nationalists. It was upon the possibility of obtaining such support that the existence of the Bruening Government was really predicated.

NEW GOVERNMENT'S POLICY

In presenting his cabinet to the Reichstag, the new Chancellor made a brief declaration of policy. The government, he said, had been formed to fulfill as

quickly as possible tasks which were generally recognized as vital for the Reich. It would be the last attempt, he added significantly, to fulfill them with the present Reichstag. Nobody could take the responsibility for further delay. Rapid action was essential.

The new government would care actively for the vital interests of Germany by organic development of the foreign policy hitherto pursued. One of the fundamental principles of its foreign policy would be that the resurgence of Germany was only attainable by peaceful cooperation with all nations. Another would be the loyal fulfillment of international agreements. The aim was an economically sound, politically free and equal Germany which could complete her reconstruction under the protection of peace and become an indispensable member of the community of nations.

At home, social and economic distress and the consequent extremist movements gave cause for special watchfulness. The government felt itself sufficiently strong to check all dangerous movements with the means provided by the Constitution. It took very earnestly the President's recent appeal for unity. Bitter struggles over foreign affairs had reft the German people. Now that these questions were settled the government wished to take in hand the work of reconciliation. By taking over the budget for 1930 drafted by the present Finance Minister, and the financial program for the raising of the necessary revenues in the form of the last compromise proposal of the late government parties, the urgent financial tasks could be completed in time. Far-reaching proposals for economy in every field of public life would be presented shortly to the competent bodies. These economies would not be worked out in an antisocial spirit. The government recognized the development of social policy as an absolute necessity. A guarantee and prerequisite was a systematic simplification of public administration. Financial, social and economic tasks must be conceived as a whole.

One of the most pressing needs was the relief and stimulation of agriculture, which was fighting for its existence. The government was determined to continue and extend the agrarian measures recently passed

and would not hesitate, in view of the serious state of agriculture, to apply exceptional methods. Moreover, such measures would not suffice. A far-reaching improvement of credit conditions to save existing farms from collapsing under the weight of debt and interest payments was the first step towards a policy of systematic settlement on the land. In agreement with the President, the government would introduce a special measure to cover the necessary expenditure without increasing the burdens of the taxpayer.

The government, Dr. Brüning concluded, would stand by these proposals and their early execution in all circumstances. It was determined and was "in a position" to employ every constitutional means to this end.

TREAT OF RULE BY DECREE

The opening and the concluding paragraphs of the new Chancellor's speech represent a thinly disguised threat that if his government should be overthrown, the Reichstag would be dissolved, new elections would be ordered, and in the meantime the Brüning Cabinet would rule by decree. It is understood that the government took office only after having received President Hindenburg's assurances that he was fully prepared to support them in such a course of action.

GANDHI AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

ON MARCH 12, Mahatma Gandhi, the leader of the Indian movement for independence, formally inaugurated a campaign of civil disobedience as the first step toward the avowed aim of his movement. With 79 followers, he started on foot from his seminary outside Ahmedabad, toward the coast, his immediate object being to preach to the people of the territories through which he was to pass the need of refusing to pay the important salt tax imposed by the government. The inauguration of the campaign was preceded by a correspondence between him and the Viceroy's office, in the course of which the Indian leader set forth his aims and served notice of his projected action.

GANDHI'S LETTER TO THE VICEROY

Gandhi's letter to Lord Irwin, the Viceroy of India, began as follows:

Dear Friend: Before embarking upon civil disobedience and taking the risk which I have dreaded all these years, I would fain approach you and find a way out. My personal faith is absolutely clear. I hold British rule to be a curse, but I do not intend to harm a single Englishman or any legitimate interest which he may have in India.

Gandhi then described the circumstances in which his hope that a round-table conference would furnish a solution was frustrated, and said that as the plan for an interview at Delhi also miscarried there was no option for the Pandit Motilal Nehru and himself but to take steps to carry out the solemn resolutions of the National Congress of 1928. He continued:

The resolution for independence should not cause alarm if the word dominion status mentioned in your announcement was used in the accepted sense, for has it not been admitted by responsible British statesmen that dominion status is virtual independence? Since that announcement, however, many things have happened which show unmistakably the trend of British policy. It is clear as daylight that responsible British statesmen do not contemplate any alteration of British policy that might adversely affect Britain's commerce with India, or that would require an impartial and close scrutiny of Britain's transactions with India. If nothing is done to end the process of exploitation, India must be bled with increasing speed.

The party of violence is gaining ground and making itself felt. Having an unquestioning and immovable faith in the efficacy of non-violence, it would be sinful on my part to wait longer. This nonviolence will be expressed through civil disobedience, which for the moment will be confined to the inmates of the Satyagraha Ashram [Gandhi's college], but is ultimately designed to cover all those who choose to join the movement.

If you cannot see your way to deal with these evils, and if my letter does not appeal to your heart, on March 11 I shall proceed with such co-workers from the Ashram as I can take for disregarding the provisions of the salt tax, which is most iniquitous from the poor man's point of

view and should never have disfigured the statute book. It is open to you to frustrate my design by arresting me, but I hope that there will be tens of thousands ready in a disciplined manner to take up the work after me.

It must be the duty of free India to subject all her liabilities to the strictest investigation, and to repudiate those that may be adjudged by an impartial tribunal to be unjust and unfair.

Referring to communal problems, Gandhi said:

You have unnecessarily stressed the communal problems that unhappily affect this land. Important though they undoubtedly are in the consideration of any scheme of the government, they have little bearing upon the greater problems which are above communities and affect them all equally.

I know that in embarking upon nonviolence I shall be running what might fairly be termed a mad risk, but victories for truth are never won without risks, often of the gravest character.

This letter is in nowise intended as a threat but as a simple and sacred duty, peremptory in the case of a civil resister. I am having it specially delivered by a young English friend, who believes in the Indian cause and is a full believer in nonviolence, and whom Providence seems to have sent to me for the very purpose.

THE VICEROY'S REPLY

Lord Irwin sent the following reply:

Dear Mr. Gandhi.

His Excellency the Viceroy desires me to acknowledge your letter of March 2. He regrets to learn that you contemplate a course of action which is clearly bound to involve a violation of the law and a danger to public peace.

Yours very truly,

C. CUNNINGHAM
(Private Secretary).

On the day on which he began his march, Gandhi published in *Young India* the following criticism of the Viceroy's reply:

On bended knee I asked for bread, but received a stone instead. The Viceroy represents a nation that does not easily give in and does not easily repent. Entreaty never convinces it. It readily listens to physical force, and can witness with bated breath a boxing match for hours without

fatigue; can go mad over a football match in which may be broken bones, and goes into ecstasies over blood-curdling accounts of war. It will listen to mere resistless suffering. It will not part with the millions it annually drains from India in reply to any argument, however convincing.

The viceregal reply does not surprise me. But I know the salt tax has to go, and many other things with it, if my letter means what it says. The reply says I contemplate a course of action which is clearly bound to involve a violation of the law and a danger to public peace. In spite of a forest of books containing rules and regulations, the only law the nation knows is the will of the British administrators, and the only public peace the nation knows is the peace of the public prison. India is one vast prison house. I repudiate this law, and regard it as my sacred duty to break the mournful monotony of compulsory peace that is choking the nation's heart for want of a free vent.

ATTITUDE OF THE MOSLEM ELEMENTS

The campaign of civil disobedience has not found support in the Moslem elements, which have hitherto on many occasions cooperated with the Gandhi movement. In the course of a speech at a large Moslem meeting in Bombay, held on March 6, Shaukat Ali, one of the principal Moslem leaders, stated that Gandhi has disregarded the warnings, repeatedly made to him, that Moslems would not join in a program of joint action unless there was an honorable understanding between Hindus and Moslems, and that if the congress, under Mr. Gandhi's orders, started civil disobedience, then self-respecting Moslems would not cooperate with him. Persistent Moslem efforts to induce Gandhi to curb the reactionary and militant sections on his side had failed. Asserting that in his opinion Gandhi's "unwise action" is bound to result in bloodshed, Shaukat Ali continued:

Devoted and loyal Khilafat and other Moslem workers have come to me with tears in eyes and complained that we have been betrayed and are now being forced, whether we like it or not, to become camp followers in this campaign. They said Gandhi had started it, not against the British Government so much as against Moslems, who refused to accept the Nehru Constitution, which was drafted to keep us under the majority's heel.

Shaukat Ali finally appealed to patriotic Hindu and Moslem leaders to combine to stop the danger threatening the country.

SOVIET WAR ON RELIGION

THE measures of oppression and persecution against religion, which have been recently accentuated by the Soviet régime and have aroused a world-wide protest, are based primarily on the decree issued on April 8, 1929, by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars. This decree defines a "religious association," and states the numerous and drastic conditions with which such associations must comply.

DEFINITION OF A RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION

A religious association of believers must be registered. The association may only carry on its activities after registration at the competent department of the local executive committee or town Soviet, at the sub-district executive committee, or at a town Soviet which is not the administrative center of a region (rayon) or district (uyezd). To effect registration the organizers of a religious society, who must number not fewer than twenty persons, must lodge a petition for registration with one of the administrative bodies named. Believers who are too few to form a society may form a group, which must be registered in like manner. The administrative body to which application is made must either register a society or group within one month of the receipt of the petition or else notify the refusal of registration. A religious society is defined as

A local association of believers having attained the age of 18 years, of one and the same cult, belief, conviction, and doctrine, and numbering not fewer than twenty persons, who have combined for the purpose of making provision for their requirements in the matter of religion. Those believers who, owing to lack of numbers, are unable to form a religious society may form a group of believers. Religious societies and groups of believers have no juridical rights.

A list of the persons comprising the society or group, their executive and audit

bodies, and their ministers of religion must be communicated to the competent administrative body. Believers belonging to a religious society may lease under contract, free of charge, from the subdistrict, or regional executive committee, special buildings for the purpose of worship, and, furthermore, a society or group may use for religious meetings other buildings which have been placed at their disposal by private persons or by local Soviets and executive committees. Each society or group may use only one building for religious worship.

THINGS FORBIDDEN

General meetings of religious societies or groups of believers may only be held if special permission has been obtained from the subdistrict executive committee, or the regional or the town administrative department. Religious associations may elect executive bodies for administrative and representative purposes. The registering body may exclude any individual member from the administrative body. For the control of religious property and funds received by voluntary contribution an audit committee of not more than three members may be elected. Meetings of executive and audit bodies may take place without notification to, or permission from, the authorities. Paragraphs 17, 18, and 19 of the decree are as follows:

Religious associations may not (a) create mutual credit societies, cooperatives, or commercial undertakings, or in general use the property at their disposal for other than religious purposes; (b) give material assistance to their members; (c) organize for children, young people, and women special prayer or other meetings, or, generally, meetings, groups, circles, or departments for biblical or literary study, sewing, working, or the teaching of religion, et cetera, or organize excursions, children's playgrounds, public libraries, or reading rooms, or organize sanatoria and medical assistance.

Only books necessary for the purposes of the cult may be kept in the buildings and premises used for worship.

The teaching of any form of religious belief in state, public, and private teaching and educational establishments is prohibited. Such teaching is permitted exclusively at special theological

courses organized by citizens of the U. S. S. R. by special permission of the Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the R. S. F. S. R. and, in the territories of the autonomous republics, by permission of the Central Executive Committee of the autonomous republic concerned.

The work of ministers of religion, religious preachers and instructors, et cetera, shall be restricted to the area in which the members of their religious association reside, and to the place where the premises used for worship are situated.

The work of ministers of religion, religious preachers, and instructors who regularly serve two or more religious associations shall be restricted to the area in which the believers who are members of those religious associations permanently reside.

Permission to hold a local all-Russian or all-union conference or congress must be obtained from an authority having jurisdiction in the corresponding area—from the Commissariat for Internal Affairs if an all-Russian or all-union conference or congress is desired or if the conference covers the territory of two or more areas, provinces, or governments. Executive bodies may be elected for the purpose of putting into effect the resolutions of a congress, but neither a congress nor an executive body may form any kind of central fund from voluntary gifts, or make any enforced collection, own or hire or receive on contract any premises for religious meetings, or conclude any form of contract or deal. Lists of the members of executive bodies and duplicate records of a congress must be furnished to the administrative body which gave permission for the congress to be held.

USE OF BUILDINGS

There are regulations concerning the tenure of premises and responsibility for upkeep, insurance against fire, the method of disposal for other purposes ("liquidation") of a religious building and the property therein, et cetera. It is prescribed that: "Any local inhabitant of a corresponding belief, conviction, and doctrine may sign the contract regulating the use of the building and religious property and acquire thereby, even after the religious property has been handed over [to the believers], the right to take part in the ad-

ministration of the property on equal terms with those persons who first signed the contract."

Members of groups of believers and religious societies may raise subscriptions and collect voluntary offerings, but only among members of the religious organization concerned and only for purposes connected with the upkeep of the place of worship and the religious property, for the engagement of ministers of religion, and for the expenses of their executive body. Any form of forced contribution is punishable under the criminal code. Meetings held for the purpose of worship by believers combined in groups or societies may take place without notification to, or permission of, the authorities in places of worship or in specially adapted premises, but for meetings in premises not specially adapted notification is necessary. The decree continues:

No religious service or ceremony may take place in any state, public, cooperative, or private institution, nor may any religious object be placed within such institutions.

This prohibition shall not apply to the performance, at the request of a person who is dying or seriously ill in a hospital or prison, of a religious service in a place apart, or to the performance of religious services at cemeteries or crematoria.

For religious processions, services and ceremonies in the open, a special permit is required, but for processions round religious buildings which form an integral part of a religious service no special permit or notification is necessary, provided that there is no interference with the normal traffic of the streets. Further regulations require the administrative bodies which register religious associations to keep a record of the societies and groups of believers, and the administrative bodies must also exercise "supervision of the activities of religious associations, and of the safety of buildings and religious property leased to them under contract." Religious associations already in existence are required to register within a year from the date of publication of the decree.

"I believe that the highest interests of any nation are in theory, and should be in practice, consistent with the highest interests of other nations; that the progress of mankind toward better human relations depends fundamentally upon international neighborliness and courtesy; that under a system of diplomacy without morality, science without higher ideals, the world will continue to drift from one disaster to another; that tolerance and reasonableness are the secrets of peace—at least in the present stage of civilization."

MINOSAKU T. YAMAMOTO.

SOME ASPECTS OF INTERNATIONAL INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION SINCE THE WORLD WAR

By WALDO G. LELAND

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Systematic and Conscious Extension of Activities of International Intellectual Co-operation Since the World War.

INTERNATIONAL intellectual co-operation is a cumbersome term of fifteen syllables that has become popular since the World War, although it describes activities and processes that have existed from the most remote times. Throughout the Christian era, the Catholic Church and the great Catholic orders have been outstanding agencies of intellectual co-operation. The medieval universities were crowded by students of all countries and languages, who had, however, in Latin, a common tongue. The nineteenth century saw an increasing number of international organizations of scholars and scientists, as well as of international congresses devoted to the interests of various fields of learning.

When, however, we compare the activities and tendencies of the prewar period with those of the decade since the treaties of peace, we become at once conscious of important and striking differences. The conception of international intellectual co-operation has been greatly broadened, and at the same time it has been more clearly defined, and has taken on a great variety of forms. It is realized that all phases of intellectual life, however greatly their manifestations may vary from one people to another, are in effect common to all peoples, and can be studied and understood only when it is possible to observe all these

varying manifestations, wherever they are to be found.

It is also realized, perhaps more keenly than ever before, that in the pursuit of all intellectual objectives, whether the advancement of the sciences or the study of history or philology or philosophy, the utmost progress is possible only by making use of the special skills, technics, facilities, and accumulations of knowledge of all groups of scholars and scientists, regardless of nationality or language or political allegiance.

Of course these principles are not themselves new, but the conscious effort to apply them comprehensively and systematically throughout the entire range of intellectual and near-intellectual life *is* new, and has its place among the most interesting and significant or postwar phenomena. It must be confessed that the concrete results of this effort—which has been more comprehensive than systematic—are by now so numerous and varied as to be somewhat bewildering. Above all, they are to be seen in the incredible number of international organizations, agencies, and activities of every conceivable sort that have come into being since 1919. There are schools, institutes, centers, exchanges, bureaus, offices, councils, committees, conferences, congresses, federations, unions, and whatnot. The observer who endeavors to keep his information abreast of this movement must be a fast worker. There is no complete list of all these organizations, and no list could be complete long.

Motives of Intellectual Co-operation

This state of affairs has not, however, been brought about wholly, or even chiefly, by the efforts of scholars and scientists to advance the study of their respective subjects. Other motives and impulses and considerations have had a large part. We are all aware that, in spite of certain appearances to the contrary, a marked reaction has set in from the excessive nationalism of the last century, which found its logical and appropriate conclusion in the World War. Human beings appear always to have found it necessary from time to time to seek to exterminate each other because of differences of opinion respecting such matters as religious doctrines, political and economic systems, colonial possessions, drinks, and other questions of more or less vital importance.

The latest orgy of extermination seems, however, to be followed by a rather widely held resolve to see if, for a time, at least, differences of opinion may not be accommodated by means of mutual understanding rather than by processes of mutual extermination. It is this desire, therefore, to promote intellectual co-operation among the peoples of the world as a means of mutual and sympathetic comprehension that has contributed largely to the driving force behind the international movement that we are discussing.

Another motive was to be found in the disorganized and chaotic state of all intellectual life at the close of the war. Many countries had lost heavily from the ranks of their best scholars. Financial and economic exhaustion seemed to make it necessary to devote every energy to rebuilding the material foundations of existence. In many countries, for a time, science and scholarship seemed a luxury not to be afforded until after years of painful effort to regain the lost economic position. The war had also resulted in creating broad and deep chasms between scholars who had formerly worked together effectively, and upon whose joint efforts the structure of knowledge had been reared. To many, reorganization and reconstruction of the intellectual life of the world, and the resumption of relations between scientists and scholars of all countries, seemed mat-

ters of the most vital importance and of the greatest urgency.

Types of International Organization

Reference has been made to the great number of international organizations of one sort or another that have come into being since the World War. To enumerate them, if that were possible, would be a tedious process and, perhaps, no more entertaining than the recital of Homer's catalog of the ships. We must, however, try to form some general picture of the situation before we proceed to a closer examination of certain of its details.

We remark first of all that certain themes or subjects or interests have been the recipients of special attention in post-war organization. Among these are education, the exchange of students and teachers, the advancement of the sciences, the promotion of research in the humanities, bibliography, the interests of libraries and museums, the protection of the property rights of authors, artists, and scientists in their creations and discoveries, the economic interests of intellectual workers, and public, private, and international law.

Thus, in the field of education we note such organizations as the International Confederation of Students, the International Student Service, the International Institute for Student Self-Help, the Pax Romana (which is the international agency of the Catholic Student Union), the World Union of Jewish Students, the International Federation of Teachers, the International League for the New Education, and many others. Devoted to the advancement of science are the International Research Council, with its affiliated international unions. For the promotion of the humanities, we have the International Union of Academies and other independent organizations such as the International Committee of Historical Sciences.

This bare mention of the titles of a few organizations—cited by way of illustration—does not, however, give any definite idea of how international intellectual co-operation really is organized and functions. For this purpose, a closer view of three or four of the outstanding agencies will be useful.

International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation by the League of Nations

First of all—because it is the most general and the most central, and because it has the most contacts with other organizations—is the International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations. This body was created by the Assembly of the League in 1922, after deliberations lasting more than a year. The value which it was thought such a committee would have, as an advisory body of the League, is evidenced by the wording of the recommendation adopted by the Council of the League in 1921: "The object of the Committee," stated the report, "is to enable the intellectual workers of the different countries to develop their ideas with greater force and vitality, by enabling them to draw more fully upon the common treasure of knowledge, methods, and discoveries." "We are, therefore," the Council reported, "agreed that the League of Nations should, at the earliest opportunity, take steps to show how closely the political idea which it represents is connected with all the aspects of the intellectual life which unites the nations. . . . The formation of our League does not mark the dawn of the organization of intellectual work between the nations. Indeed, if an international intellectual life had not been long existent, our League would never have been formed. It is . . . a question of defining, simplifying, and extending the relations already existing, and it is to the universities, to the savants, and to the academicians that we must go for information upon the present extent of these relations and upon the immediate needs of their schools, their laboratories, and their associations, so that wider access to such institutions and freer circulation between them may be provided for the great intellectual currents of the world."

In the vote by which the Assembly of the League created the Committee, it was provided that the new organization should consist of twelve (later fifteen) members, and that its function should be to examine international questions regarding intellectual co-operation, and to report on the measures to be taken by the League to facilitate intellectual exchange between nations,

particularly as regards the communication of scientific information and methods of education.

The Committee, thus mandated, attracted widespread attention and interest from the first. Its membership has included some of the greatest contemporary personalities of the intellectual world. Under the successive presidencies of the French philosopher Bergson, the great Dutch physicist, Lorentz, and the eminent Oxford classicist and philologist, Gilbert Murray, have been grouped such scientists and scholars as Madame Curie, of Paris (who because of her nationality is attributed to Poland); Millikan of California, Nobel prize winner for his research in the structure of the atom; Miss Bonnvie, distinguished Norwegian biologist, one of the most virile and hard-headed members of the Committee; Destrée of Belgium, former Minister of the Sciences and Arts, who was speedily accepted as the Committee's orator; as de Reynold, a Swiss professor of literature, whose clear-cut reasoning and power of ready and felicitous expression gave him a certain leadership in the Committee's debates.

Einstein, named as one of the first members of the Committee, did not immediately accept the appointment because of certain difficulties which the Committee experienced in re-establishing relations with German scholars (Germany not being at that time a member of the League). His place was filled by the appointment of Lorentz of Leiden, and Einstein is reported to have said that that appointment, of a man whom he so honored and whose motives and impulses he knew to be of the purest and highest, at once resolved any doubts that he might have had as to the Committee. Later, when a place was again made for him, he accepted it and served with Lorentz until the latter's death.

In such an assembly it may well be imagined that discussion was on the highest plane, and that the viewpoint maintained was not only world-wide, but cosmic. The Committee met at first twice a year, in Paris in December; in Geneva in August. Later it has met only in Geneva, for a prolonged meeting of several sessions. There sits with it one of the under-secretaries of the League, in the first years Dr.

Nitobe of Tokio, former student at Johns Hopkins, friend of countless American scholars. He has been succeeded by Dr. Dufour Feronce, a German of French ancestry, educated in England.

The Committee is organized in subcommittees on Intellectual Rights, University Relations, Arts and Letters, Science and Bibliography, and on the Instruction of Youth in the Aims of the League of Nations. In these subcommittees are first discussed the projects and proposals which come to the Committee from all sources, or which may be referred to it by the Council or the Assembly of the League. The reports of the subcommittees go to the full Committee for final action, which is then reported, with recommendations, if such are called for, to the League. Nor are these recommendations merely vain expressions of pious hopes. It must be remembered that the League is a league of governments which have the power to translate recommendations into action.

The question naturally presents itself as to what sorts of projects come before the Committee. Here are a few of the matters debated in the sessions of last summer (1929). Under the general head of intellectual rights were discussed the creation of an international jurisdiction for the protection of author's rights; the extension to works of applied art of the international protection granted to works of art in the strict sense; rights of authors in mechanical sound reproductions; the juridical and social status of workers belonging to the liberal professions; and the legal status of international associations and foundations, which at present are incorporated and therefore are legal persons in some one country.

The subcommittee on University Relations reported on such matters as traveling facilities for students; the scientific study, in institutions of learning and elsewhere, of international relations; the equivalence of university degrees as a means of facilitating the exchange of students; the status of foreign professors under the laws and regulations of the various countries; the organization of an international congress on the teaching of modern languages; and international inter-

school correspondence, that is, the system of arranging for regular exchanges of letters between school children of different countries.

Under the category of artistic and literary relations, there were dealt with such subjects as the protection of the beauties of nature; the organization of an international broadcasting campaign on behalf of museums; the organization of a library containing all catalogs of public sales of works of art; the establishment of an international list of works of art existing in fragments; and the translation into the world languages of important works that are written in languages of small diffusion.

The subcommittee on Science and Bibliography dealt with the co-ordination of the bibliographies of the biological and physical sciences, and of the Romance languages, the unification of linguistic terms, the preparation and publication of intellectual statistics, the international exchange of publications, and with many other matters.

This formidable list, which is by no means exhaustive, is submitted because it reveals, in concrete form, the actual subject matter of intellectual co-operation. In its early days the Committee had many vague, vast and chimerical projects laid before it, and some of these were seriously debated at great length. The writer recalls hours spent in listening to bilingual eloquence on the subject of an international library—a superlibrary, containing everything in print, which was to be organized in two identical units, one of which was to be located on the eastern seaboard of the United States and was, by some sort of miracle, to be supported by appropriations enthusiastically voted by the Senate and the House of Representatives in grateful recognition of the honor conferred upon their country. Other hours were spent in discussing the creation of an international university. But if a disproportionate amount of time was at first devoted to winnowing out this sort of chaff, the procedure and methods of the Committee quickly became more efficient, until now the matters seriously discussed by it are nearly all of practical import and worthy of attention.

For two years the Committee had no operating agency other than its secretariat located at Geneva. The funds placed at its disposal by the League amounted to about \$20,000 a year, and sometimes this degree of support was secured only after much persuasion of a sort familiar to all who have experience with legislative assemblies, whether national or international. Late in 1924, however, the French Government offered to provide headquarters in Paris and an annual appropriation of 2,000,000 francs (about \$80,000) for an International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, to be under the complete control of the League and the International Committee, and, although located on French soil, to enjoy the privileges of extra-territoriality. The offer was accepted, and in 1926 the Institute was inaugurated in a wing of the famous Palais Royal. Here for four years has existed a physical international center of intellectual interests. It is true that the Institute has not met all the expectations of its founders; it is doubtless true that in the very nature of things it could not meet all those expectations. Although the general support of the French Government has been increased and has been supplemented by an annual appropriation from the government of Poland of \$4,000, and by appropriations of varying modest amounts from seventeen other governments, until the present annual resources of the Institute amount to about \$130,000, even this sum is quite inadequate to its needs. The organization of the Institute into sections reflects the organization of the International Committee into subcommittees, and the work of the Institute is largely determined by the Committee. If we recall the variety, number, and importance of the matters that the Committee is called upon to consider, on which the Institute must prepare reports, hold conferences, and initiate action, it will be no surprise to learn that the Paris agency has been heavily burdened. At present it has on its calendar 60 or more distinct projects; it has a staff of 92 persons whose salaries range from \$440 to \$3,000; it is both overorganized and overloaded. Meanwhile, the whole question of the functions and organization of the International Committee and of the

Institute is being studied by a special committee, whose recommendation will, it is to be hoped, do much to improve the situation. It is desirable that the scope of both Committee and Institute should be more clearly defined; that adequate support should be provided by the League, rather than by the generosity of hospitable governments; that a larger share of attention should be paid to the function of gathering and compiling information; and that, so far as possible, projects and proposals should be turned over to the various international organizations within whose fields of interest they naturally fall.

Before leaving the subject of the International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation, a word should be said of the national Committee of Intellectual Co-operation that have been established in 44 countries to collaborate with the International Committee. These committees vary greatly in size, effectiveness and quality. The American committee, headed by Professor R. A. Millikan, is representative of all phases of intellectual life, and includes such figures as Elihu Root, Loreda Taft, Dean Gildersleeve, Dr. Vernon Kellogg, Professor Charles H. Haskins, Dr. Herbert Putnam and others. The functions of the national committees are to observe and estimate intellectual needs throughout the world, to prepare definite proposals for consideration by the International Committee, to assist in carrying out enterprises set on foot by the latter and to facilitate the interchange of opinions and information.

International Research Council

Two general organizations of more restricted scope than the International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation have already been mentioned by name: the International Research Council, devoted to the advancement of the sciences; and the International Union of Academies, devoted to the promotion of the humanistic and social sciences.

The first of these new bodies owes its creation to the necessities of the war and the obvious advantage of making available to the allied cause all the resources in knowledge, experience and skill of the

scientists and technologists of the allied countries. The initiative of organization was assumed by the Royal Society of Great Britain, which called an interallied conference on international scientific organizations in London in October, 1918. The plan of organization, however, was supplied by the National Research Council of the United States. The International Research Council was formally inaugurated in Brussels in July, 1919, its objects being defined as follows:

1. To co-ordinate international activities in the various branches of science and its applications.
2. To encourage the formation of international associations or unions needed to advance science.
3. To guide international scientific activities in fields where no adequate organization exists.
4. To establish relations with the governments represented in the Council for the purpose of interesting them in scientific projects.

The Council is really a federation of the National Research Councils or analogous bodies of the various countries. It is composed of representatives of those councils, who meet every three years in general assembly, in Brussels, where the headquarters are established. In the interim, the affairs of the Council are administered by a small executive committee. At present 37 countries participate in the International Research Council, paying annual contributions or dues which vary in amount according to population, somewhat as the assessments for the support of the League of Nations vary from country to country.

The functions of the International Research Council are in large part general and administrative, and have to do with organizations for scientific research rather than with research itself. The direct promotion of research in the scientific fields is the function of the international unions—devoted respectively to astronomy, geodesy and geophysics, mathematics, chemistry, physics, radio-telegraphy, geography and the biological sciences. Each of these unions is an independent organization whose statutes have been approved by the Council, and which is formally affiliated with that body. Each works actively to promote scientific work and re-

search in its own field by means of congresses, publications, exchange of information, co-operative undertakings, and in other ways.

We see, therefore, that in the sciences we have a comprehensive, co-ordinated group of international associations. Theoretically, at least, the plan of organization is systematic and well thought out. In operation certain difficulties have arisen, mainly in the field of the relations between the Council and the affiliated unions; but as the statutes of the Council provide for a general reexamination of the entire plan of organization in 1931, opportunity is provided to remedy such defects as have been observed.

International Union of Academies

Wholly different in composition is the International Union of Academies, which is devoted to the promotion of the humanistic and social sciences and which corresponds in the general scheme to the International Research Council. The Union of Academies, however, is a federation of the academies or other learned bodies of the seventeen countries which are at present represented in it. Most of these academies are of long standing and distinguished achievement and are composed of the most notable scholars of their respective countries. Such, for example, are the British Academy, the French Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres and of Moral and Political Sciences, the Royal Academy of Sciences of Amsterdam, the Royal Academy of Sciences and Letters of Denmark, the various Italian academies, the Imperial Academy of Japan, the Rumanian Academy, and others. In the United States, where no general academy exists that authoritatively represents general American scholarship in the humanistic fields, a group of eighteen national associations has organized a federation under the title of the American Council of Learned Societies, which is charged with maintaining the representation of the United States in the International Union of Academies.

Like the International Research Council, the Union of Academies has its headquarters in Brussels, where it holds annual

meetings in the month of May. To these meetings come two or more representatives from each country to discuss the interests of the Union and the organization and execution of enterprises that have been taken under its auspices or for which it has some responsibility.

Most of the work of the Union has thus far consisted of the organization of definite undertakings which are carried out by means of international co-operation. Among the more important enterprises now in progress are an "International Corpus of Greek Vases," a "Dictionary of Medieval Latin," a "Catalog of Alchemical Manuscripts," a "Corpus of Medieval Philosophers," "Studies in Indonesian Customary Law," supplements to the "Corpora of Greek and Latin Inscriptions," editions of the works and letters of Grotius, and work preliminary to the construction of a general archeological map of the Roman Empire.

The Union is supported by annual contributions from each country of 2,000 Belgian francs—something less than \$60. In addition to these contributions, which are employed chiefly for administrative purposes, special contributions are made to the scientific budget of the Union. In large part, however, the Union's various enterprises are supported by each country's assuming the cost of its own collaboration.

As the International Research Council grew out of the necessities of the war, the Union of Academies grew out of the opportunities afforded by the Peace Conference. The presence in Paris during the peace negotiations of many historians, economists, political scientists, and students of language and literature, provided an opportunity for the holding of a conference upon the invitation of the French Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres to consider the possibility of establishing a new international organization. In a sense, also, the Union of Academies is the direct descendant of the prewar International Association of Academies, which was, however, devoted not only to the humanities but to the natural and physical sciences, and which was a loose confederation of the learned bodies, chiefly academies, of a large number of countries.

The proposed objects of the Union were described as follows:

1. To establish, maintain and strengthen among the scholars of the allied and associated states corporative and individual relations which shall be sustained, cordial, and efficacious, and which shall, by means of regular correspondence and exchange of communications, and by the periodical holding of scientific congresses, make for the advancement of knowledge in the various fields of learning.

2. To inaugurate, encourage, or direct those works of research and publication which shall be deemed most useful to the advancement of knowledge, and most to require and deserve collective effort.

International Committee of Historical Sciences

Mention has already been made of numerous international organizations devoted to the promotion of a single subject. It is worthwhile to glance briefly at one of the newest and, at the same time, one of the most promising of these organizations, the International Committee of Historical Sciences. This Committee grew out of the international historical congresses which have been held at intervals since 1900, and out of the need, felt with renewed force at each of these gatherings, for a continuing body that should represent the interests of the historians of all countries. The direct occasion of the Committee's organization was the adoption, by the International Historical Congress held in Brussels in 1923, of a resolution, introduced by the American delegates, which called for the organization of a permanent Committee of Historical Sciences that should be "as representative as possible of all countries." This phraseology was, in fact, a recognition of the absence of German and Austrian historians from the Brussels congress and of the importance of assuring their inclusion in any permanent body that might be formed.

The organization of the Committee took place three years later, in 1926, at Geneva; and was greatly facilitated by two important events. One of these was the securing by the American Historical Association of a subvention of \$25,000 from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller

Memorial, for the administrative expenses of the Committee over a period of three years and for the expense of inaugurating a major enterprise in historical bibliography. The other event was the conference of Locarno. Under the soothing influence of this fortunate combination, there were finally brought together in Geneva, in the room which saw the birth of the International Red Cross, the representatives of 21 countries. The exceedingly cordial atmosphere that prevailed on this occasion, and especially a year later in Göttingen, made one realize that historians, though handling a subject charged with high explosive, are friendly creatures, not prone to hatred of each other—except, of course, when they are unduly inflamed by such controversial questions as the origins of the English manorial system or the authenticity of the artifacts of Glozel.

The International Committee of Historical Sciences is a simple, natural and flexible organization. Each country is entitled to two voting delegates, chosen by its historical organizations. Thus the American delegates are appointed by the American Historical Association, the German delegates by the Union of German Historians, the Polish delegates by the Polish Historical Society, the French delegates by a national committee, and the British delegates by common action on the part of the British Academy and Royal Historical Society and the Historical Association.

The International Committee is presided over by a governing board of which at present the president is a Norwegian; the vice-presidents, an Austrian and a Pole, respectively; the four governors, Italian, German, British, and Czechoslovakian; the secretary, French; and the treasurer, American.

The secretariat of the Committee is located in the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris, of which the secretary is an attaché; but the nominal headquarters of the Committee are Washington, in the office of the treasurer, conveniently adjacent to possible sources of supply.

The Committee is supported in large part by the subventions (now totaling \$55,000) secured by the American His-

torical Association; but it has assessed annual dues of \$50 upon the countries represented in it, and from this source about \$1,500 a year is received. While most of the represented countries, of which there are now 34, pay the assessment, a few are unable to do so, and a few have paid larger amounts—notably, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, and the United States.

The work of the Committee is carried on by its secretary and by the various subcommittees that are appointed from time to time as need arises.

The principal enterprise of the Committee at present is the "International Yearbook of Historical Bibliography," successor of the discontinued "Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft," but on a different plan. Other undertakings in process of execution are a descriptive and historical list of newspapers, showing ownership, editorial policy, political affiliations; etc. (a useful aid to the study of public opinion); a repertory of all modern constitutions of nations or states; an historical register of the diplomatic agents of all countries since 1648; and the correction and revision of the standard chronologies.

Still another and very promising form of the Committee's work is to be found in the organization of informal groups of scholars of different countries who are interested in certain phases of history or in certain historical subjects. Such groups are chiefly engaged in correspondence and in the exchange of opinions and information, but it is to be expected that in the course of time they will mature and set on foot concrete co-operative projects. At present there are groups interested in the history of science, the history of banking, the history of the causes and origins of the great geographical discoveries, the history of enlightened despotism, the history of modern literature, and the history of the international rôle of the Papacy. Other groups will probably be formed in the near future, but the policy of the Committee is rather to aid in meeting existing and well-defined needs than to force new activities.

Perhaps the most daring of the Committee's endeavors has been to promote the

discussion of the thorny and often delicate problems connected with the teaching of history. A committee, in which eighteen nationalities are represented, has been organized with a French chairman and a German secretary; and its first work has been to gather information respecting the teaching of history in the schools of the different countries. The first full meeting of the committee was held in Venice last May and proved not to be devoid of excitement. When representatives of Fascist Italy, the Soviet Republics, resurrected Poland, Germany, France, Great Britain and the United States become involved in a discussion of the presence or absence of nationalistic or other propaganda in the historical textbooks of their respective countries, there is likely to be—as, indeed, there was—a lively exchange, not confined to compliments, but including frank and vigorously expressed opinions. But that such a discussion should be possible, and that it should terminate in something like a consensus of opinion, with mutual feelings of friendliness generally prevailing, speaks volumes for the progress toward international co-operation that has been effected since 1918.

One other function of the International Committee is the organization of the general International Congresses of Historical Sciences that are held every five years. The first postwar congress was held in Brussels in 1923, without the attendance of German and Austrian historians; the first congress after the organization of the Committee was held in Oslo in 1928, with considerably more than a hundred German and Austrian scholars present. The next congress will be held in Warsaw in 1933.

International Co-operation in the Field of Education

Turning now to the field of education, we find some of the most significant manifestations of the general international movement that are to be observed. None of these is more interesting or more striking than the great increase in the movement of students and teachers between the different countries. Probably, indeed, this scholastic migration has attained greater proportions than ever before in the history

of the world. The estimates of the Institute of International Education of New York place the number of foreign students in American institutions of learning at not less than 10,000. Probably an equal number of American students are studying abroad. France alone has from 7,000 to 8,000 foreign students in her schools and universities. A systematic exchange of students is maintained between over sixty American universities and colleges and the institutions of learning in seven European countries. Scholarships and fellowships, both for American students abroad and for foreign students in this country, have enormously increased in number, while provision is now made, in a way and on a scale never even contemplated before the war, for enabling foreign students to derive the utmost of benefit from their experience. Orientation courses are organized, special facilities for travel are secured, and opportunities of becoming acquainted with fellow-students and of entering intimately into the life of the country are provided.

While the exchange of professors between universities was by no means uncommon before the war, it has since become far more frequent and regular. Probably there is not a major university in this country that does not constantly number among its faculty one and oftentimes several visiting or exchange professors from other countries. The opportunities for American professors to serve abroad are, however, not so numerous. Less flexible regulations, difficulties of language, and the stricter orientation of European university courses toward the passing of all-important examinations are factors which make the American professor, although frequently a lecturer, very rarely a member of a foreign faculty in charge of courses. In many European secondary schools, however, are to be found young American men and women as readers or instructors in English, and a regular system of annual exchanges in these positions is maintained.

It is too soon yet to estimate the effects of this movement of students and teachers between countries. Those who take part in it cannot fail to have their mental horizons enlarged, their sympathies quickened and to become more aware and ap-

preciative of the intellectual resources of countries other than their own.

Problem of Reestablishing Intellectual Relations That Were Severed by the World War

Foremost among the problems confronting the intellectual world in 1919 was the reestablishment of relations between the scholars and scientists of the two groups of warring countries. The task was not easy, nor has it even yet, ten years after the war, been completed. The chasm was wide and deep. The famous manifesto of the 93 German intellectuals early in the conflict, the later pronouncement of French scholars and scientists (less known to us than the German manifesto but far better known east of the Rhine), the expulsion of German members from the academies of some of the allied countries, the violent propaganda carried on on both sides—these and many other factors, ponderable and imponderable, contributed to embitter the struggle and to make more difficult the healing of spiritual wounds.

In the light of subsequent experience, it must be regretted that both the International Research Council and the International Union of Academies were organized without seeking the co-operation of the scientists and scholars of the Central Powers. If that co-operation could not, in the nature of things, have been sought in 1919 (the writer is among those who thought, at that time, that it could not), it would have been better to postpone for a little the creation of new international organizations or the reconstruction of old ones. To make the situation still worse, the London conference which took the first step in the organization of the International Research Council adopted a declaration in which it was pointed out that personal relations between the scientists of the allied countries and those of the Central Powers were manifestly impossible, and could not be resumed until Germany and her allies should renounce their former methods and be readmitted to the concert of civilized nations. Furthermore, when the statutes of the International Research Council were finally adopted, Germany and her allies were specifically excluded from participation in the Council until 1931.

Probably the war did not make physicists and chemists, astronomers and geologists more bitter than the historians, philologists and social scientists. Nevertheless, such might appear to have been the case, for when the latter, a few months later, organized the International Union of Academies, they were content merely not to invite the participation of the German academies. Nor did they find it necessary to adopt any declaration, or to enact any article of exclusion. On the contrary, the statutes of the Union provided an easy mode by which any country not represented in it could be admitted to take part in its activities. Nevertheless, under the circumstances, the organization, without the German academies, of a union which was obviously the direct successor of the prewar and German-originated International Association of Academies, was, at least to the minds of German scholars, tantamount to exclusion; and very little distinction was drawn, beyond the Rhine, between the two new organizations. Out of this state of affairs grew the German conviction that all German scholarship and science had been deliberately outlawed by the intellectuals of the allied countries, a conviction that has not yet been entirely dissipated.

Efforts to remedy this situation began to be exerted at an early date, as was evidenced by the appointment of Einstein to the International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation upon its creation by the League of Nations, and some of the most anxious thought of the members of the Committee was devoted to the problem of the renewal of relations between the German scholars and those of the allied countries. The writer can never forget the earnest and simple eloquence of Lorentz, nor the nobility of sentiment of Bergson, which marked the discussion of this burning question in the meetings of the Committee in 1923.

Other efforts in the same year centered about the International Congress of Historical Sciences in Brussels. When it became known that the Belgian organizers of the Congress, while not excluding the scholars of any country, did not feel able to send the customary formal invitations to the German universities and historical

associations, the historical world at once divided into groups of those who wished to register their protest by remaining away from the Congress, and of those who felt that more was to be gained by attendance accompanied by a constructive effort to build up a permanent and completely representative organization. The latter view was held by most American scholars, who were able to convince numerous scholars of other countries of its practical value and who appear to have been justified by the course of subsequent events. Three years later it was possible to organize the International Committee of Historical Sciences with the hearty co-operation of the German and Austrian historians, partly because the lapse of time and the course of the world's affairs had made reconciliation easier, but very largely because all countries were from the outset invited to co-operate on an equal footing in setting up the new organization and in determining its form and functions. No one was asked to affix his signature on the dotted line to an agreement that others had drawn up for him.

In 1926, just when the method of reconciliation adopted by the historians was succeeding, the International Research Council voted to annul the article of German exclusion, and further voted to extend an invitation to the German and Austrian scientists to become represented in the Council. At the same time the International Union of Academies, after a discussion in which each member had expressed his willingness to vote for the admission of the German and Austrian academies, adopted a vote calling attention to the fact that the statutes of the Union did not exclude the learned bodies of any country, but on the contrary provided a mode by which such bodies as are not now represented in the Union may become affiliated with it.

Then followed a period of overtures, of correspondence, of exchange of memoranda, and of recourse to the good offices of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. Most of these negotiations were unofficial, for each side felt obliged to save its face, if the expression may be permitted. In 1927, members of the Union of Academies lunched unofficially with unofficial repre-

sentatives of the German academies at Göttingen, as the guests of the American Council of Learned Societies, in an effort to clarify the situation by means of a full, frank and friendly discussion. Since then there has been much correspondence and, fortunately, much definite progress towards an understanding; but the German and Austrian academies have not yet expressed their unqualified willingness to be admitted to the Union, and German and Austrian scientists are still unrepresented in the International Research Council. This situation is the more anomalous because practical relations between German scholars and those of other countries have long since been reestablished in nearly all lines of scientific and scholarly activity. The restoration of relations will not, however, be complete until it is formally extended to the two major organizations, the Council and the Union; and signs are not lacking that this much-desired culmination will take place in the near future.

Objective and Methods of International Intellectual Co-operation

Reduced to its simplest terms, the principal objective of international intellectual co-operation is to promote the free and complete exchange of information, in order that the resources of the entire intellectual world may be utilized in the increasing and innumerable efforts to advance the bounds of human knowledge. The methods by which this objective is now being sought are many, and new methods, or variations of old ones, are continually being devised; but it is possible to distinguish among them certain general types. First of all, there is the promotion of personal contacts through congresses, conferences, committees, and similar organizations. In the second place, there is the improvement of the means by which scholars may keep abreast of all the work of interest to them that is being carried on throughout the world; in other words, the perfection of bibliographical tools, the systematic translation of important works of the less known into the better known languages, and the wider diffusion of the published results of science and scholarship.

A third method is the accumulation in accessible places—such as museums, libraries or in published collections—of the materials upon which research must be based, accompanied by the preparation and distribution of guides to these materials.

Still a fourth method is by placing at the general disposal of all the special tools and facilities of each. Thus foreign scientists frequent American laboratories and observatories, and American scientists visit those of other countries, and a comparison of techniques and methods is possible, resulting in their improvement and extension.

Finally, there is the organization of groups of scholars or scientists for co-operative attack upon specific problems, and for constructive research on a scale that is too large for the individual worker, or for the workers of a single country, and here we find the appropriate culmination of all efforts at international intellectual co-operation.

[Share of American Scholars in Promotion of Intellectual Co-operation

In conclusion, we may fittingly ask what has been the part of the United States in the vast movement that has been so inadequately and roughly outlined. The reply cannot fail to be gratifying. It has been the privilege of American intellectual workers to contribute in significant and important ways to the restoration and advancement of intellectual life and activities throughout the world. American aid has been extended to libraries, museums, laboratories, and other institutions that suffered because of the war. Support has been provided for bibliographical undertakings of first importance, such as the recataloguing of the Vatican Library, the completion of the catalog of the Bibliothèque Nationale, the publication of the British Museum catalog, and the foundation of valuable abstract journals for the social and biological sciences. New international organizations have been assisted and enabled to enter upon useful activities by means of American support.

American funds have been generously employed for facilitating the exchange of students and teachers, and for the maintenance of a large number of international fellowships and scholarships. European professors, deprived by the effects of war or revolution of the means of existence in their own countries, have found positions in American universities, in many cases to the great advantage of scholarship in this country; and last, but not perhaps least, has been the personal part that American scholars and scientists have been able to take both in organizing specific undertakings and in deliberations as to general questions. One who has been accustomed in these last years to take part in international conferences cannot fail to be impressed by the fact that European scholars and scientists appear to attach the utmost importance to American views and suggestions. This state of affairs, in striking contrast to that of the prewar era, is due to various factors. In the first place, it is at least to be hoped that American views have intrinsic value. In the second place, a certain magic has come to be associated, in European minds, with American methods, which are credited with being uniformly and brilliantly successful. In the third place, it cannot be denied that American material aid and support is earnestly desired and eagerly sought for in all quarters. Finally, however, it is obvious that American views and opinions are generally believed to be impartial and objective, and that American plans (speaking always, of course, of intellectual interests and matters) are considered to be disinterested and devoid of ulterior motives.

Thus America and American intellectual workers have found themselves, since 1918, to occupy a position of influence, which, fortunately, they have also realized to be a position of great responsibility. Humbly grateful for the privilege that has been theirs, they may, with all due modesty, feel that they have exercised it conscientiously in the light of their best knowledge and in a sincere effort to promote mutual comprehension and to advance knowledge.

THE LONG ROAD TO PEACE

A Decade of the International Labor Office

By LEIFUR MAGNUSSON

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AS FAR as the record of history goes, every type of civilization has had its devastating wars. The nomads fought over their hunting grounds; the agriculturists of a later day annexed their neighbors' fields by force; and today an industrial civilization wages its conflicts for markets and power and prestige. It has been said that if we appeal to history no evidence can be found which would justify us in believing that wars can be eradicated. In the wilderness of history there is scarcely a path to be discovered that leads to the open highways of peace.

The statesmen of 1919 no doubt realized this: To build from war toward peace is to construct roads in a wilderness; it is to experiment and to make not one but many roads. So each road suggested was grounded on a somewhat different principle. Each was an experiment with a different type of road construction. There were main roads and side roads, direct roads and roads that led the longest way around. And of all the roads that circumscribed the problems of peace, that of the International Labor Office was the longest.

The World Court is the short and direct road to peace through the settlement of disputes that are here and now; the League and its Council, Assembly, Secretariat and its Commissions and Conferences are the somewhat longer road of conciliation, compromise, adjustment and arbitration. The I. L. O., created by Part XIII of the Treaty, is the longest road and seeks to adjust underlying economic and social conditions in such a way as to lessen that unrest and dissatisfaction within a nation which lead it to seek release and satisfaction outside its border in ways that provoke conflict and open warfare.

Standards of Living

The purpose of the I. L. O. is to abolish the darker phases of work competition. The workers in each country are competing for the jobs of workers in other countries, whether by staying at home or by migration. For international trade rests upon differences in costs of production. And any sudden changes in the costs of production result in changes in the currents of trade and the share the workers in the different countries get of that total trade. Some may get less and some may get more. The shift may result in the lowering of living conditions. In the long run, it is obvious that no single group can retain a permanent and disproportionate share. President Coolidge expressed it thus:

We can not expect, in the long course of events, to maintain our country on a permanent level of general well-being far above that of other peoples. . . . At the last, those of us who are partners in the supreme service of building and bettering our civilization must go up or go down, must succeed or fail together, in our one common enterprise.

And recently Owen Young put it thus:

Let no man think that the living standards of America can be permanently maintained at a measurably higher level than those of the other civilized countries. Either we shall lift theirs to ours or they will drag ours down to theirs.

The treaty of peace merely framed the issue in terms of peace and said: Peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice; such conditions of labor do actually exist as to imperil the peace and harmony of the world unless changes are

made so as to eliminate the abuses of long hours, unemployment, exploitation of women and children, and general low standards of living. And the failure of one nation to act is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve conditions in their own countries.

Such is the long road to peace that the I. L. O., which began functioning in 1920, is seeking to build, and has now reached its first ten-mile post for taking a new reckoning and making a new start.

International Guideposts

It may be well to state here that the I. L. O. rests on an international agreement that forms Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles; that it is an association of 55 nations that function through an Annual Conference whose representatives are not only government delegates, but also employers and workers; that it is a treaty-making body concerned with problems of labor and industry; that it works through a permanent secretariat called the International Labor Office; and that action through collective bargaining between employers and workers is as essential a part of its philosophy as is social legislation; and lastly, that it is not a supergovernment, but that each member state retains its ordinary conventional sovereignty and functions on the basis of its own interests subject only to a decent respect for the opinions of the rest of mankind.

The I. L. O. contemplates the problem of labor and industry as a whole and deals with them with the same singleness which characterizes the economic situation of the world. In other words, these problems are dealt with through an institution that is commensurate with those problems. The I. L. O. has frankly accepted a long way around and has set out to tackle the evils of industrial unrest and social upheaval as single connected problems of the world. Consider the fact that unemployment is a universal phenomenon; that nowhere is there any stability of industry; that everywhere there exist poverty and unhealthful conditions of work; that in varying degree of acuteness all the nations, whether free-trade or protectionist, whether open or closed to migration, whether

monarchic or republican, whether liberal or conservative, whether capitalist or communist, all face nearly identical problems of industry and society. And wherever solutions have been offered for these problems the terms of those solutions are curiously similar in principle and differ little except in extent and degree in relation to the development of the evils sought to be remedied.

A Brief Record

The ten-year record of the I. L. O. is built upon the work of its thirteen sessions to which an average of forty governments have annually sent their delegates, and where the national organizations of workers have been represented, and where national associations of employers have had their spokesmen each year. The outcome of its work has been: suggested ways of dealing with such day to day working problems as hours of labor, employment of women and children, night work, finding of jobs, weekly rest and leisure, health, compensation for injuries, treatment of labor in transit (migration), welfare of seamen, forced labor and its place in world industry. These have been the subjects of its treaties. Many other problems have been subjected to examination through research. The publications of the Office now include eight periodicals reporting currently on immediate aspects of all these problems, all appearing in English and French versions, and some in German, Italian and Spanish.

As a fact-finding institution, the I. L. O. has told the story of the eight-hour day and made available the facts with regard to its spread and some of its effects. It had laid bare the practices of forced labor and their part in world economy, and it has established on a sound footing the first comprehensive statistics of migration. Mention might also be made of its special analysis of compensation laws, laws on employment of women, seamen's legislation, freedom of association and hours of work; also its special studies and reports on these and other subjects discussed at the Conference or requested by interested groups.

Views of the Judges

Mr. Arthur Fontaine, chairman of the governing body, and speaking, as it were,

for the governments which are represented in the organization, quotes with approval a judgment on the research activities of the I. L. O. made by the National Industrial Conference Board of the United States:

Prior to the organization of the International Labor Office there was no medium through which interested persons and organizations could keep in close touch with the development in labor legislation and the changes in the broader fields of employment relationship. The special investigations of the Office have assembled information which would not otherwise be available. . . . As a fact-finding and research agency the I. L. O. has functioned as satisfactorily as the breadth of its field of investigation in comparison with its resources permits.

With respect to the legislative work of the Office, Mr. Fontaine cites the record of ratification and compares it with the maximum possible attainable. (This progress of ratification is reported each month by the I. L. O., is constantly subject to change and need not be recited here in detail.) None of the subjects upon which agreement has been ultimately attained, says Mr. Fontaine, has given rise to any serious opposition. "My personal opinion is that the results obtained are, on the whole, very encouraging in view of the difficulties inherent in any international system of legislations" as well as in view "of the great differences in the state of industrial development in the different countries." Mr. Fontaine concludes by pointing out that "the conventions are nearly always based on a large amount of practical experience, or at least on a wave of public opinion which has already spread far beyond the limits of the working class, and in consequence they tend to form . . . the standard for working conditions."¹

The Director of the I. L. O., Albert Thomas, like Mr. Fontaine, speaks from the point of view of a broad internationalism and of the countries represented in the organization. He says: "On the whole, there is no reason to be dissatisfied with

the results achieved. A part of the program has been carried out." Mr. Thomas sums the situation up in this paragraph:

Even more than the moderate, but by no means insignificant, number of ratifications; even more than the application with ever-growing fidelity of the conventions ratified; even more than its scientific work which forms the first and even the most important part of trade libraries; even more than its edifice of wood and stone solidly built in two years and four months and well fitted for its purpose, the International Labor Office has a greater source of pride after these ten years—its moral influence. The organization, made use of to a varying degree and more or less known in its daily working, enjoys to a steadily increasing extent the confidence of governments and representative assemblies, of administrative bodies, of industrial organizations and already even of the mass of the people.

No less important than the views of officials in the I. L. O. are the reactions of employers and workers who participate on equal terms in the organization. (It is recalled that voting in the conference is by the unit method of individuals rather than of countries and all measures of a non-procedural character are passed by a two-thirds majority.)

Mr. Gino Olivetti (Italy) is the vice-chairman of the governing body, acting as spokesman for employers in the organization. Surveying his ten years of association with the organization, Mr. Olivetti finds it interesting

to examine the evidence furnished by facts as to the soundness of conceptions, conclusions and guiding principles that presided over the constitution of an organization which—though Robert Owen had dimly seen it and the International Association for Labor Legislation had adumbrated it—had nevertheless no direct precedent either in law or official practice.

Mr. Olivetti goes carefully over the ground of the compromises achieved by the Commission on International Labor Legislation which at the Peace Conference drew up the charter of the I. L. O. He comments upon the wisdom of the final results in these words: "The experience of the last ten years has proved that those were right who, in the Commission on International

¹ These and subsequent quotations from I. L. O. officials here cited are taken from an illustrated album or memoir issued on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the I. L. O. and entitled, "The International Labor Organization, 1919-1929," Geneva, 1930.

Labor Legislation, held that, after all, it is not coercion that is desired in most questions, but rather 'knowledge of the facts and good will.' The emphasis is on the function "to create and mobilize a healthy public opinion." Within these "comparatively modest limits" the I. L. O. has carried on its "work of moral and social propoganda" inducing the states "to adopt voluntarily in their legislation the principles approved by the conference." With a less flexible system, he says, it would have been difficult to overcome "that legitimate resistance and diffidence" so characteristic of sovereign states. That the I. L. O. has attained its modest objects Mr. Olivette thinks, is evidenced by "the movement of social progress . . . aroused in every part of the world and the healthy ferment of scientific research, legislative reforms and currents of opinion which it has created or guided or rendered more effective and fruitful." As an employer, he concludes with this rather forceful summation:

"The International Labor Office has shown a constant desire to become the motive center of social policy in the whole world," a desire that is characterized "with an effort of scientific impartiality and economic and social equity, which, even though it may not entirely have attained its objects, has proved that the Office is profoundly persuaded that in this effort resides the secret of its future success with governments, employers and workers."

E. L. Poulton, vice-chairman, the governing body, representing the workers, stresses the social-justice aim of the organization, welcoming it as a declaration "that may mean a complete revolution as to the way in which industrial questions will be dealt with in the future." Nevertheless he

recognizes the difficulties in the path of such an international program: The nearness to the present war and its passions; varying national outlooks; differing national policies; geographical distance; language barriers; and more particularly varying stages of industrial development. Yet he has no doubt but that the I. L. O. "has amply and fully justified its existence," and "that by using its powers wisely it will make it more and more possible for the workers to attain to better conditions."

The Open Road

These are the summations of those who have shared in the work of the I. L. O. for the first ten years of its effort. In those encomiums, if they may be so called, there is a degree of modesty and reservation, and freedom from collective boasting. There is the realization that the I. L. O. is merely an instrument of international action; that it rests with those in it to use it for "illth" or wealth; that its effort can go only so far as circumstance permit in a world of dictatorships, monarchies and republics; in a world of sovereign nations jealous of rights and eager for power. At least, as the director of the I. L. O. says, the impulse for good has been given and an atmosphere is in the making. There is the institution; it has a program; and it has the moral support of the world's producers, labor and capital. But above all is the fact of an institution capable of functioning, as the deputy director of the I. L. O. comments, which is "the fundamental difference between prewar and postwar international relations." The institution is the open road to the better social world. And institutions are long and enduring and patient.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

TREATY TEXT

TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES, FRANCE, THE BRITISH EMPIRE, ITALY AND JAPAN FOR THE LIMITATION AND REDUCTION OF NAVAL ARMAMENT, SIGNED AT LONDON, APRIL 22, 1930.

THE President of the United States of America, the President of the French Republic, His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, His Majesty the King of Italy, and His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, desiring to prevent the dangers and reduce the burdens inherent in competitive armaments; and desiring to carry forward the work begun by the Washington Naval Conference and to facilitate the progressive realization of general limitation and reduction of armaments, have resolved to conclude a treaty for the limitation and reduction of naval armament, and have accordingly appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

By the President of the United States of America:
Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State.

Charles G. Dawes, Ambassador to the Court of St. James.

Charles Francis Adams, Secretary of the Navy.
Joseph T. Robinson, Senator from the State of Arkansas.

David A. Reed, Senator from the State of Pennsylvania.

Hugh Gibson, Ambassador to Belgium.

Dwight W. Morrow, Ambassador to Mexico.

By the President of the French Republic:

M. Andre Tardieu, Deputy, President of the Council of Ministers and Minister of the Interior.

M. Aristide Briand, Deputy and Minister for Foreign Affairs.

M. Jacques Louis Dumesnil, Deputy and Minister of Marine.

M. Francois Pietri, Deputy and Minister of Colonies.

M. Aime Joseph de Fleuriau, Ambassador of the French Republic at the Court of St. James.

By His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India:

For Great Britain and Northern Ireland and all parts of the British Empire which are not separate members of the League of Nations:

The Right Hon. James Ramsay MacDonald, M. P., First Lord of His Treasury and Prime Minister.

The Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M. P., His Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The Right Hon. Albert Victor Alexander, M. P., First Lord of His Admiralty.

The Right Hon. William Wedgwood Benn, D. S. O., D. F. C., M. P., His Principal Secretary of State for India.

For the Dominion of Canada:

Colonel the Hon. James Layton Ralston, C. M. G., D. S. O., K. C., Member of His Privy Council for Canada and Minister for National Defense.

The Hon. Philippe Roy, member of His Privy and Minister Plenipotentiary in France for the Council for Canada and His Envoy Extraordinary, Dominion of Canada.

For the Commonwealth of Australia:

The Hon. James Edward Fenton, Minister for Trade and Customs.

For the Dominion of New Zealand:

Thomas Mason Wilford, Esq., K. C., High Commissioner for the Dominion of New Zealand in London.

For the Union of South Africa:

Charles Te Water, Esq., High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa in London.

For the Irish Free State:

Timothy Aloysius Smiddy, Esq., High Commissioner for the Irish Free State in London.

For India:

Sir Atul Chandra Chatterjee, K. C. I. E., High Commissioner of India in London.

By His Majesty the King of Italy:

The Hon. Dino Grandi, Deputy and His Minister Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The Admiral of the Division, the Hon. Giuseppe Sirianni, Senator of the Kingdom and His Minister Secretary of State for Marine.

Mr. Antonio Chiamonte-Bordonaro, His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Court of St. James.

Admiral, the Hon. Alfredo Acton, Senator of the Kingdom.

By His Majesty the Emperor of Japan:

Mr. Reijiro Wakatsuki, Member of the House of Peers.

Admiral Takeshi Takerabe, Minister for the Navy.

Mr. Tsuneo Matsudaira, His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Court of St. James.

Mr. Matsuzo Nagai, His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to His Majesty the King of the Belgians.

Who, having communicated to one another their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

PART I

ARTICLE I.

The high contracting parties agree not to exercise their rights to lay down the keels of capital ship replacement tonnage during the years 1931-1936 inclusive as provided in Chapter II, Part 3, of the Treaty for the Limitation of Naval Armament signed between them at Washington on the sixth of February, 1922, and referred to in the present treaty as the Washington Treaty.

This provision is without prejudice to the disposition relating to the replacement of ships accidentally lost or destroyed contained in Chapter II, Part 3, Section I, Paragraph (c) of the said treaty.

France and Italy may, however, build the replacement tonnage which they were entitled to lay down in 1927 and 1929 in accordance with the provisions of the said treaty.

ARTICLE II.

1. The United States, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Japan shall dispose of the following capital ships as provided in this Article:

United States: *Florida, Utah, Arkansas or Wyoming.*

United Kingdom: *Benbow, Iron Duke, Marlborough, Emperor of India, Tiger.*

Japan: *Hiyei.*

(a) Subject to the provisions of subparagraph (b), the above ships, unless converted to target use exclusively in accordance with Chapter II, Part 2, Paragraph II (c) of the Washington Treaty, shall be scrapped in the following manner:

One of the ships to be scrapped by the United States, and two of those to be scrapped by the United Kingdom, shall be rendered unfit for warlike service, in accordance with Chapter II, Part 2, Paragraph III (b) of the Washington Treaty, within twelve months from the coming into force of the present treaty. These ships shall be finally scrapped, in accordance with Paragraph II (a) or (b) of the said Part 2, within twenty-four months from the said coming into force. In the case of the second of the ships to be scrapped by the United States, and of the third and fourth of the ships to be scrapped by United Kingdom, the said periods shall be eighteen and thirty months respectively from the coming into force of the present treaty.

(b) Of the ships to be disposed of under this Article, the following may be retained for training purposes:

By the United States: *Arkansas or Wyoming.*

By the United Kingdom: *Iron Duke.*

By Japan: *Hiyei.*

These ships shall be reduced to the condition prescribed in Section V of Annex II to Part II of the present treaty. The work of reducing these

vessels to the required condition shall begin, in the case of the United States and the United Kingdom, within twelve months, and in the case of Japan within eighteen months from the coming into force of the present treaty; the work shall be completed within six months of the expiration of the above mentioned periods.

Any of these ships which are not retained for training purposes shall be rendered unfit for warlike service within eighteen months, and finally scrapped within thirty months, of the coming into force of the present treaty.

2. Subject to any disposal of capital ships which might be necessitated, in accordance with the Washington Treaty, by building by France or Italy of the replacement tonnage referred to in Article I of the present treaty, all existing capital ships mentioned in Chapter II, Part 3, Section II of the Washington Treaty and not designated above to be disposed of may be retained during the term of the present treaty.

3. The right of replacement is not lost by delay in laying down replacement tonnage, and the old vessel may be retained until replaced even though due for scrapping under Chapter II, Part 3, Section II of the Washington Treaty.

ARTICLE III

1. For the purpose of the Washington Treaty, the definition of an aircraft carrier given in Chapter II, Part 4 of the said treaty is hereby replaced by the following definition:

"The expression 'aircraft carrier' includes any surfaced vessel of war, whatever its displacement, designed for the specific and exclusive purpose of carrying aircraft and so constructed that aircraft can be launched therefrom and landed thereon."

2. The fitting of a landing-on or flying-off platform or deck on a capital ship, cruiser, or destroyer, provided such vessel was not designed or adapted exclusively as an aircraft carrier, shall not cause any vessel so fitted to be charged against or classified in the category of aircraft carriers.

3. No existing capital ship shall be fitted with a landing-on platform or deck.

ARTICLE IV

1. No aircraft carrier of 10,000 tons (10,160 metric tons) or less standard displacement mounting a gun above 6.1 inches (155 mm.) calibre shall be acquired by, or constructed by, or for, any of the high contracting parties.

2. As from the coming into force of the present treaty in respect of all the high contracting parties, no aircraft carrier of 10,000 tons (10,160 metric tons) or less standard displacement mounting a gun in excess of 6.1 inch (155 mm.) shall be constructed within the jurisdiction of any of the high contracting parties.

ARTICLE V

An aircraft carrier must not be designed and

constructed for carrying a more powerful armament than that authorized by Article IX or Article X of the Washington Treaty, or by Article IV of the present treaty, as the case may be. Wherever in the said Articles IX and X of the Washington Treaty the calibre of 6.0 inches (152 mm.) is mentioned, the calibre of 6.1 inches (155 mm.) is substituted therefor.

PART II

ARTICLE VI

1. The rules for determining standard displacement prescribed in Chapter II, Part 4, of the Washington Treaty shall apply to all surface vessels of war of each of the high contracting parties.

2. The standard displacement of a submarine is the surface displacement of the vessel complete (exclusive of the water in nonwatertight structure) fully manned, engined, and equipped ready for sea, including all armament and ammunition, equipment, outfit, provisions for crew, miscellaneous stores, and implements of every description that are intended to be carried in war, but without fuel, lubricating oil, fresh water or ballast water of any kind on board.

3. Each naval combatant vessel shall be rated at its displacement tonnage when in the standard condition. The word "ton," except in the expression "metric ton," shall be understood to be the ton of 2,240 pounds (1,016 kilos).

ARTICLE VII

1. No submarine, the standard displacement of which exceeds 2,000 tons (2,032 metric tons) or with a gun above 5.1 inches (130 mm.) calibre shall be acquired by or constructed by or for any of the high contracting parties.

2. The high contracting parties may, however, retain, build or acquire a maximum number of three submarines of a standard displacement not exceeding 2,800 tons (2,845 metric tons); these submarines may carry guns not above 6.1 inches (155 mm.) calibre. Within this number, France may retain one unit, already launched, of 2,880 tons (2,926 metric tons), with guns the calibre of which is 8 inches (203 mm.).

3. The high contracting parties may retain the submarines which they possessed on the 1st April, 1930, having a standard displacement not in excess of 2,000 tons (2,032 metric tons), and armed with guns above 5.1 inches (130 mm.) calibre.

4. As from the coming into force of the present treaty in respect of all the high contracting parties, no submarine the standard displacement of which exceeds 2,000 tons (2,032 metric tons) or with a gun above 5.1 inches (130 mm.) calibre shall be constructed within the jurisdiction of any of the high contracting parties, except as provided in paragraph 2 of this Article.

ARTICLE VIII

Subject to any special agreements which may submit them to limitation, the following vessels are exempt from limitation:

(a) Naval surface combatant vessels of 600 tons (610 metric tons) standard displacement and under.

(b) Naval surface combatant vessels exceeding 600 tons (610 metric tons), but not exceeding 2,000 tons (2,032 metric tons) standard displacement provided they have none of the following characteristics:

(1) Mount a gun above 6.1 inches (155 mm.) calibre.

(2) Mount more than four guns above 3 inches (76 mm.) calibre.

(3) Are designed or fitted to launch torpedoes.

(4) Are designed for a speed greater than twenty knots.

(c) Naval surface vessels not specifically built as fighting ships which are employed on fleet duties or as troop transports or in some other way than as fighting ships, provided they have none of the following characteristics:

(1) Mount a gun above (6.1) inches (155 mm.) calibre.

(2) Mount more than four guns above 3-inch (76 mm.) calibre.

(3) Are designed or fitted to launch torpedoes.

(4) Are designed for a speed greater than twenty knots.

(5) Are protected by armor plate.

(6) Are designed or fitted to launch mines.

(7) Are fitted to receive aircraft on board from the air.

(8) Mount more than one aircraft-launching apparatus on the center line; or two, one on each broadside.

(9) If fitted with any means of launching aircraft into the air, are designed or adapted to operate at sea more than three aircraft.

ARTICLE IX

The rules as to replacement contained in Annex I to this Part II are applicable to vessels of war not exceeding 10,000 tons (10,160 metric tons) standard displacement, with the exception of aircraft carriers, whose replacement is governed by the provisions of the Washington Treaty.

ARTICLE X

Within one month after the date of laying down and the date of completion respectively of each vessel of war, other than capital ships, aircraft carriers and the vessels exempt from limitation under Article VIII, laid down or completed by or for them after the coming into force of the present treaty, the high contracting parties shall communicate to each of the other high contracting parties the information detailed below:

(a) The date of laying the keel and the following particulars:

The classification of the vessel.

Standard displacement in tons and metric tons.

The principal dimensions, namely, length at water line, extreme beam at or below water line.

Mean draft at standard displacement.

The calibre of the largest gun.

(b) The date of completion together with the foregoing particulars relating to the vessel at that date.

The information to be given in the case of capital ships and aircraft carriers is governed by the Washington Treaty.

ARTICLE XI

Subject to the provisions of Article II of the present treaty, the rules for disposal contained in Annex II to this Part II shall be applied to all vessels of war to be disposed of under the said treaty, and to aircraft carriers as defined in Article III.

ARTICLE XII

1. Subject to any supplementary agreements which may modify as between the high contracting parties concerned, the lists in Annex III of this Part II, the special vessels shown therein may be retained and their tonnage shall not be included in the tonnage subject to limitation.

2. Any other vessel constructed, adapted or acquired to serve the purposes for which these special vessels are retained shall be charged against the tonnage of the appropriate combatant category, according to the characteristics of the vessel, unless such vessel conforms to the characteristics of vessels exempt from limitation under Article VIII.

3. Japan may, however, replace the minelayers *Aso* and *Tokiwa* by two new mine layers before 31st December, 1936. The standard displacement of each of the new vessels shall not exceed 5,000 tons (5,080 metric tons); their speed shall not exceed twenty knots, and their other characteristics shall conform to the provisions of paragraph (b) of Article VIII. The new vessels shall be regarded as special vessels and their tonnage shall not be chargeable to the tonnage of any combatant category. The *Aso* and *Tokiwa* shall be disposed of in accordance with Section I or II of Annex II to this Part II, on completion of the replacement vessels.

4. The *Asama*, *Yakumo*, *Izumo*, *Iwate* and *Kasuga* shall be disposed of as stated in Section I or II of Annex II to this Part II, when the first three vessels of the *Kuma* class have been replaced by new vessels. These three vessels of the *Kuma* class shall be reduced to the condition prescribed in Section V, subparagraph (b) 2 of Annex II to this Part II, and are to be used for training ships, and their tonnage shall not thereafter be included in the tonnage subject to limitation.

ARTICLE XIII

Existing ships of various types which, prior to the 1st April, 1930, have been used as stationary training establishments or hulks, may be retained in a nonseagoing condition.

ANNEX I

RULES FOR REPLACEMENT

Section I

Except as provided in Section III of this Annex and Part III of the present treaty, a vessel shall not be replaced before it becomes "over age." A vessel shall be deemed to be "over age" when the following number of years have elapsed since the date of its completion:

(a) For a surface vessel exceeding 3,000 tons (3,048 metric tons) but not exceeding 10,000 tons (10,160 metric tons) standard displacement:

(i) If laid down before the 1st January, 1920, sixteen years.

(ii) If laid down after the 31st December, 1919, twenty years.

(b) For a surface vessel not exceeding 3,000 tons (3,048 metric tons) standard displacement:

(i) If laid down before the 1st January, 1921, twelve years.

(ii) If laid down after the 31st December, 1920, sixteen years.

(c) For a submarine: Thirteen years.

The keels of replacement tonnage shall not be laid down more than three years before the year in which the vessel to be replaced becomes "over age," but this period is reduced to two years in the case of any replacement surface vessel not exceeding 3,000 tons (3,048 metric tons) standard displacement.

The right of replacement is not lost by delay in laying down replacement tonnage.

Section II

Except as otherwise provided in the present treaty, the vessel or vessels, whose retention would cause the maximum tonnage permitted in the category to be exceeded, shall, on the completion or acquisition of replacement tonnage, be disposed of in accordance with Annex II to this Part II.

Section III

In the event of loss or accidental destruction a vessel may be immediately replaced.

ANNEX II

RULES FOR DISPOSAL OF VESSELS OF WAR

The present treaty provides for the disposal of vessels of war in the following ways:

(i) By scrapping (sinking or breaking up).

(ii) By converting the vessel to a hulk.

(iii) By converting the vessel to target use exclusively.

(iv) By retaining the vessel exclusively for experimental purposes.

(v) By retaining the vessel exclusively for training purposes. Any vessel of war to be disposed of, other than a capital ship, may either

be scrapped or converted to a hulk at the option of the high contracting party concerned.

Vessels, other than capital ships, which have been retained for target usages, experimental or training purposes shall finally be scrapped or converted to hulks.

Section I

Vessels to Be Scrapped

(a) A vessel to be disposed of by scrapping, by reason of its replacement, must be rendered incapable of warlike service within six months of the date of the completion of its successor, or of the first of its successors if there are more than one. If, however, the completion of the new vessel or vessels be delayed, the work of rendering the old vessel incapable of warlike service shall, nevertheless, be completed within four and a half years from the date of laying the keel of the new vessel, or of the first of the new vessels; but should the new vessel, or any of the new vessels, be a surface vessel not exceeding 3,000 tons (3,048 metric tons) standard displacement, this period is reduced to three and a half years.

(b) A vessel to be scrapped shall be considered incapable of warlike service when there shall have been removed and landed or else destroyed in the ship:

(1) All guns and essential parts of guns, fire control tops and revolving parts of all barbettes and turrets.

(2) All hydro-electric machinery for operating turrets.

(3) All fire control instruments and range finders.

(4) All ammunition, explosives, mines and mines rails.

(5) All torpedoes, warheads, torpedo tubes and training racks.

(6) All wireless telegraphy installations.

(7) All main propelling machinery or alternatively the armored conning tower and all side armor plate.

(8) All aircraft cranes, derricks, lifts and launching apparatus. All landing-on or flying-off platforms or, alternatively, all main propelling machinery.

(9) In addition, in the case of submarines, all main storage batteries, air compressor plants and ballast pumps.

(c) Scrapping shall be finally effected in either of the following ways within twelve months of the date on which the work of rendering the vessel incapable of warlike service is due for completion:

(1) Permanent sinking of the vessel.

(2) Breaking the vessel up; this shall always include the destruction or removal of all machinery, boilers and armor, and all deck, side and bottom plating.

Section II

Vessels to Be Converted to Hulks

A vessel to be disposed of by conversion to a

hulk shall be considered finally disposed of when the conditions prescribed in Section I, Paragraph (b), have been complied with, omitting subparagraphs (6), (7) and (8), and when the following have been effected:

(1) Mutilation beyond repair of all propeller shafts, thrust blocks, turbine gearing or main propelling motors, and turbines or cylinders of main engines.

(2) Removal of propeller brackets.

(3) Removal and breaking up of all aircraft lifts, and the removal of all aircraft cranes, derricks and launching apparatus.

The vessel must be put in the above condition within the same limits of time as provided in Section (I) for rendering a vessel incapable of warlike service.

Section III

Vessels to Be Converted to Target Use

(a) A vessel to be disposed of by conversion to target use exclusively shall be considered incapable of warlike service when there have been removed and landed, or rendered unserviceable on board, the following:

(1) All guns.

(2) All fire control tops and instruments and main fire control communication wiring.

(3) All machinery for operating gun mountings or turrets.

(4) All ammunition, explosives, mines, torpedoes and torpedo tubes.

(5) All aviation facilities and accessories.

The vessel must be put into the above condition within the same limits of time as provided in Section I for rendering a vessel incapable of warlike service.

(b) In addition to the rights already possessed by each high contracting party under the Washington Treaty, each high contracting party is permitted to retain, for target use exclusively, at any one time:

(1) Not more than three vessels (cruisers or destroyers), but of these three vessels only one may exceed 3,000 tons (3,048 metric tons) standard displacement.

(2) One submarine.

(c) On retaining a vessel for target use, the high contracting party undertakes not to recon-
dition it for warlike service.

Section IV

Vessels Retained for Experimental Purposes

(a) A vessel to be disposed of by conversion to experimental purposes exclusively, shall be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of Section III (a) this Annex.

(b) Without prejudice to the general rules, and provided that due notice be given to the other high contracting parties, reasonable variation from the conditions prescribed in Section III (a) this Annex, in so far as may be necessary for the

purposes of a special experiment, may be permitted as a temporary measure.

Any high contracting party taking advantage of this provision is required to furnish full details of any such variations and the period for which they will be required.

(c) Each high contracting party is permitted to retain for experimental purposes exclusively at any one time:

(i) Not more than two vessels (cruisers or destroyers) but of these two vessels only one may exceed 3,000 tons (3,048 metric tons) standard displacement.

(ii) One submarine.

(d) The United Kingdom is allowed to retain, in their present conditions the monitor *Roberts*, the main armament guns and mountings of which have been mutilated, and the seaplane carrier *Ark Royal*, until no longer required for experimental purposes. The retention of these two vessels is without prejudice to the retention of vessels permitted under (c) above.

(e) On retaining a vessel for experimental purposes the high contracting party undertakes not to recondition it for warlike service.

Section V

Vessels Retained for Training Purposes

(a) In addition to the rights already possessed by any high contracting party under the Washington Treaty, each high contracting party is permitted to retain for training purposes exclusively the following vessels:

United States: One capital ship (*Arkansas* or *Wyoming*).

France: Two surface vessels, one of which may exceed 3,000 tons (3,048 metric tons) standard displacement.

United Kingdom: One capital ship (*Iron Duke*).

Italy: Two surface vessels, one of which may exceed 3,000 tons (3,048 metric tons) standard displacement.

Japan: One capital ship (*Hiei*), three cruisers (*Kuma*) class.

(b) Vessels retained for training purposes under the provisions of paragraph (a) shall, within six months of the date on which they are required to be disposed of, be dealt with as follows:

Capital Ships

The following is to be carried out:

(1) Removal of main armament guns, revolving parts of all barbets and turrets; machinery for operating turrets; but three turrets with their armament may be retained in each ship.

(2) Removal of all ammunition and explosives in excess of the quantity required for target practice training for the guns remaining on board.

(3) Removal of conning tower and the side armor belt between the foremost and aftermost barbets.

(4) Removal or mutilation of all torpedo tubes.

(5) Removal or mutilation on board of all boilers in excess of the number required for a maximum speed of eighteen knots.

Other Surface Vessels Retained by France, Italy and Japan.

The following is to be carried out:

(1) Removal of one half of guns, but four guns of main calibre may be retained on each vessel.

(2) Removal of all torpedo tubes.

(3) Removal of all aviation facilities and accessories.

(4) Removal of one half of boilers.

(c) The high contracting party concerned undertakes that vessels retained in accordance with the provisions of this section shall not be used for any combatant purpose.

ANNEX III

SPECIAL VESSELS

United States

Name	Type of vessel	Displacement tons
<i>Aroostook</i> (minelayer)		4,950
<i>Oglala</i> (minelayer)		4,950
<i>Baltimore</i> (minelayer)		4,413
<i>San Francisco</i> (minelayer)		4,083
<i>Cheyenne</i> (monitor)		2,800
<i>Helena</i> (gunboat)		1,392
<i>Isabel</i> (yacht)		938
<i>Niagara</i> (yacht)		2,600
<i>Bridgeport</i> (destroyer tender)		11,750
<i>Dobbin</i> (destroyer tender)		12,450
<i>Melville</i> (destroyer tender)		7,150
<i>Whitney</i> (destroyer tender)		12,450
<i>Holland</i> (submarine tender)		11,570
<i>Henderson</i> (naval transport)		10,000
Total		91,496

France

Name	Type of vessel	Displacement tons
<i>Castor</i> (minelayer)		3,150
<i>Pollux</i> (minelayer)		2,461
<i>Commandant-Teste</i> (seaplane carrier)		10,000
<i>Aisne</i> (despatch vessel)		600
<i>Marne</i> (despatch vessel)		600
<i>Ancre</i> (despatch vessel)		604
<i>Scarpe</i> (despatch vessel)		604
<i>Suijpe</i> (despatch vessel)		604
<i>Dunkerque</i> (despatch vessel)		644
<i>Laffaux</i> (despatch vessel)		644
<i>Bapaume</i> (despatch vessel)		644
<i>Nancy</i> (despatch vessel)		644
<i>Calais</i> (despatch vessel)		644
<i>Lassigny</i> (despatch vessel)		644
<i>Les Eparges</i> (despatch vessel)		644
<i>Remiremont</i> (despatch vessel)		644
<i>Tahure</i> (despatch vessel)		644
<i>Toul</i> (despatch vessel)		644
<i>Epinal</i> (despatch vessels)		644
<i>Lievin</i> (despatch vessel)		644
— (net layer)		2,293
Total		28,644

British Commonwealth of Nations

Name	Type of vessel	Displacement tons
<i>Adventurer</i> , minelayer (United Kingdom)		6,740
<i>Albatross</i> , seaplane carrier (Australia)		5,000
<i>Erebus</i> , monitor (United Kingdom)		7,200
<i>Terror</i> , monitor (United Kingdom)		7,200
<i>Marshal Soult</i> , monitor (United Kingdom)		6,400
<i>Clive</i> , sloop (India)		2,021
<i>Medway</i> , submarine depot ship (United Kingdom)		15,000
Total		49,561

Italy

Name	Type of vessel	Displacement tons
<i>Miragli</i> (seaplane carrier)		4,880
<i>Faà di Bruno</i> (Monitor)		2,800
<i>Monte Grappa</i> (monitor)		605
<i>Montello</i> (monitor)		605
<i>Monte Cengio</i> (ex-monitor)		500
<i>Monte Novegno</i> (ex-monitor)		500
<i>Campania</i> (sloop)		2,070
Total		11,960

Japan

Name	Type of vessel	Displacement tons
<i>Aso</i> (minelayer)		7,180
<i>Tokiwa</i> (minelayer)		9,240
<i>Asama</i> (old cruiser)		9,240
<i>Yakumo</i> (old cruiser)		9,010
<i>Izumo</i> (old cruiser)		9,180
<i>Iwate</i> (old cruiser)		9,180
<i>Kasuga</i> (old cruiser)		7,080
<i>Yodo</i> (gunboat)		1,320
Total		61,430

PART III

The President of the United States of America, His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions Beyond the Seas,

Emperor of India, and His Majesty, the Emperor of Japan, have agreed as between themselves to the provisions of this Part III:

ARTICLE XIV

The naval combatant vessels of the United States, the British Commonwealth of Nations and Japan, other than capital ships, aircraft carriers and all vessels exempt from limitation under Article VIII, shall be limited during the term of the present treaty as provided in this Part III, and in the case of special vessels, as provided in Article XII.

ARTICLE XV

For the purpose of this Part III the definition of the cruiser and destroyer categories shall be as follows:

Cruisers:

Surface vessels of war, other than capital ships or aircraft carriers, the standard displacement of which exceeds 1,850 tons (1,880 metric tons), or with a gun above 5.1 inches (130 mm.) calibre.

The cruiser category is divided into two following subcategories:

(a) Cruisers carrying a gun above 6.1 inch (155 mm.) calibre.

(b) Cruisers carrying a gun not above 6.1 inch (155 mm.) calibre.

Destroyers:

Surface vessels of war the standard displacement of which does not exceed 1,850 tons (1,880 metric tons), and with a gun not above 5.1 inches (130 mm.) calibre.

ARTICLE XVI

1. The completed tonnage in the cruiser, destroyer and submarine categories which is not to be exceeded on the 31st of December, 1936, is given in the following table:

CATEGORIES	UNITED STATES	UNITED KINGDOM	JAPAN
Cruisers:			
(a) With guns of more than 6.1 inch (155 mm.) calibre.	180,000 tons (182,880 metric tons)	146,800 tons (149,149 metric tons)	108,400 tons (110,134 metric tons)
(b) With guns of 6.1 inch (155 mm.) calibre or less.	143,500 tons (145,796 metric tons)	192,200 tons (195,275 metric tons)	100,450 tons (102,057 metric tons)
Destroyers	150,000 tons (152,400 metric tons)	105,500 tons (107,188 metric tons)	105,500 tons (107,188 metric tons)
Submarines	52,700 tons (53,543 metric tons)	52,700 tons (53,543 metric tons)	52,700 tons (53,543 metric tons)

2. Vessels which cause the total tonnage in any category to exceed the figures given in the foregoing table shall be disposed of gradually during the period ending on 31st December, 1936.

3. The maximum number of cruisers of subcategories (a) shall be as follows:

For the United States, eighteen; for the United Kingdom, fifteen; for Japan, twelve.

4. In the destroyer category not more than 16 per cent of the allowed total tonnage shall be employed in vessels of over 1,500 tons (1,524 metric tons) standard displacement. Destroyers completed or under construction on 1st April, 1930, in excess of this percentage may be retained, but no other destroyers exceeding 1,500 tons (1,524 metric tons) standard displacement shall be constructed or acquired until a reduction to such 16 per cent has been effected.

5. Not more than 25 per cent of the allowed total tonnage in the cruiser category may be fitted with a landing-on platform or deck for aircraft.

6. It is understood that the submarines referred to in paragraphs 2 and 3 of Article VII will be counted as part of the total submarine tonnage of the high contracting parties concerned.

7. The tonnage of any vessels retained under Article XIII or disposed of in accordance with Annex II to Part II of the present treaty shall not be included in the tonnage subject to limitation.

ARTICLE XVII

A transfer not exceeding 10 per cent of the allowed total tonnage of the category or subcategory into which the transfer is to be made shall be permitted between cruisers of subcategory (b) and destroyers.

ARTICLE XVIII

The United States contemplates the completion by 1935 of fifteen cruisers of subcategory (a) of an aggregate tonnage of 150,000 tons (152,400 metric tons). For each of the remaining three cruisers of subcategory (a) which it is entitled to construct the United States may elect to substitute 15,166 tons (15,409 metric tons) of cruisers of subcategory (b). In case the United States shall construct one or more of such three remaining cruisers of subcategory (a) the sixteenth unit will not be laid down before 1933 and will not be completed before 1936; the seventeenth will not be laid down before 1934 and will not be completed before 1937; the eighteenth will not be laid down before 1935 and will not be completed before 1938.

ARTICLE XIX

Except as provided in Article XX, the tonnage laid down in any category subject to limitation in accordance with Article XVI shall not exceed the amount necessary to reach the maximum allowed tonnage of the category, or to replace vessels that become "over age" before December 31, 1936. Nevertheless replacement tonnage may be laid down for cruisers and submarines that become "over age" in 1937, 1938, and 1939, and for destroyers that become "over age" in 1937 and 1938.

ARTICLE XX

Notwithstanding the rules for replacement contained in Annex I to Part II:

(a) The *Frobisher* and *Effingham* (United Kingdom) may be disposed of during the year 1936. Apart from the cruisers now under construction, the total replacement tonnage of cruisers to be completed, in the case of the United Kingdom, prior to 31st December, 1936, shall not exceed 91,000 tons (92,456 metric tons).

(b) Japan may replace the *Tama* by new construction to be completed during the year 1936.

(c) In addition to replacing destroyers becoming "over age" before 31st December, 1936, Japan may lay down, in each of the years 1935 and 1936, not more than 5,200 tons (5,283 metric tons) to replace part of the vessels that become "over age" in 1938 and 1939.

(d) Japan may anticipate replacement during the term of the present treaty by laying down not more than 19,200 tons (19,507 metric tons) of submarine tonnage, of which not more than 12,000 tons (12,192 metric tons) shall be completed by 31st December, 1936.

ARTICLE XXI

If, during the term of the present treaty, the requirements of the national security of any high contracting party in respect of vessels of war limited by Part III of the present treaty are in the opinion of that party materially affected by new construction of any power other than those who have joined in Part III of this treaty, that high contracting party will notify the other parties to Part III as to the increase required to be made in its own tonnages within one or more of the categories of such vessels of war, specifying particularly the proposed increases and the reasons therefor, and shall be entitled to make such increase. Thereupon the other parties to Part III of this treaty shall be entitled to make a proportionate increase in the category or categories specified; and the said other parties shall promptly advise with each other through diplomatic channels as to the situation thus presented.

PART IV

ARTICLE XXII

The following are accepted as established rules of international law:

(i) In their action with regard to merchant ships, submarines must conform to the rules of international law to which surface vessels are subject.

(ii) In particular, except in case of persistent refusal to stop on being duly summoned, or of active resistance to visit or search, a warship, whether surface vessel or submarine boat, may not sink or render incapable of navigation a merchant vessel without having first placed passengers, crew and ship's papers in a place of safety. For this purpose the ship's boats are not regarded as a place of safety unless the safety of the passengers and crew is assured,

in the existing sea and weather conditions, by the proximity of land, or the presence of another vessel which is in a position to take them on board.

The high contracting parties invite all other powers to express their assent to the above rules.

PART V

ARTICLE XXIII

The present treaty shall remain in force until the 31st December, 1936, subject to the following exceptions:

(1) Part IV shall remain in force without any limit of duration.

(2) The provisions of Articles III, IV, and V and Article XI and Annex II to Part II, so far as it may relate to aircraft carriers, shall remain in force for the same period as the Washington Treaty.

Unless the high contracting parties should agree otherwise by reason of a more generally known agreement limiting naval armaments, to which they all become parties, they shall meet in conference in 1935 to frame a new treaty to replace and to carry out the purposes of the present treaty, it being understood that none of the provisions of the present treaty shall prejudice the attitude of any of the high contracting parties at the conference agreed to.

ARTICLE XXIV

1. The present treaty shall be ratified by the high contracting parties in accordance with their respective constitutional methods and the ratification shall be deposited at London as soon as possible. Certified copies of all the *proces verbaux* of the deposit of ratification will be transmitted to all the high contracting parties.

2. As soon as the ratification of the United States of America, of His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions Beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, in respect of each and all of the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations as enumerated in the preamble of the present treaty, and of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan have been deposited, the treaty shall come into force in respect of the said high contracting parties.

3. On the date of the coming into force referred to in the preceding paragraphs, Parts I, II, IV and V of the present treaty will come into force in respect to the French Republic and the Kingdom of Italy if their ratifications have been deposited at that date; otherwise these Parts will come into force in respect of each of these powers on the deposit of their ratifications.

4. The rights and obligations resulting from Part 3 of the present treaty are limited to the high contracting parties mentioned in paragraph 2 of this Article.

The high contracting parties will agree as to the date on which, and the conditions under which, the obligations assumed under the said Part 3 by the high contracting parties mentioned in paragraph 2 of this Article, will bind them in relation to France and Italy: such agreement will

determine at the same time the corresponding obligations of France and Italy in relation to the other high contracting parties.

ARTICLE XXV

After the deposit of the ratifications of all the high contracting parties, His Britannic Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, Great Britain and Northern Ireland will communicate, on their behalf, the provisions inserted in Part 4 of the present treaty to all governments, inviting them to accede thereto definitely and without limit of time.

Such accession shall be effected by a declaration addressed to His Britannic Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

ARTICLE XXVI

The present treaty, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall remain deposited in the archives of his Britannic Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. Duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted to the governments of all the high contracting parties. In faith whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done at London, the 22nd day of April, 1930.

News In Brief

THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZES, according to a decision of the Storting Nobel committee, will not be at present awarded. The prize for 1928 will be placed to the account of the committee's fund, and that for 1929 will be reserved for 1930.

THE WILLIAMSTOWN INSTITUTE OF POLITICS will take for its main theme for consideration this year the "Problem of World Stabilization." Under this theme it will consider the question of interference in backward states, independence movements, such as those in India and Egypt, communism in Russia, French security, and the destiny of Italy.

THE NATIONAL ARTS CLUB, with headquarters in New York, announces a prize of \$3,000 for the best literary work on "The soul of America." This offer is prompted by the feeling that a large number of postwar books have been given to magnifying national faults, or to cynical criticism of passing phases in our national life. The manuscripts submitted may be in any literary form, from fiction to essay; but they must depict deep, fundamental and admirable aspects of our national life.

THE BOSTON BRANCH of the English Speaking Union in the United States has offered a traveling fellowship for the study of vocational education in Great Britain. The fellowship was awarded this year to Professor Atlee Lane Percy, of Boston University. The English Speaking Union is a nonpolitical organization which is pledged to further good understanding between the British Commonwealth and the United States of America. It is organized in each country separately, and maintains clubhouses with libraries in many centers. The Union lately completed its eleventh year.

THE DANISH SECTION of the International Dairy Federation will hold, in Copenhagen, in July, an international dairy congress for the exchange of scientific and economic information connected with the industry.

STUDENTS OF CANADIAN AND AMERICAN colleges held a "Model Assembly of the League of Nations" in the University of Toronto in February. They debated there many world problems, including the minority question, the Palestine troubles and other vexing questions. The assembly was so interesting and educational to the 54 young delegates that it is proposed to repeat the experiment at Princeton.

IN ACCORDANCE WITH A RESOLUTION adopted by the sixth international conference of American states in Havana in 1928, a congress of rectors, deans and educators in general have lately met in Havana to consider a project for an inter-American institute of intellectual co-operation. The United States was represented by Dr. James Brown Scott, chairman, secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Dr. J. C. Merriam, president of the Carnegie Institution; Dr. Stephen P. Duggan, director of the Institute of International Relations; Dr. Frank Aydelotte, president of Swarthmore College; and Dr. Ellen F. Pendleton, president of Wellesley College.

HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSON, who was born on April 2, 1805, is to be honored this summer in Denmark by the dedication of a memorial building which is nearly completed. Meanwhile the 125th anniversary of his birth was celebrated all over Denmark in April, with plays, specially composed music and other programs.

AMONG THE MANY SUMMER SCHOOLS for foreign visitors is one announced for Japan, to be held probably in Tokyo University, in July. The past

and present status of Japanese culture and history will be presented to American teachers and students.

WITH IMPRESSIVE SHINTO CEREMONIES, a new road was opened and dedicated in Japan this spring; it leads from Uraga to Kurihama, Commodore Perry's monument and the site of the first landing of Americans in Japan.

THE 1929 CARGO SHIPMENT through the Panama Canal totaled 31,340,493 tons, a 7 per cent increase over the previous year. The increase was 12.1 per cent from the Atlantic to the Pacific and 4.7 per cent in the opposite direction.

ITALY HAS SET OCTOBER 15 for the celebration of the 2,000th anniversary of the birth of the poet Virgil. The celebration, beginning at Rome, will travel to all the places made famous by the writings or life of Virgil.

AN INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS of building and public works will be held in London, May 26-30. President Hoover has appointed fourteen delegates from the United States to the congress.

AT THE INSTIGATION of associations for the help of the blind in this country, an international congress is to be held in New York City in the spring of 1931. The purpose of the convention is the exchange of information as to the teaching and help of the blind, profitable methods of employment and the study of new equipment.

THE UNITED STATES WILL PARTICIPATE in the meeting of the International Railway Congress Association to be held in Madrid, in May. This is a permanent organization to which about forty nations adhere. The United States has been a member since 1905 and contributes \$800 annually. The last general meeting was held in Lisbon, in 1925.

THE PRESIDENT-ELECT OF COLOMBIA, Dr. Enrique Olaya Ferrara, is now minister to the United States. He will return to Colombia in July and will be inaugurated in August.

AN INTERESTING DEVELOPMENT in international communication is to be found in the "World Telephone Directory," which recently made its appearance in Denmark. The edition published in 1929 contained 12,000 names, and the edition planned to appear this summer will contain some

60,000 names. The book is printed in French, German and English.

THE FOURTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE of the Catholic Association for International Peace met in Washington, April 22-23.

BY RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY with Colombia, April 4, a territorial dispute of long standing was settled. By the terms of this treaty the Mosquito Coast and the Corn Islands are made Nicaraguan territory, thus giving Nicaragua definite sovereignty over the entire east coast, including the proposed eastern end of the Nicaraguan Canal. One of the Corn Islands was leased to the United States under the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty for a United States naval base.

IN CONNECTION WITH the Belgian centennial celebrations this summer a congress on family education will be held at Liege, Belgium, August 4-7.

THE TOPICS FOR COMPETITORS in the Seabury prize contests this year are announced by the American School Citizenship League to be: 1. For students in normal schools and colleges, "The Teacher's Opportunity to Strengthen the Kellogg-Briand Pact." 2. For students in secondary schools, "How Would World Peace Benefit the Youth of the World?"

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF TOKYO, destroyed by earthquake and fire in 1923, is now complete, and a three-day celebration of the event was held there the last week in March. At that time the Tokyo Institute of Municipal Research sent a message of gratitude to Dr. Charles Austin Beard, of New York, an experienced city-planning engineer, for his assistance in reconstruction. Dr. Beard was called upon in 1923 by the Minister of Home Affairs of Japan, and gave valuable suggestions to the authorities, especially as to land and housing problems, communication systems, bridges, economic policies and beautification of the renewed city. To convey to the American people the thanks of the Japanese for aid at the time of the earthquake, four young women, chosen from among students in higher institutions of learning in Japan, were sent to this country.

EUGENE ROY WAS, on April 21, designated temporary President of Haiti, by the Council of State. He will take office in May, at the expiration of the term of Louis Borno, and will serve until the regular elections are held in the fall.

SUMMER SCHOOLS WILL BE HELD in Prague, July 21-30, and in Carlsbad, August 2-10, under the auspices of the British Society of Czechoslovakia and the American educational committee. Courses will cover economic and cultural conditions in Central Europe, and the history and literature of Czechoslovakia.

THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT, on April 22, warned Germans interested in oriental trade against supplying munitions to Chinese groups. This is the third time within the year that such a warning has been given by the government.

POLAND HAS JOINED the countries which are establishing colonies in Brazil. A concession has been granted for Polish colonizing of approximately 125,000 acres lying north of the Rio São José, on elevated, healthful land. Two groups of Polish immigrants have already arrived at the colony.

Book Review

MAHATMA GANDHI'S IDEAS. By *C. F. Andrews*. Pp. 378 and index. Macmillan Co., N. Y., 1930. Price, \$3.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the son of the Prime Minister of an Indian state, was born in 1869, in a small seaport town called Porbunder. His early environment was entirely Hindu, little touched by the outside world. From his mother he inherited a deeply religious nature and by her his childhood and youth were deeply influenced in the devout Hindu faith. Mr. Andrews hazards the suggestion that the boy's nature was also unconsciously drawn toward mysticism by the ceaseless voice of the waves near his home, and by the great Arabian desert whose edge is so near this western corner of India.

The biographical facts in Gandhi's life are only briefly outlined in this book; but enough to explain the growth of his philosophy, the development in his "experiments with truth." Another volume is to follow, giving selected passages from his autobiography.

Mohandas Gandhi—Mahatma, "Great Soul," is a title given him since he became a teacher and leader—went as a young man to Oxford, England, for the purpose of studying law. The extreme and sudden change from the East to the West made profound inroads upon the young mystic's thought. Though maintaining his ascetic sim-

plicity of life, he was deeply disturbed in his religion, hovering at one time on the borders of atheism. Returning to India he had an unproductive legal practice there. Then he was called on a case to South Africa. There he took up the cause of resident Indians, and there he found himself, philosophically. The reading of Tolstoy finally crystallized his ideas, the sermon on the mount further inspiring his conclusions. He remained a Hindu, but found himself in harmony with certain other sects.

It was in South Africa that Andrews met and became a follower of Gandhi. Since that time he has evidently been in sympathetic and intimate companionship with him. Yet the book gains much in balance and dependability from the fact that the author sometimes disagrees, though modestly, with the leader, or finds himself unconvinced by an argument.

The developing ideas of Gandhi are given—largely in his own words—first on his co-operation with England during the war, then after the Amritsar massacre on his policy of nonviolent nonco-operation with the government. It seems to be an unfortunate fact that, no matter how empty of hatred he may be himself, a man who goes up and down the land preaching any sort of resistance to injustice is bound to rouse an expression of mob violence in some of his hearers. It was so in the Bombay riots of 1921; it is proving to be so in Gandhi's present defiance of the salt monopoly. But here we have the philosophy of a man who attempts to manage material relations by the sole use of spiritual forces. Apparently the great "soul force," never resorting to material instruments, cannot yet be operative whether in the Hindu or the Christian world, at least among the rank and file. Individuals like St. Francis, Gandhi, Thoreau, Tolstoy, may live their philosophy; but transcendentalism as a social movement, with its disregard for the accessories of life, has not been sufficiently prepared for in the world if, indeed, it is ever to work out.

An interpretative book like this, placing Gandhi in relation to Christianity, to Islam, to industry, to justice, to the woman movement, is a valuable study. It interprets India, the India of Tagore as well as that of Gandhi. It attempts no solution of the problems of British government, but lays a foundation for any individual study of the practical questions.

We await with much interest the second volume on Gandhi, and a following one promised on Rabindranath Tagore.

THIS WORLD OF NATIONS. By *Pitman B. Potter*.

Pp. 358 and index. Macmillan Co., N. Y., 1929.

Price, \$4.

"Foundations, institutions and practices" is the subtitle of Mr. Potter's book and indicates the scope of it. Particularly arresting is the dedication, which reads: "To Dalton and Jimmie, with the thought that this may be made a more enjoyable world in which to live." With such a purpose, especially if Dalton and Jimmie chance to be his own children, a man will strive to think with all possible clarity; he will be factual and set aside hobbies. He will try, in other words, to image something really possible of accomplishment. He will take into account things as they are—man as psychology reveals him, nations which will surely act in the interest of their nationals. Within these boundaries he will look searchingly for a better principle of order. And just this has Dr. Potter done.

The book is rather livelier and more popular in style than the author's previous "Introduction to the Study of International Organization." It is a book definitely for the general reader.

Among its many excellencies we find some sage observations on the subject of peace work. "The pacifist of the sentimental type," he says "makes practical men see red." "It is deplorable," he goes on, "that the peace movement should lose the support of just the persons to whom it should appeal." As to disarmament, he sees it as desirable but impossible to obtain as a program of peace. That is putting the cart before the horse. We must go at peace, he says, by the patient method of conference, conciliation and similar means. International law must grow, not only in definition, but in the consciousness of nations. In fact "men must build peace piecemeal." It is a long, patient process; but when nations are secure, disarmament will follow automatically.

All this is so sensible, we marvel that it needs to be said. He also points a truth not so obvious as it should be, that it is today not the pacifist as such who is building sure foundations of peace, but the practical statesman, the public official.

Without categorically endorsing every statement of the author, we find this book, by and large, so sane and constructive, it will we hope have a wide circulation.

THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE. By *Paul Hutchinson*. Pp. 225. Willett, Clark & Colby, Chicago, 1929. Price, \$2.

THE UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD. By *Oscar Newfang*. Pp. 284. G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y., 1930. Price, \$2.

The speech of M. Briand, delivered before the

League of Nations assembly in September, 1929, was not in any sense the origin of the idea of a United States of Europe. Another Frenchman, Victor Hugo, in a speech before the Paris Peace Congress of 1849, presented a moving prophesy of two great groups, the United States of America and the United States of Europe, extending hands of fellowship across the ocean, uniting in constructive and fraternal work. Count Coudenhove-Kalergi of Vienna, in 1926, brought out a book "Pan-Europe" with a similar idea. He also founded a union for purposes of propaganda of which he is the president. The year before, Dr. Heerfordt of Denmark brought out a book advocating an Anglo-European United States. There have been others to propose the idea.

The fact, however, that so practical a statesman as Briand, one whose achievements in co-operation have already been so considerable, should voice the idea and in such a gathering, has given great impetus to the suggestion. It has now emerged from the equipment of the crusader and entered the domain of practical politics as a subject of consideration.

Beginning with Briand's statement, Mr. Hutchinson surveys the thought from the standpoint of various parts of the world and from various social and economic angles. A trained newspaper man, a student of affairs, he makes his book both readable and pungent. It is informative as well.

The analogy between the United States of America and League of Nations is the theme of Mr. Newfang's book. This analogy, though it is often carried too far to be useful, has many tempting points. There are some things in our history which might be useful to a European federation of states if they would heed them. Mr. Newfang misses some of them. He makes use of the Civil War and its causes in an analysis of present European conditions, in a manner new and, though he carries it rather far, suggestive. He places the labor-capitalist dissensions in Europe in the category with the economic causes of the Civil War in America and tries to deduce conclusions which would prevent a similar outbreak in Europe. In both cases he believes that a central organization adequately equipped to force all states or groups of states to keep the peace would prevent a war. This, of course, assumes the practical disarmament of member states. Since Russia, the main exponent of communism in Europe, is not a member of the League, one fails to see how the matter could thus be settled.

Since the use of force against a state is one of the things discarded by the United States in its beginnings, one fails to see how such an organiza-

tion would attract the United States, as he thinks it would. The book begins with the Kellogg-Briand Pact and concludes on the note of an international force! Up to this point, however, the book provides an interesting analysis, as does the volume by Mr. Hutchinson.

LABOR AND INTERNATIONALISM. By *Lewis L. Lorwin*. Pp. 673 and index. Macmillan Co., N. Y., 1929. For the Brookings Institution. Price, \$3.

In this day of industrialism—a day, too, of awakening consciousness of social responsibility—the many phases of labor internationalism are bewildering. We need a map to find our way about. We need an engineer's plan to plot the lay of the land as it now is. Such a map, such a descriptive geography may be found in this amazingly unbiased and scholarly book by Dr. Lorwin. The labor movement in what seems to be all its elements, some alarming, some hopeful, is here analyzed. The rise and history is made to explain the differences, many of them startling, between communists, socialists, "Amsterdam," the third international, the syndicalists, the Christian trade unions, the American Federation of Labor, and the International Labor Bureau at Geneva.

To understand a problem is half way to a solution, therefore this exceedingly interesting book.

Not least among its excellencies are the appendices which, besides the index and bibliography, contain a *dramatis personæ*, a brief who's who of persons mentioned in the text.

POLITICAL HANDBOOK OF THE WORLD. Edited by *Malcolm W. Davis and Walter H. Mallory*. Pp. 198. Yale University Press, 1929. For the Council on Foreign Relations.

Again this valuable reference text on the rulers, parliaments, parties, and press of the nations is brought down to date (as of January 1, 1929). There is, of course, room for much, if unconscious, bias in outlining the party aims in some of the countries; but, as far as one can see, this book avoids such bias. It is well classified, inclusive and thoroughly boiled down.

"Europa" covers much the same ground for the countries of Europe, but adds many other facts about the countries. It is, in fact, so voluminous and so differently set up on the page that it cannot take the place of the POLITICAL HANDBOOK, particularly since the latter volume covers countries all over the world. A book beautifully printed and arranged for quick and easy reference.

THE ESSENTIALS OF DEMOCRACY. By *A. D. Lindsay*. Pp. 82. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1929. Price, \$1.

DEMOCRACY. By *Edward McChesney Sait*. Pp. 108. Century Co., N. Y., 1929. Price, \$1.50.

Recent discarding of the democratic form of government in certain states, as, for instance, Italy and Yugoslavia, and the apparent improvement in efficiency and general unity, has led many to question seriously the validity of the democratic ideal. In fact, in the most successful democracies, enough inconsistencies exist—enough of bureaucratic tyranny—to make such questions inevitable.

The two books listed above will be of use to the man who is thinking the problem through. They are thin books, so brief they needs must eliminate much by-material.

Dr. Lindsay, Master of Baliol College, Oxford, tells in five pungent lectures what he considers to be the essentials of democracy. He discusses the matter objectively, believing that "somehow we must manage to get a government which is more likely than not to do what will be approved by the people." He shows how, on the whole, the constitutional democracies, in which he includes the League of Nations, accomplish this end. He explains the difference in method in the United States and in Great Britain, without discussion of their respective merits. He recognizes that the government should be sensitive to the purpose of the community, but not so sensitive as to be inefficient. Experts must be fairly free. He reaches the conclusion that, while democracy implies faith, it should not be treated as a magical formula; it should be a reasoned faith, realizing that it is a sort of "school of citizenship."

Professor Sait of Pomona College, also starts with a recognition of some current disillusionment as to democratic assumptions. In a method different from that of the other book, he fixes attention on the main writers for and against democracy. He outlines briefly the point of view of the political fundamentalist and the "higher critic." Then follow discussions on "crumbling foundations" and "revised articles of faith."

The chapters, far from dry lists and quotations, abound in color, wit and philosophy.

The hopeful conclusion, after admitting many defects in democracy, is that it is the best form of government yet tried; that it tends, at least, to elevate the common man in character; but that it must frankly recognize the reefs in the way in order to chart a reasonable course toward more civilized life.

RELIGION COMING OF AGE, by Roy Wood Sellers. Pp. 289 and index. Macmillan Co., 1928. Price, \$2.

A PREFACE TO MORALS, by Walter Lippman. Pp. 337 and index. Macmillan Co., N. Y., 1929. Price, \$2.50.

Both these books are earnest and uncompromising efforts to interpret the religious and philosophical dilemmas of the modernist. Mr. Sellers bases his thought upon naturalism. The soul-body dualism has little appeal to him. "Immortality or a separable soul would add a story to the universe which science and naturalistic philosophy could not enter." Yet he says "the new naturalism has added a social level to the biological level of the nineteenth century." This suggests to the reader that possibly still another level may be built upon the social.

The book provokes thought but pursues the old, rather irritating method of chasing ideas one after another up a blind alley, only to return and start afresh.

THE PREFACE TO MORALS, as its title implies, deals with ethics first and religion afterwards. Nevertheless it is a most significant analysis of the soul of "men whose selves have become disjointed by loss of central certainties." It is an analysis infused with deep insight, written in a spirit of reverence for truth and without taint of cynicism. When, however, the author leaves the more analytical part of his thought and proceeds to construct a philosophy of the spirit, based entirely upon humanism, inspiring as this is, one feels that he stops short of his possible goal—giving, finally, nothing to satisfy some of the normal soul-desires which he has himself appraised. The style runs swiftly and smoothly, bearing on its easy but disciplined English a burden of discriminating thought. One seldom finds so readable a book on so philosophical a subject, and one which is at once so uncompromising and so sympathetic.

THE AFTERMATH, by Winston Churchill. Pp. 496 and index. Chas. Scribner's Sons, N. Y., 1929. Price, \$5.

No other living man could write the story of the World War as does Winston Churchill. In the center of the conflict at a time when the whole world was in a state of flux at the same moment, he has been able, by an unusual personality and talents, to choose and narrate the facts and combinations of facts which "really mattered." He pleads guilty to vision from a

personal angle, yet we think this but adds value to the completed work.

Four volumes on the world crisis, each a finer piece of work than the preceding, are now followed by this, which narrates the trend of the trying and turbulent years immediately after the war. With his training in British official life, his power to keep facts in relation to the whole, and his uncanny intuition for the right phrase, he is able to give this remarkably thrilling narrative of world events from 1918 to the Kellogg-Briand Pact.

LIFE OF MIRANDA, by William Spence Robertson. 2 vols. University of North Carolina Press, 1929. Price, \$10.

Not so well known in the United States as he should be, Francisco de Miranda has now, by means of an adequate biography, become a vivid and romantic figure. Professor Robertson, long a student in the Latin-American field, has previously written of Miranda. But recently, following a clue picked up in his studies, and carrying on an assiduous search in England, he discovered—what no one living knew was in existence—some 64 folio volumes of letters, diaries, clippings, and memoranda accumulated in the eighteenth century by Miranda in the course of his wanderings. These have since been purchased by Venezuela, the country of his birth.

Born, 1750, in Caracas, Miranda undertook in his lifetime to aid liberty in three revolutions. He fought for the American Colonies in Florida during our Revolution. Later the French Revolution claimed his sword and he became a general in the army of the French Republic. Then, after further wanderings in Europe, he was among the first to inaugurate revolt against Spain in his own country. His career was checkered, not quite all glorious, alas! He died in a Spanish prison in 1816, while Bolivar and San Martin carried on the revolution in Latin America.

The many documents lately found add tremendously to Miranda's side of disputes and to his connection with the events of those years the world over. His acquaintance with many of the great of his day, Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Pitt of England, Catherine of Russia, and many others adds interest to his career; his comments upon persons and things are shrewd, often piquant. Being a person of quite untrammelled opinion, his admiration of the character of Washington and comments on his popularity will interest any student of American biographies.

Not least in the value of the work is the detailed story of Venezuela's struggle for independence which absorbed so much of Miranda's later life. The whole work is not only absorbingly interesting, but it adds a store of entirely new information to the reader of general history.

ALL QUIET ON THE WESTERN FRONT. By *Erich Maria Remarque*. Translated from the German by A. W. Wheen. Pp. 291. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1929. Price, \$2.50.

"This book is to be neither an accusation nor a confession, and least of all an adventure, for death is not an adventure to those who stand face to face with it. It will try simply to tell of a generation of men who, even though they have escaped its shells, were destroyed by the war." This, without a heading, precedes the first chapter. And the book, written in the first person, its scenes drawn evidently from experience, that of the author and of his friends, goes on quite simply, without pose or apparent exaggeration, to tell of the unnatural life, become habitual. It gives the horrors, the comradeship, the pranks, the superstitions, the terror of loneliness, the physical pains and pleasures and the occasional dull wonder, the "living of a closed, hard existence of the utmost superficiality." "But then, unexpectedly, a flame of grievous and terrible yearning flares up." Again, on home leave, he feels it necessary to parry his father's minute questionings; "it is too dangerous for me to put these experiences into words. I am afraid they might become gigantic, and I be no longer able to master them."

The thing most tragic of all to this young German soldier is the thought of the boys who have come straight from school, the youth who had had no time to find themselves in civilian life before the war. Others may be able to go back to a trade or profession. But these, even though they have escaped shells and obscenities, have lost something in their formative period. Their lives now will never find fulfillment. Life can never restore the things they lost. These are the casualties.

If we must find something cheerful out of the hardness and desperate woe of this book let us say that one who could write such a book, read by thousands all over the world, has not quite missed his chance of living a useful life. It is a book which finally takes the glamor out of war.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT, by George Malcolm Stratton. Pp. 366 and index. D. Appleton & Co., N. Y., 1929. Price, \$3.

"The endeavor to bring international conduct under the control of law and of justice is the most important of all the enterprises in which the nations are now engaged." With such a start by the author, professor of psychology in the University of California, it is easy to see why this book is of interest to all who hope for peace. With an eye to the general reader as well as for the advanced student, Professor Stratton proceeds to discuss the minds of the races and the nations; the conduct of nations toward each other, including "the combative endowment"; and, in several chapters, the social and individual causes of war which the unscientific so glibly enumerate in other books. Finally, he reaches a section of his work that gives grounds for encouragement to those who hope for a time when nations shall work smoothly together. While much re-education is needed first, we are assured that ultimate abandonment of war is neither unnatural to man nor unpsychological in basis.

We welcome with delight any strictly scientific pronouncement which states that not the nature of man but his understanding needs changing. The will to avoid war is already implanted in man, and what he needs now is trustworthy means by which he may be safe without armor. The political suggestions of Professor Stratton rest, as one would expect, upon research and education. Not a specialist in politics, his solution carries the weight of a specialist in science. As such, he is refreshingly undogmatic. "There is no one key to what we seek," he says, "but several keys which are not duplicates." Politics, faith, loyalty, idealism, and scientific research must all work together to use the psychological laws that dominate us, and bring about a less chaotic world.

POEMS OF JUSTICE. Compiled by *Thomas Curtis Clark*. Pp. 306. Willett, Clark & Crosby, Chicago, 1929. Price, \$2.50.

Here are poems on social justice, justice to the child, the slum-dweller, the worker, the weak; justice to the stranger, the alien; justice, finally, between nations. They are selected from two hundred poets, and poets are defined as those sentient to the ideal, sensitive to human life. Enoch, Isaiah, Plato, Confucius and Sadi have been drawn upon here; Cowper, Heine, Kingsley, the Brownings, Abraham Lincoln, Carlyle and many others from the past. But more recent poems make the

bulk of the collection. One finds here many of the best works of Markham, Sandburg, Rauschenbusch and others who speak a modern tongue.

There are poems of protest, some bitterly, some hopefully earnest. They include moods all the way from the words of Jesus to the Internationale by Eugene Potter. Many in this section are words of the well-known poets, and are inspiring rather than inflammatory.

In the last section, dedicated to dreams and goals, Lincoln's words on ultimate justice, printed as unrhymed verse, seem to embody today's hope as well as yesterday's. The selection ends thus: "Why should there not be a patient confidence

in the ultimate justice of the people?

Is there any better or equal hope in the world?"

BOOKS RECEIVED

TROPICAL TALES. (Porto Rico). By *Elizabeth Van Kneipple*. Pp. 240. Silver, Burdett & Co., 1929.

PHILIPPINE PLANT LIFE. By *Ritchie and Echavarría*. Pp. 239 and index. Silver, Burdett & Co., N. Y., 1930. Price, 96c.

PHILIPPINE NATIONAL CHORUS COLLECTION. By *Santiago, Carballo and Ramos*. Pp. 76. Silver, Burdett & Co., N. Y., 1930. Price, \$1.

DISARMAMENT. "The Reference Shelf," Vol. VI, No. 6. *Julia E. Johnson, compiler*. Pp. 173. H. W. Wilson Co., N. Y., Price, 90c.

HIGHWAYS to INTERNATIONAL GOODWILL. By *Walter W. Van Kirk*. Pp. 185 and index. Abington Press, N. Y., 1930. Price, \$1.

AMERICAN SECRETARIES OF STATE AND THEIR DIPLOMACY. Edited by *Samuel Flagg Bemis*. Vol. X (Bryan, Lansing, Colby, Hughes). Pp. 463 and index. Alfred A. Knopf, N. Y., 1929. Price, \$4.

THE RED HARVEST. THE POET'S CRY FOR PEACE. Edited by *Vencent Godfrey Burns*. Pp. 414 and index. Macmillan Co., N. Y., 1930. Price, \$3.75. (The poems mostly written by soldiers in the World War.)

CASES AND OTHER MATERIALS ON INTERNATIONAL LAW. Edited by *Manley O. Hudson*. American Casebook Series. Pp. 1,521. West Publishing Co., St. Paul, 1929. Price, \$6.50.

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY ONE-HUNDRED SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

THE NEW PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

AT THE 102d annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society, held in the Board Room of the Cosmos Club, Washington, D. C., Friday, May 2, 1930, Honorable John J. Esch was elected seventeenth President of the Society, to succeed William Fortune of Indianapolis.

Judge Esch was born in a pioneer's home, Monroe County, Wisconsin, March 20, 1861. His father, a clergyman, moved with his family to Milwaukee in 1864, and in 1871 to Sparta, Wisconsin, where young Esch graduated from high school in 1878. In the same year he entered the University of Wisconsin, at Madison, graduating with the degree of Bachelor of Letters in 1882, a member of Phi Beta Kappa. After teaching in the high school for four years, he attended the law school of the University of Wisconsin, graduating in 1887 with the degree of Bachelor of Laws. He then engaged in the practice of law at La Crosse, Wisconsin, until 1898, when he was elected to Congress, where he remained for twenty-two years. While in Congress he was a member of the Committee on Public Lands and Military Affairs. In 1906 he also became a member of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, serving as Chairman of this Committee during the Sixty-sixth Congress. Being especially interested in safety legislation, he became the author of the following acts: The "Hours of Service Act," limiting the hours of service of employees engaged in train operation; the "Accident Reports Act," which requires railroads to notify the Interstate Commerce Commission of accidents occurring on their lines and authorizes the Commission to make investigation and report thereof; the "Standardization of Car Equipment Act," which provides for the standards of freight car equipment; the "Car Service Act," which in cases of emergency authorized the Commission to regulate the movement of cars, irrespective of

ownership or the shipping instructions of consignors. Mr. Esch was instrumental in securing the passage of the "Locomotive Boiler Inspection Act," and in formulating the "Transportation of Explosives Act" and amendments thereto. He introduced and secured the passage of legislation abolishing the use of irons as a method of punishment in the United States Navy; introduced and secured the passage of the so-called "Match Bill," which prohibited the use of poisonous phosphorus in the manufacture of matches. In association with Congressman Townsend of Michigan, he was the author of the so-called "Esch-Townsend Bill" which became the "Hepburn Act" of 1906. This bill gave the Interstate Commerce Commission authority for the first time to fix and determine the just and reasonable rates to be charged by railroads.

Judge Esch is best known perhaps as the author with Senator Cummins of Iowa of the "Transportation Act" of 1920, familiarly known as the "Esch-Cummins Act." It was this act that largely extended the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission over the construction and extension of new lines, the abandonment of lines, and over securities and the consolidation of railroads.

Immediately upon leaving Congress, he was appointed by President Harding a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, serving on that body until June 1, 1928, part of the time as Chairman of the Commission. Since leaving the Commission he has engaged in the practice of law in Washington as a member of the firm of Esch, Kerr, Woolley, Newton and Shipe.

Judge Esch is the father of seven children, four of whom are married. He has been a member of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society since 1926.

The Retirement of President Fortune

William Fortune of Indianapolis, Indiana, finding it necessary to retire from the presidency of the Society, which office he had held since November, 1928, sup-

ported Judge Esch as his successor. In submitting his annual report, President Fortune called attention to the organization plans of the Society. He stressed the importance of broadening the work with the view of enlisting the co-operation of a greater number of influential people throughout the country, especially of leaders in business. He went on to point out that the sentiment for peace has been sufficiently demonstrated to prove the universal demand for it, and that we are now ready for the practical work of establishing it. Since the nations have agreed to the Paris Pact for the Renunciation of War, the problem of the peaceworkers is now narrowed to the boundaries of pacific measures. Referring to the structural changes in the organization, Mr. Fortune said:

"These changes have made it possible for the membership of the Society to participate more actively in its efforts for peace, and, at the same time, have enabled the Society to select its membership in such manner as to make it the most effectual voice of the men of influence and leadership in the nation's affairs."

Mr. Fortune praised the method of referenda adopted by the Society, and especially emphasized the importance of ascertaining, defining, developing and obtaining acceptance of the peaceful machinery that nations, having renounced war, may use in adjustment of their differences. He commended also the creation of a commission of experts in international affairs to examine into the relation of the United States to existing pacific agencies, and the Society's purpose to carry out its work through other commissions concerned with industrial, educational, social, religious, and judicial processes. Among other things Mr. Fortune said:

"At a time when so many are active in publicly advocating futile, irrational and destructive proposals in the name of the peace movement, there is dire need of constructive thought and effort. There are practical problems to be solved; yet, unfortunately, there are some whose thoughts and activities are subversive to our own Government. In such a time the program of the American Peace Society should appeal to Americans who desire peace but feel that there must be, first of all, nothing of disloyalty to our own Government."

Resolution Relative to Mr. Fortune

The Board adopted by acclamation the following resolution relative to the retirement of Mr. Fortune:

"WHEREAS our President, Mr. William Fortune has, due to business and health conditions, found it impossible longer to continue in office:

"Resolved, that in leaving the office of President he has caused profound regret in the minds of every officer and member of the American Peace Society. His high character and standing in the social and business world, as indicated by his activities in connection with newspapers and magazine, municipal betterment, good roads, reorganization of county and township governments in Indiana, the American Red Cross, war relief and community welfare, mark him as a man of wide sympathy, civic pride and executive ability of the highest order. Because of his achievements, the Society felt honored in making him its President. His devotion to the duties of the office, his generous offer of time and money and his good judgment have materially added to the prestige and influence of the Society. As an expression of our appreciation of his valuable service we adopt this resolution."

Election of Officers

The names of officers elected for the year 1930-31 appear on the following page.

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

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BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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*JOHN J. ESCH, President, Ex-Chairman, Interstate Commerce Commission. Formerly Member of Congress from Wisconsin.

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ASHLEY DAY LEAVITT, D. D., Pastor, Harvard (Congregational) Church, Brookline, Mass.

WILLIAM MATHER LEWIS, President, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

THOMAS A. MARLOW, President, National Bank of Montana, Helena.

SAMUEL R. MCKELVIE, former Governor of Nebraska, Lincoln. Editor and publisher, *Nebraska Farmer*. Member Federal Farm Board.

PAUL V. MCNUTT, Dean of the Law School, Indiana University, Bloomington. Past Commander, American Legion.

*FELIX M. McWHIRTER, President, Peoples State Bank, Indiana, Indiana. Director, Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

WALTER A. MORGAN, D. D., Pastor, New First Congregational Church, Chicago, Illinois.

*GEORGE M. MORRIS, Attorney, Washington, D. C.

*HENRY C. MORRIS, Attorney of Chicago and Washington, D. C.

EDWIN P. MORROW, United States Board of Mediation, Washington. Formerly Governor of Kentucky.

JOHN M. PARKER, St. Francisville, La. Formerly Governor of Louisiana.

REGINALD H. PARSONS, President, Parsons Investment Company, Seattle, Washington. Member American Committee, International Chamber of Commerce.

*WALTER SCOTT PENFIELD, Counsellor in International Law, Washington, D. C.

HIRAM W. RICKER, President, Poland Springs Company, South Poland, Maine.

*ERNEST N. SMITH, Executive Vice-President, American Automobile Association, Washington, D. C.

JAY T. STOCKING, D. D., Pastor, Pilgrim Congregational Church, St. Louis, Mo.

SILAS H. STRAWN, Attorney of Chicago. Chairman of Board, Montgomery Ward Co. Vice-President, International Chamber of Commerce. Honorary Vice-Pres., Chamber of Commerce, United States. Past President, American Bar Association.

LOUIS J. TABER, Master, The National Grange, Columbus, Ohio.

*HENRY W. TEMPLE, Congressman from Pennsylvania. Member House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

OSCAR WELLS, President, First National Bank, Birmingham, Alabama. Formerly President, American Bankers Association. Member American Committee, International Chamber of Commerce. A Director of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

*GEORGE W. WHITE, *Treasurer*, President, National Metropolitan Bank, Washington, D. C.

*LACEY C. ZAPP, *Business Manager*. Formerly Assistant Director, Bureau of Research, Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Secretary, American Section, International Chamber of Commerce.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS

ELMER ELLSWORTH BROWN, Chancellor, New York University.

WILLIAM FORTUNE, Indianapolis, Ind.

WILLIAM P. GEST, President, Fidelity Trust Company, Philadelphia, Pa.

ELIHU ROOT, Attorney, New York City. Formerly Secretary of State, and for many years President of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

JAMES BROWN SCOTT, Secretary, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D. C.; President, Institute of International Law.

THEODORE STANFIELD, Author, New York City.

CHARLES F. THWING, President Emeritus, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

20 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

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Who's who of the conference			
Addresses by—			
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Senator William B. McKinley, President of the U. S. Group			
Ellhu Root, Codification of international law			
Theodore E. Burton, Codification of international law			
Senator Claude E. Swanson, The Pan American Union			
Farewells at Niagara Falls			
Resolutions adopted by the conference			

BOOKS

Call, Arthur D.:			
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Johnson, Julia E. (Compiler):			
Permanent Court of International Justice	1923	.60	
Hill, David Jayne:			
The Problem of a World Court, 1927. . . . .		.60	

Scott, James Brown:			
Peace Through Justice.	1917	.70	
Whitney, Edson L.:			
Centennial History of American Peace Society	1928	5.00	

Old books at reduced prices

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Crosby, Ernest:			
Garrison, the Non-resistant. 141 pages	1905	.25	

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Through Europe on the Eve of War. 152 pages.	1914	.25	
The Christian in War-time.	1917	.25	

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<p><i>Judicial Processes</i></p> <p>Arbitration Courts</p>	<p><i>Agencies of Cooperation</i></p> <p>League of Nations Interparliamentary Union Pan American Union Conferences, etc.</p>
<p><i>Officials</i></p> <p>Diplomacy Direct Negotiation Conciliation Mediation Special Commissions Commercial Practices, etc.</p>	<p><i>Public Opinion</i></p> <p>Facts Principles Credit Honor Good Faith, etc.</p>

PROGRAM

The development of a service through agencies indicated in outline by the following

SCHEDULE

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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, 1828,¹ 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



EUROPE
INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

ARE WE MUDDLING
INTERNATIONALLY

HISTORY AND THE PEACE
MOVEMENT

EARLY PEACE EFFORTS IN
RHODE ISLAND

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY
REPORTS

ITS CONSTITUTION

EDWIN GINN

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FRANCE AND ITALY

THE recent speeches of Signor Mussolini, more bellicose in manner than in actual content, served well his purposes in Italy. Their reception abroad, however, especially in France, was not so favorable. There was one happy result. That was the suggestion from Signor Grandi, speaking for the Italian Government, that French and Italian naval construction should be suspended while negotiations between the two countries relative to their navies are in progress.

At the time of the dictator's address in Florence, the French, British and Italian Governments were trying to solve the Franco-Italian problem left over by the London Conference. Because of Mussolini's speech, these negotiations were suspended by mutual consent. Naturally, the French Government is less inclined toward friendly negotiations because of Signor Mussolini's language. And yet it has let it be known that it welcomes Signor Grandi's suggestion in principle. Naturally no government, surely not the French, would wish to consent to negotiations in the face of threats.

It is easy to fancy trouble around every corner of the situation. It has been noted, especially in Berlin, that Signor Grandi proposes in his formula "disarmament, conciliation and security" in contrast with the French formula, "security, conciliation and disarmament." The Germans will be more inclined to side with the

former than with the latter. Remembering the French attitude "toward security," this may present an insurmountable difficulty. Germany is watching the relations between France and Italy with interest. She notes the improvement in Austro-Italian relations, and the similarity of outlook by Germany and Italy on the *status quo* as established by the treaty of Versailles and on the general problem of the maintenance of peace. Signor Grandi has expressed the widely accepted view of the Germans, that disarmament should rest on existing security as set forth in the Locarno and Paris Pacts.

It is clear that Italy, backed in no uncertain terms by Germany, stands for a revision of the peace treaties. France is opposed to such revision. M. Briand's Pan-European scheme is interpreted in both Italy and Germany as another means of maintaining the system established by the treaty of Versailles. There are plenty of men in Germany quick to exploit the Italian position in opposition to the apparent attempt to stabilize the French hegemony for all time at the expense of Germany.

All disposed to argue pessimistically because of these conditions seem to recognize no principle save that France and Italy are actuated by selfish motives only. Nations will pursue their own interests, it is true. But the enlightened governments at Paris and Rome know full well that their real interests are to be achieved

more by the processes of mutual accommodation than by the threats of force. It is reasonable to expect that they will work themselves out of their present quandary accordingly.

EUROPE ON THE UPGRADE

THAT Europe is recovering rapidly and that she is heading toward an unprecedented revival is the view of Adolph S. Ochs, head of the *New York Times* and long a supporter of the American Peace Society. Mr. Ochs has been touring England, Germany, Czechoslovakia, France and other countries. A trained observer, his views are of interest to every American. He is led to believe that any unfriendliness in Europe to visiting Americans is primarily due to the Americans themselves. Speaking before the American Club of Paris on June 12, he remarked sagaciously, "There is no gainsaying the fact that a man on vacation with money in his pocket has a rather good opinion of himself and is a bit disappointed if he is not taken at his own valuation." This seems to be a statement of fact.

Mr. Ochs observes, also, that those who attribute the hard times in England to the fact that the English have to pay so much to America is an error; that, in truth, "the British taxpayer does not contribute one penny toward the liquidation of the American debt. In Germany Mr. Ochs found that the people are making a marvelous recovery from the financial effects of the war and that the spirit of the people is adjusting itself to the new order of things. He predicts that Germany is going to lead the procession in the general revival of business throughout the world. It is his confident belief that, following this period of reaction from an era of overstimulation and inflation and the necessary process of readjustment, we may expect a business activity throughout the world "the

like of which has not been known in history." Mr. Ochs goes further: "Man's life is being extended, his education is fuller and freer, his comforts and pleasures are increasing and his spirituality is being ennobled. In political philosophy he is becoming more humane and wiser, his aspirations are being stimulated, his vision enlarged and his imagination knows no limits. Altogether the outlook is filled with hope and encouragement." The ADVOCATE OF PEACE is glad to associate itself with these healthy and encouraging views.

THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION

THE twenty-sixth conference of the Interparliamentary Union is being held in London, July 16-22, upon the invitation of the British Group and with the friendliest support of the Government. The meetings are being held in the Royal Gallery of the Parliament Building, next to the House of Lords. Following the conference, the members will be the guests of the Irish Free State Group in Dublin.

There is no doubt of the importance of the meeting. His Majesty's Government have already provided for a reception on the evening of July 16 at Lancaster House, a visit to Windsor Castle on July 19, a reception by the city of London at the Guild Hall July 21, and a banquet on the evening of July 22. His Majesty, King George, will receive the heads of the delegations at eleven a. m. on Monday, July 21. A committee of ladies has been set up to entertain the ladies of the party during the conference and to offer their assistance in visiting various points of interest in London.

The interest of the United States Government in the Interparliamentary Union has been indicated increasingly. On June 17 the Senate passed the House Joint Resolution No. 280, authorizing participa-

tion by the United States in the Interparliamentary Union. Under the terms of this authorization, \$20,000 is made available, \$10,000 of which is for the contribution for 1930 of the United States toward the maintenance of the Bureau of the Interparliamentary Union; and \$10,000 to assist in meeting the expenses of the American Group. Thus, for the first time, the appropriation to the Bureau at Geneva is increased from \$6,000 to \$10,000, and the participation by the United States in the work of the Union receives the authority of law.

The American group is well represented at the London Conference. Representative Andrew J. Montague of Virginia, President of the American Group, and Representative Morton D. Hull of Illinois, are in attendance as members of the Council. Others are Representative Roy G. Fitzgerald of Ohio, Carl Chindblom of Illinois, Sol Bloom of New York, Thomas C. Cochran of Pennsylvania, Fiorello LaGuardia of New York, Fred Britten of Illinois, George R. Stobbs of Massachusetts, Burton L. French of Idaho, Bertrand H. Snell of New York, Mrs. Ruth Bryan Owens of Florida; and Senators Claude Swanson of Virginia, Tom Connally of Texas, Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky, Millard Tydings of Maryland, Henrik Shipstead of Minnesota. Honorable Richard Bartholdt, former member of the House of Representatives from Missouri, founder of the American Group and a life member of the Interparliamentary Union, is also in attendance, as is also Arthur Deerin Call, Executive Secretary.

As Chairman of the special committee on juridical questions, Morton D. Hull of Illinois has presented a report which is the basis for discussion through July 18 and 19.

The program of the conference in London includes a general discussion on the report of Dr. Christian L. Lange, Sec-

retary General; also debates on the control of trusts and cartels, on security and the Paris Pact, on the parliamentary system, and on the problem of minorities.

The *Advocate of Peace* knows of no international gathering, calculated to harmonize the foreign policy of the United States with those of other nations, that compares in importance with these conferences of the Interparliamentary Union.

THE MACEDONIAN QUESTION

THERE is no longer a Macedonia, but there is still a Macedonian question. Some two million people calling themselves Macedonians, mainly Bulgarian in their characteristics, have been divided between Greece and Yugo-Slavia. A large number fled to Bulgaria. There are now in the neighborhood of forty-five thousand in the United States and Canada.

It is a common belief that the Macedonian question is so complicated that no one can understand it. We are reminded that the Macedonian minorities constitute but one of a series of difficult questions connected with various dissatisfied racial groups obliged to live under the new governments to which they were assigned as a result of the World War. Our attention is called to the communistic revolutionary committee with headquarters at Vienna, working underground in various countries, with the hope of fostering revolutionary activities particularly among the Macedonians in Yugo-Slavia. This organization publishes a paper for that avowed purpose. There is a revolutionary Macedonian organization, with headquarters in Bulgaria, with the single ambition to wrest the Macedonians from Yugo-Slavia. It is this organization made up of émigrés from what were Thrace and Macedonia that has kept Bulgaria and Yugo-Slavia at swords' point.

In fact it itself has taken part in many an assassination, as in the case of Premier Stambulinsky, whom they killed in 1923 because of his efforts to promote friendship with Yugo-Slavia. There is a central committee of the Macedonian political organization of the United States and Canada bent upon establishing an independent Macedonian State. There is a Macedonian national committee in Sofia, with affiliations in other countries including Turkey and the United States, an organization with official Bulgarian backing, the purpose of which is limited to obtaining a just observation of the treaties now in force.

The attempts in Greece and Yugo-Slavia to assimilate Macedonians by denationalizing them is resented by all these organizations. This is the main fact in the Macedonian question.

These attempts to denationalize the Macedonian minorities appear to be quite contrary to the promises of the powers during the War. Premier Asquith, speaking at the Guild Hall on November 9, 1914, said: "We shall never sheathe the sword until the rights of the smaller nationalities of Europe are placed upon an unassailable foundation." This principle was frequently reaffirmed by leaders on both sides of the conflict. In his address to Congress, April 2, 1917, President Wilson pointed out that "we are glad . . . to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and the liberation of its peoples, the German people included; for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience." In November, 1917, indeed, Chancellor Von Bethmann Hollweg told the Main Committee of the Reichstag that the War "created a condition that secures free development of all nations—great and small." In his address to Congress, January 8, 1918, President Wilson called attention to "the relations of the several Balkan States to

one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality"; and added that "international guarantees of the political, economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into." The treaties of St. Germain, of Trianon and of Neuilly provide specifically for the freedom of minorities, such as the Macedonians; but the rights of the minorities under the terms of these treaties have not been granted. Macedonians in Greece and in Yugo-Slavia are often treated more as serfs than as citizens. Where they register any sympathy for Bulgaria, lean to the Bulgarian language, exercise their former Bulgarian religious rites, they have been on occasion severely punished. The policy of Yugo-Slavia has been to deny to these their Macedonian nationals the rights to worship in their own language, to continue their schools, to publish their papers, to read their books, even to keep their family names. It has been the policy of Yugo-Slavia to denationalize these Bulgarian-speaking people by educating them in schools and universities, a policy which seems to have failed. The present dictatorship in Yugo-Slavia has not lessened the irritations arising from this situation. All quite complicated, it must be confessed.

And yet the Macedonian question is much simpler than these facts would seem to indicate. The Bulgarian Government is not unmindful of the advantages that would come from an understanding with Yugo-Slavia. Yugo-Slavia has frequently indicated a desire for a rapprochement between herself and Bulgaria. Leading men on both sides have spoken openly of a union of the two powers. The Bulgarian position is not that the existing treaties should be changed; rather that they should be enforced. Bulgarian authorities announce that if the League of Nations would appoint a committee to study and to report

upon the relations between Yugo-Slavia and Bulgaria, Bulgaria would accept the conclusions of such committee and abide by its recommendations. That is hopeful.

There is a town near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, called Steelton, with a population mainly of Macedonians. These Macedonians have their own schools, their own churches, their own papers, their own books, the right to use their own names and to receive books and newspapers from Bulgaria. Bulgaria sympathizes with the effort of the Macedonians to establish these rights in Yugo-Slavia. If they are granted in the United States; why can't they be granted in Yugo-Slavia? This is the Macedonian question.

If Yugo-Slavia were to grant these simple human demands, she would lose little if anything. She would gain the unquestioned loyalty of practically all her Macedonian subjects. She would win the friendship of the Bulgars. She would open the way for a rapprochement between Bulgaria and Yugo-Slavia, not to mention union, and go a long way toward the establishment of peace in the Balkans. Since these Macedonians constitute the very quintessence of the difficulties associated with the Near East, to satisfy them would go far towards securing the peace of the world. It is worth the attempt.

ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION TREATIES CONTINUE TO MULTIPLY

ON June 18, 1930, ratifications of the arbitration and conciliation treaties between the United States and Estonia were exchanged by the Secretary of State with Colonel Victor Mutt, Consul General of Estonia in New York, in charge of Legation. The arbitration treaty and conciliation treaty with Estonia are similar to other arbitration and conciliation treaties of the United States, signed and brought into force within the past three years.

Such arbitration treaties are now in force between the United States and eighteen countries, including Estonia, and such conciliation treaties are now in force between the United States and thirteen countries, including Estonia. Arbitration treaties concluded in 1908 and 1909 by Secretary of State Root are still in force with six countries; conciliation treaties, concluded in 1913 and 1914 by Secretary of State Bryan, are in force with nineteen countries. General arbitration treaties are now in force between the United States and twenty-four countries, and conciliation treaties are in force between the United States and thirty-two countries.

MORE TALK ABOUT THE MONROE DOCTRINE

THE Monroe Doctrine, age 107 years, continues with its old-time vigor to stir up conversation in the Western Hemisphere. In March, our Department of State issued a memorandum prepared by J. Reuben Clark, formerly Under-Secretary of State. This memorandum states that the Monroe Doctrine is a policy against European meddling in Latin-America, but in no sense a justification for "meddling" by the United States. It is clear that the memorandum is repudiation of a Roosevelt theory that when a Latin-American country has financial or other difficulties the United States may, under certain circumstances, intervene. Mr. Roosevelt's theory was that, if we were to forbid European nations to intervene for whatever reason, the United States might be morally obliged to do so for the protection of the foreign power or its nationals.

We were given to understand that this memorandum indicates a new policy by the State Department relative to the Monroe Doctrine. This announcement, if such it may be called, was naturally not without

interest in South America. On April 27, *La Prensa*, leading newspaper of Buenos Aires, pointed out that there is no such thing as the Monroe Doctrine. This paper charges the United States with seeking, since 1823, to give a juridical aspect to a thesis "which is nothing but an insulting outrage against the American Republics." According to a special cable to the *New York Times*, the paper went on to say: "All the niceties of language whereby it is sought to embrace within the so-called doctrine the orders of occupation and the treaties of enslavement are nothing more nor less than denials of pan-Americanism and of international law."

The Monroe Doctrine, so-called, was set forth by President Monroe in his annual message December 2, 1823. President Monroe said:

We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

It is evident that this doctrine is opposed to the extension of any foreign "system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." There is nothing unfriendly to Latin America; quite the contrary. It is clear that the United States has stood for this doctrine wholly in self-defense, and in no sense as a threat to any power of the Western Hemisphere. President Monroe's views grew out of con-

crete and threatening situations. Those situations are today much less in number and seriousness. If people would stop talking about the Monroe Doctrine, it is possible that in time it would be remembered only as an item of historical interest. Talking about it keeps it alive. It is probable that the doctrine as originally uttered by President Monroe will survive among the foreign policies of the United States for some time to come. Our friends of Latin America need have no fear that the people of the United States will do anything under the cloak of this doctrine to threaten the sovereignty of any Latin-American state.

BURDENS AND PROFITS OF WAR

THERE is a common resentment in the minds of men against anyone profiting financially from the process of war. Evidence of this resentment took the form of books and pamphlets before the World War. Immediately after that tragedy it broke out in the Paris Peace Conference. It found expression in Article XXIII of the Covenant of the League of Nations where it is provided that the League shall be entrusted with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition in the countries where the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest. It has been and still is a matter of major interest in the American Legion.

Partly as a result of the activities of the Legion, the United States Congress passed on June 20 House Joint Resolution No. 251 the avowed purpose of which is "to promote peace and to equalize the burdens and to minimize the profits of war." It is evident that the Congress looks upon war profiteering in a democracy as an anomaly; in the language of Senator Vandenberg, as "an affront to every tenet of that basic Americanism which looks upon the United States as our common country and which

therefore should invoke our common resources for its common defense when this common heritage is imperiled."

On the assumption that the control of war profiteering is constitutional in nature, the act provides for the creation of a commission to be composed of four members of the House, four members of the Senate, the Secretaries of War, Navy, Agriculture, Commerce, Labor, and the Attorney General, to consider what amendment to the Constitution of the United States is necessary to enable the Congress to take private property for public use during war, to equalize the burdens and to remove the profits of war, and to study the policies to be pursued in the event of war. The bill provides that the commission shall report definite recommendations to the President of the United States to be transmitted by him in turn to the Congress not later than the first Monday in December, 1931. It specifically provides that the commission shall not consider and shall not report upon the conscription of labor.

To amend the Constitution of the United States is no easy matter. That an amendment is necessary is doubtful. Our Government had little difficulty controlling anything it wished to control during the last war. It merged railroads, sold bonds, commandeered manufactures, fixed prices, and directed our entire economic life. Should the existence of our national life be threatened again by war, the Government would find ways to do these same things, and more if necessary. But the study of the entire problem as provided by this recent legislation is most desirable.

HISTORY AND THE PEACE MOVEMENT

DURING the war an eminent American historian said that he had found men trained in history to be a bit more efficient in the conduct of the war than others. He was probably right. The historically

trained men are among the most useful of the foreign representatives of governments. History lends perspective. Other things being equal, it promotes wisdom.

In this summer number of the *Advocate of Peace* there are historical matters relating to the peace movement, facts that should be of use to anyone interested to clarify one's own mind as to possible next steps toward the lessening of the ills of war.

The American Peace Society is old enough to view with nothing but gratification the activities of others in its special field. In the language of its founder, William Ladd, from whom it is ever profitable to quote, "the field is large and the reapers are few."

The peace worker today must know the background of his work. He will of course wish to know his representatives in Congress. He will seek to make use of men and existing organizations. He will look for specific projects calculated to advance the cause. He will add to the political aspects of his interests the achievements of science, of literature and of art. His approach to any or all these fields will be the more intelligent in proportion as he knows the achievements and the failures of the peace movement heretofore.

THE great inquiry of history is not where a man came from but where is he going? History is the science of cultural values, of the meanings and effects of human behavior. In its larger aspects it unfolds our views and hopes. In his "The Decline of the West," Spengler is not so interested in events and causes as in the meaning of those events in the light of the days that are to come. He finds that there have been eight occasions when large groups of men have lived on a high level of culture: in Egypt, in Mesopotamia, in India, in China, along the north of the Mediterranean, in the Near East, in

Mexico and in Western Europe. He finds among all these the record of birth, growth, maturity and decline. He might have added, had he seen fit, that the decline in every instance was due primarily to the devastations of war. Whether or not our Western World is to go the way of all the others depends upon the merit and vitality of the peace movement.

UNFAMILIARITY with data of history is at the bottom of most of our social ills. This ignorance blinds us to the fact that the evolution of the peace movement is the most important achievement of our modern world. Knowledge of past failures and achievements in this movement is necessary, not to convince the world that wars should cease—that has been accomplished—but to achieve a greater agreement upon the best methods now to be employed. The task of the peace worker is to guide public sentiment of all countries to the choice of wise methods for the avoidance of irreconcilable disputes, and to open ways for the just settlement of all other controversies as they may arise. Such a service should not be embarrassed by the imprudence of uninformed zealots. Disagreements in the peace movement are almost entirely over methods. If the peace workers knew more they would agree better. It is history that ties faith to experience, experience to knowledge, and knowledge to wisdom, which is the wise use of knowledge. Familiarity with the past enables one to advance if not to originate wisdom. The difficulties of the peace movement are intensified more by its advocates than by its enemies, due principally to an unfamiliarity with the work that has been done. Many of our "new ideas" in the peace movement are but the skeletons of errors that died generations ago among their

worshippers. Wise men looked upon those "ideas," weighed their merits against their demerits, and found them wrong. History, progressive revelation that it is, is essential to tolerance, and to the vigor, breadth of view and wisdom that follow in the steps of tolerance.

THE outstanding need of the peace movement—that is a dangerous way to begin a sentence. But why not finish it? The peace movement needs to be baptized with a more general culture, a wider vigor of thought, a deeper catholicity of spirit. The peace movement waits for a new infusion of those qualities associated 700 years before Christ with Isaiah, classic genius of Judaism—qualities of grandeur, of concentration, of imaginative power and splendor. Where are we to find leadership like that?

THE peace movement has been impeded most, not by its enemies but by the imprudence of its friends. This has been due for the most part to an ignorance of the facts of the story of experience, which is history. Patrick Henry was not the only one to find no way of judging the future except by the past. Experience may keep a dear school but it is a necessary school. The peace worker among the other social endeavorers must lay experience by the side of the things to be done, else in the future, as often in the past, the things that are done will have to be undone. The peace movement needs the dignity that thrives between the dull and the florid, the realization that the task is interesting because true and convincing. If it can escape pedantry and ostentation, find its efforts measured by the failures and successes of the past, it will find itself in the hearts of men, winning their judgments and support.

STANDARDS of measurement for the further development of the peace movement may yet prove to be largely outside the current standards most familiar to our day. They may have little to do with money, salaries, memberships, buildings, publicity, size of organization, standardization based on statistics, propaganda or any outward success in terms of brag and crowds. These things may play their part, but the peace movement cannot afford to close its doors to the inventors, the artists, the poets and the prophets, for in its substance there are the spiritual realities of courage, confidence and insight. The most sacred of the Christian sacraments began in no endowed temple, but in a little upper room borrowed for the purpose; and that in no hour of success and acclaim, but among a few anxious men faced with an awful tragedy.

ONE WONDERS how far conventions now in force between the United States and a number of governments relative to the smuggling of intoxicating liquors are calculated to promote good feelings toward our government. Each of these conventions has a provision that authorities of the United States may board private vessels under a foreign flag outside the limits of the territorial waters of the United States for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not the vessel or persons on board are endeavoring to import or have imported alcoholic beverages into the United States. The provisions go further. On sufficient evidence that such attempts have been made, or are being made, the United States may seize the vessel and bring it into a port of the United States for adjudication in accordance with the laws of the United States. The first convention of this kind was signed by the United States with Great Britain in 1924. Similar conventions are

now in force between the United States and Belgium, Cuba, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Japan, The Netherlands, Norway, Panama, Spain, Sweden and Poland. One signed by the United States with Chile on May 27, 1930, is now pending ratification by the two countries.

TWO EVENTS calculated to promote understanding between thoughtful persons of the United States and Italy were recently reported by our Ambassador to Rome, Mr. John W. Garrett. It appears that there is held at Venice every year an exhibition of painting and sculpture to which "all the world" comes. America has been twice represented there in former years, but, it is said, inadequately, and in rooms in the main building, which is ordinarily given up to Italian art or to exhibitions of minor importance from countries which have no buildings of their own. All the major countries of Europe have buildings of their own and do not fail of adequate representation. There are pavilions flying the flags of France, Great Britain, Spain, Germany, The Netherlands, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Belgium, among others. This year for the first time America is represented by its own building, a satisfactory and beautiful pavilion in the neo-classic colonial style designed by Messrs. Delano and Chester Aldrich of New York and erected at the expense of the Grand Central Art Galleries. Mr. Walter L. Clarke, President of the Grand Central Art Galleries, has, with great skill and labor, brought together some one hundred paintings and pieces of sculpture by modern American artists, and although there are some important names lacking, especially of the younger artists, it is impressive to see canvases of Cecilia Beaux, George Bellows, Frank W. Benson, Charles Chapman, Childe Hassam, Rockwell Kent, Leon Kroll, Jonas Lie, Gari Melchers, John

Sloan, and Eugene Speicher, to pick out a few names rather at random; and pieces of sculpture by Malvina A. Hoffman, Paul Manship, and others. The second event has been the triumphant tour of the orchestra of the Philharmonic Symphony Society of New York under the leadership of Arthur Toscanini. The presentation together of the greatest conductor and the greatest orchestra of our time is a revelation of good music to the people of Europe. Particularly in Italy the combination of this American orchestra and its Italian Maestro has brought about an enthusiasm and delight that is said not to have been equalled here before. The orchestra has given two concerts in Milan, one in Turin, two in Rome, and finished the Italian part of its tour in Florence. It has been a musical triumph everywhere, and a great debt of gratitude is due to Mr. Clarence Mackey and his colleagues who have sent this splendid embassy of American art to Europe.

THERE IS AN international aspiration among the artists of the world that may well give pause to the politicians and reformers. There is a marked tendency away from attitudinizing in art to keep up appearances, away from the imitations of the old masters and toward an open-mindedness, a stern passion for sincerity, integrity, truth, a disposition to temper one's personal preferences with a tolerant appreciation of different points of view. The real artists of our day, almost without exception, aim to place their work above and beyond the disputes of nations.

They speak a universal language. Nicholas Roerich proposes an international agreement to raise above museums, art galleries and cathedrals an individual flag, claiming and receiving the same immunity as the flag of the Red Cross, and thus to protect artistic treasures through

times of madness and destruction. Duncan Phillips is editor of *Art and Understanding*, a magazine devoted to the encouragement of tolerance and open-mindedness in art and life and to the cultivation of intelligent enjoyment of the intentions of artists and the varied qualities of their work. He points out that the creative spirit unites. He urges that the creations of a country's contemporary artists be exhibited in legations abroad, and that attachés be detailed to interpret these to visitors, as the Honorable Vincent Massey, long Canadian Minister at Washington, has done for the artists of his land. It is difficult to conceive of a finer service to the cause of international respect and understanding.

WITH APOLOGIES to "*The Pathfinder*," the following amended paragraph is printed for no definable reason:

A "Literary Digest."—A "modern Priscilla" crossed the "Atlantic" in search of an "American boy" who had gone to help with the "world's work." Having good "success" she found the "country gentleman" leaning against a "Saturday evening post" and gazing at an "evening star." He asked her to be his "youth's companion" and share his "farm home and fireside." A "pathfinder" guided them to his home, where the "household" goods consist mostly of "needlecraft" and old "farm bureaus." The "current opinion" was that they would have an "independent" "life," but after they had enjoyed "farm life" for nearly a "golden age," she received a "dispatch" from a "Virginia farmer," saying, "come back." She laid aside her "red book" and said to her "woman's home companion," "I'm going to leave this "cosmopolitan" country, and return to "America" and be an "American woman" and an "*Advocate of Peace*."

THE REFUSAL of our Department of State to favor the sale of \$2,000,000 worth of bombing airplanes to Russia by a Baltimore company is a logical sequel to the fact that we have no diplomatic relations with Russia. It is a resolution

of Congress that empowers the President to impose embargoes on the shipment of military supplies to Latin-American countries and to China. The Department of State is opposed to the shipment of arms even to the government of the Soviet Union of Socialist Republics. One naturally wonders how far this act of the Department may be looked upon as a straw indicating the course of events in Eastern Europe and the Far East.

“**D**ES DEVOIRS—DES DROITS” is a phrase engraved over the entrance to the headquarters of the mayor of Neuilly, just outside the old walls of Paris. An English gentleman recently discovered this motto and wrote a letter about it. In that letter he called attention to the uneasiness in England and to

the despondency somewhat prevalent there. Having recently visited France, he was impressed by the facts that there is no unemployment in France and that taxation is falling. He is greatly impressed by the order of the words in the motto. First, duty to the nation: then such rights as the performance of that duty has merited. He asks: “If France has engraved this principle not only on the stone of her building but also on the minds of her citizens, is it not at the same time a possible explanation of her better condition and an example to ourselves?” He adds: “Is it too much to hope that our politicians and the majority of our electorate may one day see the life of the nation in that light? If so, there is ground for hope.” The *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is too well acquainted with the epic grandeur of Britain to doubt the outcome in that land.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

LEAGUE OF NATIONS COVENANT AND THE KELLOGG PACT

THE most important item on the agenda of the Eleventh Assembly of the League of Nations, which will open in Geneva on September 11, is the discussion of the Report of the Committee for the Amendment of the Covenant of the League of Nations in Order to Bring it into Harmony with the Pact of Paris (the Kellogg Pact). This Committee, which was appointed by the League Council at its session of January, 1930, in execution of the Tenth Assembly's resolution of September 24, 1929, sat at Geneva from February 25 to March 5, 1930. It elaborated a number of proposals which are now to be submitted to the League Assembly.

Committee's Terms of Reference and Composition

The Committee's terms of reference were

embodied in the Tenth Assembly's resolution, which read as follows:

The Assembly,

Taking note of the resolution submitted to it on September 6th on behalf of various delegations that, in view of the large measure of acceptance obtained by the Pact signed at Paris on August 27th, 1928, whereby the parties renounced war as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another, it is desirable that Articles 12 and 15 of the Covenant of the League of Nations should be re-examined in order to determine whether it is necessary to make any modifications therein; and

Taking note also of the resolution proposed by the Peruvian delegation on September 10th recommending that a report should be obtained as to the alterations which were necessary in the Covenant of the League in order to give effect to the prohibitions contained in the Pact of Paris:

Declares that it is desirable that the terms of the Covenant of the League should not accord any

longer to Members of the League a right to have recourse to war in cases in which that right has been renounced by the provisions of the Pact of Paris referred to above;

Instructs the Secretary-General to communicate to all the Members of the League a copy of the amendments to the Covenant of the League which have been proposed for this purpose by the British Government, together with such further papers as may be necessary;

Invites the Council to appoint a Committee of eleven persons to frame a report as to the amendments in the Covenant of the League which are necessary to bring it into harmony with the Pact of Paris. This Committee should meet in the first three months of 1930, and in the course of its labors should take into account any replies or observations which have been received from the Members of the League by that date. The report of the Committee will be submitted to the Members of the League in order that such action as may be deemed appropriate may be taken during the meeting of the eleventh ordinary session of the Assembly in 1930.

The first action under this resolution was taken on October 15, 1929, when the Secretary-General of the League addressed a communication to all members of the League of Nations, inviting them to express their views upon the question of amending the Covenant. Then the Committee itself was appointed, and was made up of the following members:

M. Antoniadé (Roumania)
 M. von Bülow (Germany)
 Viscount Cecil of Chelwood (Great Britain)
 M. Cobián (Spain)
 M. Cornejo (Peru)
 M. Cot (France)
 M. Ito (Japan)
 M. Scialoja (Italy)
 M. Sokal (Poland)
 M. Undén (Sweden)
 Dr. Woo Kaiseng (China)

The Committee worked under the chairmanship of M. Scialoja.

The Committee's Approach to the Problem

By the time the Committee met, replies to the Secretary-General's communication had been received from twenty-one gov-

ernments. These observations formed the basis of the Committee's discussion and of its approach to the problem, which is described as follows in the Report to be submitted to the League Assembly:

The Committee has not confined itself to reproducing the terms of the Pact of Paris in the Covenant of the League of Nations. This method would have had serious disadvantages. The League Covenant, under some of its articles, reserves the right to go to war, and it is essential to eliminate this right wherever it appears. Otherwise, there would be undesirable contradictions between the new provisions that were added and the old provisions that were left unmodified.

Furthermore, the members of the Committee considered that they could not confine themselves to deleting the provisions which authorize war. The Covenant of the League of Nations has an organic character which must be maintained. It takes account of all the circumstances which may arise in international life and thus forms an articulated whole the symmetry of which must be respected. Resort to war being henceforward prohibited, its place must be taken by methods of pacific settlement in order to ensure the settlement of disputes.

Prohibition of war involves certain legal consequences which the Committee has considered. At the same time, it has not felt it desirable to give a complete interpretation of the Pact of Paris. Some Members of the League of Nations have not acceded to the Pact of Paris; on the other hand, some signatories of that Pact are not Members of the League. In these circumstances, the Committee thought that, even if it were led by the necessities of the case to render more precise the meaning of certain provisions in the Pact of Paris, the interpretation thus given could clearly not affect States which were not Members of the League of Nations and, even as regards the Members of the League, could not constitute an interpretation of general application but would relate only to the matters dealt with in the amended articles.

The Committee calls attention to the political difficulty which may arise in bringing the two instruments into concordance with one another. The establishment of such concordance must not be allowed to react disadvantageously upon the relations between the League of Nations and certain signatories of the Pact of Paris. It would be equally regrettable if those Members of the League of Nations which have not signed the Pact of

Paris were to raise objections of principle against the amendments which were proposed.

Similarly, the Committee decided to touch the provisions of the League Covenant as little as possible. Its task is limited. It is not required

to make a general revision of the Covenant, but simply to ensure harmony between the two instruments. Accordingly, the Committee resolved as far as possible to retain the formulæ and actual words of the League Covenant.

The Committee's Proposals

The amendments proposed by the Committee are given below, the present text and the proposed amendments appearing side by side.

PRESENT TEXT

Preamble

In order to promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war.

Article 12, Paragraph 1

The Members of the League agree that, if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or judicial settlement or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the judicial decision or the report by the Council.

Article 13, Paragraph 4

The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award or decision that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award or decision, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

Article 15, Paragraph 6

If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS

Preamble

In order to promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security by accepting the obligation not to resort to war.

Article 12, Paragraph 1

The Members of the League agree that, if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will only employ pacific means for its settlement.

If the disagreement continues, the dispute shall be submitted either to arbitration or judicial settlement, or to inquiry by the Council. The Members of the League agree that they will in no case resort to war for the solution of their dispute.

Article 13, Paragraph 4

The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award or decision that may be rendered and that they will not take any action against any Member of the League which complies therewith.

In the event of any failure to carry out such award or decision, the Council shall propose what measures of all kinds should be taken to give effect thereto; the votes of the representatives of the parties shall not be counted.

Article 15, Paragraph 6

If the report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree that they will comply with the recommendations of the report. If the Council's recommendation is not carried out, the Council shall propose suitable measures to give it effect.

Article 15, Paragraph 7

If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

Article 15, Paragraph 7

If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, it shall examine the procedure best suited to meet the case and recommend it to the parties.

Article 15, Paragraph 7

(New Paragraph)

At any stage of the examination, the Council may, either at the request of one of the parties or on its own initiative, ask the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion on points of law relating to the dispute. Such application shall not require a unanimous vote by the Council.

The Committee also considered amendments to Articles 10 and 11 of the League Covenant, as well as to paragraph 2 of Article 12, paragraphs 8 and 10 of Article 15, and Articles 16, 17, and 18. Failing agreement, it decided not to propose any modifications in the provisions contained in these portions of the Covenant.

BRIAND PROPOSAL FOR A EUROPEAN FEDERAL UNION

ON MAY 17 the long-promised memorandum on the subject of the establishment of a European Federation was finally given to the world by its author, Aristide Briand, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. M. Briand first broached the question of a European Union at the first Hague Conference, in August, 1929. He returned to the question in his speech at the Tenth Assembly of the League of Nations, and on September 9, 1929, he placed his proposals before the representatives of the 27 European nations which are members of the League. This private discussion took place at a luncheon given by M. Briand, and in the course of it, the French Foreign Minister was asked to prepare a statement which might serve as a basis for further discussion. His *Memorandum on the Organization of a Régime of Federal Union in Europe* was the result. It was presented simultaneously to the 26 European governments whose representatives were present at the Geneva luncheon, and communicated to all the non-

European members of the League of Nations, as well as to the Government of the United States.

Scope of the Briand Proposal

The Briand memorandum sets out the principal points to be discussed "with the object of forming among the peoples of Europe some sort of federal link which would establish among them a régime of continued solidarity, permitting, when necessary, immediate contact between them for the purpose of studying, discussing, and settling the problems which may concern them in common. It consists of a preamble and four chapters, containing the practical proposals, and a final statement.

The preamble sets out that the proposal under consideration by the 27 governments is justified by "a quite definite recognition on their part of a common responsibility in face of the menace which exists to the peace of Europe—from the political, as well as from the economic and social points of view—as a result of the uncoordinated state of the general economic position in Europe.

Compelled by their geographical position to live together, the peoples of Europe, if they are to enjoy security and prosperity, must establish a permanent régime of joint responsibility for the rational organization of Europe.

The proposal appears elsewhere in these columns as an international document.

FRANCO-ITALIAN RELATIONS

THE differences between France and Italy as to what should be the relative size of the two countries' naval establishments, which had rendered impossible the conclusion of a five-power pact in London, have continued, since the Naval Conference, to engage the attention of the statesmen of the two countries concerned and the interest of the world at large. Important conversations on the subject took place in May, at Geneva, between M. Briand and Signor Grandi, the Foreign Ministers of the two countries. An offer of assistance was made at the same time by Mr. Henderson, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to the two Foreign Ministers for the purpose of facilitating agreement between them. The Geneva conversations were followed by a significant speech delivered by Signor Grandi in the Italian Senate. At the same time a rather unfortunate psychological element was introduced into the situation by a series of fiery speeches delivered by Signor Mussolini in the course of a tour through the important cities of Tuscany.

Italian Proposal of Naval Holiday

In his speech to the Italian Senate, delivered on June 3, Signor Grandi reaffirmed Italy's determination to obtain parity with France in naval armament, but made an offer to France for a mutual cessation of all naval construction during the period of negotiations. In the first part of his speech, he went at great length into the history of the Washington Conference in order to prove that the Italian claim to parity with France was no "unjustifiable pretense" or an example of "Fascist pride." Italy had been "more conciliatory" in London than she had been in Washington, and to insist upon parity with the most strongly armed

continental power was merely to insist upon a "natural right." To deny parity would mean the stabilization of an arbitrary hierarchy.

Passing on to the conversations in Geneva, Signor Grandi said that when he had met M. Briand and Mr. Henderson he had made two proposals to them in order to clear up the situation on all points as quickly as possible. First, he had proposed that experts of the three powers should be charged to exchange views in order to facilitate a rapid resumption of the interrupted negotiations on the naval problem. As to other outstanding questions, which in effect were the position of Italians in Tunisia and colonial compensation to Italy under Article 13 of the Treaty of London, he had suggested that quicker progress might be made if there were a frank and direct exchange of views between Paris and Rome. In reply France had signified her preference to discuss these two special Italo-French questions by ordinary diplomatic procedure and to defer any examination of the Italo-Franco-British naval problems until after the other negotiations had come to some conclusion.

Referring then to various comments made abroad on the Italian naval program, Signor Grandi said it merely followed the French building program in time and tonnage, as it had done during the last seven years. The formula of Signor Mussolini was "equivalence and reduction." Proceeding Signor Grandi said that, faithful to these principles, he had, on the authority of Signor Mussolini, and with the object of avoiding anything that might hinder or retard the agreement, let it be known that the Italian Government was prepared, so long as the negotiations were in progress on account of which the Naval Conference was adjourned, to withhold the laying down of the building program of 1930, provided that the French Government did the same for the program voted for the year 1930. Such a proposal would, in view of the position of the two fleets, have been a greater sacrifice for Italy than for France.

Belligerent Speeches of Signor Mussolini

Although in his speech Signor Grandi described himself as merely a mouthpiece of Signor Mussolini, who had thought out

and laid down the general lines of Italian foreign policy, "just as he thinks them out and lays them down daily," the tenor of his speech was quite different from that of the fiery addresses which his chief had been delivering during the month of May in the principal cities of Tuscany. The Duce's philippic, hurled at the world before a huge crowd in Florence on May 17, is a fair sample of these addresses. After some disparaging references to the Italian enemies of Fascism outside of Italy, Mussolini went on to say:

There are other enemies—in the first place, the phenomenal ignorance of all those beyond our frontiers who try to sit in judgment on Fascism, who still think we are a little people, and do not realize that we are close upon 43,000,000. People think our movement is a reaction, whilst it is a revolution. They think it is a tyranny, while it is the case of the whole people governing. They think we are not capable of sacrifices even greater than those we bore to get to Vittorio Veneto.

There is nothing more insulting for the pride of the Italian people than the insinuation that our recent naval program is a thing that will not be carried out. I declare here again that that program will be carried out ton per ton, that the 29 units of the new program will be afloat, because the will of Fascism is not only a resolute will of iron, but it is mathematical, because our will, rather than being deterred by obstacles, is allured by them, because I am convinced the Italian people, provided it does not stay a prisoner in the sea that once was Rome's, will be capable of quite exceptional sacrifices.

The question has been asked, "What is the temper of the Italian people?" I reply: There are on the other side of the frontier sects, groups, parties of men who, being now organized in a co-operative society for the exploitation of the immortal principles (loud laughter at this allusion to the principles immortels of the French Revolution), that is to say, of the most immense and refined swindle which is being accomplished today to the detriment of the people—these people think they can isolate Fascist Italy—never, never. And, in spite of their liberalism, these democrats would not be adverse, should it be needful even through a third power, from starting a war against the Italian people which is guilty of making the victor the symbol of their régime.

What a prodigious path we have traveled in these eleven years! But our immense strength and our capacity for renewal still continues. We cannot

sit still. That is rigorously forbidden, not only by the tasks at home but also by the fresh and unforeseen effervescence all round the horizon.

Tomorrow morning you will see here a very imposing military review. It was I who asked for this, for though words are very beautiful things, rifles, machine-guns, ships, aeroplanes, and guns are more beautiful things still. Right, if unaccompanied by might, is a vain word, and Machiavelli has said that unarmed prophets perish. These lessons of history and experience are peculiarly suggestive and eloquent. Tomorrow morning, faced with this spectacle of armed force, everyone will see the warlike face of Fascist Italy. Fascist Italy, strongly armed, will postulate her simple alternative—precious friendship, or very costly enmity.

Reaction in France

Signor Grandi's proposal for a naval holiday during the period of negotiation was, on the whole, accorded a good reception in France, although some of the statements contained in his speech were flatly contradicted in the French comment. The French press denied categorically Signor Grandi's assertion that France consented to parity with Italy at the Washington Conference. The *Temps*, for example, pointed out that France then accepted the principle of parity only for battleships and that "no document exists in which the principle of absolute parity for all classes of ships is recorded, and there could not be, for the simple reason that France only consented at Washington to proportionate equality with Italy because it was then a question merely of vessels in which she was not interested, since she was already determined to concentrate all her efforts on the construction of a defensive fleet of cruisers, destroyers, torpedo boats, and submarines in accordance with the requirements of her security."

As for the proposal itself, no action on it has been taken as yet, because there are no negotiations in progress. As a matter of fact, three-party negotiations had been begun between France, Italy, and Great Britain, but they were suspended as a result of Signor Mussolini's speeches. According to the Paris correspondent of the *London Times*, "the French Government welcomes Signor Grandi's suggestion in principle and regards it with favor as a step towards an understanding, but it considers

that it is impossible to negotiate in the face of threats and dangerous to discuss delicate questions in a heated atmosphere. Hence the suspension of direct negotiations. Under the circumstances, the French Government has preferred to revert to the method of ordinary diplomatic exchanges.

French Definition of Security

Signor Grandi's speech constituted in effect an advocacy of the formula "disarmament, conciliation and security," in contrast with the French formula "security, conciliation, disarmament." France's attachment to this latter formula received a new reaffirmation in Premier Tardieu's speech at Dijon on June 1. In the course of his speech, the French Premier called attention to the work of peace carried on by M. Briand in six successive governments, but pointed out that passionately attached though the French Government was to the success of this work, it had neglected nothing in respect of the security of France. International organization of peace, he said, was, in fact, of value only in so far as it united strong nations to take part in the defense of their common security in the measure in which they had hitherto defended their own. Hence, the government's policy of national defense, which had included the reorganization of the conditions of military service, a credit of 3,000,000,000 francs for frontier defenses, the complete reprovisioning of the stores depleted in the Rifi and Syrian campaigns, and a policy of firmness at the London Naval Conference, whereby France could be associated with the measures of general interest without a reduction of the tonnage necessary to her requirements or an extension of the unjust figures adopted at Washington in 1922. These results had been criticized, but France today was in a position which rendered nervousness and bragging equally unnecessary. Today, as before the war, she desired a balanced and organized peace, but was also determined to remain master of her own destiny should unexpected obstacles arise.

Premier Tardieu's speech aroused a considerable amount of criticism in the Italian press. The *Giornale d'Italia*, for example, referred to it in the following terms:

We have noted the cautious, vague, but thoroughly comprehensible declarations of M.

Tardieu at Dijon. They do not speak of disarmament. Instead they speak of the necessity of armaments; of the "vigilant safeguarding by France of her security"; of the arms contribution that the strong peoples can bring to the "defense of the common security" no less than that which they would bring to their own security; of the "desire of France to remain on every occasion mistress of her own destiny." What are we to think of all this? One thing alone: that France wishes to keep her hands free, that she does not intend to bind herself in any understanding with Italy based upon reciprocity or equilibrium and mutual trust. On the contrary, she is determined to preserve and to increase her armaments, intending to place them at the service of a common cause. The "common security" is a myth, while at the same time the well-inspired polemical campaign of the French press and of its satellites would appear to wish to place upon Italy every appearance of being at fault in respect of the Italo-French discord. Let us calmly take note of these truths.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IN INDIA

THE campaign of civil disobedience in India, inaugurated last March by Mahatma Gandhi, continues unabated. In its efforts to deal with the movement, the government of India has arrested Gandhi himself, and then in rapid succession, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who had succeeded Gandhi as the leader of the campaign, and her own successor, Mr. Patel. Severe clashes have occurred between the raiders of salt depots and the police. Finally, last May, the all-India Congress, at its session at Allahabad, adopted a resolution containing a program of nonpayment of taxes, boycott of public servants, and intensive picketing of cloth and liquor shops. In reply to this program, the Viceroy of India has promulgated two ordinances, designed to deal with the situation.

Ordinance Against Instigation

The first ordinance deals with the situation in which a person who withholds land revenue is penalized, while the person who incites him escapes. The new ordinance makes the instigation not to pay or to defer payment of land revenue or of any tax, cess, or dues payable to the government

or to any local authority, or of rent of agricultural land, a cognizable nonbailable offense, punishable with six months' imprisonment and/or a fine. Literature and pictures containing such incitement are made seizable.

The Viceroy, in a note issued with the ordinance, expressed hope that, in taking measures to check at the outset a movement intended to disorganize the administration, and which must, if successful, damage the whole economic structure of society, he will have the support of all who desire to resist a plain threat to orderly progress and stable government. He reminded the public of the Allahabad resolution and continued:

Previous to the passing of this resolution a movement for the refusal of payment of land revenue had been started in certain districts of Gujarat, in Bombay Presidency, and attempts had been made in several other provinces to persuade revenue and taxpayers to withhold payment of their liabilities. The decision [of the Congress] above referred to contemplates a wide extension of the civil disobedience movement in the shape of an appeal to the masses, which must, if successful, involve grave reactions upon the administration and stability of the state.

Dangerous Consequences to the Country

On the consequences of nonpayment of taxes, the Viceroy said:

The taxes against which the movement is at present aimed are the sources of provincial revenue, and their nonpayment would deprive the local governments of a considerable part of the resources on which they depend for the efficient conduct of the reserved and transferred departments. Were the program of the Congress to meet with any appreciable measure of success, its first result would be to deprive the people of the advantage of the beneficent activities in which the local governments are now engaged. It is clear, however, that no government can tolerate the nonpayment of its dues and that the local governments, confronted with a challenge of this nature, must exercise to the full the powers of realization with which they are by law invested. The consequences will inevitably be suffering and distress to those who respond to the incitements of the Congress. Thus, both in the interests of the state and of the persons whom it is the design of the Congress to lead astray, it is necessary to stop in

its initial stages a movement so fraught with dangerous consequences.

While the law gives powers to proceed against persons who refuse to discharge their public liabilities, it does not include provisions by which effective action can be taken against those who, for political purposes, mislead and instigate others to their undoing. Having regard to these considerations, and to the necessity of firm and prompt action against a movement the object of which is to bring administration to a standstill, I have deemed it necessary to promulgate an ordinance by which the local governments may, as the necessity is established, be invested with powers to deal effectively with persons who instigate others to withhold the payment of certain lawful dues. I have thought it proper to include within the purview of the ordinance certain liabilities—for instance, rent of agricultural land—which, although not included in the dues which form the present announced object of attack by the Congress, have been mentioned by them from time to time as coming within the scope of the civil disobedience movement; and would, indeed, in many parts of the country form the inevitable object of attack if any movement were initiated to withhold payment of revenue to the government.

The powers taken under the ordinance will not be used by local governments to modify their land revenue policy or to attenuate in any way the concessions by way of suspensions, remissions, or otherwise, which it is their practice to grant. Nor will the ordinance be used indirectly to give assistance to landlords in the normal process of realization of rent, or to facilitate the enhancement of rent. It will be confined strictly to its declared purpose—namely, to prevent the instigation in pursuance of a political movement to refuse the payments lawfully due.

Ordinance Against Picketing and Boycott

The other ordinance deals with picketing and with the boycott of public servants. In explaining it, the Viceroy said:

From the beginning of the civil disobedience movement it has been part of the program of the Congress to use various methods of picketing in order to make their will prevail. At a recent meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee, held at Allahabad, resolutions were passed which urged the adoption of such methods on more intensive lines. Information received by my government makes it plain

that activities of this kind are now being pursued in various places in such a manner as gravely to interfere with the liberty of individuals in many directions.

The most common object for which picketing and other kinds of molestation and intimidation are being employed is for the purpose of preventing the sale of foreign goods or liquor. It is no part of the duty of my government, and certainly it is not their desire, to take steps against any legitimate movements directed to these ends. They are anxious to see the promotion of indigenous Indian industries, and it is perfectly legitimate for any person, in the advocacy of this object, to urge the use of Indian goods to the utmost extent of which the Indian industry is capable. Nor have I anything but respect for those who preach the cause of temperance, but what is not legitimate is for those who desire these ends, proper as they are in themselves, to pursue them by means amounting, in effect, to the intimidation of individuals, and to the endeavor to force their views on others, not by argument, but by coercive effect and fear. When resort is had to such methods it becomes necessary for the government to protect the natural freedom of action of those who may wish to sell and those who may wish to buy.

Unscrupulous efforts are also being made by the organizers of the civil disobedience movement to bring pressure to bear upon government servants to resign their posts, or to fail in their duty. The methods employed include not only various forms of molestation and intimidation, but also definite attempts to use the weapon of boycott against government servants. Thus, it is found that in different parts of the country not only are the residences of government servants picketed and they themselves and their relatives subjected to threats of injury to life or property, but organized attempts are made to refuse them necessary supplies, the use of transport, and the tenancy of houses. These methods have reached their maximum intensity in Gujarat, but they are also being practiced in other parts of the country.

In normal circumstances, when intimidation is a comparatively rare offense, the ordinary law suffices, but when, as now, intimidation in its various forms is carefully organized and constitutes an important part of the program of a movement designed to paralyze government and coerce the public, it is necessary to see that powers be adequate to deal rapidly and effectively with the menace to public liberty.

Protection of the Public

In setting forth the main purposes of the ordinance, the Viceroy said:

I have, accordingly, thought it essential to promulgate this ordinance, which is designed to protect the public in general against molestation and intimidation, and to check the boycott of public servants. These powers will not be used to impede or interfere with the legitimate promotion of an economic movement which has for its object the furtherance of indigenous enterprise, nor will they be exercised in regard to any genuine labor dispute unconnected with political objects. The ordinance is directed only against certain illegitimate activities which are being organized by the leaders of the civil disobedience movement. It will be withdrawn as soon as those activities cease. The ordinance, moreover, has been so drafted as to be applied only where powers are actually required; it will not be applied to any province in which the local government has not satisfied my government that the activities of the civil disobedience movement have rendered its application necessary within the province.

The powers to deal with molestation or with the boycott of government servants will come into force only in those areas in which the local government considers that the situation necessitates their application. But where the situation so demands, I have no doubt that it is my duty to empower the local government to give protection to those who merely desire to carry on their lawful business and pursuits without let or hindrance, and to safeguard public servants, so far as they may, against attempts to deprive them, by means of the boycott, of the ordinary requirements of daily life.

BRITISH POLICY IN PALESTINE

AT THE meeting of the Permanent Mandates Commission, which sat at Geneva in June, an official statement was presented by the representative of Great Britain on the British policy in Palestine. A copy of the statement had been previously sent to the High Commissioner for Palestine.

Difficulties Arising Out of the Palestine Mandate

The statement begins by reference to the report of the Shaw Commission on the causes of the outbreak in August last and the declaration made in Parliament by the

Prime Minister on April 3 last. The Prime Minister then, after quoting the Balfour Declaration, said:

A double undertaking is involved, to the Jewish people on the one hand, and to the non-Jewish population of Palestine on the other; and it is the firm resolve of his Majesty's Government to give effect, in equal measure, to both parts of the declaration, and to do equal justice to all sections of the population of Palestine. That is a duty from which they will not shrink, and to the discharge of which they will apply all the resources at their command.

The difficulties arising out of the peculiar character of the Palestine Mandate, the statement goes on to say, are well known. They were discussed in detail in the observations recorded by the Mandates Commission in 1924, which pointed out that the mandate imposed upon Great Britain a "twofold duty." The statement continues:

The result, as the Commission pointed out, was to create a "conflict of interests" between which the balance had to be held. The observations recorded by the Permanent Mandates Commission in November, 1924, have lost none of their relevance at the present time. The conflict of interest remains, and the task of holding the balance has certainly not decreased in difficulty. The situation is one of great delicacy, calling for the exercise of all possible patience and circumspection. That it has certain unsatisfactory features, as is pointed out in the report of the Commission of Inquiry, his Majesty's Government are not concerned to dispute. Rather, they are more concerned to provide a remedy; and to this task they mean to address themselves with all the resources at their disposal. They do not underrate the difficulties. The conditions under which remedial measures can be applied are strictly limited; they are governed by the terms of the mandate and by the dual obligation which it imposes. Such measures cannot be devised or introduced at a moment's notice. Caution is essential, and the ground must be carefully examined before an advance can safely be made. For these reasons his Majesty's Government are not in a position to formulate precise and concrete proposals in regard to all the points that the Commission have raised.

The Land Problem

The statement goes on to say that on the nature of the outbreak in August, the

Zionist complaints against the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, against the Palestine Arab executive, and against the government, and on minor Arab grievances, the British Government accepts generally the findings of the Shaw Commission. The statement proceeds:

It may be convenient to deal in one paragraph with two important economic questions which are closely interrelated, viz., those concerning immigration and the land problem. It is in relation to these questions, and to that of immigration in particular, that the dual character of the mandate assumes its most significant aspect. This was recognized, in effect, by the Permanent Mandates Commission, when, in the course of the observations of November, 1924, they selected the problem of immigration ("perhaps the dominant issue of the present situation in Palestine") as best illustrating their general exposition upon the operation of the mandate. The following passage from the observations states the problem so clearly that it may be quoted in full: "It is obvious that if the mandatory power had only to take into consideration the interests of the population, its immigration policy ought to be dictated primarily by considerations of the economic needs of the country. It is, moreover, equally clear that if the mandatory power had not to take into account the interests of the Arab population, and if its sole duty was to encourage Jewish immigration in Palestine, it might be in a position to pursue an agrarian policy which would facilitate and expedite to a greater extent than its present policy the creation of a Jewish National Home."

That, stated succinctly, is the dilemma which has confronted, and still confronts, the mandatory government. The policy which they have adopted and which they had endeavored to follow, is based upon the principle that immigration shall "not exceed the economic capacity of the country at the time to absorb new arrivals." The soundness of this principle will hardly be challenged; but its practical application is not without difficulty. The absorptive capacity of the country must be correctly gauged; everything turns upon that. But to gauge it correctly, many intricate considerations of land settlement, development, etc., must be taken into account. . . . His Majesty's Government have felt unable to formulate specific proposals without further expert examination of the whole problem in all its aspects.

Accordingly, Sir John Hope Simpson has been sent to Palestine to report on land settlement, immigration, and development. The whole question of future policy on

those matters will be "considered and determined" on receipt of Sir John's report.

Constitutional Questions

Next the statement deals with constitutional development and refers to the attempts already made to introduce a measure of self-government for Palestine as a whole:

It will be apparent that the absence of any such measure of self-government in Palestine is not due to any lack of good-will on the part of the mandatory power. It must be a primary condition of any constitutional change in Palestine that the mandatory government should reserve to itself the power of carrying out the obligations imposed upon it by the mandate. The question formed the subject of conversation with the delegation of Palestinian Arabs which lately came to England for the purpose of representing their views on future policy in Palestine. It has been made clear to the delegation that no measure of self-government could be considered which was not compatible with the requirements of the mandate. The matter is, of course, one which also deeply concerns the Jewish Agency.

His Majesty's Government do not challenge the view that a further and more explicit statement of policy is required; and it is their intention in due course to issue such a statement. Their further recommendations relating to the functions of the Zionist Organization and to the Palestine Zionist Executive will also be adopted when the proposed statement is drawn up.

Defense and Security

As regards defense and security, the statement says that the presence of troops or of British police in large numbers last August would not necessarily have prevented an outbreak:

His Majesty's Government have under their earnest consideration the question of the composition and strength of the garrison to be retained in Palestine. In the meantime they do not propose to disturb the existing garrison of two battalions of infantry, plus units of the Royal Air Force. As regards the police, and independent inquiry into the organization of the Department of Police is being made by Mr. H. L. Dowbiggin, Inspector of Police, Ceylon, and his final report is expected shortly. In the meantime an additional 400 British police have been recruited for Palestine, and steps have been taken to increase the mobility of the British police.

Mr. Dowbiggin has presented an *ad interim* report on the specific subject of protection of outlying Jewish colonies; and action is being taken on the lines recommended by him. A further increase in the number of British and Palestinian police is involved, and a scheme of defense, including the establishment and control of sealed armories, is being brought into force.

Finally, the High Commissioner has under consideration the enactment of legislation to provide for the better control of the press.

ARE WE MUDDLING INTERNATIONALLY?

By HUGH EVANDER WILLIS

Professor of Law, Indiana University

THE United States recently has been doing some novel things internationally. These things have aroused both support and objection. Probably there is more criticism than rejoicing over what our country is doing and has been doing. Some people are taking the position that our country should do nothing. Of course this is the one position that our country will no longer take. Others are taking the position that we are making no progress, that we are muddling internationally, but that we are not muddling through. Can we find the truth about the matter?

Apparently what our country is trying to do is to substitute some form of public law for public war. But the trouble with the work up to date has been that it has not followed the regular legal technic for accomplishing this result. Is it not anomalous, to say the least, for the United States to enter, if not even to propose, a limitation of armaments conference (which in the beginning, at least, was supposed to be a partial disarmament conference), when we had not as yet even joined the World Court and when we had not as yet succeeded in disarming our own private criminals?

The Four Steps

There is a regular technic for the substitution of law for war. This technic has been the common process of all nations which have undertaken and accomplished this result. This is true of Hebrew law, of Roman, and of Anglo-American law. This regular technic has consisted of four different things or stages.

To begin with, we start with a situation of private warfare. In this stage there was no law except the law of force. Force and violence were the order of the day. Private vengeance was the only method of getting even with people who had committed other wrongs. Of course in that

stage of human history the head of the family exercised control over the members of the family; but that instead of being a form of law was simply another form of power.

Following this stage, there came the "outlawry" of private war. This came to pass gradually, through various schemes of regulating private vengeance. In Hebrew law cities of refuge were a characteristic of this regulation of private vengeance. In Anglo-American law the Anglo-Saxon dooms and compositions were the essential characteristics. In all the systems of law it required long periods for anything like a final "outlawry" of private warfare. In Hebrew law this did not occur until the ninth century B. C. In Roman law it did not occur until the formulary procedure about 150 B. C., and in what was to become Anglo-American law it did not occur until the time of Edward I, 1272 A. D.

Following the "outlawry" of war, the next stage was the substitution of a system of private law for private vengeance and self-help. In what we now call Anglo-American law, this perfection of social control which we call law continued from the time of Edward I down at least to the time of the Judicature Acts in England in 1875. During this time, both substantive law and legal procedure were gradually made over and improved until substantive law became a fair expression of the social control necessary to protect the social interests which are so paramount that they must be protected against the encroachments of individualism and personal liberty. Thus legal procedure became a real means for the administration of substantive law. The United States has not as yet finished its work of perfecting its law so as to make it a substitute for private warfare. Through the American Law Institute it is now engaged upon a monumental task of perfect-

ing its substantive law. But its legal procedure still remains more of an end than a means; certainly not a final instrument for the administration of justice on earth.

The last stage in the substitution of law for private war is disarmament. This fourth stage is a modern stage and is perhaps a contribution of the world's ethical religions. England has also succeeded in taking this last step. For practical purposes England has disarmed all of its private citizens so that it is easy for social control to function as a complete substitution for force and violence. In the United States we have hardly begun to do anything towards disarming our private citizens. Criminals are constantly armed. Many of the noncriminal class are still actuated by archaic ideas and the spirit of individualism and the pioneer feeling that their best protection against criminals is their own armament. Of course the result of all this in some of our worst centers is a reign of war instead of a reign of law. If the situation is not changed, some fear, it may eventually lead the race in the United States back to where the race in general was before a beginning was made in the substitution of law for private warfare.

Lessons Applied

In recent times we have been trying to do internationally what the nations heretofore have done nationally—to substitute law for war on the larger scale. If public law is to be substituted for public war it would seem that the process should be the age-long process which has always characterized the substitution of law for war. We are dealing with legal technic and it would seem as though when that is done that a legal technic would be observed. If we were to follow this policy the first thing to do would be to "outlaw" public warfare. This has already been done in the Kellogg Peace Treaty. For years the nations of the earth have been trying in abortive ways to regulate public vengeance and warfare, and most people thought that this process would have to continue for centuries longer; when, all of a sudden by a happy accident or coincidence, the Kellogg Peace Pact was proposed and adopted by practically all the nations of the earth.

The first step in the substitution of law for war was taken almost before we realized what had happened. In doing this the United States, France and other nations of the earth acted correctly. The experience of Hebrew, Roman, and Anglo-American law all teach us that the first thing to be done in the substitution of law for war, whether private or public, is the "outlawry" of war.

The second step which ought to be taken internationally, if we are to substitute law for war, is the development of a system of international law. The only way to do this is through legislative bodies and through courts. The League of Nations is an international organization but it is not a truly legislative body. Because of Articles 10, 16, 17 and 18, it stands in the way of disarmament and the substitution of the orderly processes of the law for the violent processes of force and violence. The World Court does not have objectionable features found in the covenant of the League of Nations. If the covenant of the League of Nations were amended so as to eliminate the provisions which require force and the maintenance of armies and navies, and to make the Assembly a truly legislative body, and more of a substitution for present systems of diplomacy, a true beginning would be made in the development of a system of law which might take the place of war. Of course it would take nobody knows how long for the international legislative body and the World Court to build up a body of international substantive law and legal procedure which would be adequate to the needs of the world, but undoubtedly this process might be very much shorter than it was in Anglo-American legal history and the legal history of other countries so far as concerns private law. Of course the United States should join the World Court, and it should join the League of Nations as soon as it is reformed as herein suggested. In connection with the development of international social control the nations of the earth should be taught to accept such social control as their best security. At the present time, France can see no security except in force. This is a security which has always failed in the past sooner or later, and it will ulti-

mately fail France as it has failed all other countries if she continues to rely upon it. But if she could be taught to accept international social control as her security, she might be safe for all time in the future.

Get the Cart Behind the Horse

The last step which should be taken internationally would be a decided reduction of the armaments of the nations. After a system of international law is built up, as herein suggested, there will be little need of the different nations of the earth maintaining their huge and separate armies and navies. In theory international social interest would require their abolition, just as private individuals have been disarmed in England and should be disarmed in the United States. Some argue that the "international government" might maintain an army and navy, but it would be better to dissociate all plans for international cooperation from armies and navies.

A police power of course there must be. Armies and navies have as their function the fighting of other armies and navies, not the doing of police duties. Police forces of different governments can be compared with armies and navies only when the police forces of say one city like Chicago are armed to wage warfare on the police forces of another city, say like Detroit. The true function of policemen is not to use force or to make war but to prevent force and violence. It might be suggested that the World Court should have some force for the purpose of enforcing its decrees, but it would be better not to have a force even for this purpose. The experience of the United States Government is conclusive on this point. The United States Supreme Court has jurisdiction over disputes between the different States of the Union. During the course of United States history over one hundred such disputes have arisen between the States and have been decided by the United States Supreme Court. In none of these cases has the United States Supreme Court thought of using any force or of asking the other branches of the Government to use any force for the purpose of enforcing its decrees. In spite of this fact, its decrees have been flouted in only

two cases, and it was better to have its decrees flouted in those two cases than to run the risk of public civil warfare which might be the result if the Supreme Court had pursued an opposite policy. Where disputes arise between large groups of people or nations it is better to rely upon the force of public opinion than upon the force of armies or navies.

Since disarmament is the last step to be taken in the substitution of law for war, it is seen that the United States and the other nations are not proceeding in the order in which they ought to proceed at the present time. They are undertaking to control the armaments of the nations of the earth before they have perfected any system of law to take the place of war. The thing for the United States to do is first to join the World Court and to work for the reformation of the covenant of the League of Nations and the building up of a body of international law sufficient to protect all of the international social interests which ought to be protected. After that it would be time enough to talk about disarmament or the limitation of armaments. No wonder when the nations of the earth pursue the policy which they are now pursuing that they can come to no agreement upon the subject of disarmament which has no real limitation.

World Direction of World Interests

The question might be asked: What should be the scope of international social control? The answer to this is that its scope should be just as broad as international social interests. Wherever there is a social interest which is world-wide the protection of that social interest should be delegated to some international agency. We would not, at the present time, think that it was wisest and best to give the National Government jurisdiction over a matter of local city interests like city parks, or water works; nor would we think of giving a city jurisdiction over a matter of national interest like interstate commerce or the post office. Why, then, should we think of giving the National Government or any other government jurisdiction over any matters of international social interest? At the present time, of course, there is no government to protect international social

interests. As a consequence, the different nations of the earth are trying to cover the gap by enforcing what is called international law as a part of their own municipal law; but of course they can enforce such law only upon their own citizens or those aliens who come within their jurisdiction.

There may be some difference of opinion as to what the international social interests are. Undoubtedly everybody would agree that there is an international social interest in the government of vessels on the high seas and in the air above the high seas. Probably there is also an international social interest in the definition of citizenship. There is also an international social interest in international commerce including the radio. Of course there is one paramount international social interest everyone would agree upon, and that is the international social interest in world peace and in armaments. Whatever the peoples of the earth agree upon as the matters of international social interest should be given to some international organization for protection, and that international cooperative body should protect them by the same method whereby the law always protects

social interests—that is, by means of substantive rights and duties, powers, privileges, and immunities, and a system of legal redress for their administration.

In a Word

If the United States, taking the lead, or acting in conjunction with the other nations of the earth, would follow the technic which has above been suggested, and which has been demonstrated to be a success so far as private individuals are concerned, there is no reason why the nations of the earth should not successfully substitute public law for public war and abolish forever the bane of human existence of public warfare and the periodical rebarbarizations of the world. But neither the United States nor any of the other nations apparently are at the present time following this technic. They are muddling in the international field. Whether or not they may finally muddle through is a matter which nobody can foresee. It is to be hoped that some way the nations of the earth may, before it is too late, see the true way for the abolition of war and the building up of a better international social order.

WANTED: *Back numbers of the* ADVOCATE OF PEACE, especially *just now copies of February, 1929.*—THE EDITOR.

EARLY PEACE EFFORTS IN RHODE ISLAND

By W. FREEMAN GALPIN

THE genesis of the Rhode Island Peace Society may be found in the peculiar circumstances attending the settlement of the colony of Rhode Island; in the peace tenets of the Friends, who migrated there in large numbers; in the general opposition which existed to the War of 1812; and in the appearance of organized peace societies elsewhere in America and in England.¹ More fundamental in nature was a growing distaste for war whose horrors Americans had witnessed in Europe for over a decade, the pronounced liberal movement which had risen within American churches since the opening of the nineteenth century, and the persistency of the peace idea which ancient creeds and writers had urged and which had never died out, thanks to the efforts of men like Luther, Penn and Voltaire. Of these more basic factors, that relating to the liberal movement within Calvinistic New England was perhaps the most important. The origins of this movement are largely traceable to the driving spirit of eighteenth-century rationalism, which sharply challenged the self-sufficiency of the Calvinistic faith. Unitarians, as the fundamentalists dubbed them, were permeated with a love for God and, what was particularly noteworthy, with a love for God's children. God, the Father, became a God of love Who sought to help rather than damn those made in His own image. All of which was in sharp contrast to the ideas of those who followed the teachings of John Calvin. Quite accurately has a recent scholar called this movement "a revolution in which the seeds of transcendentalism, of social Utopias, of pretty much the entire intellectual awakening of New England" may be found.² Small wonder is it

that out of these spiritual stirrings within man came the denial that the Father was a God of battle, and more than mere lip service to the Prince of Peace. William E. Channing, Theodore Parker, Henry Edes and many others of the Unitarian faith preached the gospel of peace and became active leaders in the antiwar societies of their day. Little more need here be said of this basic factor whose influence, however, ought not to be forgotten in this review of the immediate beginnings of a peace society in Rhode Island.

Beginnings

A leaven for peace had existed in this state ever since a Puritan Massachusetts had driven Roger Williams to found a settlement at Providence. Similar activities by William Coddington, Anne Hutchinson and Samuel Gorton in nearby areas paved the way for the founding of the Rhode Island colony under the English patent of 1644. Among other things, this patent allowed religious and political freedom and permitted the growth of an extreme form of individualism, both as to word and deed, restrained only by a political organization marked by its looseness and elasticity. Contrary minded persons and those seeking full liberties in religious matters found in Rhode Island ample chance to live after their own desires. Thither came, therefore, the Friends whose loyalty to their testimony against war became a well-established fact during the next two centuries. Indians were viewed as friends and not as enemies; and although Rhode Island threw her lot in with the other colonies in the War for Independence, the Friends generally held to a nonresistant attitude. The minutes of the yearly meetings preserved at the Moses Brown School, Providence, bear ample proof of this fact.

¹ This study was made possible as a result of a grant from the School of Citizenship. Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York.

² Parrington, V. L.: "The Romantic Revolution in America," New York, 1927, p. 326.

More particularly might be mentioned the activities of certain Quakers like Moses and Obadiah Brown.³

Political Aspects

These peace men were deeply shocked by the advent of a second war with Britain. Opposition to "Madison's war" rested largely on political and economic grounds, though the stand taken by the Friends ought not to be forgotten. A mingling of these political, economic and pacifistic reasons doubtless explains the steps taken at Providence in November, 1812, to combat the Republican party in Rhode Island. "Friends of Peace" met at Providence and chose as presidential electors the "peace candidates," Christopher Fowler, Samuel G. Arnold, William Rhodes and Ephraim Bowen.⁴ In support of these men there appeared a printed address signed by 48 persons, among whom were George Benson, William Jones, Nathan Waterman, Stephen Wardwell, Nicholas Brown and several others, all of whom in time became members of the Rhode Island Peace Society. "We disclaim," so this appeal ran, "all party considerations . . . and rejoice to see that the true friends of the country, both here and in our sister states, are discarding the party names and distinctions which have too long unhappily divided those who are members of one great family . . . and [are] cordially uniting as the Advocates of Peace."⁵

The "peace candidates" won in Rhode Island as they did in certain other states, but the Republicans gained a majority of the nation's vote and remained in office. The very defeat of the "Friends of Peace" revealed that many of them were but Federalists dressed up in lamb's clothing and that their opposition was to Madison's

war and not to war itself. While this generalization has some truth in it, still it must be recalled that, at least in Rhode Island, there were some who were against any war and not merely opposed to the War of 1812. The presence of men like Benson, Rhodes, Brown and Waterman, as well as many loyal Friends among the peace party may be advanced as partial evidence of this fact. More convincing, however, is a printed circular bearing the date of 1815 to be found at the library of the Rhode Island Historical Society.⁶ In this address, an unknown author rejoices over the recent peace with England and holds that the happiness caused by the return of peace proved that there was a "prevailing desire that the 'sword should not devour forever'" and that "'War is the effect of popular delusion.'" These ideas, he declares, may now be asserted without the charge being made that the author held them but for political gain and advancement. Clearly, not all of the Rhode Island peace advocates in 1812 were prompted by economic or political motives.⁷

Noah Worcester

The author of this interesting sheet was most certainly a peace man; one, moreover, who was well informed of the anti-war currents of his day. His allusions to the devouring sword show a knowledge of Worcester's celebrated tract, "The Solemn Review of the Custom of War." Indeed, express mention was made of this review, which was so influential in advancing the cause of peace at that time. Worcester, moreover, rapidly followed up his success by promoting and founding the Massachusetts Peace Society late in 1815. Similar organizations in New York City and in Ohio were also started the same year, and all of these served as direct in-

³ See Jones, A.: "Moses Brown: His Life and Services," Providence, 1892; and Jones, R. M.: "Later Periods of Quakerism," London, 1921, Vol. II, Chap. 18.

⁴ *Rhode Island American*, Nov. 6, 10, 13, 20, 1812. Of these candidates, Rhodes became a member of the state peace society.

⁵ Moses Brown papers, MSS., III:132.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II:74. The author may have been Moses Brown. Mr. W. C. Bronson, in his "History of Brown University," Providence, 1914, p. 178, states that in respect to class and society orations, "The War of 1812 inspired none of the orators, debaters or essayists; only a poem, 'The American Dead,' may have dealt with those who fell in the war."

⁷ See below, footnote No. 15.

centives to the peace men of Rhode Island.

Notice of the "Solemn Review" at once appeared in the local press, as did endorsing comments on the peace societies recently formed elsewhere. Definite propaganda in favor of peace followed. Extracts were taken from the *Friend of Peace*, the publication of the Massachusetts Peace Society, from Dr. Johnson's "Thoughts on War" and from W. E. Channing's "Sermon on War." Copies of the correspondence between Jefferson, Adams and the Massachusetts Peace Society, and between that body and the Emperor of Russia were also inserted in the press. Moreover, the horrors and waste of war were exposed and the merits of peace extolled.⁸

Talk of a Society

Naturally this publicity bore fruit. In the issue of the *Rhode Island American* for October 24, 1817, there appeared an article on "War and Peace" signed by one "Anti-Bellum." The editor of this paper, William Goddard, later a member of the local peace society, gave over an entire column to his contributor, who very spiritedly denounced war and praised peace and the peace societies. "Anti-Bellum" also advocated the speedy and wide distribution of peace tracts, especially the "Solemn Review," and closed with this appeal: "Let us hear the sound of the Providence Peace Society."⁹

In the meantime, Moses Brown and George Benson had been discussing the matter of a society. Both were well known in Providence and their public endorsement would go far toward making the movement a success. In the course of their discussions, the relation of the Friends to the proposed body received some attention. Brown, though a Friend, doubted the wisdom of having those of his

faith in control. The peace tenets of the Quakers were well known and any organization against war begun or led by them would be classed merely as one more Quaker activity. Further, the movement against war was of great importance and needed the help of all. Brown very wisely argued that one's creed or party should be of no consideration, and that membership in the peace society ought to be open to all and not merely to the Friends.¹⁰ Brown's judgment bore fruit, for shortly thereafter a state-wide meeting of those interested in peace was called for March 20, 1818, at Blake's Hotel, Providence. This call proposed that a society against war be formed "similar to those established in Massachusetts, New York," etcetera.¹¹ Further, the proposed organization was pledged by its promoters to keep hands off of all political and doctrinal matters. Peace and only peace was the object for which the society was to be formed.¹²

Meeting

In answer to these summons a goodly number of interested persons met and chose William Jones and Rev. Barnabas Bates as temporary chairman and secretary. Prayers were offered, after which a motion was made by the Rev. Henry Edes that a peace society be formed. Some general discussion followed but all agreed to the motion before them. Later in the day, a constitution was accepted and the necessary officers and directors were chosen. After this the meeting adjourned.¹³

⁸ Moses Brown papers, *op. cit.*, II:77.

¹¹ *Rhode Island American*, Mar. 6, 10, 13, 17, 1818, and *Providence Patriot*, Mar. 7, 14, 1818.

¹² *Rhode Island American*, Mar. 10, 13, 17, 20, 1818.

¹³ "Records of the Rhode Island Peace Society," MSS., Vol. I, Mar. 20, 1818; hereafter this will be referred to as "Minutes No. I." These records are preserved at the Moses Brown School, Providence. The *Friend of Peace*, I, No. 12, reported the presence of 33 persons at this first meeting. The officers chosen were "William Jones, president; Thomas Buffum, Elisha Potter and Benj. Mumford, vice-presidents; Rev. B. Bates, corr. sect.; George Benson, rec. sect.; and Obadiah Brown, treasurer." The trustees elected were "Abner Kingman, Thos. P. Ives, Rev. H. Edes, Thos. Arnold, Walter Paine, Luther Wright and Solomon Sias."

⁹ *Rhode Island American*, Jan. 26, Mar. 1, April 12, Aug. 2, Dec. 27, 1816, and Oct. 10, 1817; *Newport Mercury*, June 14, Aug. 2, Oct. 11, 25, 1817. For an earlier instance see *Rhode Island American*, Nov. 12, 1812, in which war is condemned on religious grounds.

¹⁰ This article also appeared in the *Newport Mercury*, Nov. 9, 1817. Further attention to the peace movement was given in the *Rhode Island American*, Dec. 30, 1817, and *Newport Mercury*, Feb. 21, 1818.

Developments

The inception of this body received some attention both in state and in New England papers.¹⁴ Those concerned, more-over particularly the clergy, doubtless gave much publicity to the cause. From the very first, however, definite opposition appeared. Unfortunately, those who had issued the call for the meeting at Blake's Hotel had not signed their names and had not clearly stated their aims and purposes. What reasons they may have had for these omissions is not known, but one "Washington" in the *Providence Patriot* took them to task for not having made matters clear. While it is true that the aims and purposes were not boldly stated, still anyone informed of the peace movement could hardly have reasoned as did this critic.¹⁵

More important than this general criticism was a set of questions asked by "Washington" and evidently aimed at casting reflection on the efforts of the peace men. "Washington" was not un-informed as to the nature and program of the peace party. His choice of words and the implied tone of his questions show how profoundly he disliked the proposed society. Taking the broad ground that the people of America had given the war and peace powers to Congress, this critic inquired whether the peace men sought to take these powers away. "Bonum Patriæ," a friend of peace, replied that none among them wanted to strip Congress of these rights. A frank and truthful discussion of all the facts incident to an impending war was all that was wanted. The constitutional right of the government to wage war was not denied, but "Bonum Patriæ" believed that this right ought to be used only when absolutely necessary. In

other words, the peace men did not deny the right of self-defense and admitted that no true friend of America ought to resist his country's declaration of war. "Washington" also sought to discredit the movement by declaring that during the late war with England the "peace societies or peace party" had aided the enemy by acting as a "dead weight" and that had the country followed their ideas then America would now be a degraded nation. This was answered by "Bonum Patriæ" who pointed out that in 1812 there were no peace societies and that the so-called peace party of that day "probably" acted from political motives. The proposed state peace society, he declared, was not interested in politics, that it acted solely on Christian principles and that were the ideas of the peace men accepted by the government no possible harm or injury could come to the country.

None of these answers by "Bonum Patriæ" seem to have pleased or satisfied "Washington," who proposed nineteen additional questions. "Were not the peace advocates of 1776 Tories?" "Are you opposed to 'all wars'?" "If 'yea,' you reproach me [Washington] for I conducted one war and by that war you were made free." "Do you condemn defensive wars and do you seek to awe the constitutional authorities, for if so, 'ye are not my disciples'." None of these queries seem to have been answered directly by the peace men, though the subsequent meeting of the society and the publication of their constitution was in itself a partial reply. None the less, it is to be regretted that no attempt was made to meet this sharp critic. "Washington," in spite of some ridicule and haughtiness, had stripped the peace argument to the very bone. In seeking to force an answer on the questions of defensive war and of nonresistance, he was raising problems which proved almost insoluble to those who supported the peace cause. For the moment, however, few of the peace men in Rhode Island or elsewhere were overcrowded with these matters, and to them it doubtless seemed unnecessary to argue about something which was

¹⁴ *Rhode Island American*, Mar. 20, April 3, 7, 1818; *Recorder* (Boston), April 7, May 5, 1818; *Providence Patriot*, Mar. 7, 14, 21, 1818, and the *Friend of Peace*, I, No. 12, pp. 32-33, 38.

¹⁵ The circular address of Mar. 26, 1818, was, in part, an answer to this objection; see "Minutes," I, inside cover.

outside of their sphere of thought and action.¹⁶

Although the officers of the society did not deem it wise to enter into an argument with their critics, they did take steps to counteract the opposition started by "Washington" and others. Four meetings of the board of directors took place between March 20 and June 8, 1818, at which it was voted to publish the constitution, a circular expressing their aims and motives, and "such Productions as . . . are best adapted to promote the objects of the Society." Five hundred copies of both the constitution and circular were printed and distributed throughout the state and in adjoining areas.¹⁷

From a study of the constitution one is able to find out what were the ideals, purposes and structure of this organization. This body was to be known as the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations Peace Society, membership in which depended upon the annual payment of one dollar and the acceptance of the society's principles. Annual meetings, at which officers were to be elected, reports heard and policies agreed upon, were to be held at Providence, the second Tuesday in June, or at such place and time as might be appointed.¹⁸ The governing board of directors was to consist of seven officers and as many trustees.¹⁹ The funds of the organization, which were gained from fees, gifts and other sources, were to be used solely

¹⁶ See the *Providence Patriot*, Mar. 7, 14, 21, 1818, for this dispute.

¹⁷ The cost of printing and distributing these tracts amounted to \$32.25; see the "Financial Book," Rhode Island Peace Society MSS. This volume is in the possession of the Rhode Island Peace Society, Providence, R. I.

¹⁸ None of the meetings covered by the limits of this paper were held outside of Providence, though the time of meeting was changed.

¹⁹ The officers consisted of a president, three vice-presidents, a corresponding and a recording secretary, and a treasurer. Fifty dollars or more made a contributor an honorary member and director, and this sum might be set aside, if desired, and only the interest used for peace purposes. Fifteen dollars made one a life member. All members were to receive peace tracts to the extent of one-half of their dues.

for the "diffusion of light on the subject of War and in Cultivating the Principle and Spirit of Peace." The founding of similar societies elsewhere in America or in foreign lands was to be encouraged, and an active correspondence was to be kept up with these bodies at all times. Amendments to the constitution might be made by two-thirds vote of members present at any annual meeting, if notice of such amendment had been given at a previous meeting, and provided that it "be not incompatible with the objects of the Society of Promoting 'Peace on Earth and Good Will to Man'."²⁰ Nothing was said as to the right of defensive war. Offensive war was denounced, but as far as defensive ones were concerned the constitution allowed its members to think as they wished. Further, there was no reference to any substitute for war as a means of settling international disputes. Internal difficulties and civil war were not mentioned, the implication, therefore, being that the society was interested solely in wars between nations. Outside of the reference to offensive war, and even here the constitution was none too clear, the society seems to have adopted a program which might appeal to many persons. Like the Massachusetts Peace Society, the Rhode Island body preferred to leave disputed matters out of their organic articles. Mild militarists as well as extreme pacifists might find the organization to their liking. And as far as the purposes of this paper are concerned, the constitution of 1818 served, with but few changes, to satisfy the members of the society.

Differences

The absence of any reference to these rather perplexing problems caused the critics of the movement to find ample ground for argument and debate. The *Providence Patriot* continued to open its columns to the foes of the peace society.

²⁰ The constitution is to be found in "Minutes No. I." Printed copies or résumés appeared in the *Rhode Island American*, April 3, 1818, *Friend of Peace*, II, No. I, pp. 32-33, *Recorder* (Boston), May 5, 1818, and *Newport Mercury*, June 13, 1818.

One "Q. in the Corner," for example, very caustically inquired why the peace men objected, as they were doing in 1819, to the right of privateering. Surely no fault could be found with this long-established practice which had as its end the shortening of war by the destruction of the material resources of the enemy. If war is to be condemned, then why seek to remove that which lessens the length and evil of war? If privateering were abolished, then the only way left to defeat an enemy would be by fighting and killing; hence the proposal to do away with privateering showed how "bloody-minded" the peace men were. Another critic, "Benevolus," charged the peace societies with having ignored basic and fundamental facts in the history of man. Man, "Benevolus" held, was born with the instinct to kill, and as evidence of this fact he cited the presence of "eye-teeth" and the fact that in America man consumed beef and drank strong spirits. In China, he admitted, man was a rice-eating individual, but in that unfortunate country there was neither national honor or courage, an example which no true American would possibly want to follow. Americans might cut off their beards and have their eye-teeth pulled out, but unless other nations did the same the net result would be fatal to the United States. "Benevolus" believed that wars had always been and always would be as long as man was "flesh-consuming" and "spirit-stirring."²¹ In spite of the ridicule employed by these critics, they had raised the important question as to whether a peace standard would be fatal to one nation while others kept to a war basis. More pointed, however, was the query as to whether man was born with the instinct to fight and kill.

Some attempt was made by the society and by some of its members to meet this criticism. Goddard, the editor of the *Rhode Island American*, declared that it could not be proved that the country would be endangered by the acceptance of the peace

principles. In other words, he held that if the government of America agreed not to wage an offensive war, that no harm could come to this country. Just what an offensive war was he did not define. Danger and injury, Goddard insisted, was more likely to come to America through the efforts of the military than from the activities of the peace societies. Further, he held, that a "false standard of national power and national glory is coming into fashion under the auspices of the army and navy. We are in danger of becoming arrogant and resentful, for, when threatened with insult, we talk not of demands for reparation, but of our capabilities for vengeance—not of temperate negotiation, but of the exterminating sword."²² Similar ideas were advanced by the society in an important four-page tract entitled "Defence of Peace Societies," and also in its "Fourth Annual Report." Here there is a flat denial of the argument that man kills instinctively, though no great attempt is made to prove the truth of that assertion. The right of self-defense and resistance to evil is admitted, though the society believed that only such weapons should be used as might be consistent with the "dignity of man and spirit of Christianity." Further, the peace advocates stated once again their position in respect to the government. They did not seek or wish to impair the "powers that be." Established constitutional rights and powers, they felt, ought to be maintained and respected by all in America. Nothing in their program ought to be construed as aiming to injure or harm their beloved country. The prevention of war was the sole aim of the peace society, but as this also was certainly a duty of the government, what possible fault could be found with the peace cause. War itself was an evil and ought to be avoided. As possible substitutes for war, the peace advocates suggested that all matters of dispute be submitted to negotiation, arbitration, and failing that to a congress of nations.²³ None of these substitutes were

²² *Rhode Island American*, July 2, 1819.

²¹ *Providence Patriot*, July 21, 28, Aug. 7, Sept. 8, 1819.

²³ "Minutes No. I," June 26, 1821; "Rhode Island Almanck," 1821, and *Rhode Island Republican*, Nov. 26, 1819.

clearly defined or developed in detail, but it is of interest to us of today to note that the peace men of that age were at least on the threshold of constructive ideas and programs.

Clearly "Benevolus" and his fellow critics had done the peace society a distinct favor by challenging the standards and ideals of the society. The open discussion which had followed had brought about no change in the constitution but had cleared up some misunderstandings and had forced the members of the society if not the society itself, to stand upon firmer and more certain ground. Where the constitution was silent a storm had been provoked, and out of it both the members and the society had announced that the right of defensive war was a power lawfully and rightfully possessed by the government, and that the right of self-defense was a sacred right of the individual. These admissions for the time being gave strength to the society. No longer could that body be charged with seeking to destroy the government. Further, as far as the present evidence is concerned, the position now taken by the peace men seems to have silenced those who were unfriendly to the peace society.

The Influential Men

To the leaders of this body this experience must have acted like a strong tonic. Their faith in the movement and in its ultimate success must have been strengthened. Their circular of March 26, 1818, bore testimony of this spirit of hopefulness and confidence.²⁴ Among those who were most prominent in the councils of the society and who because of their prominence in state and church added much to the success of the organization was William Jones. William Jones, the society's first president, was a member of the Providence Baptist Church, and was very active in local and state politics. For a time he had been governor of Rhode Island and had stoutly defended his state against what he

believed to be an interference of state rights by Madison during the War of 1812. His interest in the society is attested by the fact that up to the time of his death, in the fall of 1821, he was present at every annual meeting and at all but one of the twenty-two meetings of the directors. A close friend to Jones and loyal supporter of the peace cause was the Rev. Dr. Messer. Dr. Messer was the second president of the society and devoted considerable time and effort toward making the movement a success. His position as a Baptist clergyman and president of Brown University gave strength and attention to the society. Moses and Obadiah Brown, well known as Friends, merchants, philanthropists and public-spirited citizens, were most zealous in their devotion to the peace cause. Rev. Henry Edes, pastor of the First Congregational Church of Providence from 1805 to 1832, was a trustee of the society and showed a lively interest in the goings of that body. His pronounced liberal views, his interest in many of the humanitarian efforts of his day, marked him as one of the leaders of thought in Providence circles. Others like James D. Knowles, joint editor with William Goddard of the *Rhode Island American* and sole editor of the *Religious Intelligencer*; Rev. Barnabas Bates, of Bristol; Tristram Burgess, one of Rhode Island's most able representatives at Washington; John Howland, of Providence; Peter Pratt, William Coventry, Thomas Buffum, George Benson, Duty Winsor and many others might be mentioned as showing that men prominent in church, business and politics all found the Rhode Island Peace Society meriting their help and consideration.

Fortunes of the Society

In the hands of these men largely rested the fortunes of the society down to 1832. During the first two years of its existence the membership grew from 33 to 114, and in 1821 it reached the 200 mark.²⁵ After that date no exact information is available,

²⁴ "Minutes No. I," inside cover. Copies of this circular were widely distributed as may be seen by examining the same citations as given in footnote No. 20.

²⁵ "Minutes No. I," June 27, 1820; *Rhode Island American*, June 29, 1821; and *Friend of Peace*, III, No. 2, p. 51.

though it is safe to assume that by 1832 the society numbered close to 300.²⁶ Not a large number in itself, but for a peace society in 1830 to have had that many members was indeed an accomplishment. The annual dues of one dollar could hardly have prevented a greater increase, for in 1821 a constitutional change provided that upon payment of this fee a member was no longer subject to any charge unless assessed at a regular meeting.²⁷ And as far as the records show, no assessment was ever made. It may be that the society anticipated that this generous reduction would add to the number of members; if so, disappointment faced them as there seems to have been no sudden or even a small increase as a result of this change. Again, it might be argued that a continuation of the annual fee was too much for some, and that it would be better to lose dollars rather than members.

Nor can the slow growth of the organization be explained on the ground that it became lost in a discussion over the merits or demerits of offensive and defensive war, or to nonresistance. The minutes of this society show but scant reference to these subjects for the period covered by this paper. Outsiders, as has been shown, forced the members and even the society itself to take cognizance of these matters, but on the whole, the society preferred to leave these matters entirely to the members themselves.²⁸ Nor may one argue that recruits for peace were not won because of

the lack of publicity or propaganda, at least during the early years of the society's life. An 8,000 edition of the "Solemn Review," copies of the "Letters to Governor Strong," the purchase and distribution of several hundred copies of the *Friend of Peace*, and the insertion at various times in the "Rhode Island Almanck" of peace tracts, all vouch for the spirit and enthusiasm of the organization in its earlier days.²⁹ In addition, 500 copies of the constitution and circular address of 1818 were published, as well as two annual reports.³⁰ Copies of many of these tracts were ordered placed in the Providence library. Furthermore, at the annual meeting speakers of state importance were obtained and considerable publicity given to their addresses.³¹ All in all, by 1824 a total of 55,976 tracts had been given away in one form or another.³²

In the meantime Goddard and Knowles of the *Rhode Island American* had given

²⁶ The "Solemn Review" was attached to the "Rhode Island Almanck" at the cost of \$94.50. In 1820 there was added to the almanck of that year, "The Address of the Glasgow Peace Society"; in 1821 there was added an 8,000 edition of the "Defence of Peace Societies"; in 1822, "The Address of the Peace Society of Gloucester"; in 1823, 9,000 copies of the "Aged Farmer's Address to the Warrior"; in 1824, the "Letter from the London Peace Society, 1821"; in 1826, a 7,000 edition of "Captain Thrush's Letter to the King," Jan. 14, 1825; and in 1827, there was added to the almanck of that year extracts from the *Friend of Peace*. See the "Rhode Island Almanck," 1818-1828, preserved at the American Antiquarian Society Library, Worcester, Mass.

³⁰ "The Second and Sixth Annual Reports of the Directors of the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations Peace Society," 1819, 1823, preserved at the Rhode Island Historical Society Library, Providence, R. I.

³¹ Tristram Burgess, Chas. N. Tibbits, W. E. Richmond, Peter Pratt and others were among the annual speakers.

³² "Minutes No. I," June 29, 1824. The sixth annual report of the Massachusetts Peace Society stated that the Rhode Island society was the most active peace organization in America, see *Friend of Peace*, III, No. 3.

²⁶ This includes those living, removed, withdrawn or dead. "Minutes No. I" has an alphabetically arranged list of 328 members from 1820 to 1844, though no attempt is made to separate these members according to the years in which they joined. In 1832 the American Peace Society, a national society, had 1,454 members. See, Whitney, E. L.: "American Peace Society," Washington, May, 1928, p. 24.

²⁷ "Minutes No. I," June 27, 1820, and June 27, Aug. 13, Sept. 6, 1821. The amount assessed was not to exceed 50 cents and was not to be charged against life members who might now become such upon payment of but \$5.

²⁸ "Minutes No. I," June 27, 1821; *Rhode Island American*, July 10, 1821, and the *Religious Intelligencer*, June 28, 1822.

much attention to a movement which they most heartily endorsed. Out-of-state papers also noticed the rise and growth of the society.³³ Particularly important was the publicity the press gave to the legacy of \$500 received by the society from the estate of Obadiah Brown.³⁴ This sum was at once invested in the form of a loan to the city of Providence and became the nucleus around which the later fortunes of the society centered. In the same year, 1823, the society voted to send three of its members as delegates to the yearly meeting of the Massachusetts Peace Society.³⁵ Small wonder was it, therefore, in the light of these facts which showed a steady and prosperous growth, that the Rhode Island group sought and gained a charter of incorporation from the State of Rhode Island in 1825.³⁶ No reason is assigned for this in the "Minutes," but the bequest of \$500 may well have given the impetus to this movement.

Decline

The year 1825, the date of incorporation, marks the height of success achieved by the society during the first twenty years of its life. The death of William Jones,

³³ See, for example, *Rhode Island American* June 12, July 7, 1818, April 20, 23, May 28, June 22, 25, 29, July 2, 27, Sept. 7, 1819, June 24, 27, 1828; *Recorder* (Boston) July 15, 1820, *Religious Intelligencer*, June 20, July 8, 1820, Oct. 23, 1823; *Newport Mercury*, June 13, 1818; *Providence Patriot*, June 19, July 21, 1819; *Clarion*, Jan. 10, 17, May 8, June 19, 1824; *Friend of Peace*, II, No. 5, Vol. III, No. 10. Other references may be found in the papers cited from 1818-1825.

³⁴ "Minutes No. I," June 24, 1823; see also "Financial Book," *op. cit.*

³⁵ "Minutes No. I," June 24, 1823.

³⁶ "Minutes No. I," June 24, 1823, Jan. 6, June 29, 1824, June 28, 1825; "Acts and Resolves of the General Assembly of Rhode Island," 1825. A manuscript copy of articles of incorporation may be found in "Minutes No. I," pp. 146-148. The usual duties and rights of incorporation were given to the society which might hold property in land, funds and money not to exceed \$15,000. Annual meetings were to be held on the last Tuesday in June, or as ordered by the officers of the society.

Obadiah Brown and others interested in the cause, and the removal of Rev. Barnabas Bates to New York and George Benson to Brooklyn, Connecticut, account in part for the decline which set in after 1825. Further, the ever-present cry for money to carry on the work of the society also explains this decline.³⁷ The records of the organization show a steady drop in revenue. During the first three years of its life, the society had a modest income, but after 1821, when the annual dues were done away with, the exact opposite is noticed. To overcome this defect, the directors staged a campaign for new members, sent out a circular address and appointed financial agents in many of the important towns of the state. This does not seem, however, to have brought in the much needed flood of gold.³⁸ The income for the fiscal year ending July 3, 1822, amounted to but \$94.39, and after that date a steady downward trend took place. Outside of the \$500 legacy there was but a little over \$19 on hand in June, 1826, after which the income all but ceased to exist.

This very embarrassing lack of funds seriously cramped the work of the society, a fact which is proved by the falling off of publications after 1825, both as to number and quality, and by the lack of publicity given to the cause by the press of the state. Further, the annual meetings seem to have become less impressive and were not so well attended. Speakers of note were no longer secured and often no address at all was given. Correspondence with other peace societies all but stopped. The annual reports reflect this lowering of interest and activity, and the board of directors met less often and when in session confined themselves largely to matters of detail.

³⁷ See the annual reports as given in the "Minutes No. I," for 1821-32.

³⁸ See "Minutes No. I," fly-leaf, Sept. 6, Oct. 22, 1821, and Jan. 18, 1822. From Mar. 25, 1818, to June 30, 1819, the income was \$267, while the expenses were \$189.56. The next year the income was \$174.44, while the expenses were \$88.85; and in the year 1820-21, the income was \$123.59 with expenses equaling \$64.39. See "Financial Book," *op. cit.*, for fuller statement.

In spite of these handicaps the society continued to function. It was active enough in 1828 to attract the attention of William Ladd, of the Massachusetts Peace Society, who was then taking steps toward the formation of a national peace organization. After this new body was founded in May, 1828, Ladd wrote to the Rhode Island society and suggested that it become "an auxiliary to the American Peace Society." After some debate, the Rhode Island Peace Society turned down Ladd's idea on the ground that it was "inexpedient," though it did take under advisement a proposal of subscribing to the *Harbinger of Peace*, the organ of the American Peace Society.³⁹ No other reasons are to be found in the records of the society for not joining up with the national organization. It may be that some of the Rhode Island peace advocates still believed that their society could exist by itself and still be a power and strength. Further, 1828 was but three years removed from 1825, and it may be argued that incorporation stood in the way of accepting Ladd's proposal. In any event the Rhode Island Peace Society elected to follow its own path and life.

Annual meetings were held from 1829 to 1832. The record for the meeting of 1832, however, tells very vividly the story of the society's decline. Only the following brief minute appears for this meeting: "The — annual meeting of the Rhode Island Peace Society was holden at the State House in Providence on the last Tuesday in June 1832, being the twentieth-sixth day of said month, and adjourned to meet at — on the — day of — 1832."⁴⁰ Whether such an adjourned meeting took place or not is not known as neither the records of the society nor the daily papers of Providence make any mention of such a meeting. Further, the very next entry in the "Minutes" is that of a meeting held June 27, 1837.⁴¹ It seems reasonable to assume,

therefore, that from June 26, 1832, to June 27, 1837, the society did not hold annual meetings and did not carry on any active life. To all intents, the Rhode Island Peace Society had ceased to exist.

Conclusions

In conclusion, one may assign as reasons for this temporary suspension the following factors: First, the death and removal of some of the more active leaders and founders; second, the lack of funds and decrease in publication and propoganda; and third, the creation of the American Peace Society in May, 1828. The appearance of this national body must have lessened the need for a state society. During its earlier years, however, the Rhode Island Peace Society had done good work. Contrasting it with the Massachusetts society, one may say that its activity before 1825 compares very favorably, and that as far as the New York Peace Society was concerned, it did far better work. This activity, moreover, must in itself have added much to the development of the peace cause throughout the country, and thus to an extent have fulfilled the desires and aims of its founders.

During these years, 1832-1837, there still existed the \$500 legacy which had been received from the estate of Obadiah Brown, and which must have been in the keeping of some member or members of the society. To this extent, therefore, the society still lived, though its death might be expected at any time. In 1837, those who still classed themselves as members were given a chance to revive their activities by the timely gift of \$500 from the estate of Moses Brown. Accordingly those interested appear to have talked the matter over and to have taken steps towards reviving the society's existence.⁴² Due to a failure to have had annual meetings as laid down by the charter of 1825, a new charter was gained in 1838 which permitted the society to operate "as fully as if they had never omitted to hold successive annual meetings," and that a similar failure in the future was not to work

³⁹ "Minutes No. I," June 24, 1828.

⁴⁰ "Minutes No. I," p. 127. The word "fifteenth" has a line drawn through it in the records.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² "Minutes No. I," June 27, July 10, Sept. 15, 1837.

towards a forfeiture of the charter.⁴³ From 1837, the Rhode Island Peace Society has continued to exist. In May, 1912, however, it voted to become a branch of the

American Peace Society and was reorganized in 1914 under a new constitution "drawn up by Dr. Tryon."⁴⁴

⁴³ "Acts and Resolves of the General Assembly of Rhode Island," 1838.

⁴⁴ See Whitney, E. L.: "The American Peace Society," p. 281.

EDWIN GINN AND THE WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

By EDWIN D. MEAD

THE service to the cause of world peace and order rendered in this country by the annual conferences on International Arbitration at Lake Mohonk for the twenty years beginning with 1895 can hardly be overestimated. It was in his memorable addresses at the first three Mohonk conferences, on a "Permanent International Tribunal," that Edward Everett Hale urged with such mighty power that the sole way to international peace was through international organization, and that in this the organization and Constitution of our Federal Republic pointed the way. It was at Mohonk, in 1901, that Edwin Ginn, presently to establish the World Peace Foundation, gave his first address in behalf of the peace cause; and there, too, he made his last address. He had been at Mohonk as early as 1897, and again in 1899, which witnesses to his identification already with the cause; but he did not then take part in the discussions.

Speaks at Mohonk

In 1901 Mr. Ginn immediately followed Dr. Hale in the order of the speeches at that session of the conference. Dr. Hale had said that the time had come when the business men of America ought to believe in the peace cause and have a hand in it. He might have said that the first peace society in this country and in the world, the New York Peace Society, organized

in 1815, was founded by a great business man, David Low Dodge. We have come here, Dr. Hale said, professional men, clergymen and lawyers, teachers and literary men; but it is high time that the business men of the country should take their part in this great cause. Presently Mr. Ginn was introduced. The president of the Mohonk conference that year was Chief Justice Stiness, of Rhode Island; and Judge Stiness said, "We have with us today one who answers Dr. Hale's description, a business man, a large-hearted, broad-minded man, Mr. Edwin Ginn, of Boston."

That is what Edwin Ginn was in the peace movement—a business man, a large-hearted and broad-minded man. He began his address at Mohonk as a business man by paying a tribute to the idealists. Dr. Hale he thought had paid somewhat too high a tribute to the business man; but the idealist and the business man should always act together. In him they did, because, as professor Kittredge of Harvard said at the memorial service in Boston after his death, Mr. Ginn was first, last and always an idealist, an idealist in business, an idealist in philanthropy, an idealist in politics; and it was the idealist that spoke as a business man there in his first address at Mohonk. But he directed his words immediately to some very practical and pressing questions. The two obstacles

to the peace cause in the world, he said, were lack of mutual confidence among the nations and the great armaments. These remain today as in 1901 the great obstacles to peace. The distrust among the nations is to be removed by education and the development and exercise of co-operation. In the great armaments Mr. Ginn rightly saw one of the great menaces to the peace of the world. There is still no other so serious hindrance to the development of international arbitration itself. The monstrous navies especially, constantly growing since 1901, have become far more a provocation and a danger than a defense. The argument that they are the preservatives of peace is a futile argument, and it is never a disinterested one. The late Shearer incident was a gross and startling illustration of the selfishness and commercialism behind the big-navy boom.

The year 1901, it will be remembered, was the year following the release of the men imprisoned at Peking at the time of the Boxer uprising; and the spectacle of the armies of half a dozen nations working together, under a commander selected by all from one of the groups, made a profound impression on Mr. Ginn. He saw in it a prophecy and parable, a preparation for the international army, the international police, of which he spoke so often afterwards. He hardly ever made an address in which he did not ring some changes upon this idea of the gradual supplanting of the rival national armies and navies by an international force. It is something which in later years President Eliot strongly emphasized. But it was prominent in Mr. Ginn's Mohonk speech in 1901.

He reminded the people at the Mohonk conference that they were confronted by enormous and powerful organizations. They were confronted by the military class, "the war power with unlimited resources of wealth and men," and we could never overcome these obstacles save as we perfected a great organization to meet them. It would not do, he said then and afterwards, to leave this work to be done by a few. An adequate counteracting influence could not be exerted simply by men who could give to the cause only shreds

and patches of their time. We must make this, he said, a well-organized crusade; there must be men devoted to the cause, as Garrison and Phillips and Sumner were devoted to the cause of antislavery, men who would give all their time to it. And the cause must have a financial backing such as it never had before. In that 1901 speech, addressing himself especially to business and financial men, he said: "I should like to see a fund of one million dollars established for this purpose. We spend hundreds of millions a year for war. Can we not afford to spend one million for peace?" He would himself vouch for a hundred thousand dollars. Presently he said more definitely that he would be one of ten to contribute a million dollars. Such a large amount had never before been spoken of for peace propaganda, although Mr. Carnegie soon announced much larger gifts; and it made a sensation. Mr. Ginn, tired of waiting for the co-operation he hoped for, and impatient at delay in promotion of the cause so imperative, decided to give the whole sum himself that in the speech at Mohonk he asked the business men of the country to unite with him to contribute to the cause. It is always to be remembered, to Mr. Ginn's high honor, that he was the first man in the world to devote so large a sum to peace education; and this meant sacrifice, for although wealthy, Mr. Ginn belonged in no sense to the circle of our richest men.

He said in that same first speech—and the confident and fortifying word should be recalled—that, though great forces were against us, all the best forces of civilization were with us—industry, agriculture, art; and that because they were, organization and education would do the rest.

Later Activities

He made many speeches on the peace cause after that 1901 address at Mohonk. He first outlined his ideas fully at the International Peace Congress in Boston in 1904. He spoke at the International Peace Congress at Lucerne in 1905, at the New York Peace Congress in 1907, at Chicago in 1909, at Washington in 1910, at Baltimore in 1911; and in 1911

he was also at the conference in Berne. If you read all his speeches, you will find that they are "the same old speech," as Dr. Hale used to say of his own speeches at Lake Mohonk back there at the beginning. His message was a simple one and always essentially the same. He called upon the churches, called upon the schools, called upon the young men of the community to do their work for the cause; and urged the peace friends of the country to organize more efficiently and the business men of the country to see that the organization was backed up. His experience as a business man had taught him that great ideas and great movements must be backed up with money to achieve practical success. As a business man he was introduced at his first appearance in the peace cause; and the appeal for practical backing of the cause was always at the front with him.

I do not know how many citizens of Boston know that, had it not been for Edwin Ginn the great International Congress of Chambers of Commerce would not have come to Boston in 1912. It was the most important gathering of business men that the world then had ever seen, and, as it proved and as he foresaw, one of the greatest gatherings for the promotion of peace and international friendship. He knew that in the world's commerce, the world's trade and finance are both a chief menace and a chief help to the cause; that in many of the vested interests of men lay the menace, but that the broad views of business men and the paramount demands of commerce itself were largely to produce the cure. When, in 1902, he published the first book for the cause, it was the great book by Jean de Bloch, "The Future of War." He was one of the first to welcome Norman Angell's "The Great Illusion," which brought home to the business world yet more definitely the economic folly and futility of war, and he was quick to ally Norman Angell for a time with the World Peace Foundation itself. Norman Angell, then, was a voice crying in the wilderness; but never was a principle and prophecy more inexorably fulfilled than his by the World War—that in this interdependent new world no nation can any longer gain anything by war, but

that victors and vanquished alike must suffer loss.

Interest in Education

It was upon education that Mr. Ginn chiefly relied. He first named his foundation "The International School of Peace"; and I am not sure that the name should ever have been changed, which change was not at his instance. We shall see triumph for the cause, he said, when a generation has passed through the schools and colleges that has been trained to look upon this problem with the true philosophy and truly understand the facts. That was what he banked upon—the schools—as his educational life had peculiarly fitted him to do. That is why he emphasized especially the value of the college young man, knowing that from the colleges come the men who chiefly influence public opinion in this American democracy—the statesmen and lawyers and editors and preachers and teachers. That is why he welcomed and so generously helped the Cosmopolitan Club movement in our universities; and why he maintained a representative of that organization, George Nasmyth, to work in its behalf in the universities of Germany.

I can think of nothing more emblematic of his life, and of no more interesting social meeting in those days in connection with the cause, than the last gathering in which I saw him in connection with peace interests. It was when the German students, thirty of them, marshaled for the visit by Nasmyth, came to Boston in the summer of 1913, on their way to the International Students' Peace Congress at Cornell University. He and Mrs. Ginn invited these young men out to their home in Winchester, near Boston. In their beautiful, great music room, all listened to music together. They walked upon the lawns and engaged in inspiring conversation. These young men were profoundly impressed by Mr. Ginn's warm and winning personality and his enthusiasm; and a score of them spoke of him afterwards in terms of affection.

Personality

That was the notable thing about Edwin Ginn. It was said by one of the speakers at the memorial meeting after his death

that what he was was more than what he did. I can not fail to notice the personal impression that he made upon me. I was allied with him in the carrying on of service for the great cause to which we were alike devoted; for I was his adviser and helper in the organization of the Peace Foundation, and then its director. But living close to him for years, what meant most to me was his personality and the consecration which pervaded what he did. He was impulsive, often to the point of rashness, and no man ever owed more to the sanity of his partners and his friends; but through all fitful impulses, usually so generous, there ran reliably a singleness and steadiness of purpose. In his last years, especially, our personal relations were very intimate, because our Peace Foundation headquarters were long in the same building where the business of his publishing house was carried on. I was thus enabled, day by day, to touch the spirit of that business, to feel the spirit of the men who were associated with him, to see how he was loved by all, to see the enthusiasm and devotion for him that pervaded the great establishment. For I hardly need to say that Edwin Ginn, a son of Maine, a graduate of Tufts College, was the founder and the head of the publishing house of Ginn and Company, now one of the most important educational publishing houses in the country. Many in the great company of scholars whose books he published became his warm personal friends; and his big red room overlooking the Common was a center for much stimulating social converse and much merriment. A multitude of noble friends of his in the peace cause were my friends, too, and their personal affection for him was known to me. And that, after all, as Governor McCall, his friend and neighbor at Winchester, well hinted in his address at the memorial meeting, is what counts. How is it that a man affects those who stand close to him? How do they regard him? Measured by this standard Edwin Ginn's was a noble character.

And in the peace work—we have in our great cause men who are respectable peace men, men who do not want to rub anybody the wrong way, men who are academic, fair-weather peace men, men not

in earnest. Edwin Ginn was in dead earnest. The war against war was an integral part of his life. He knew that we are in a desperate fight, a fight with the devil in the saw-pit. He was in the conflict always courageous, and he was always buoyant, optimistic and confident. He little dreamed that the greatest war in history was at the door at the hour he died. I wish that he might have lived to see the signal triumphs of this hour, when our President and Britain's Premier confer together to help establish world order, and the foreign ministers of France and Germany are with them.

New England Interests

It was a rare group of workers whom we gathered about us in those early days of the Peace Foundation. At first our headquarters were in Ginn and Company's own building on Beacon Street; but as the work expanded, Mr. Ginn purchased for it the fine old mansion on Mt. Vernon Street, at the very top of Beacon Hill, which had been the home of that noble servant of patriotism, peace and education, Mrs. Mary Hemenway. Here the work still goes on, ever growing under wise direction and in faithful hands. But it could be much larger if its resources were larger. Mr. Ginn hoped and expected that his million dollars would be supplemented by other millions, and he purposely refrained from attaching his own name to the foundation, trusting that other benefactions to it might be greater than his own. At this moment nothing in my judgment could do more to advance the cause of peace education than the addition of a million dollars to the Foundation's endowment.

The Foundation should devote itself peculiarly to education—that was Mr. Ginn's purpose—the educational side of the peace movement, education through school and college, church and press. His whole life had had to do with education, and on right education he relied for the ultimate success of the peace cause. My own work as director of the Foundation, aside from the general administration, was in speaking and the editing of the publications. Mr. Ginn, as was natural for a

lifelong publisher, was pre-eminently a believer in books as the instrument of affecting the people. Our International Library grew rapidly to larger proportions than any previous series of peace works had attained; and our masses of pamphlets were directed to the schools, the churches, the newspapers and all agencies of public opinion.

Influence

At the time of Mr. Ginn's death, Dr. Charles H. Levermore, remembered by most perhaps as the winner of the famous Bok peace prize, coming to us from the presidency of Adelphi College in Brooklyn, had charge of the work in colleges and universities. Dr. Levermore was a Yale man, had long been professor of history in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and was one of the best historical scholars in the country. His great two-volume work on the "Forerunners of the Founders of Massachusetts" is a monumental product of thorough scholarship. When he went back to New York after his work with the Foundation, it was to take the secretaryship of the New York Peace Society; and after the establishment of the League of Nations, he prepared each year for publication, in pamphlet form, the best surveys issued of the League's activities. These annual surveys were continued and expanded by Mr. Myers of the Foundation when Dr. Levermore had to give up the work; and these and other related activities by Mr. Myers ultimately led the Secretariat of the League at Geneva to make the Foundation the American agency for its publications.

That heroic and consecrated young Galahad, George Nasmyth, who died untimely at Geneva from fever contracted in the Balkans on one of his missions for the Church Peace Union in the organization of international religious co-operation, was in his department of the Foundation's work concentrating chiefly on the establishment of international clubs among the students in the colleges and universities, both in this country and in Europe.

Denys P. Myers, who came into the service of the Foundation earlier than either of those and who has had longer tenure in its service than any other in its

history, was then as now the head of its department of research and information. The library, which has grown under his hands, is now one of the most important peace libraries in the world. With a genius for thoroughness and accuracy, he has earned a unique position among the peace workers of the country; and during the war and the years immediately following, when peace activities were so handicapped and largely suspended, it was chiefly his work which kept the Foundation on the map.

Dr. David Starr Jordan, Mr. Ginn's honored counsellor in the early days, and closely associated with the work, came on from time to time to gladden, inspire and fortify us. At this time, when the peace party of the country in its signal advances reveres in him and Elihu Root its two great Nestors, the World Peace Foundation cherishes with pride and gratitude the memory of his association with its beginnings.

Jordan sent us one of his zealous California converts, Mr. Albert G. Bryant, to take the direction of the work among commercial bodies—a man whose marked efficiency and warm personality so won all hearts that his sudden death soon after his entrance on his Boston work was a deep sorrow to our group and a sad loss to the cause. Our business manager, Arthur Waller, a Princeton graduate, was an eminent crusader like the rest, and the compiler of one of our most useful pamphlets.

Work for the women's clubs was stressed by Mr. Ginn, and was broadly developed under the devoted Mrs. Anna Sturges Duryea.

Work for the public schools, which Mr. Ginn counted fundamental, was, to avoid duplication, left mainly to the School Peace League, now more than twenty years old, always under the executive direction of its able and scholarly secretary, Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews. It was at the beginning closely affiliated with the Foundation, and Mr. Ginn took a deep interest in it. It was a child of mine, inspired by the wonderful school children's festival in Carnegie Hall at the great New York Peace Congress in 1907, and launched through Mr. Carnegie's generous financial co-operation. Such eminent educators as Samuel

T. Dutton and George H. Martin were among its early directors; and for some years before Mr. Ginn's death the Foundation contributed \$2,500 annually to its treasury. I always wished that this subvention, instead of ceasing, might rather have been increased. I wished, indeed, that the League might ultimately be merged with the Foundation as one of its departments; and I still wonder whether that might not be the best assurance of its permanence, its efficiency and its proper expansion. Mr. Ginn's hope was that it might independently win a generous endowment; but this did not come and its slender and uncertain resources have been unequal to its large field and task. When the Foundation gets its added millions of endowment, perhaps some merger may ensue.

A remarkable work for the cause was done during several years before Mr. Ginn's death, and entirely supported by him, by Miss Anna B. Eckstein, a native of Germany, but long a teacher in Boston. Her consecration to the cause was that of a crusader. Her central devotion was to international arbitration; and for this she presented to the second Hague Conference a petition signed by over two millions of those whom she had reached through her innumerable meetings in Germany, France and England, as well as in this country. Her activities were cut short by the war, during which, at her home in Coburg, she endured untold hardships. If Mr. Ginn came back to earth, one of his first concerns would surely be for the resumption of her peace activities, which were and are her religion.

Mr. Ginn shared with me the wish that the various peace organizations in Boston might all make their common center with the Foundation at 40 Mount Vernon Street, making it a Peace Building for Boston. At the very time, which was the time of Mr. Ginn's death, that President Garfield at Williamstown first publicly broached his plan for the International Institute, which after the war was so splendidly carried out, I had conceived a similar project as part of the Foundation's work in Boston; and we had made experimental advances toward it in a series of annual conferences in our large conference room, which proved popu-

lar and promising. Mr. Nasmyth went up for a conversation with President Garfield about possible co-operation. But the war suddenly stopped all such plans, and when it was over there was a new situation. It was at this time that my own direction of the Foundation's work ceased, on account of illness; but my concern for its interests and my honor for its founder are always present and vital.

Men in the Foundation

The Foundation has always had a remarkably able and devoted body of trustees. They have naturally changed with the years—among them now being such eminent peace leaders as President Faunce, Bliss Perry, Manley O. Hudson and George H. Blakeslee; but among them has always been Mr. Ginn's partner, now the head of the house of Ginn and Company, Mr. George A. Plimpton, ever carrying on the personal tradition and keeping Mr. Ginn's spirit alive and influential. Judge George W. Anderson, who was Mr. Ginn's lawyer and framed all the legal papers for the organization and incorporation of the Foundation, has also been one of the trustees from the beginning.

By sad and startling fatality, almost simultaneously with Mr. Ginn's death, came the death on the other side of the world of one of his revered associates, not only a co-worker in the peace cause—for Samuel B. Capen was an officer of the American Peace Society, president of the Massachusetts Peace Society, a leader in the Mohonk arbitration conferences, and a trustee of the World Peace Foundation—but one of the trustees of the Charlesbank Homes, built by Mr. Ginn. For among Mr. Ginn's interests, good homes for the people at moderate cost had a place second only to the cause of peace. As in Boston at that sad time in March, 1914, we began the week with a memorial meeting in honor of Mr. Ginn, we closed it with a memorial meeting in honor of Mr. Capen, the heads of our two chief Boston peace agencies passing almost simultaneously. It was not only as the president of the American Board of Foreign Missions, but also as the representative of the World Peace Foundation, that Mr. Capen went on his journey

around the world. A few days before he died, he sent back to Boston, and it reached here and was published just as he died so suddenly at Shanghai, an article upon the international opportunity and responsibility of the United States. As I read this farewell message, for such it proved, I thought of the impressive words spoken at Mr. Ginn's funeral by his minister, Rev. Samuel M. Crothers. He said that on Mr. Ginn's last Sunday at church, when in the service had been read the twenty-fourth Psalm, with its sublime words upon lifting up the everlasting doors, Mr. Ginn came to him at the close and said: "That expresses what life seems to me. I feel that life is forever, day by day, the opening to me of new doors." "Opportunity" was the last word of Samuel B. Capen; and life to Edwin Ginn was the opening forever of new doors.

Concluding Thought

It was fitting that the memorial meeting in honor of Mr. Ginn after his death should be held in Dr. Hale's church. Dr. Hale's gospel was the everlasting call to look forward, to face and trust the future; and he was the greatest peace preacher of our time. He made his church a peace temple. He said that there should be no modern church which did not have a standing committee on international justice; and he established such a committee in his church. I was present at a meeting in Mr. Ginn's room on Beacon Street, where Dr. Hale brought a dozen of us together to organize a movement for committees on international justice. He and Mr. Ginn were warm friends; and in his pulpit on Sunday mornings in years soon after his death there were, in place of the ordinary sermon, addresses upon international friendship by two of

Mr. Ginn's own revered European friends, Baron d' Estournelles de Constant and the Baroness von Suttner, at both of which meetings Mr. Ginn was present. It was fitting that the memorial meeting should be held there; and it was for a reason that the first word in Mr. Ginn's first peace address should be the name of Dr. Hale.

Because Edwin Ginn believed in the future, because he believed in the open doors, he appealed to youth, to young men; and his last peace speech was an appeal to vigorous young men and an appeal to the church, the school and the college to make that same appeal to vigorous young men.

Idealism, organization, education, consecration, youth—these were the things upon which he relied. These were the things upon which Emerson, our great idealist, relied. Of certain great religious principles unpopular at the moment he said that their triumph was sure because they were supported by "the stars in their courses and the inspirations of youth." The stars in their courses—that was what Edwin Ginn meant when he said that all the great interests of civilization were with us, that idealism was with us, that education and the growing thoughts of men were with us; and to the young scholars of America he appealed for leadership in the holy war for a peaceful and civilized world. Worcester, Channing, Ladd, Burritt, Sumner, Emerson, Parker, Hale—it has been a great apostolic succession. All these were friends and helpers of this high cause in New England. But among all our later servants of the cause there was none who will be remembered for more definite, devoted or fruitful service than that rendered in his last and best years by Edwin Ginn.

INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

PRESIDENT HOOVER

ON

THE HAWLEY-SMOOT TARIFF ACT OF 1930

President Hoover announced on June 15 his reasons for approving the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Bill. Since this statement answers many of the questions asked of us by interested people abroad, it is run in full text.—THE EDITOR.

I SHALL approve the tariff bill. This legislation has now been under almost continuous consideration by Congress for nearly fifteen months. It was undertaken as the result of pledges given by the Republican Party at Kansas City. Its declarations embraced these obligations:

"The Republican Party believes that the home market, built up under the protective policy, belongs to the American farmer, and it pledges its support of legislation which will give this market to him to the full extent of his ability to supply it. . . .

"There are certain industries which cannot now successfully compete with foreign producers because of lower foreign wages and a lower cost of living abroad, and we pledge the next Republican Congress to an examination and, where necessary, a revision of these schedules to the end that the American labor in these industries may again command the home market, may maintain its standard of living and may count upon steady employment in its accustomed field."

Platform promises must not be empty gestures. In my message of April 16, 1929, to the Special Session of the Congress I accordingly recommended an increase in agricultural protection; a limited revision of other schedules to take care of the economic changes necessitating increases or decreases since the enactment of the 1922 law, and I further recommended a reorganization both of the Tariff Commission and of the method of executing the flexible provisions.

Compares Levels of Rates

A statistical estimate of the bill by the Tariff Commission shows that the average duties collected under the 1922 law were about 13.8 per cent of the value of all imports, both free and dutiable, while if the new law had been applied it would have increased this percentage to about 16 per cent.

This compares with the average level of the tariff under

The McKinley law of 23 per cent.

The Wilson law of 20.9 per cent.

The Dingley law of 45.2 per cent.

The Payne-Aldrich law of 19.3 per cent.

The Fordney-McCumber law of 13.83 per cent.

Under the Underwood law of 1913 the amounts were disturbed by war conditions, varying 6 per cent to 14.8 per cent.

The proportion of imports which will be free of duty under the new law is estimated at from 61 to 63 per cent. This compares with averages under

The McKinley law of 52.4 per cent.

The Wilson law of 49.4 per cent.

The Dingley law of 45.2 per cent.

The Payne-Aldrich law of 52.5 per cent.

The Fordney-McCumber law of 63.8 per cent.

Under the Underwood law of 1913, disturbed conditions varied the free list from 60 per cent to 73 per cent, averaging 66.3 per cent.

Increases Largely for Farmers

The increases in tariff are largely directed to the interest of the farmer. Of the increases, it is stated by the Tariff Commission that 93.73 per cent are upon products of agricultural origin measured in value, as distinguished from 6.25 per cent upon commodities of strictly nonagricultural origin.

The average rate upon agricultural raw materials shows an increase from 38.10 per cent to

48.92 per cent, in contrast to dutiable articles of strictly other than agricultural origin, which show an average increase of from 31.02 per cent to 34.31 per cent.

Compensatory duties have necessarily been given on products manufactured from agricultural raw materials and protective rates added to these in some instances.

The extent of rate revision, as indicated by the Tariff Commission, is that in value of the total imports the duties upon approximately 22.5 per cent have been increased and 77.5 per cent were untouched or decreased.

By number of the dutiable items mentioned in the bill, out of the total of about 3,300 there were about 890 increased, 235 decreased and 2,170 untouched. The number of items increased was, therefore, 27 per cent of all dutiable items and compares with 83 per cent of the number of items which were increased in the 1922 revision.

No Tariff Bill Ever Perfect

This tariff law is like all other tariff legislation, whether framed primarily upon a protective or a revenue basis. It contains many compromises between sectional interests and between different industries.

No tariff bill has ever been enacted or ever will be enacted under the present system that will be perfect. A large portion of the items are always adjusted with good judgment, but it is bound to contain some inequalities and inequitable compromises. There are items upon which duties will prove too high and others upon which duties will prove to be too low.

Certainly no President, with his other duties, can pretend to make that exhaustive determination of the complex facts which surround each of these 3,300 items and which has required the attention of hundreds of men in Congress for nearly a year and a third. That responsibility must rest upon the Congress in a legislative rate revision.

On the administrative side I have insisted, however, that there should be created a new basis for the flexible tariff, and it has been incorporated in this law. Thereby the means are established for objective and judicial review of these rates upon principles laid down by the Congress, free from pressures inherent in legislative action.

Thus, the outstanding step of this tariff legislation has been the reorganization of the largely

inoperative flexible provision of 1922 into a form which should render it possible to secure prompt and scientific adjustment of serious inequities and inequalities which may prove to have been incorporated in the bill.

This new provision has even a larger importance. If a perfect tariff bill were enacted today the increased rapidity of economic change and the constant shifting of our relations to industries abroad, will create a continuous stream of items which would work hardship upon some segment of the American people, except for the provision of this relief.

Sees Freedom From Revisions

Without a workable, flexible provision, we would require even more frequent Congressional tariff revision than during the past. With it the country should be freed from further general revision for many years to come. Congressional revisions are not only disturbing to business, but with all their necessary collateral surroundings in lobbies, log-rolling and the activities of group interests, are disturbing to public confidence.

Under the old flexible provisions, the task of adjustment was imposed directly upon the President, and the limitations in the law which circumscribed it were such that action was long delayed and it was largely inoperative, although important benefits were brought to the dairying, flax, glass and other industries through it.

The new flexible provision established the responsibility for revisions upon a reorganized Tariff Commission, composed of members equally of both parties, as a definite rate-making body acting through semijudicial methods of open hearings and investigation, by which items can be taken up one by one upon direction or upon application of aggrieved parties.

Recommendations are to be made to the President, he being given authority to promulgate or veto the conclusions of the commission. Such revision can be accomplished without disturbance to business, as they concern but one item at a time, and the principles laid down assure a protective basis.

Says Protective Principle Remains

The principle of the protective tariff for the benefit of labor, industry and the farmer is established in the bill by the requirement that the commission shall adjust the rates so as to cover the differences in cost of production at home and abroad—and it is authorized to increase or de-

crease the duties by 50 per cent to effect this end. The means and methods of ascertaining such differences by the commission are provided in such fashion as should expedite prompt and effective action if grievances develop.

When the flexible principle was first written into law in 1922, by tradition and force of habit the old conception of legislative revision was so firmly fixed that the innovation was bound to be used with caution and in a restricted field, even had it not been largely inoperative for other reasons.

Now, however, and particularly after the record of the last fifteen months, there is a growing and widespread realization that in this highly complicated and intricately organized and rapidly shifting economic world, the time has come when a more scientific and businesslike method of tariff revision must be devised. Toward this the new flexible provision takes a long step.

These provisions meet the repeated demands of statesmen and industrial and agricultural leaders over the past twenty-five years. It complies in full degree with the proposals made twenty years ago by President Roosevelt. It now covers proposals which I urged in 1922.

Would Remedy Foreign Complaints

If, however, by any chance the flexible provisions now made should prove insufficient for effective action, I shall ask for further authority for the commission, for I believe that public opinion will give wholehearted support to the carrying out of such a program on a generous scale to the end that we may develop a protective system free from the vices which have characterized every tariff revision in the past.

The complaints from some foreign countries that these duties have been placed unduly high can be remedied if justified by proper application to the Tariff Commission.

It is urgent that the uncertainties in the business world which have been added to by the long-extended debate of the measure should be ended. They can be ended only by completion of this bill. Meritorious demands for further protection to agriculture and labor which have developed since the tariff of 1922 would not end if this bill fails of enactment. Agitation for legislative tariff revision would necessarily continue before the country. Nothing would contribute to retard business recovery more than this continued agitation.

As I have said, I do not assume the rate structure in this or any other tariff bill is perfect, but I am convinced that the disposal of the whole question is urgent.

I believe that the flexible provisions can within reasonable time remedy inequalities; that this provision is a progressive advance and gives great hope of taking the tariff away from politics, lobbying and log-rolling; that the bill gives protection to agriculture for the market of its products, and to several industries in need of such protection for the wage of their labor; that with returning normal conditions our foreign trade will continue to expand.

BRIAND PLAN FOR THE FEDERATION OF EUROPE

(Full Text)

THE French Foreign Minister publicly announced his communication to twenty-six governments on May 17 as follows:

Chapter I

NECESSITY FOR A PACT OF GENERAL ORDER, HOWEVER ELEMENTARY, FOR THE AFFIRMATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF A MORAL UNION OF EUROPE AND SOLEMN CONSECRATION OF THE FACT OF SOLIDARITY BETWEEN EUROPEAN NATIONS.

In a formula which should be as liberal as possible, but should indicate clearly the essential objective of this association in the service of the collective work and pacific organization of Europe, the signatory governments should engage to make regular contacts, in periodical or extraordinary meetings, for the examination in common of all questions likely to interest in a primary degree the community of European peoples.

Observations

1. The signatory governments being thus committed to the general principles of a certain common policy and the principle of a European union being thus henceforth removed from all discussions and above all procedure in daily application: The study of ways and means shall be reserved to the European conference or to a permanent organization, which shall be called upon to constitute a living bond of solidarity among European nations and thus to incarnate the moral personality of the European union.

2. This initial and symbolic pact, under cover of which will be pursued the determination, organization and development of the constituent elements of the European association, should be drawn up in such fashion as to limit itself by the definition of the essential rôle of this association. [The eventual extension of this pact of principle into a fuller charter should be reserved for the future.]

3. The terms of the European pact should, however, take into account the essential reservations indicated in the present memorandum and it should seek to define the character of Europe considered as a regional entente within the terms of Article XXI of the covenant of the League and itself within the League of Nations. [It should be set forth that the European association cannot substitute itself for the League of Nations in tasks confined to that body by pact or by treaties, and that even in its own domain of the organization of Europe it should coordinate its particular activities with the general activity of the League of Nations.]

4. In order to better emphasize the subordination of the European association to the League of Nations, the European pact should be reserved at its origin to states which are members of the League.

Chapter II

NECESSITY OF A MECHANISM FOR THE ASSURANCE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION; INDISPENSABLE TO THE ORGANIZATION FOR THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF ITS TASK.

(a) The necessity of a representative and responsible organ to inform the regular institution of the "European conference" composed of representatives of all European governments, members of the League of Nations, which will remain an essential and directive organ of the European union in liaison with the League.

The powers of this conference, its organization, its president and its regular and extraordinary sessions should be determined at the next meeting of the European states, which shall have to deliberate on the conclusions of a report of inquiry, and which, under the reserve of governmental approval or indispensable parliamentary ratification, should assure the final drafting of the project for the European organization.

Observation

In order to avoid any predominance in favor of one European state over the others, presidents of the European conference should be elected annually and function in rotation.

(b) The necessity of an executive organ to inform the permanent political committee composed only of a certain number of members of the European conference and assuring practically to the European union its organ of study and at the same time its instrument of action.

The composition and powers of the European committee, the manner of designation of its members, its organization, its presidency and its sessions should be determined at the next meeting of the European states. The activity of this committee, like that of the conference, being within the framework of the League, its meetings should be held at Geneva, where its regular session should coincide with those of the Council of the League.

Observations

1. The presidents of this committee should be in rotation.

2. As the committee can include only a restricted number of representatives of European nations, it should have the power to invite at any moment representatives of other European nations, whether or not they are members of the League, who might be particularly interested in the study of any questions. Furthermore, it should reserve the right, at any time it might judge necessary or opportune, to invite representatives of an extra-European power to attend or even to participate, with a consultative or deliberative voice, in deliberations on a question in which that power may be interested.

3. The principal tasks of the committee might be the general examination of procedure for the realization and application of ways and means of setting forth the constituent elements of the future European federal union and drawing up the general inventory of a program of European cooperation, including a study of political, economic, social and other questions interesting the European community and not yet dealt with by the League of Nations; special action to be taken to put in force by European governments decisions of the League.

4. The committee, after adoption of a general program of European cooperation, might confide the study of certain chapters to special technical committees.

(c) The necessity of the service of a secretariat, limited in the beginning to the administrative assurance of the execution of instructions of the president of the conference and the European committee, communications between governments which are signatories of the European pact, conversations of the conference or the committee,

preparation of discussions, registration and notification of resolutions.

Observations

1. In the beginning the secretariat might be confined to the government charged in rotation with the president of the European committee.

2. When the necessity of a permanent secretariat arises, it should be established at Geneva.

3. Organization of the work of the secretariat should always take into account the possibilities of at least partial and temporary employment of the special services of the secretariat of the League of Nations.

Chapter III

DEALING IN ADVANCE WITH THE FUNDAMENTAL PURPOSES WHICH MUST DETERMINE THE BROAD OUTLINES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMITTEE AND GUIDE IT IN ITS STUDY AND ELABORATION OF EUROPEAN ORGANIZATION.

The third point could be withheld for consideration of the projected meeting of European States.

Subordination of Economic to Political Questions

All possibility of progress toward economic union being strictly determined by the question of security, itself closely bound up with the question of possible progress in the realm of political union, it is therefore on the political field that the best efforts of organizers' to create for Europe an organic structure must be concentrated.

It is also along these lines that the economic policy of Europe, as well as the tariff policies of the various European states, must subsequently develop.

An opposite procedure would not only be useless but would also appear to the weaker nations as destined to expose them without guarantees or compensation to the risks of political domination which might easily result from industrial domination by the better organized states.

It is therefore logical and fair that the economic sacrifices to be made to the whole will find their justification chiefly in the development of a political situation establishing confidence between the peoples and true pacification in their minds. And even after the accomplishment of such a state of affairs, protected by the established régime and close association to further the aims of peace between European peoples, it will still be necessary on the political side of the problem to establish a keener feeling for international requirements, to impose upon the members of the

European community in favor of a European organism a sincere conception and effective pursuit of a truly liberal tariff policy.

The conception of European political cooperation should tend toward this essential end; a federation built not upon the idea of unity but of union; that is to say, sufficiently supple as to respect the independence and national sovereignty of each of these states, at the same time assuring to all the benefit of collective solidarity for the settlement of political questions involving the fate of the European community or of one of its members.

Such a conception could imply as a consequence the general development by Europe of a system of arbitration and security and the progressive extension to the whole European community of the policy of international guarantees inaugurated at Locarno until such time as a series of agreements are merged in the general system of agreements.

The conception of the economic organization of Europe must be directed toward this essential aim: the rapprochement between the various European economic systems realized under the friendly responsibility of governments working in unison.

With this purpose in mind, the various governments could finally agree to the terms of a general pact in which were stated the principles of a simple economic pact and the purposes of these tariff policies. The ideal would be the creation of a common market, raising to a maximum the level of human well-being within the boundaries of Europe.

Under this inspiration, the rational organization of a European system of production and exchange, by means of the gradual liberation and methodical simplification of the circulation of goods, capital and persons under a single reserve according to the needs of the national defense of each state, could immediately be started.

Once the principle of such a tariff policy is adopted and finally agreed upon by all the governments, the study of ways and means for its realization could be reserved for the technical consideration of a committee of experts under the conditions set forth in Chapter II, Paragraph B, Observation 4.

Chapter IV

THE ADVISABILITY OF RESERVING FOR THE STUDY OF THE NEXT EUROPEAN CONFERENCE, OR FOR THE SPECIAL EUROPEAN FEDERATION COMMITTEE, MATTERS RELATING TO THE BEST MEANS FOR CARRYING OUT BROAD PRINCIPLES, INCLUDED

AMONG WHICH ARE THE FOLLOWING RELATING TO THE SELECTION OF THE BEST FIELD FOR EUROPEAN COOPERATION.

1. General economics. The effective application in Europe of the program set up by the recent economic conference of the League of Nations, the control of policies of industrial unions and cartels and the study of future possibilities regarding the progressive lowering of tariffs.

2. Economic equipment. The establishment of coordination between great public works undertaken by European states—roads for increased motor car traffic, canals, etc.

3. Communications and transit, by land, water and air. The regulation and improvement of inter-European traffic, the coordination of the work of the European waterway commissions, agreements between railways, and a régime of European postal, telegraph, telephone and broadcasting systems.

4. Finance. The encouragement of credit destined for economic development of those states whose economic positions, markets, etc., are now underdeveloped.

5. The settlement of certain labor questions of a special European character, such as inland navigation, glass trades, regulation and social consequences of inter-European emigration, uniformity of application in reference to social insurance laws, workmen's pensions, working insurance, etc.

Cooperation in Hygiene

6. Hygiene. The extension of certain methods of hygiene already successfully worked out by the experimental division of hygiene of the organization of the League of Nations, especially the regeneration of agricultural districts, the enforcement of insurance against sickness and national schools of hygiene, the prevention of European epidemics, the exchange of information and staffs between various state hygiene organizations, scientific and administrative cooperation in the fight against great social plagues, against occupational diseases and infant mortality.

7. Intellectual Cooperation. Cooperation between universities and preparatory schools, literary and artistic cooperation, concentration of scientific research, improvement of relations of the press, particularly among news agencies, the transport of newspapers, etc.

8. Interparliamentary Relations. Utilization of the work of the Interparliamentary Union with a view to development of meetings and exchanges between various parliamentary circles of Euro-

pean states for the purpose of cultivating a political ground for that work of the European union which would require parliamentary sanction, and in a general way to improve the international atmosphere of Europe by mutual understanding of the interests, feelings and peoples.

9. Administration. The setting up of European sections in certain international organizations which either already exist or might be established.

Methods of Cooperation

Settlement of methods of European cooperation concerning questions which would come before the European conference and the European committee.

It might be advisable, according to cases, either to set up organizations for coordination and study where there are none today, for example, concerning the questions of equipment of various inland navigation commissions, or to support the efforts of the League concerning those questions already subject to methodical study, and in general by promoting the exchange of views and friendly negotiations for the enforcement by members of the union of conventions established or of recommendations made by the League of Nations.

Finally, by summoning conferences, European or world-wide, by the League of Nations concerning questions likely to be solved by the League but which are naturally disposed of. At all European conferences, extra-European states would be invited to be represented by observers, and any convention set up by the conference called on the demand of European states, provided its purpose was not strictly confidential, would remain open to the adhesion of extra-European states.

Chapter V

DETERMINATION OF A MEANS OF COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE UNION AND COUNTRIES NOT BELONGING TO IT.

In requesting an opinion of twenty-six European states and by which it has been commissioned to make the inquiry, the Government of the French Republic wishes to note at the outset that from a purely practical standpoint it deemed it better to devote itself to as simple an exposition as possible, not that it intends to limit the future possibilities of the development of the European union, but that because in the present condition of the European community and for the sake of increasing the chances of unanimous

consent to the first concrete proposal capable of conciliating all the interests and all the special situations involved, it must above all confine itself to a very few simple views. Undoubtedly the best method is by proceeding from the simple to the complex and to trust to time in the task of achieving with the aid of life and by constant evolution the complete expansion of the natural resources which the European union is likely to contain.

It was a conception of that character which already had guided a representative of France when before the first European gathering convened at Geneva he suggested merely as a starting point the seeking of a simple federal bond to be set up between the European governments and members of the League of Nations with a view to establishing their practical cooperation.

Would Make Simple Beginning

It is not a question of trying to set up an ideal mechanism to satisfy in the abstract all the logical needs of a huge European union, but, on the contrary, by avoiding what would be premature, to begin a practical realization of the first means of contact of what is intended to be a solid basis of cooperation with a view to the settlement in common of all problems bearing on the organization of European peace and the national organization of the vital forces of Europe.

The Government of the French Republic would be grateful to receive before July 15 the replies of governments whose advice it now seeks with all the remarks and spontaneous suggestions with which they may care to accompany their replies.

The French Government expresses the firm hope that such replies will be inspired by a deep concern to help satisfy the expectation of the peoples concerned and that the ardent desires of European conscience will provide the elements of understanding and conciliation making possible, after the embryo of a federal organization has been created, the establishment of a lasting framework of European cooperation for which the next Geneva meeting will be able to decide a program. Times have never been more propitious nor more pressing for the starting of constructive work of this kind. The settlement of the main material and moral problems incident to the last war will soon have freed the new Europe from a burden that bears most heavily on its mind as well as on its wealth. Europe already appears ready for a positive effort which will fit in with the new order of things. It is a decisive hour when a watchful Europe may ordain in freedom her own fate.

Unite to live and prosper—such is the strict obligation hereafter confronting all the nations of Europe. It seems as if the peoples had already clearly shown their mind on the subject. It behooves the governments to assume today their responsibilities for the grouping of the material and moral forces they control for the benefit of the European community as well as mankind under the penalty of surrendering to the risk of private initiative and disorderly enterprise.

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appliances. The convention will be in force for a period of 16 years.

THE CONFERENCE AT GENEVA on the unification of laws on bills of exchange terminated early in June with an international code to its credit. The United States and Great Britain had previously adopted such a code. Now 21 other states have similarly codified their laws on the subject. It is expected that the result will be great simplification of the work of exporters and importers everywhere.

VENEZUELA HAS ADOPTED a new way of celebrating a national historic event. It has decided to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the establishment of its independence from Spanish rule by paying off during the year its entire national debt. This will mean a sum of approximately \$4,700,000.

BARELY THREE WEEKS AFTER the first performance in Berlin of the French opera "Christopher Columbus," by MM. Darius Milhaud and Paul Claudel, the Frankfurt Opera House produced, for the first time in any country, the American opera "Transatlantic"; or, "The People's Choice," by Mr. George Antheil. These two events are symptomatic of the tendency of Germany to become the experimental ground for all new musical works of importance.

THE FOURTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE of the Catholic Association for International Peace was held April 22 and 23 at the Catholic University in Washington, D. C.

IT IS ANNOUNCED in Geneva that China has ratified the convention on the creation of minimum wage-fixing machinery. This is the first time China has ratified a convention adopted by the International Labor Conference.

MRS. ANNA GARLAND SPENCER recently celebrated her seventy-ninth birthday by launching a new branch of the American Social Hygiene Association and starting a wide field of research. Mrs. Spencer joined the American Peace Society in 1878.

AMERICAN TRADE in sporting goods with foreign countries amounted, last year, to nearly \$15,000,000, according to Dr. Julius Klein, Assistant Secretary of Commerce. Most of the skis used in winter sports at St. Moritz, Switzerland, are made in America. Markets south of the equator, added to those in the northern hemisphere, keep

some manufacturers of tennis goods in this country busy all the year round. Dr. Klein feels that all this international commerce adds great strength to international amity.

THE GENEVA SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES announces a four-week course for the summer of 1930 in which an interesting group of lecturers will conduct courses. This is under the direction of Professor Alfred Zimmern, Deputy Director of the League of Nations International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. Professor Zimmern's very popular special course, in which he interprets each day's session of the Assembly of the League, will be carried on again this summer.

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, the fourth annual session of the seminar in Mexico will be held this year in Mexico City, July 13 to August 3. The course will be a comprehensive study of Mexican life and culture and will conclude with a reception given by Ambassador and Mrs. Morrow.

MAGALLANES, FORMERLY KNOWN as Punta Arenas, is the world's southernmost city, approximately a thousand miles further south than the southern point of Africa. It is situated about midway in the Straits of Magellan, and has been reached only by steamboat service hitherto. Soon, however, it will be regularly served by airplane service from Chile. A commander in the Chilean Navy made the air trip in January and plans were made for regular air service soon to be installed.

MISS AGNES McPHAIL, progressive member of the Canadian House of Commons, introduced there on March 6 a resolution providing that for every \$100 spent by the government for war purposes \$1 should be used to promote peace by setting up a chair of international relations, and by granting international scholarships at each Canadian university.

IN HONOR OF THE hundred years of Belgian independence, the Belgian Ambassador of Belgium to the United States, Prince Albert de Ligne, has offered a gold medal to the School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University, to be awarded for the best essay on Belgian history. That history extends over 3,000 years, though only 100 years mark the complete independence of the country.

Book Reviews

FICTION FOR SUMMER READING

THE WOMAN OF ANDROS, by *Thornton Wilder*. Pp. 162. Albert & Charles Boni, N. Y., 1930. Price, \$2.50.

Taking his theme from a comedy of Terence, Mr. Wilder uses it in his own manner, building thereon a human story of life, hope, disappointment, and death. But death in Wilder's books is not the violent frustration it is to many writers. It is melancholy, to be sure, but a natural element of the moral episode. This story of the Greek Island of Byrnos and a few of its inhabitants is like a cameo in its delicacy of delineation. The philosophy underlying the few episodes is as universal as are the principles of beauty to the cameo-cutter. Perhaps the theme may be summarized as the demand life makes upon us for a great love that looks for no reward. It suggests the power that such a love would have upon those who come after. Indeed, the theme is subtly indicated in a part of the opening paragraph, repeated in the final sentence. "Triumph," says the first page, "had passed from Greece, and wisdom from Egypt; but with the coming on of night, they seemed to regain their lost honors, and the land, that was soon to be called Holy, prepared in the dark its wonderful burden." And the last sentence closes thus: "And in the East the star shone tranquilly down upon the land that was soon to be called Holy and that even then was preparing its precious burden."

UNCLE SAM IN THE EYES OF HIS FAMILY, by *John Erskine*. Pp. 351. Bobbs, Merrill Co., Indianapolis, 1930. Price, \$2.50.

Uncle Sam of the cartoon has become the hero of a realistic novel! John Erskine, always unusual, has seen in the well-known figure a personality both vital and appealing. The story traces that personality through its development, and, without too close adherence to historical detail, Uncle Sam becomes a recognizable portrait of the American character. The older brothers and sister in the family of nations stand in the background of the picture, distinctly sketched with Mr. Erskine's light, ironic touch. Each would be likable in spite of foibles, one thinks, if one only

knew them better. All, however, except perhaps Antoinette, are more or less irritating, as they fail to understand their original but unconventional brother. Sam is altogether engaging. He is not afraid of his world but tries to understand it. He makes some usual, human mistakes in domestic relations, yet he has humor and the faculty—one almost says the fatal faculty—of success. His family, all but Antoinette, having failed to help him rise, become quite annoyed at this success. They profit by it, but ease their self-respect by shaking grave heads over Sam's "crudeness." However, with kindness equal to his acumen, Uncle Sam adopts and sets up in life nieces and nephews galore. The key to Sam's character, above his shrewdness and foresight and his keen appreciation of liberty, is his invincible pleasure in seeing things grow and develop. As a novel the book is engrossing and convincing; as an allegory it is delicious.

RICE, by *Louise Jordan Miln*. Pp. 333. Frederick A. Stokes Co., N. Y., 1930. Price, \$2.50.

Mrs. Miln, author of "Mr. Wu" and several other novels of China, has given us in "Rice" a story in which only Chinese figure. No thought or echo of a foreign world enters the story. The chief persons are a peasant mother, her pampered daughter and a loving, loyal, vagabond lad. The scenes are laid mostly in Siantung, the sacred province of Confucius. Rice is not plentiful in Siantung, and peasants are desperately poor. So, to long for rice in Siantung is to long for great riches. Pang Kee was all her life teased and half ruled by the longing to eat white rice. But all her life she put down this gnawing desire in order to raise her daughter delicately and marry her well. That constitutes half the poignant story. The other half is the suffering and adventures of the daughter before she can bring white rice home to her old mother. And moving back and forth in the two parts is the bright thread of the vagabond boy who loves, serves and many times saves both women. A beautiful, pathetic, human story—one that teaches much about China.

THE GREAT MEADOW, by *Elizabeth Madox Brown*. Pp. 338. The Viking Press, New York, 1930. Price, \$2.50.

Better even than the author's best previous book, "The Time of Man," this truly American novel holds the attention from the time one gets

into the swing of its singing prose until the very end. The heroine is a most natural girl, although her days are spent in the long ago. Though individual, she is also a type of the stalwart, pioneer woman, such a woman as was to be found among the forebears of many Americans of today. The long, hard trek over "Boone's Trace," from the Virginia mountains at the headwaters of the James into Kentucky, called for healthy, patient, enduring, farseeing folk. The hardships of early settlements, the Indian attacks, the incredible difficulties in finding and making the ordinary tools and materials of daily life, cast shame upon the impatience of today's luxury-dependent generation.

The novel is well built, appropriately phrased, absorbing in its dramatic situations. It echoes continually with the call of something beyond and far away. Murmurs, too, of the distant Revolutionary War, waged on the seaboard at the same period, accent the stern life of the settlers. There are tragedies and joys, personal and epochal; yet there is marked absence of artificial psychological struggle. The tempo set by the simple, somewhat archaic, mountain English is followed in all the tale, both in character delineation and incident. It is a rarely beautiful work, flooded with the fresh airs of the grasslands of "Kaintuck," lighted by the splendor of the human spirit which can cope with the sternness of untamed nature and conquer.

STEPDAUGHTERS OF WAR, by *Helen Zenna Smith*. Pp. 250. E. P. Dutton, Boston, 1930. Price, \$2.50.

GOD HAVE MERCY UPON US! by *William T. Scanlon*. Pp. 338. Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston, 1930. Price, \$2.50.

Narratives based on the World War, begun by Barbuse in 1917 and carried on by many others in many lands—stories for reading, for the stage and for the screen—have been many. The stream seems to be continually increasing just now when translations from other tongues are swelling the English stream. It would be impossible, perhaps profitless, to scrutinize them all in these pages. At most one can but classify them broadly. Many show scant attention to technique of form, and few observe niceties of any description. Yet all carry the authority of direct, personal experience. All, if sincere, seem to show two pictures: one the stark beauty of human nature in extremities; the other—to those who think—the

consent to the first concrete proposal capable of conciliating all the interests and all the special situations involved, it must above all confine itself to a very few simple views. Undoubtedly the best method is by proceeding from the simple to the complex and to trust to time in the task of achieving with the aid of life and by constant evolution the complete expansion of the natural resources which the European union is likely to contain.

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A CONVENTION DEALING WITH the sockeye salmon fisheries in the waters contiguous to the State of Washington and the Province of British Columbia was signed by the Secretary of State and the Minister from Canada in May. The convention provides for an international fisheries commission of six members which is charged with the duty, not only of regulating the fishing, but of studying the natural history of the salmon, constructing and maintaining hatcheries and prescribing the size of meshes in the fishing nets and

appliances. The convention will be in force for a period of 16 years.

THE CONFERENCE AT GENEVA on the unification of laws on bills of exchange terminated early in June with an international code to its credit. The United States and Great Britain had previously adopted such a code. Now 21 other states have similarly codified their laws on the subject. It is expected that the result will be great simplification of the work of exporters and importers everywhere.

VENEZUELA HAS ADOPTED a new way of celebrating a national historic event. It has decided to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the establishment of its independence from Spanish rule by paying off during the year its entire national debt. This will mean a sum of approximately \$4,700,000.

BARELY THREE WEEKS AFTER the first performance in Berlin of the French opera "Christopher Columbus," by MM. Darius Milhaud and Paul Claudel, the Frankfurt Opera House produced, for the first time in any country, the American opera "Transatlantic"; or, "The People's Choice," by Mr. George Antheil. These two events are symptomatic of the tendency of Germany to become the experimental ground for all new musical works of importance.

THE FOURTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE of the Catholic Association for International Peace was held April 22 and 23 at the Catholic University in Washington, D. C.

IT IS ANNOUNCED in Geneva that China has ratified the convention on the creation of minimum wage-fixing machinery. This is the first time China has ratified a convention adopted by the International Labor Conference.

MRS. ANNA GARLAND SPENCER recently celebrated her seventy-ninth birthday by launching a new branch of the American Social Hygiene Association and starting a wide field of research. Mrs. Spencer joined the American Peace Society in 1878.

AMERICAN TRADE in sporting goods with foreign countries amounted, last year, to nearly \$15,000,000, according to Dr. Julius Klein, Assistant Secretary of Commerce. Most of the skis used in winter sports at St. Moritz, Switzerland, are made in America. Markets south of the equator, added to those in the northern hemisphere, keep

some manufacturers of tennis goods in this country busy all the year round. Dr. Klein feels that all this international commerce adds great strength to international amity.

THE GENEVA SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES announces a four-week course for the summer of 1930 in which an interesting group of lecturers will conduct courses. This is under the direction of Professor Alfred Zimmern, Deputy Director of the League of Nations International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. Professor Zimmern's very popular special course, in which he interprets each day's session of the Assembly of the League, will be carried on again this summer.

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, the fourth annual session of the seminar in Mexico will be held this year in Mexico City, July 13 to August 3. The course will be a comprehensive study of Mexican life and culture and will conclude with a reception given by Ambassador and Mrs. Morrow.

MAGALLANES, FORMERLY KNOWN as Punta Arenas, is the world's southernmost city, approximately a thousand miles further south than the southern point of Africa. It is situated about midway in the Straits of Magellan, and has been reached only by steamboat service hitherto. Soon, however, it will be regularly served by airplane service from Chile. A commander in the Chilean Navy made the air trip in January and plans were made for regular air service soon to be installed.

MISS AGNES MCPHAIL, progressive member of the Canadian House of Commons, introduced there on March 6 a resolution providing that for every \$100 spent by the government for war purposes \$1 should be used to promote peace by setting up a chair of international relations, and by granting international scholarships at each Canadian university.

IN HONOR OF THE hundred years of Belgian independence, the Belgian Ambassador of Belgium to the United States, Prince Albert de Ligne, has offered a gold medal to the School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University, to be awarded for the best essay on Belgian history. That history extends over 3,000 years, though only 100 years mark the complete independence of the country.

Book Reviews

FICTION FOR SUMMER READING

THE WOMAN OF ANDROS, by *Thornton Wilder*. Pp. 162. Albert & Charles Boni, N. Y., 1930. Price, \$2.50.

Taking his theme from a comedy of Terence, Mr. Wilder uses it in his own manner, building thereon a human story of life, hope, disappointment, and death. But death in Wilder's books is not the violent frustration it is to many writers. It is melancholy, to be sure, but a natural element of the moral episode. This story of the Greek Island of Byrnos and a few of its inhabitants is like a cameo in its delicacy of delineation. The philosophy underlying the few episodes is as universal as are the principles of beauty to the cameo-cutter. Perhaps the theme may be summarized as the demand life makes upon us for a great love that looks for no reward. It suggests the power that such a love would have upon those who come after. Indeed, the theme is subtly indicated in a part of the opening paragraph, repeated in the final sentence. "Triumph," says the first page, "had passed from Greece, and wisdom from Egypt; but with the coming on of night, they seemed to regain their lost honors, and the land, that was soon to be called Holy, prepared in the dark its wonderful burden." And the last sentence closes thus: "And in the East the star shone tranquilly down upon the land that was soon to be called Holy and that even then was preparing its precious burden."

UNCLE SAM IN THE EYES OF HIS FAMILY, by *John Erskine*. Pp. 351. Bobbs, Merrill Co., Indianapolis, 1930. Price, \$2.50.

Uncle Sam of the cartoon has become the hero of a realistic novel! John Erskine, always unusual, has seen in the well-known figure a personality both vital and appealing. The story traces that personality through its development, and, without too close adherence to historical detail, Uncle Sam becomes a recognizable portrait of the American character. The older brothers and sister in the family of nations stand in the background of the picture, distinctly sketched with Mr. Erskine's light, ironic touch. Each would be likable in spite of foibles, one thinks, if one only

knew them better. All, however, except perhaps Antoinette, are more or less irritating, as they fail to understand their original but unconventional brother. Sam is altogether engaging. He is not afraid of his world but tries to understand it. He makes some usual, human mistakes in domestic relations, yet he has humor and the faculty—one almost says the fatal faculty—of success. His family, all but Antoinette, having failed to help him rise, become quite annoyed at this success. They profit by it, but ease their self-respect by shaking grave heads over Sam's "crudeness." However, with kindness equal to his acumen, Uncle Sam adopts and sets up in life nieces and nephews galore. The key to Sam's character, above his shrewdness and foresight and his keen appreciation of liberty, is his invincible pleasure in seeing things grow and develop. As a novel the book is engrossing and convincing; as an allegory it is delicious.

RICE, by *Louise Jordan Miln*. Pp. 333. Frederick A. Stokes Co., N. Y., 1930. Price, \$2.50.

Mrs. Miln, author of "Mr. Wu" and several other novels of China, has given us in "Rice" a story in which only Chinese figure. No thought or echo of a foreign world enters the story. The chief persons are a peasant mother, her pampered daughter and a loving, loyal, vagabond lad. The scenes are laid mostly in Shantung, the sacred province of Confucius. Rice is not plentiful in Shantung, and peasants are desperately poor. So, to long for rice in Shantung is to long for great riches. Pang Kee was all her life teased and half ruled by the longing to eat white rice. But all her life she put down this gnawing desire in order to raise her daughter delicately and marry her well. That constitutes half the poignant story. The other half is the suffering and adventures of the daughter before she can bring white rice home to her old mother. And moving back and forth in the two parts is the bright thread of the vagabond boy who loves, serves and many times saves both women. A beautiful, pathetic, human story—one that teaches much about China.

THE GREAT MEADOW, by *Elizabeth Madox Brown*. Pp. 338. The Viking Press, New York, 1930. Price, \$2.50.

Better even than the author's best previous book, "The Time of Man," this truly American novel holds the attention from the time one gets

into the swing of its singing prose until the very end. The heroine is a most natural girl, although her days are spent in the long ago. Though individual, she is also a type of the stalwart, pioneer woman, such a woman as was to be found among the forebears of many Americans of today. The long, hard trek over "Boone's Trace," from the Virginia mountains at the headwaters of the James into Kentucky, called for healthy, patient, enduring, farseeing folk. The hardships of early settlements, the Indian attacks, the incredible difficulties in finding and making the ordinary tools and materials of daily life, cast shame upon the impatience of today's luxury-dependent generation.

The novel is well built, appropriately phrased, absorbing in its dramatic situations. It echoes continually with the call of something beyond and far away. Murmurs, too, of the distant Revolutionary War, waged on the seaboard at the same period, accent the stern life of the settlers. There are tragedies and joys, personal and epochal; yet there is marked absence of artificial psychological struggle. The tempo set by the simple, somewhat archaic, mountain English is followed in all the tale, both in character delineation and incident. It is a rarely beautiful work, flooded with the fresh airs of the grasslands of "Kaintuck," lighted by the splendor of the human spirit which can cope with the sternness of untamed nature and conquer.

STEPDAUGHTERS OF WAR, by *Helen Zenna Smith*. Pp. 250. E. P. Dutton, Boston, 1930. Price, \$2.50.

GOD HAVE MERCY UPON US! by *William T. Scanlon*. Pp. 338. Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston, 1930. Price, \$2.50.

Narratives based on the World War, begun by Barbusse in 1917 and carried on by many others in many lands—stories for reading, for the stage and for the screen—have been many. The stream seems to be continually increasing just now when translations from other tongues are swelling the English stream. It would be impossible, perhaps profitless, to scrutinize them all in these pages. At most one can but classify them broadly. Many show scant attention to technique of form, and few observe niceties of any description. Yet all carry the authority of direct, personal experience. All, if sincere, seem to show two pictures: one the stark beauty of human nature in extremities; the other—to those who think—the

horrid waste and brainlessness of war as an employment of the youth of the nations.

In "Stepdaughters of War" the ghastly unseemliness of war is shown from the experiences of an English girl. She is an ambulance driver. Compassionate, bitter, tense, and driven into seemingly unnecessary vulgarities, this gently-bred, war-shocked girl goes through all the stages of bravado, semimadness, exhaustion, and finally dull unfeeling war-service, wrung dry even of the hatred of her mother's set back home, so feverishly "doing their bit" to help the country and to push on the war. She never seems to see that the mothers, too, were caught in a net and that much of their bustling about was to keep themselves from dying of pity for the sons and daughters so grievously maimed, physically and morally.

The book by Scanlon, opposite in temperament, won half the prize of \$25,000, offered by Houghton, Mifflin Co. and the *American Legion Monthly*, for the best World-War novel. With severe directness and little expression of emotion, this private in the 97th company of Marines in the Second Division of the A. E. F. narrates his story of six months service just before the Armistice. The book lacks noticeably the war weariness of other books telling of longer service. It is full of the traditional sporting spirit of the American Doughboy; and campaigns at Verdun, Belleau Wood, Soissons, and St. Mihiel are described almost as though they were gigantic football games, but with death the penalty for losing. Matter-of-fact, blunt, it has yet horrors enough to make normal flesh creep. It is, if such can be, a sporting narrative of the latter part of the War.

Perhaps, one day, all these fragments of human experience in the war, partial and varied as they are, will contribute to one great masterpiece which will tell in some interpretative form what happened to the race in 1914 to 1918. That book, however, lies, we suspect, far in the future.

NONFICTION

AMERICA CONQUERS BRITAIN, by *Ludwig Denny*. Pp. 429 and index. Alfred Knopf, New York, 1930. Price, \$4.

Here is an alarmist book on Anglo-American relations. Sharp with criticism of American cunning in attaining, as he attempts to prove, commercial supremacy over Great Britain and the rest of the world, the book shows England in

an unenviable state of weakness. "As a major world power her days are numbered," states Mr. Denny. She must one day, he says, be an American colony! If she is "foolish enough to fight us, she will go down more quickly, that is all." At the same time this excitable writer finds American world supremacy rather horrible to think about, quite unthinkable in fact.

One must confess that the specific statements made by Mr. Denny are, for the most part, well documented and probably true. Nevertheless, because of the general attitude of captiousness at America and hysteria as to England the atmosphere of the book is tinged by a foregone conclusion. It does not leave an impression of balance or of crystal truth.

AMERICA'S ENGLAND, by *M. V. Hughes*. Pp. 325 and index. William Morrow & Co., N. Y., 1930. Price \$2.50.

Delightfully printed, illustrated by charming sketches, containing an end-paper map that cannot be lost out, and yet small enough to tuck in the pocket, this is, materially considered, an excellent book for its purpose. Add to the above qualifications the fact that the bits of England herein described are those things that have some special association of appeal for Americans, and that they are written about in a style at once racy and accurate, and you have the book. The haunts of Raleigh and the Cabots are here. The homes of some of our Pilgrim Fathers, churches, inns, gardens, schools, some shrines of liberty, literary shrines, and many other interesting places, customs and events, are elucidated for our benefit. The chapters will surely do what they are intended to do—refresh the memory and whet the appetite of Americans proposing to tour England. One only wishes that, in addition to the fact that it is more human and personal than a guidebook, the little volume had been able to tell a bit more than it does about some of the spots of special interest.

THE PACIFIC AREA. Edited by *Charles E. Martin* and *K. C. Lubrick*. Pp. 402 and index. Paper. University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1929.

This thick volume is a report of the meeting of the Institute of International Relations, University of Washington, July 22-27, 1928. It contains addresses of many speakers, conference papers and round-table reports; and constitutes, with its topic arrangement, an invaluable reference text.

It is not to be confused with the brochure under the same title by George H. Blakeslee, published by the World Peace Foundation, Vol. XII, No. 3, 1929. That booklet has the consistency of a single point of view, and adds some 85 pages of documents in relation to the diplomacy of countries bordering on the Pacific Ocean.

Both pamphlets are worthy of more permanent binding and ought to be of lasting value in their field.

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY IN THE MODERN WORLD.

By *Arthur Bullard*. Pp. 127. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1928. Price, \$1.50.

Mr. Bullard's book gives his interpretation of America as related to world problems. The first lecture considers the League of Nations as a piece of mechanism, and, specifically, a machine adapted to further the strongest American ideals. He does not praise the League blindly, to be sure; neither does he blindly blame America. Yet caustic criticism does seem to fall more liberally upon the head of America than upon any other nation or group. He is too widely informed, has been too for more definite co-operation with other nations national publicity and related work, to be wholly long employed, first as social worker, then in inter-

Written in a trenchant and rapid style, backed with definite information, and infused with passion an idealist. He sees the balance sheet and tries to talk from that. One feels his love of his country; but the book includes a spirit of censure of America, in his impassioned plea for full American membership in the Geneva League of Nations. We do not agree with many of the views expressed or implied in this book, yet we believe that the recent death of this young man is a distinct loss to the liberal, forward-looking thought of our time.

TERRANIA, by *Columbus Bradford*. Pp. 208. Christopher Publishing House, Boston, 1930. Price, \$2.

A novel supposed to be written in 1950, showing how the women of the world, getting political power in their hands, strike against matrimony until they have made war impossible.

MUST WE HAVE WAR? by *Fred B. Smith*. Pp. 318. Harper & Bros., New York, 1929. Price, \$2.

A survey of recent progress toward peace, especially as viewed and influenced by the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches.

THE FOREIGN PUBLIC DEBT OF CHINA, by *Arthur Gardiner Coons*. Pp. 247 and index. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930. Price, \$3.

A study of the contracted obligations of former recognized Chinese governments, and China's present capacity to pay.

THE EDITORIAL PAGE, by *Robert W. Jones*. Pp. 178 and index. Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1930. Price, \$2.

The principles underlying editorials and the technique of their writing. Problems and questions are given for individual study by those in the classroom or already at editorial desks. A book helpful to almost any writer.

PARLIAMENTARY LAW, by *Edith Theall Chafee*. Pp. 101 and index. Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1930. Price, \$1.

A small book concisely explaining the rules of order for the conduct of business in clubs and societies. A well arranged book, adding to its statement of the laws themselves, many reasons why they are good usage.

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY ONE-HUNDRED- SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS MAY 2, 1930

FROM THE MINUTES

THE 102d annual meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society was held on May 2, 1930, in Washington, D. C., the meeting convening at 10:00 a. m., in the Board Room of the Cosmos Club, President Fortune in the chair.

Two Deaths

Announcement was made of the deaths

during the year of Senator Theodore E. Burton, who was, during two periods of several years each, the President of the Society, and of Dr. W. H. P. Faunce, who was for many years an Honorary Vice-President of the Society. It was unanimously voted to approve the resolutions of condolence as drawn by the Executive Committee.

TREASURER'S REPORT

EXHIBIT "A"

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

CASH ACCOUNT

For the year ended April 30, 1930

<i>Balance of Cash on hand and on deposit May 1, 1929</i>	\$746.07
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RECEIPTS

Memberships, including subscriptions to ADVOCATE OF PEACE.....	\$4,405.00
Special subscriptions to ADVOCATE OF PEACE.....	602.50
Sales of pamphlets and books.....	153.34
Contributions.....	2,948.00
Permanent Peace Fund.....	5,776.22
Interest on bank balances.....	58.66
Income from Reserve Fund investments.....	539.55
Interparliamentary Union.....	190.66
Sale of electric fan.....	40.00
Rental income.....	269.88
Miscellaneous.....	42.75
Investments sold—U. S. Certificates of Indebtedness.....	7,000.00
Sale of first mortgage notes.....	6,000.00
	28,026.56
	\$28,772.63

DISBURSEMENTS

Department of Home:			
Salaries	.....	\$7,366.27	
Office rent	.....	1,541.50	
Postage, express, telegrams, etc.	.....	216.31	
Office supplies	.....	37.85	
Telephone	.....	126.13	
Library	.....	102.36	
Letter service—mimeographing, etc.	.....	86.00	
D. C. personal tax	.....	39.71	
Interest on loan	.....	53.11	
Moving expense	.....	197.60	
Insurance	.....	17.07	
Miscellaneous	.....	118.84	
Miss Elmina Titus	.....	29.27	
			\$9,932.02
Department of Field Work:			
Salaries	.....	\$1,071.24	
Travel expense	.....	396.11	
Hotel and miscellaneous	.....	25.47	
			1,492.82
Department of Publications:			
Printing and mailing ADVOCATE OF PEACE	.....	\$2,907.72	
Printing and distribution of pamphlets and books	.....	17.00	
Miscellaneous printing, envelopes, etc.	.....	368.51	
			3,293.23
Organization Special Fund:			
Salaries	.....	\$5,108.73	
Stenographic service	.....	89.98	
Travel expense	.....	1,524.94	
Telephone	.....	54.75	
Telegrams	.....	159.56	
Printing	.....	770.35	
Miscellaneous	.....	.80	
			7,709.11
Liquidation of Bank Loan	.....		5,000.00
			\$27,427.18
Balance, Cash on hand and on deposit, April 30, 1930	.....		\$1,345.45
Represented by:			
National Metropolitan Bank	.....	\$1,081.12	
Petty Cash:			
Office	.....	5.00	
Mr. Book	.....	63.26	
Dr. Call	.....	75.00	
Mr. Zapf	.....	121.07	
			\$1,345.45

R. G. RANKIN & CO.

CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

Mr. George W. White, Treasurer,
The American Peace Society,
Washington, D. C.

May 14, 1930.

DEAR SIR:

We have examined the records of the American Peace Society for the year ended April 30, 1930, and submit herewith the following statement and comments:

Exhibit "A"—Cash Account, For the year ended April 30, 1930.

The income for the year was tested and the expenditures were checked to supporting vouchers.

Cash on deposit was verified by direct correspondence with the bank and cash on hand in office by actual count. Other petty cash funds were accepted as shown by the records of the Society. Investments were verified by actual inspection.

We hereby certify that, in our opinion, the accompanying Cash Account accurately accounts for the cash receipts and disbursements as shown by the records of the Society for the year ended April 30, 1930.

Respectfully submitted,

R. G. Rankin and Co.,
Certified Public Accountants.

SPECIAL ACCOUNT IN THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Cash balance as of April 30, 1929.....	\$127.59
Contributions during fiscal year 1929-30.....	3,400.00
	\$3,527.59
Expenditures during fiscal year 1929-30:	
Armistice Day.....	\$100.00
Miscellaneous.....	202.69
Office supplies.....	1.90
Postage.....	19.43
Salaries.....	2,225.00
Telephone and telegraph.....	13.90
Travel.....	910.96
	3,473.88
Cash balance as of April 30, 1930.....	\$53.71
	(Signed) George W. White, Treasurer.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

To the Members of the Board of Directors:

Pursuant to Section 3 of Article 7 of the Constitution of the American Peace Society, which provides that the Secretary "shall make such reports and perform such other duties as are incident to his office," your Secretary begs leave to report in outline something of the work of the American Peace Society for the year 1929-30.

The Executive Committee

The Executive Committee has held seven meetings during the year.

At the meeting on June 15 it was voted that the Society should move its headquarters, since 1911 in the Colorado Building, to 20 Jackson Place. This removal took place on July 2.

By-Laws, relating to standing committees, to the quorum of the Executive Committee, to rules to govern referenda, and to a schedule of dues and subscriptions, were adopted, including a vote that the By-Laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote of those present at any Executive Committee meeting provided that one week or more prior to the meeting, at which amendment takes place, the members of the committee have received a notice in writing of the proposed amendment or amendments.

At the meeting on November 14 resolutions were adopted relative to the death of Theodore E. Burton, long the President of the American Peace Society, which death had occurred on October 28, 1929. The Ohio plans to commemorate Senator Burton's services to world peace are of special interest to the American Peace Society.

Action relative to nominating the American Peace Society for the Nobel Peace Prize, agreed to in principle, was deferred in the interest of Frank S. Kellogg whom the Society nominated for that honor.

The policy and program of the American Peace Society, carefully set forth, was adopted.

It was agreed that the American Peace Society should, if possible, call a national conference in the interest of world peace, to be held in connection with the World's Fair at Chicago, in 1933.

On December 11 the Committee authorized the appointment of a committee to conduct a survey of pacific means, the work of which committee has been delayed because of the unhappy illness of Philip Marshall Brown, Chairman of the Society's Committee on the International Implications of Justice.

The meeting on January 28 raised the question of the desirability of conducting a referendum relative to the adherence of the United States to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Insurance of the Society's property was ordered.

Steps were taken to cooperate with the proposal that a carillon tower as an expression of the peace sentiment of America be erected in Washington. A committee was appointed to confer with the friends of the tower movement.

On March 31 plans for a referendum on the World Court were approved.

The International Association of Art and Letters of Washington was elected an Institutional Member of the American Peace Society. Your Secretary accepted the in-

vation to welcome this organization to institutional membership at a meeting of the Association.

On April 11 President Fortune reported with reference to the Macfadden fund.

A committee on the referendum, authorized at a previous meeting, was elected. At the moment the following persons have accepted membership on the committee: Chairman, John J. Esch; Joseph B. Cotton, Harry A. Garfield, Ernest N. Smith, Richard Washburn Child, George Maurice Morris, Lester H. Woolsey, Arthur Capper, Philip Marshall Brown, Frederic A. Delano, Henry W. Temple, David Jayne Hill.

The important feature of the meeting was the announcement of President Fortune that he would not be able to continue as President of the Society after its annual meeting on May 2.

On April 17 a letter relative to the referendum was approved, Judge Esch being chosen Chairman of the Committee.

The meeting was principally concerned with the possibilities of finding a successor to President Fortune.

The Advocate of Peace

Pursuant to the vote of the Board one year ago, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* has been published as a quarterly, one number in August, 1929, one in November, one in February, 1930, with 76 pages and cover, and one in May, your Secretary serving as Editor for his sixteenth year.

How far the change from a monthly to a quarterly has affected the subscriptions is impossible to say. Your Secretary and Editor believes, however, that the absence of a more frequent contact with the Society's membership is a handicap to efficiency that needs to be overcome. If the quarterly basis is to be continued, a weekly news sheet should be inaugurated at the earliest possible moment.

Your Editor is opposed to making the Society's quarterly magazine into a mere house journal for the Society, with the direct style of self-adulation, ballyhoo and ephemeral blah that are usually associated with that style of journalism. The methods of advertising the Society, necessary as they are, should flow through the weekly news sheet and other publications, while the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is left to develop more

and more into an organ of service to leaders in world affairs.

The Interparliamentary Union

Your Secretary has been the Executive Secretary of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union for now ten years. It has been a most important contact not only for your Secretary but for the Society. Dr. Temple, also of our Board of Directors, is a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House and active in the work of the Interparliamentary Union. The Government of the United States has shown an increasing interest in the Interparliamentary Union, evidenced by the fact that it is now contributing \$6,000 a year to the Interparliamentary Union at Geneva, and \$10,000 a year toward the expenses of the American Group. Your Secretary has had the privilege of attending meetings of the Interparliamentary Union at Stockholm in 1921, at Vienna in 1922, at Copenhagen in 1923, at Berne and Geneva in 1924, at Washington in 1925, at Geneva in 1926, at Paris in 1927, at Berlin in 1928, and at Geneva in 1929.

The similarity of spirit and purpose behind the work of the American Peace Society and behind that of the Interparliamentary Union is illustrated by a resolution passed unanimously at the annual meeting of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union held in the House Office Building, February 24, 1930. This resolution, submitted by Dr. Temple, was as follows:

"WHEREAS the Interparliamentary Union, starting as 'The Interparliamentary Conference for International Arbitration,' has stood since its beginning in 1888 for the promotion of the ways of peace between nations in accordance with due process of law;

"WHEREAS the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union adopted at its fifteenth annual meeting, in February, 1918, resolutions favoring, among other things, international conferences in behalf of a fuller understanding on certain fundamental principles of international law;

"WHEREAS, under date of May 24, 1921, the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union adopted and forwarded to the Council of the Interparliamentary Union an official announcement urging again the importance of calling a con-

ference, preferably at The Hague, in the interest of 'principles of accepted law and known equity';

"WHEREAS, with the earnest cooperation of well-known jurists, the sixth international conference of American States, meeting in Habana, Cuba, January 16 to February 20, 1928, definitely adopted seven conventions on public international law and a series of 437 articles in the realm of private international law;

"WHEREAS the Advisory Committee of Jurists which drafted the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, meeting at The Hague in 1920, adopted a recommendation calling for an international conference to carry on the work of the first two conferences at The Hague, re-establishing existing rules of the law of nations, formulating and approving the modifications and additions rendered necessary or advisable by the war, reconciling divergent opinions and giving special consideration to those points which are not at the present time adequately provided for, and of which a definite settlement by general agreement is required in the interests of international justice, a conference to be called 'The Conference for the Advancement of International Law' and that 'this conference should be followed by periodic similar conferences';

"WHEREAS the League of Nations, under date of September 22, 1924, voted unanimously to request the Council to convene a committee of experts, to prepare a provisional list of the subjects of international law the regulation of which by international agreement would seem to be the most desirable and realizable at the present moment;

"WHEREAS, as a result of the work of this committee of experts for the progressive codification of international law, there is to be an international conference of duly accredited delegates at The Hague, beginning March 13, 1930, for the purpose of codifying international law, albeit within the limited fields of nationality, territorial waters and State responsibility; be it

"Resolved: that the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union re-affirms its interest in all of these undertakings; be it

"Resolved: that the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union emphasizes especially the importance to the world just now of the conference about to be called at The Hague as a major evidence of the will among men to promote that peace among nations which rests upon the enduring foundations of justice. Be it

"Resolved: that the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union recommend to the Interparliamentary Union the importance of urging periodic conferences of a similar nature."

The Library

One hundred thirty-one items have been added to the library during the year. With no expense to the Society, Mrs. Call, who, as librarian, originally cataloged the books and pamphlets of the Society and who has kept the catalog up-to-date, has faithfully continued this and other services during the year. After discarding many useless pamphlets, duplicated or superseded books, there are now 3,243 items cataloged. Some pamphlets, heretofore separately cataloged, have been put in pamphlet covers and cataloged under one head. After removal to the present headquarters, Mrs. Call arranged all the books anew without cost to the Society. It was she who indexed, as for a number of years, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* for the year 1929. Handicapped for the lack of supplies, she has, however, pushed the cross-reference index of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* until now it covers the years 1828 to 1848. She believes that it will probably never be feasible to print this cross-index, since there are so few complete files of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* in existence. It is the aim of the indexer, however, to make it an historian's index to be used by students of the peace movement or by writers generally, and to keep it always with our files of the magazine. It will soon be under one alphabet, at least up to the close of the Civil War.

Mrs. Call has aided your workers by answering many requests for material, either with lists, information, or both. In reply to a great number of requests for debate material on certain subjects, she has made carbon copies of lists of articles in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, with the tangible result that not a few additional orders for supplies have been received. Over a hundred slips on the armament question have been sent out, and earlier in the year about the same number of references on the subjects of foreign investments and peace, both of which have been covered in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* during the past few years. She has ordered and acknowledged many books, and has written fifty-four book reviews during the year. Only she and the Editor read the proof of the magazine. She has collected news items, clipped papers for the Editor's use, and filled most of the orders for pamphlet material. She has sent por-

traits of American leaders, especially in the peace movement, to peace workers in Australia, collections of pamphlets to libraries, and an exhibit of the American Peace Society to the Peace Conference at The Hague. Surely, it is proper to record this unselfish service to the Society.

Other Workers

Your Secretary begs leave to call attention also to the industry, faithfulness and invaluable services of W. I. Smalley, who came to the American Peace Society as an office secretary in the year 1922. This is more than a merely formal and perfunctory recognition of the services of this fine spirited, industrious and useful young man.

Lacey C. Zapf, our Business Manager, has labored through the year with a racial, meticulous regard for detail and faithful interest in matters relating to our organization, and an industry that has been as real as it has been encouraging.

Mr. Leo Pasvolsky, leading economist, formerly Associate Editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, has, without title or recompense, rendered throughout the year the same service as when employed; an expression of loyalty to the work of the Society as helpful as it has been inspiring.

Your Secretary recalls from time to time these words from Aristotle, still true in spite of the centuries: "Thou shalt find and hold a few like-minded friends, to share with thee this lifelong devotion to that common social welfare which is the task and good of man."

David Jayne Hill, long a member of our Executive Committee, surprised us the other day with the announcement that he is about to celebrate his eightieth birthday. We who have been privileged to work with him can never forget the scholarly insight of this choice and invaluable friend to the cause we all are trying as best we may to promote. Your Secretary knows of no better way with which to close his brief statement than by quoting from a recent writing of this our distinguished member, for what he says is at the heart of all that your Secretary and Editor undertakes to do. Dr. Hill says:

"While the situation of the world, particularly in Europe and the East, presents many problems difficult of solution, there is a new ground of hope in the fact that the present tendency appears to be to concen-

trate attention not upon the problems of power as before and immediately after the Great War but upon the problems of international justice. It is now virtually conceded that permanent international peace can never be imposed by physical power, no matter what group of nations may be supreme. The solution lies in the discovery and acceptance of what is just, and the means to promote the establishment, not of peace as a static condition but of justice as a progressive ideal. For this the signs of the times appear to be more favorable than they have been at any time in the past."

Upon motion of Dr. Green, seconded by Mr. Esch, it was voted that the report of the Secretary be accepted and placed on file.

PRESIDENT'S ANNUAL REPORT

To the Board of Directors of The American Peace Society.

GENTLEMEN:

There has been continued attention during the last year to the organization plans undertaken early in 1929. Some explanation of the aim and scope of these plans was given in my official report a year ago, when you were informed that it was believed that the American Peace Society needs to be broadened from its activities of earlier years, that there should be brought into it the interest and participation of a much greater number of influential people throughout our country and especially that it needs the support of practical minded people such as the leaders of business.

The sentiment for peace has been sufficiently demonstrated to prove the universal demand for it. We are at the journey's end of sentiment. We are now ready for the practical work of establishing peace. The nations of the world have agreed that there shall be no more war, and that troubles heretofore regarded as causes for war shall be settled by pacific means. The problem, therefore, is now narrowed to the boundaries of pacific measures. How to help their governments develop the machinery for peaceful adjustment of international differences is now the most important function of an organization of private citizens seeking to work most effectively for permanent peace. As such an organization, the American Peace Society should, therefore,

as completely and effectively as possible, be adjusted to practical work in this direction. This has been the main objective in considering structural changes in the organization.

These changes have made it possible for the membership of the Society to participate more actively in its efforts for peace, and, at the same time, have enabled the Society to select its membership in such manner as to make it the most effectual voice of the men of influence and leadership in the nation's affairs. This has been accomplished in part through provision for a method of referenda, under well safeguarded procedure, that will give to the membership of the Society qualified, impartial judgment on questions of importance relating to international peace, and then give to its members the opportunity, in a democratic way, of expressing their views. The collective thought of such a group of persons on any important question affecting international peace ought to have great influence upon national thought and action. Such member-participation in the affairs of the Society is an essential vitalizing influence in national organization construction.

A program of work, founded on the ideas that were dominant in the changes of the organization structure and upon the paramount need of the peace movement, has been outlined after much deliberation and was finally adopted in last November. Plans of ascertaining, defining, developing and obtaining acceptance of the peaceful machinery that nations, having renounced war, may use in adjustment of their differences, constitute the keystone of the program. If the American Peace Society can make this its most important function and can be helpful in this most difficult phase of the peace movement, it will have made a far-reaching contribution to the peace of the world.

The program provides for the creation of a commission of experts in international affairs to examine into the relationships of the United States to existing pacific agencies and to make recommendations based upon these studies. The diplomatic and other governmental agencies, treaties and existing international bodies of cooperation are to be studied by this commission. Peaceful means of composing international

differences in the realm of industry, education, social work, religion, and the various processes of justice also are embraced.

Plans for bringing the business leaders of the country into active participation in peace efforts are a part of the general program.

We have already authorized a referendum to ascertain the sentiment of our members on participation of our country in an international court. The statement to be submitted to the members in conjunction with the referendum may be expected to be an outstanding contribution to the discussion of this proposal.

Broadening of the service of the Society, through its membership, and the general public, in giving accurate information upon subjects related to the peace movement, are also included in the program.

Following the adoption of the program on November 14, unexpected delay was encountered preventing further immediate progress, but the Society now is ready to go ahead. It is to be expected that time and the course of events will develop other plans and other needs for further great usefulness of the American Peace Society, but if the program we are now undertaking is carried forward it will be a good start in advancing the cause of peace. It is such a program as should appeal to the practical-minded. At a time when so many are active in publicly advocating futile, irrational and destructive proposals in the name of the peace movement, there is dire need of constructive thought and effort. There are practical problems to be solved; yet, unfortunately, there are some whose thoughts and activities are subversive to our own government. In such a time the program of the American Peace Society should appeal to Americans who desire peace but feel that there must be, first of all, nothing of disloyalty to our own government.

Expenses in connection with the formulation of this practical program have been defrayed from a gift of \$12,500 from Mr. Bernarr Macfadden, of New York. Mr. Macfadden's gift was made out of his long-cherished desire to help to interest the business leaders of this country in the cause of international peace and to bring them into active participation in the peace movement.

To carry out the objectives that are before the Society there is now need of

gathering to it greater financial strength and larger membership.

The American Peace Society, on last Flag Day, June 14, 1929, joined with the American Legion in a nation-wide radio broadcast by the National Broadcast Company, presenting the Honorable Frank B. Kellogg, former Secretary of State, in his first public utterance following his retirement from office. His address, following brief speeches by National Commander McNutt, of the American Legion, and the President of the American Peace Society, was one of the most important contributions of the year to the discussion of peace measures. It was especially significant that, as a practical solution of the peace problem, Mr. Kellogg urged the establishment of methods of conciliation and arbitration as the most important steps next to follow the agreement to renounce war as an instrument of national policy, and this has long been the object for which the American Peace Society has been striving.

The joining of the American Legion with the American Peace Society in this broadcast was an event of importance. The committee in charge of arrangements estimated that the broadcast, covering the country from coast to coast, reached approximately twenty million listeners, who in thousands of localities had gathered in groups under auspices of American Legion posts. It brought into cooperation the American Legion as a great patriotic organization and the American Peace Society in giving voice to the peace movement and was helpful in bringing into active participation in peace efforts the great number of members of the Legion who know, from their tragic experience, better than other citizens, the horrors of modern warfare and who are, through their organization, committed to prevention of war in the future. Further cooperative relations between these two organizations offer vast opportunities of benefit to the cause of peace.

Governmental efforts for peace during the last year have been the most momentous in history. This activity has been encouraging enough to cause a pause in volunteer effort for readjustment to changing conditions and tendencies. The renunciation of war by the nations of the world, through the general pact in which they united, under the leadership of Mr. Kellogg, in itself

establishes a new era in the progress of peace, and this has been followed by other steps of transcendent importance. The course of President Hoover in efforts for peace has been most encouraging and there has been occasion, repeatedly, for commendation of forward steps under his leadership. It has been our pleasure to communicate to him, at different times, our interest in and support of his endeavors. While the most recent governmental achievement in curtailment of expenditure for armament is primarily of economic benefit, it is also encouraging as evidence of progress toward abandonment of means of warfare and removal of the menace of wars. The billions of dollars that may be saved from this kind of waste, when it can be accomplished by agreement between nations, will help to relieve the enormous burden forced upon our people by the wars in the past, and will hasten the achievement of permanent peace, greater prosperity for all and the advancement of civilization.

In conclusion I regret that I must remind you of my request a year ago when I informed you at the last annual meeting that I could continue only for a limited time to serve the American Peace Society as President. My service has been prolonged through some months more than contemplated in accomplishing the new organization structural work and in making preparations for future activities. Now, as I have informed the Executive Committee, I must ask to be relieved of official responsibility at this meeting. The American Peace Society has, in its existence of more than a century, rendered great service to our country. It is distinguished among American organizations, devoted to important purposes. The many persons famous for nobility of character, devotion to high ideals and outstanding achievements, who have participated in its activities, have made association with the Society a cause for pride and a distinct honor. It is most gratifying to me to have served with you as the sixteenth of the Society's Presidents, bringing to a close the Society's 102d year of existence. I retire with high hopes for the Society's continued great usefulness and with profound appreciation of the cooperation received from you.

Motions

Upon motion of Mr. Smith, seconded by Mr. Green, *it was voted* that the President be thanked for his statement and that his report be received and entered as a part of the minutes of the meeting.

Upon motion of Mr. Green, seconded by Mr. Esch, *it was voted* unanimously that the Board approves the proposal of the retiring President to send out a newspaper release concerning the Macfadden contribution, whenever in his judgment it is best to do so; that Mr. Fortune's report concerning the negotiations, bringing the Society's relationship with Mr. Bernarr Macfadden to a close, be approved; that, relative to the letter which Mr. Fortune had received on May 2 from Mr. Macfadden's assistant, the matter be considered as closed by the action of the Executive Committee on April 11, 1930.

It was voted, upon motion of Mr. Zapf, seconded by Mr. McWhirter, that at the beginning of the new fiscal year the Board authorizes the consolidation of Organization Special Fund No. 1 with the general fund of the Society.

It was voted, following the presentation of the report of the President, upon motion of Mr. Green, seconded by Mr. White, that Messrs. Esch and Smith be designated a committee to prepare a resolution, on behalf of the Board of Directors and the members of the Society, expressing appreciation for the very valuable service rendered by Mr. Fortune and regret that he finds it necessary to withdraw from the presidency.

The resolution, drafted and, upon motion of Dr. Green, seconded by Dr. Call, unanimously adopted by the Board, was as follows:

"WHEREAS, our President, Mr. Fortune, due to conditions of his business and health, has found it impossible to continue longer in office and has asked to be relieved:

Resolved: that in leaving the office of President he has caused profound regret in the minds of every officer and member of the American Peace Society.

"His high character and standing in the social and business world, as indicated by his activities in connection with newspapers and magazines, municipal betterment, good roads, reorganization of county and township governments in Indiana, the American Red Cross, war relief, and community welfare, mark him as a man of wide sympathy, civic pride and executive ability of the highest order.

"Because of his achievements the Society felt honored in making him its President. His devotion to the duties of the office, his generous offer of time and money and his good judgment have materially added to the prestige and influence of the Society.

"As an expression of our appreciation of his valuable service, we adopt this resolution."

REPORT OF THE BUSINESS MANAGER

(A summary)

To the Board of Directors:

DEAR SIRS:

There is encouragement in the fact that the Society operated on a fixed budget and kept well within the amount appropriated; . . . in the fact that the loss of revenue from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has been almost entirely offset by income from memberships and individual contributions. Contributions increased from \$834 in 1926-27 to over \$18,000 in 1927-28. The producing factor in this latter period was a field force selling the World Conference on International Justice. The following year, 1928-29, the contributions totaled over \$19,000, and the income from memberships amounted to over \$8,600. This experience indicates the best financial results are obtainable when the Society is active in a way to invite large numbers of people to participate in some definite project.

We find that persons of means are often reluctant to contribute funds to the Society because the peace movement seems to have fallen into ill repute. There is a prevalent feeling that persons of sinister motives are finding a welcome haven among peace organizations. There are so many so-called peace societies, often with divergent views, it is not surprising that people fear to affiliate with them. Confidence in the peace movement must be restored if any real progress is to be made. As agencies for restoring this confidence it is recommended:

1. A special effort be made to recruit our Board to its full membership.
2. Elect several Vice-Presidents and Honorary Vice-Presidents.
3. Organize the various committees and commissions from the most outstanding men.

4. Set up a nation-wide, representative "National Advisory Council."

5. Create an Interparliamentary Union Committee to be made up of members of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union.

6. Plan and execute some national gathering, such as the World Conference on International Justice, a National Conference of Business Men, a National Conference of bona fide peace workers, anniversary ceremonies in memory of outstanding figures in the peace movement, such as William Ladd, etc.

During the year your Business Manager has devoted most of his time to interesting business men in the peace movement, conferring personally with prominent business and professional men in Washington, Philadelphia, New York, Cleveland, Chicago and Indianapolis. He was made the personal representative of the National Commander of the American Legion to negotiate with officials of the National Broadcasting Company and others during the arrangements for the broadcast on Flag Day, June 14. Listening-in dinners were planned for Washington, Cleveland and Chicago.

He has devoted no little time to plans for adding to the funds of the Society, especially to developing field men for extension work. He prepared a special leaflet entitled "Business Men and Professional Men Approve Useful Service and Sound Policies" of the American Peace Society, which was sent to some 1,700 select business men. . . .

During the last summer he devoted much time to the development of a possible program of action for the Society, to plans for an endowment campaign, and to the general program of action which was finally approved at the meeting of the Executive Committee on November 14. Architectural drawings and estimates for a memorial building were obtained, building sites were visited and conferences were held with a member of the National Park and Planning Commission respecting a location for our headquarters. . . .

It was voted that the Business Manager's Report be accepted and filed.

OTHER BUSINESS

The Constitution was changed in section 4, paragraphs 1 and 2, and in section 5,

paragraph 1, with the view of limiting members of the Board to citizens of the United States and of enabling the Board to elect officers at special as well as at annual meetings.

It was voted to set up an Interparliamentary Union Committee. The Business Manager was authorized to employ field secretaries upon a basis approved by the Executive Committee. The Secretary was authorized to attend the meeting of the Interparliamentary Union in London.

Upon the recommendation of the Budget Committee, Mr. McWhirter, Chairman, the budget for the year 1930-31 was approved.

Upon the recommendation of the Chairman of the Budget Committee, the Business Manager was given the administration of the business affairs of the Society, responsible to the President.

Election of Officers

Officers elected, and who have accepted at the time of going to press, appear elsewhere in these columns.

National Advisory Council

It was voted, upon motion of Mr. Zapf, seconded by Mr. Green, that the Society create a National Advisory Council, and that the executive officers under the supervision of the Membership Committee recruit from the approved list of persons the personnel of this Advisory Council to keep it at its full numerical strength, for the following purposes, to wit: To stand for the Society as a sponsoring body; to aid the Directors in matters of organization and program; to serve as a panel from which to select members of study committees; to aid in developing a system of referenda; to aid in the organization of local groups for membership campaigns; to aid in furthering contacts with the right persons, to serve as speakers; to assist in the development of the Society's magazine; to develop promising persons as members of the Society's directorate.

The persons at the time of going to press who have accepted membership on this Council will be found with the officers of the Society.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

(Adopted at the One-Hundred-First Annual Meeting of the Society, May 4, 1929, and amended May 2, 1930)

I

NAME

This Society shall be known as the American Peace Society.

II

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.

III

ORGANIZATION

The American Peace Society shall be organized into such departments as the Board of Directors shall determine.

IV

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

1. The affairs of the Society shall be controlled by a Board of Directors to be constituted as follows: The President (ex officio), Secretary (ex officio), Treasurer (ex officio), fifty directors who shall, as far as practicable, be representative of the forty-eight States forming the United States of America and the District of Columbia, and not more than twenty-five Directors-at-large chosen because of service to the cause of international peace or to their country, all duly elected at the annual meeting or at a special meeting of the Society, and the Executive Committee (ex officio).

2. To be eligible for membership on the Board of Directors, a person must be a citizen of the United States of America and in accord with the purposes of the Society and its Constitution; otherwise he shall be disqualified from serving on said Board. Five members shall constitute a quorum of the Board of Directors.

3. Vacancies in the Board of Directors shall be filled by the Directors by a vote of two-thirds of the Directors present at any annual or special meeting.

4. No new Director shall be elected, however, who shall not have been nominated, in writing, to the Secretary by some member of the Board of Directors fourteen days before an annual or special meeting.

5. A list of the persons so nominated, with the names of the proposers, shall be mailed to each member of the Board of Directors seven days before a meeting, and no other nominations shall be considered except by the unanimous consent of the Directors present.

6. No Director shall receive compensation for his service as such.

7. The Directors shall fill all vacancies occurring in any elective office.

8. There shall be an annual meeting of the Board of Directors to be held in the month of May, at such time and place as may be determined by the Executive Committee, notice of which shall be sent to all Directors at least thirty days in advance of the date set.

9. Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the President or by any five members of the Board of Directors on ten days' notice.

V

OFFICERS

1. The elective officers of the Society shall be a President, one or more Vice-Presidents and one or more Honorary Vice-Presidents, as the Board of Directors may from time to time determine; a Secretary and a Treasurer, all of which elective officers shall be chosen by the Board of Directors at its annual meeting or special meeting.

2. The elective officers shall be elected for one year and shall hold office until their successors, duly elected, have qualified.

VI

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1. There shall be an Executive Committee of the Society, to consist of the President (ex officio), Secretary (ex officio), Treasurer (ex officio), and twelve other persons to be appointed by the President, subject to the ratification of the Board of Directors.

2. The Executive Committee shall, during the interim between meetings of the Board of Directors, be vested with all the powers, rights and duties of the Board of Directors.

3. The President and Secretary of the Society shall be respectively *ex officio* Chairman and Secretary of the Executive Committee.

4. The Executive Committee shall meet on call of the President or upon written notice by any three members of the Committee.

VII

THE WORK OF THE SOCIETY

1. The President—The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society, of the Board of Directors, and of the Executive Committee. He shall be vested with authority to direct the executive affairs of the organization. He shall appoint all employees. All such employees and all executive officers of the society shall be under his general executive authority. He shall appoint all committees, subject to the approval of the executive committee. He shall initiate the plans and means whereby the policies and general purposes of the Society as expressed by its Constitution and its Board of Directors, shall be carried out; and its Board of Directors shall be carried out, to time to the Board of Directors as he may deem appropriate. He shall speak and act for the Society according to its objects, its Constitution and By-laws, its declaration of principles and acts of its Board of Directors, and as the official head of the Society he shall be vested with discretionary powers in the absence of any expressed authority from the governing bodies. He shall at all times exercise the powers of the official head of the Society, subject to its Board of Directors. With the Secretary he shall approve all bills submitted to the Treasurer for payment, and sign such instruments as require his signature.

2. Vice-Presidents—In the event of the expected absence or disability of the President, he shall designate a Vice-President to perform his duties, or if he shall not have designated a Vice-President for such purpose, then the duties of the President shall devolve upon and shall be performed by any Vice-President in the order of seniority of office. In the event of a vacancy in the office of President, the Board of Directors shall designate an Acting President who shall perform the duties of the office until the Board of Directors elects a President.

3. Secretary—The Secretary shall issue notices of all meetings, keep the minutes of all meetings of the Society and its Board of Directors and

Executive Committee. He shall have charge of the records of the Society, and shall make such reports and perform other duties as are incident to his office or may be required of him by the President, the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee.

4. Assistant Secretary—One or more Assistant Secretaries may be appointed by the President, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee, to assist the Secretary in the discharge of his duties.

5. Treasurer—The Treasurer shall receive and receipt for all moneys, legacies, or gifts from whatever source paid to the Society. He shall keep a book of accounts, open at all reasonable times to the inspection of the Board of Directors. He shall recommend to the Board of Directors and Executive Committee the bank or banks for deposit, the rate of interest on bank balances and advise relative to the investment of the funds of the American Peace Society in such manner as may best serve its interests. He shall disburse the funds of the Society upon the approval of the President and Secretary. The Treasurer's account shall be audited annually, or on order of the Board of Directors.

6. A Periodical. The Society shall issue a periodical, under the direction of an Editor appointed by the President with the approval of the Board of Directors.

VIII

HEADQUARTERS OF THE SOCIETY

The principal office of the Society shall be in the City of Washington, in the District of Columbia.

IX.

TYPES OF MEMBERS

1. Annual Members—Any citizen of the United States or of its dependencies who is in accord with the purposes of the Society, may, upon approval by the Executive Committee, become an Annual Member of the American Peace Society upon the payment of such dues as may be fixed by the Board of Directors. Such members shall be entitled to receive the Society's periodical.

2. Sustaining Members—Any citizen of the United States or of its dependencies who is in accord with the purposes of the Society may, upon approval by the Executive Committee, become a Sustaining Member of the American Peace Society upon the annual payment of not less than ten dollars. Such members shall be entitled

to receive the Society's periodical and other publications of general character.

3. **Contributing Members**—Any citizen of the United States or its dependencies who is in accord with the purposes of the Society may, upon approval by the Executive Committee become a Contributing Member of the American Peace Society upon the annual payment of not less than twenty-five dollars. Such members shall be entitled to all the publications of the Society.

4. **Life Members**—Any citizen of the United States or of its dependencies who is in accord with the purposes of the Society, may, upon approval of the Executive Committee, become a Life Member of the American Peace Society, upon application to the Board of Directors, election and payment of not less than two hundred dollars. Each Life Member shall, during his lifetime, receive the publications of the Society.

5. **Institutional Members**—Any institution aiming to promote the cause of international peace, if approved by the Executive Committee, may become an Institutional Member of the American Peace Society. This membership shall be an annual membership for which the institution shall pay annually to the American Peace Society not less than twenty-five dollars. Institutional Members shall be entitled to the same benefits as contributing members.

6. **Honorary Members**—Those who have rendered specially meritorious or distinguished service to the cause of international peace, and have been approved for such distinction by two-thirds vote of the members present at any meeting of the Board of Directors, shall become Honorary Members.

7. Other classes of membership may also be established upon recommendation of the President approved by the Board of Directors.

8. The Board of Directors may adopt any additional plan of financing the work of the Society, including the establishment of trust funds or endowments, by which the Society may be made the beneficiary of income either in behalf of its general purpose or any specific purpose in harmony therewith which may be specified in such trust agreements.

X

REFERENDA

1. The Executive Committee, by a two-thirds vote of those present, shall have power to submit to the membership of the Society from time to time in the form of questionnaire or otherwise, for referendum vote, any question relating to the

preservation or better assurance of international peace, which said Committee shall deem important, timely and appropriate for consideration.

2. In order to carry out this purpose, the Executive Committee shall prepare and adopt a set of rules and regulations for the guidance of itself, its officers and its members.

XI

BY-LAWS

The Executive Committee shall adopt from time to time such by-laws as it may deem necessary and appropriate within the scope and provisions of this Constitution, for the guidance of the Officers, Committees and employees of the Society in their activities on behalf of the Society and in their attitude towards the membership or the public.

XII

AMENDING THIS CONSTITUTION

The object of this Society shall never be changed, but the Constitution may in all other respects be amended at the annual or a special meeting of the Board of Directors by a two-thirds vote on the recommendation of the Executive Committee; provided that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been mailed to each member of the Board of Directors at least ten days prior to the meeting.

BY-LAWS

Enactment and Amendment of By-Laws:

These by-laws are enacted by the Executive Committee. These by-laws may be amended by a vote of two-thirds of those present at any Executive Committee meeting provided that one week or more prior to the meeting, at which such amendment takes place, the members of the committee have received a notice in writing of the proposed amendment or amendments.

Standing Committees:

There shall be an Executive Committee of the Society, to consist of the President (ex officio), Secretary (ex officio), Treasurer (ex officio) and twelve other persons to be appointed by the President, subject to the ratification of the Board of Directors.

There shall be a Legal Committee of three, to be appointed by the President with the approval of the Executive Committee, to advise relative to legal questions affecting the Society.

There shall be a Finance Committee of three, of which the Society's Treasurer shall be one, otherwise appointed by the President with the approval of the Executive Committee, to advise relative to financial questions affecting the Society.

There shall be a Program Committee of five, of which the Secretary shall be one, otherwise appointed by the President with the approval of the Executive Committee, to advise relative to the Society's program.

There shall be a Membership Committee of three, to be appointed by the President with the approval of the Executive Committee, to advise relative to the classes of memberships, the qualifications of members, and the admission of members to the Society.

Quorum of the Executive Committee:

Five members shall constitute a quorum necessary for the transaction of business at all meetings of the Executive Committee.

Rules to Govern the Referenda:

Selection of questions to be submitted: No question shall be submitted for vote unless it shall first have been approved by the Board of Directors or Executive Committee as important, timely and appropriate to the purposes of this Society for consideration. The Executive Committee may invite the members of the Society to offer suggestions of subjects for referendum vote, or it may on its own initiative determine to submit questions for referendum. It shall phrase all questions for submission.

Procedure in submission of questions: Immediately when it has been determined to submit a question for the vote of the membership, the President shall, with the approval of the Executive Committee, appoint a committee to study the question. The number of members of this committee shall be determined by the President. Its members shall be persons with a reputation for broad interest in international affairs. The committee shall make an exhaustive study of the question submitted. It shall then present thoroughly and fairly facts and arguments both for and against the question, without attempting to recommend any course of action or any form of vote, or to influence the vote of the members for either side of the question, except so far as the facts themselves, impartially presented, may serve as an influence. In its study, the committee shall invite departments of the Federal Government concerned, or having information relat-

ing to the question, to submit facts in its possession, or its opinions or recommendations thereon. These shall be submitted, verbatim, separately from the committee's own statement of the facts and arguments for and against the question submitted.

The Secretary of the Society, or such other person as may be appointed by the President, shall serve as secretary of the investigating committee. The committee's task shall be merely to agree on the form and context of the pro and con statement to be submitted to the membership. Its report, when agreed upon, shall be submitted to the Executive Committee, which must approve it as submitting impartially all the facts and arguments both for and against, before it shall be submitted to the membership.

The committee's statement and the statement of the department of government, if there be one, shall then be printed. The printed form shall also set forth the exact statement of the question as phrased by the Executive Committee, and a ballot form on which members may vote in the affirmative or negative on questions submitted.

The printed form then shall be submitted by mail by the Secretary or such other person designated by the President, to each member of the Society simultaneously. The officers of the Society shall take all needful steps to cause the largest possible number of members of the Society to vote on the question.

At the expiration of 60 days from the date of issuance, the Secretary shall proceed to count and tabulate the ballots returned. No ballots shall be accepted to be counted thereafter. Publicity may be given to the results of the ballot in the discretion of the executive officers of the Society.

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No. 4

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

VOLUME
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What Price Peace ?

TRAVELERS returning this autumn from Europe report with disquieting unanimity that there is over there a deepening atmosphere of international hostility. The reasons given for this developing bitterness are various. For example, it is pointed out that France and Italy do not seem inclined to agree upon any plan for completing the work of the London Naval Conference. Yugoslavia and Italy are in a state of irritation over the assassination of some Serbs in Rome, over the treatment of thousands of Serb minorities remaining in Italian Istria, over the clanking of swords in Albania, over Mussolini's big talk of Italian expansion to the east, an uneasiness that has not been lessened at all by the recent marriage of the Bulgarian King Boris to the Italian Princess Giovanna in the Basilica of St. Francis within the walls of old Assisi. The entente between France and England seems at the moment to be smashed. Continental Europeans resent the much talk of "Anglo-American understanding." The victors in the World War are no longer pulling together. The eleventh session of the assembly of the League of Nations, due in part to the break between England and France, ended in an atmosphere of blue funk. Briand's plan for a United States of Europe has been put to sleep in the lap of a committee. The defeated nations, now including Italy also, are playing crescendo the tune for revision of the Treaty of Ver-

sailles. Economic depression in all countries save France fans the fires of internal dissension, threatening the existence of governments. Enthroned dictators, the fanatical zeal of the Soviets, and the warring factions of China shed their shadows over the whole picture. Poison gas, bayonets and dynamite are everywhere. There are ten million more men under arms than before the War. What equilibrium there is seems to rest mainly upon force. There are fears and armaments which help to produce fears all over the place. There is all the bitterness that unrestrained self-interest can arouse.

The most serious fact in the situation, however, is the division of continental Europe into two opposing camps. One of these camps—made up of Italy, Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria—stands for the revision of the four treaties upon which modern Europe rests. These treaties are: the Treaty of Versailles of June 28, 1919, between the Allies of the World War and Germany; the Treaty of St. Germain of September 10, 1919, between the Allies and Austria; the Treaty of Neuilly of November 27, 1919, between the Allies and Bulgaria; and the Treaty of Trianon of June 4, 1920, between the Allies and Hungary. Opposed to the revision of these treaties are France, Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania. As far as we are able to judge, England's attitude on revision will take the old familiar road of trying to maintain a balance of power upon the continent of Europe.

Of course, there are other factors in the problem. Since 1920 France has had a military agreement with Belgium, since 1921 a military alliance with Poland, since 1924 a military alliance with Czechoslovakia, since 1926 a similar alliance with Rumania, and since 1927 another with Yugoslavia. There are the Locarno agreements of December, 1925, with guarantees and cross-guarantees involving Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain and Italy on the west, and Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and France on the east. There are three central European so-called "treaties of security," between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia since 1920, between Czechoslovakia and Rumania since 1921, between Rumania and Yugoslavia since 1921. Out of these three treaties sprang the Little Entente, practically a military alliance, supplemented May 21, 1929, by a Tripartite Treaty of arbitration and conciliation. There are also treaties of security between Czechoslovakia and Austria (1921), between Italy and Yugoslavia (1924), between Italy and Czechoslovakia (1924), between Italy and Rumania (1926), between Poland and Rumania (1921), between Czechoslovakia and Poland (1921), between Poland and Yugoslavia (1926). Italy, favorable to the revision of the first four main treaties, has treaties with all the other states favorable to revision.

To the nations most involved in this swirl of political entanglements, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is comforted to recall the exalted place given by all peoples throughout history to what for the want of a better word they have called justice.

This conception of justice has had a notable career. The Greeks gave expression to it through Themis, their goddess of justice, whom they placed beside Jove as his counselor. It is she who holds aloft the scales in which she weighs impartially the opposing claims. She was, indeed, the

mother of Astraea, goddess of purity and innocence.

Justice is discussed at great length through the dialogues with Socrates in Plato's "Republic." The author of the first book of the Gospels quotes Jesus as bitterly condemning the scribes and Pharisees because they haggled over the little things but left undone "the weightier matters of the law," such as "justice," which the Master associated with mercy and faith. St. Augustine, saturated with the teachings of the Man of Galilee, once asked his followers: "Without justice, what are kingdoms but highway robberies on a grand scale?" Immanuel Kant, thoughtfully concerned to overcome war, remarked with emphasis: "If justice meet utter wreck, then there is no worth whatever in the continued existence of human life in this world." Daniel Webster paid his respects to justice in language that is often quoted. "Justice," he said, "is the greatest interest of man on earth. It is the ligament which holds civilized nations together." In number 51 of the contributions to the *Federalist*, it was either James Madison or Alexander Hamilton who wrote: "Justice is the end of government. It is the end of civil society. It ever has been, and ever will be pursued, until it is obtained, or until liberty be lost in the pursuit."

Ralph Waldo Emerson, who will long remain our court of last resort in the many matters of the mind, spoke frequently in no uncertain terms of his respect for justice. In his address at the Concord anniversary, 1835, he said: "The planting of the colony was the effect of religious principle. The Revolution was the fruit of another principle—the devouring thirst for justice." To the divinity students at Cambridge he said, on July 15, 1838: "If a man is at heart just, then so far he is God; the safety of God, the immortality of God, the majesty of God do enter into that man with justice." In his "Essay on Character" he wrote: "Truth is the summit of being;



What Price Peace Amid the Conflicting Claims and Interests of this Area of the World?

justice is the application of it to affairs.” In his “American Civilization” he warned his countrymen: “But justice satisfies everybody, white man, red man, yellow man and black man.” In his address at the dedication of the Soldier’s Monument in Concord, April 19, 1867, he put it thus: “The secret architecture of things begins to disclose itself; the fact that all things were made on a basis of right; that justice is really desired by all intelligent beings; that opposition to it is against the nature of things; and that, whatever may happen in this hour or that, the years and the centuries are always pulling down the wrong and building up the right.” In his “Perpetual Forces” he turned to the other side of the shield, saying: “All our political disasters grow as logically out of our attempts in the past to do without justice, as the sinking of some part of your house comes of defect in the foundation.” And, finally, in his last public address, speaking upon “The Fortune of the Republic,” in the

Old South Church of Boston, on the 30th of March, 1878, as if in a benediction upon the world, he returned to the theme thus: “Happily we are under better guidance than statesmen. Pennsylvania coal mines and New York shipping and free labor, though not idealists, gravitate in the ideal direction. Nothing less large than justice can keep them in good temper. Justice satisfies everybody and justice alone. . . . It is our part to carry out to the last the ends of liberty and justice.”

Justice is conceived of as above majorities, above officials, above government itself. Albert Gallatin expressed his view that “the true honor and dignity of the nation are inseparable from justice.” In defending the independence of the bar back in 1912, Elihu Root told the lawyers assembled that justice “rests on the basis, not of any popular vote, but of the eternal laws of God.” It was inevitable that the founders of these United States of America should begin the formation of their “more

perfect union" with the will to "establish justice."

If the nations of the world are to maintain peace between themselves they must pay the price. The bill is overdue. The amount is justice.

In his "International Law and Some Current Illusions," published in 1924, John Basset Moore said: "If we would keep men and nations at peace, we must remove the causes of their discontent, elevate their moral sentiments, inculcate a spirit of justice and toleration, and compose and settle their differences." Every peace worker might well paste that in his hat.

Justice is more than a word. By justice is meant the fair, rightful, impartial, lawful behavior, not only of the people but of governments. It is natural expectation in the realm of human conduct. It is the balance between rights and duties. Justinian seems to have stated the matter early in the sixth century with a satisfying simplicity and fullness that has not been surpassed. In the first book, the first title, the first paragraph and the first sentence of his "Institutes," he felt it necessary to define justice. This he did in these words: "Justice is the set and constant purpose which gives to every man his due." He went on to say that "the precepts of the law are these: To live honestly, to injure no one and to give every man his due (*neminen laedere, suum cuique tribuere*)."

If nations are interested to learn more of the price they must pay for the maintenance of peace between themselves, political or industrial, they will do well to begin with the major premise. This major premise is that the only assurance of the equal protection of all in the enjoyment of their rights is justice. It would appear that the major interest of the nations, referred to at the beginning, is to obtain the enjoyment of what they conceive to be their rights. If logic has any validity, the

inevitable conclusion is that they must first pay the price—which is justice.

Can "Business" Do It?

SINCE the breakdown of statesmanship in 1914 there has been no disquieting exhibition of impotence comparable to the general economic depression producing unemployment and suffering increasingly the world over, now for more than a year. In a world of men and women all anxious to obtain food, shelter, clothing and the enjoyments associated in some way with the arts, men whose task it is to supply these needs have drifted into what seems an inextricable jam. Something has mused up the avenues of production, transportation and exchange in such a way that the processes of distribution and of consumption are lessened where they are not entirely frustrated. This has been allowed to happen at a time when the capitalistic system is being assailed by a group of 150 million people without and untold numbers of "radicals" within. Thus the failure to avoid the present unhappy situation is as pathetic as it is disturbing and humiliating. Surely no one of the 58 men named by Mr. Gerard as the "rulers of America" will be quick to claim credit for the results of their rule.

In a world easily capable of supporting every man, woman and child in perfect comfort, over half the population of the earth lives continually below the hunger line. That is the most shameful fact of our time. This situation is upon us, not because business men are passive, for self-interest if nothing else naturally leads them to wish to do all they can to avoid such a condition, and to forestall similar catastrophes for all time. To be successful, business has to conduct business.

It is apparent that disturbing factors are working at the vitals of our economic, political and social scheme of things. Has

leadership somewhere broken down? What is the cause? Who is to blame?

It is clear that there is a lot of misinformation lying around. Take as an illustration our copper industry. It is claimed by reputable "authorities" that international copper interests own and operate mines abroad to the distinct injury of the copper industry in the United States. It is charged that capital is being exported from the United States, invested in basic industries in foreign countries and that due to the low cost of production abroad certain products are shipped back to the United States where they compete with home industries. In the case of copper, unless a tariff of not less than six cents a pound is imposed on copper in all forms except ore, it is said that the foreign copper will ultimately destroy the copper industry in the United States. Another "authority," however, announces with equal emphasis that there is nothing to this; that the argument is at complete variance with the facts; that the United States has always produced more copper than it consumed; that copper is not imported by this country for consumption but only for treatment and refining, the cost of which inures to the benefit of United States labor. So the doctors disagree, while the poor patient gasps for breath.

There are disagreements enough to keep our "best minds" busy for some time. For example, there is a bank of haze over the general problems of raw materials and of distribution. No one seems to know much about export duties levied for revenue. How high can such duties climb without ruining markets? How far are "controls" of raw materials profitable, such as the Brazilian control of coffee and the attempted British control of the rubber trade? Economists talk about "restrictions," sometimes of exports and sometimes of imports, without knowing much about the ramifications of such restrictions. There is

little agreement as to what principles should govern economic groups in their business relations with other countries. There is a woeful lack of the facts out of which scientific doctrines and procedures must be evolved if they are to be evolved. For statesmen to blame business, and business to blame the "politicians" for the general breakdown, simply generates heat when the need is for light.

Since technical ineptitudes are to blame, at least in part, for the present economic distress, it is of importance just now to be frank, to admit the impeachment, to get informed and then to act. Elsewhere in these columns there is a suggestive memorandum by André Siegfried that should open up some profitable avenues of thought.

The only things worth saying now are the things that will help. Scolding gets us nowhere. Our scientists must aid us to understand the movements of population, the problems suggested by the phrase "need for expansion"; the relation of trade and transportation to immigration; the changes in economic pressures, the facts of distribution and the like. All of us need to know more about the relations of foreign loans to the frictions that impede business. It is a fine point to determine what should be done, and to decide, for example, how far private loans such as certain American loans in Latin America have been economically advisable. We recall loans, such as the French loans to Russia, where the results have been disastrous. If money is loaned to a state in such amounts that the creditor controls the state economically, what are the rights of other states? In short, can we work out an international loan policy fair to all parties? If not, business in its larger aspects will always be precarious and recurring periods of depression inevitable.

The present economic chaos, evidence of incapacities all along the line, remains a challenge for business to analyze and to

meet. It is a business problem. Business men, therefore, must get busy before governments take over the job.

And that job is not for the business man of the United States alone. Ten per cent of our commodity production is consumed abroad. Certain imports are essential to our comfort and safety. Thus we are faced with an international situation requiring international treatment. Unemployment is not confined to the United States; it exists in every European country save France, and save, of course, Russia where employment, if we may call it employment, is commandeered at the point of bayonets or by high-power salesmanship in the interest of the five-year plan.

Fundamentally, we fear, the world finds itself in this distressing situation largely because somewhere along the line processes of justice have been broken down. And justice, respecter neither of persons nor of nations, cannot be kept down. Men who have studied economic frictions most carefully appear to agree more and more that such disturbances are caused primarily by the unequal distribution of economic advantages and the failure to observe the ordinary rules of fair play. The challenge to business is to make every possible preliminary research, to encourage every honest public discussion, to build a structure of informed and interested public opinion; and out of it all to create a system of business practices supported by economic confidence and good-will within our own borders and abroad.

As for America, Mr. Owen D. Young is probably right: "America is too rich to be loved. She is well enough off to be envied. The attitude of the world toward her will be largely influenced by her spirit. If it be one of selfishness in isolation, she will have failed in her great responsibility." American business men may be assured, however, that there is a universal economic interdependence upon which they may

weave the fabric of their success. It cannot be woven otherwise. They know, or ought to know, that it is more profitable to trade with one's rivals than to destroy them. As Dr. Alfred P. Dennis, Vice-Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission, said recently before the American Academy of Political and Social Science, perhaps "in time we shall come to regard foreign peoples in the light of customers rather than rivals."

Over a year ago the American Peace Society urged the importance of a conference of business men for the study of the dangers that then threatened the economic world. It offered its services to such an enterprise—an offer that still holds good. The conference has not been called yet, largely because even the business men who agree to the proposal are sluggish in their support. Still the question remains, Can business men extend their reputation for efficiency, apply their genius to the most serious economic situation of modern times, unravel such problems as labor, machinery, taxation, overconcentration of capital, inflation of credits, overproduction, unemployment, and solve them? If they cannot, who can? Our capitalistic system owes it to itself to do just this thing, for the function of that system is to promote the common welfare and thus to backfire successfully any possible flames of revolution such as have wiped out social systems heretofore.

The banner for the new march of business, we dare to suggest, might well be "*Justice*"—"the set and constant purpose which gives to every man his due." With justice as its watchword, business ought to be able to assure for its future and ours a higher degree of stability than has ever been known before.

There is no reason why these recurring crises must be accepted as inevitable. The causes of our economic diseases can be discovered and the cure provided. We must

rely upon industry, agriculture and commerce—backed by government as a check on abuses—to get us out of our troubles. The stability we crave, as President Hoover said on October 2 to the bankers gathered at Cleveland, is “much more than a problem in academic economics—it is a great human problem, for it involves the happiness of millions of homes. A continued unity of effort, both in our present situation and in establishing safeguards for the future, is the need of today.” The President banks on the “mighty spiritual and intellectual forces of liberty, self-government, initiative, invention and courage, which have throughout our whole national life motivated our progress and driven us ever forward.” In this list of titan energies, tempering and enriching them all, must always be included, of course, the superior power of justice.

The world must look to the high-minded men of business in this country and abroad to pull it out of the bog.

MR. WILLIAM GREEN, President of the American Federation of Labor, when presented recently with the Roosevelt medal because of his contributions to industrial cooperation and industrial peace, declared that if differences in the industrial field cannot be adjusted by the rules of justice and fair dealing, “then industry must admit its failure to meet the challenge of modern civilization.” He said further: “Strife, class hatred and industrial war are basic elements of force and are the antitheses of reason, judgment and cooperation.” Nothing could be truer than that.

THE international mind, like the taste for olives, comes gradually; but come it must. The other day a woman, missing from her home in London, was picked up a few hours later in the hills of Persia.

We Are a Dependent People

THE common belief that we of the United States are quite self-supporting and that we are in no sense dependent upon other peoples is far from justified by the facts. We are dependent upon others for many materials essential to the prosecution of war and things thought to be necessary for our comfort in times of peace.

Even a partial list of our imports is impressive. We bring our furs from everywhere. We are dependent upon China and India for our tea, while our coffee comes mainly from Brazil and other countries of Central and South America. We have to import even for our needs in time of peace: Antimony, camphor, chromium, cork, graphite, hemp, hides, iodine, jute, flaxseed, manganese, manila fiber, mica, nickel, nux vomica, opium, platinum, potassium, quicksilver, quinine, rubber, shellac, silk, sodium nitrate, sugar, tin, tungsten, vanadium, wool, cocoa, chocolate, linen, various oils, newsprint paper and wood pulp, tanning materials, bristles, various ingredients for the making of hats, asbestos, rattan, tapioca, and a number of gums. We buy hides and skins from practically every country in the world.

The Department of Commerce announces that while we tan at least 50 per cent of the world's leather output, we are dependent upon foreign countries for the larger part of our raw materials. The Department tells us that nearly half of the cattle hides and calf skins are imported, and almost all the sheep, lamb, goat, and kid skins. Cattle hides come chiefly from South America, the bulk of the calf skins from European countries, goat and kids chiefly from British India and China, sheep and lamb from New Zealand and South America.

These facts are not unimportant. They are major, rather. Above all things they mean that the United States is vitally concerned to maintain peaceful relations with

every other nation. Were the seas closed to any of these supplies we should suffer, in some cases seriously.

Thus we are knit to all of the world. To break any of these ties would mean sacrifices in every home. It may not add to our vanity, but it can do no harm to our judgments and sense of proportion to realize and to remember that we of the United States are a dependent people.

Have We Halted the Navy Race?

GOVERNMENTAL leaders of the United States, Britain and Japan, conversing around the world by radio on October 27, hailed the depositing of the London Naval Treaty at the British Foreign Office as the end of competitive naval building, at least as far as these countries are concerned. The ceremony of depositing the Treaty came just ten days before the meeting of the preparatory Disarmament Commission in Geneva.

Public sentiment everywhere, interested to achieve peace and prosperity, welcomes this evidence of a lessening rivalry among the big builders of battlecraft. But the hurdles have not all been cleared. Ireland has not yet ratified the treaty, although, as Mr. MacDonald reminds us, this is simply a technical difficulty due to the fact that the Irish parliament has not been in session since the Treaty was signed. The principal danger is that France and Italy in their own naval negotiations may fail to come to terms. Should they fail, Great Britain may conclude to exercise her right, under the escape clause of the London Naval Treaty, to build in excess of the present program. In this case the United States and Japan may deem it necessary to go on building in order to maintain the ratio now agreed upon. As for the Franco-Italian negotiations, we can only hope for the best.

The European situation is not all to the good. Men like Mr. Beneš of Czechoslovakia conceive that about all that we may expect at present is a stabilization of armaments at the existing levels, with the possibility that later there may be gradual reductions. In the meantime, France is rushing her fortifications on her eastern borders, reorganizing her army, and planning new ships. France has a universal military service of one year, and some five hundred thousand men under arms. She is importing Italian laborers, and with Italian consent, for work on her eastern fortifications. Belgium is fortifying again around Liege and Namur. The careful reporter Mr. Paul Scott Mowrer tells us that leaders in France accuse German steel magnates of backing Adolph Hitler as a part of the plan to get more orders for army equipment and that French steel magnates are supporting French nationalists for the same reason.

Hostilities throughout Europe are registering of late a higher temperature. The entente between Great Britain and France is for the time at an end. Some observers, with whom this magazine does not agree, hold that there is as much danger in Europe today as in 1913. True, Europe is still run by the same men who began the war. The young men who would naturally be running now the countries of Europe are dead. The slaughters of the war have, of course, left their hatreds. Arrogance of the victors and bitterness of the conquered are still as throughout history the natural offsprings of war. It is evident that the statesmen of the world find it easier to think in terms of walls than of bridges. It is still difficult to realize that the strategy of peace differs completely from the methods of war. There has been much change in Europe, but with what consequence we are not yet able to say.

There are thoughtful people in Europe who hold that were it not for the debts

owed to the United States a number of the European nations would be at war with each other now. Others feel, indeed hope, that our threat to build up to parity under the terms of the London Treaty may hasten an agreement between France and Italy and bestir the Geneva Conference to do something.

It is always easily possible to be pessimistic. The *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* prefers to associate itself with President Hoover, Prime Minister MacDonald and Premier Hamaguchi, who in words that encircled the world joined in the conclusion that the London Naval Treaty is a sound and reasonable agreement between Britain, Japan and America, "fair to all and dangerous to none." Why not take them at their word that the Treaty "has been accepted by each nation as affording adequate protection," substituting "for suspicion and competition mutual trust, good will and confidence." It is a pleasant thing to agree with Premier Hamaguchi that: "The new treaty is bound to exercise an immense moral influence on the growing consciousness of mankind."

These further words of the distinguished Japanese do not deserve to be dismissed as the vaporings of an idle dreamer:

"One cannot but feel that the moment is favorable for a wide extension of the policy of disarmament embodied in this treaty. Now that the pact of Paris initiated by Mr. Briand and Mr. Kellogg has definitely outlawed war, it is clear that any breach of that solemn engagement must rally the whole world against the aggressor. Whether other powers come forward to offer active help or not, it is hardly conceivable that they would allow the pledge breaker to interfere with their trade and to enjoy the other privileges of a lawful belligerent.

"But, apart from calculations of mutual aid in time of war, may we not believe that a more generous and neighborly spirit is fast replacing the jealousies and suspicions of the past? Shall we not confidently hope that the deliberations of the Preparatory Committee on Disarmament of the League

of Nations, which is to meet this coming month, will be conducted in the same genial atmosphere that alone made the success of the London Conference possible? I trust that these expectations for the future will not be betrayed.

"The Treaty of London has opened a new chapter in the history of human civilization. We have once for all escaped from what I may call the 'pioneer' stage, in which every nation's hand is actually or potentially against every other. We have entered on the sane and friendly 'settlement' stage, in which every one is united to suppress intrusions by any one on another's sphere. A momentous step forward on the road of international peace and friendship has now been taken. Let it prove a prelude to still greater triumphs for that lofty cause."

Have we ended the naval rivalry? The British Prime Minister, in his world-wide radio remarks of October 27, also answered as follows:

"Now, for the first time in history, the three principal naval powers will put into operation a system of limitation and reduction which will apply to all parts of their respective fleets up to 1936. Thus for the period named, and we fondly hope for all time, the evils of naval rivalry have been eliminated between them. We have passed another milestone in the long way to peace and security."

On the same day it was President Hoover who congratulated all hands "upon the conclusion of a sound and reasonable agreement between them, fair to all and dangerous to none." During his remarks the President also said:

"Three of these Powers commanding the greater part of the world's naval forces have turned away from rivalry in armaments, and disproportionate growth of their navies now prevented by an arrangement founded in common sense. This relinquishment of competitive building among the three great naval Powers with its consequent contribution to the security of the world is the greatest significance of this Treaty."

Later the President added: "Never again must a race in naval armaments be allowed to develop."

There appears no reason immediate or remote why these views of men in positions of authority should not be accepted at their face value. Nothing has done more to discredit the reputation of latter day statesmen than the unreasonableness of the naval rivalries of the so called "great powers."

Fascist Nonsense

HERR ADOLF HITLER, the National-Socialist leader in Germany, arch Fascist, is a subject of conversation around the world. Since the election of 107 of his followers to the German Reichstag out of a total of 576 was no indication of any real German faith in the things he stands for, his importance is probably overrated. If we may take a little fling in prophecy, Herr Hitler's policies will neither be agreeable to nor accepted by Germany.

To be more specific, the Germans will not repudiate the Young Plan. They will not pursue any rabid policy toward the Jews, such as disfranchising or driving them out of Germany. They will assume no attitude of violence toward the Treaty of Versailles. They will not drive out the foreigners who have entered Germany since the outbreak of the war. They will not divide the nation's wealth, nationalize all the lands and trusts, confiscate the department stores, insist upon annexing Austria, demand the return of all their former possessions, and pile up a big national army, with the adventurer Adolf Hitler sitting on top of the German world and carrying out his forecast that "Heads will roll in the sand."

The German people may be counted upon to stand behind Chancellor Bruening's coalition government. Under the leadership of President von Hindenburg the German people are interested in getting out of their economic distress. The six and one-half million Fascist votes and the four and

one-half million ballots for the Communists at the elections on September 14—less than a third of the votes cast—did not mean that the German people have any faith either in Fascism or Communism. It simply meant that many distressed Germans were out to register their opposition to the congeries of parties in power, the hectic chaos they were inclined to blame for the economic debacle prevailing throughout Germany. That resentment has been registered.

As the French say, "Hunger drives the wolf out of the woods." (*La faim chasse le loup hors du bois.*) When it is recalled that the Reichstag, elected in 1928, rejected the budget presented by the Bruening Cabinet and refused to vote the necessary taxes, that there were at the moment twenty-four political parties struggling for leadership in Germany—the country stricken seriously with the disease of politico-itis—and that things had come to such a mess that President Hindenburg found it necessary to dissolve the Parliament; but especially when it is noted that there were three million Germans out of work, the recent storm should turn out to be the one wholesome thing needed. It has already cleared the air, we believe, wholesomely.

Since the real leaders of Germany fully realize that their future depends upon foreign trade and credits, nothing is more inevitable than that Germany will continue to meet and to solve her problems with that sense and justice which began under the new Constitution in 1919 at Weimar, home of Goethe, and which appreciably brightened through the later years of Gustav Stresemann.

Germany knows that she has been gradually regaining many of the things lost in the war by the processes of reason and persuasion. She will naturally continue the policy that has reduced foreign demands upon her exchequer by 75 per cent, rid her territory of foreign troops, and won the increasing respect of her sister nations.

Germany will succumb neither to the wiles of Communism nor to the nonsense of Fascism.

THE Department of State, in its announcements of conditions in China, always refers to the activities of the "Communists" with quotations. Since the Communist officials refer constantly to their red or Communist army in China, the quotation marks seem unnecessary, indeed, misplaced.

ANY discussion of the second part of the sixth session of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference at Geneva, which convened on November 6, must naturally be deferred. At this writing the conferences of Ambassador Gibson in Paris and Rome give some color to the hope that the differences between Italy and France may not wreck the Commission. The American personnel at the meetings of the Commission is as follows: Honorable Hugh S. Gibson, American Ambassador to Belgium, and the Honorable Hugh R. Wilson, American Minister to Switzerland. These gentlemen are assisted by the following advisers from the Department of State: J. Pierrepont Moffat, First Secretary of the American Legation at Berne, and Pierre de L. Boal, Assistant Chief of the Division of Western European Affairs. From the War Department: Lieut. Col. George V. Strong, of the United States Army. From the Navy Department: Captain William W. Smith and Commander Thomas C. Kinkaid. Major Robert Le G. Walsh, of the American Embassy at Paris, Lieut. Commander George D. Murray, of the American Embassy in London, and Marc Smith, American Vice-Consul at Geneva, are with the delegates as technical assistants.

INTOLERANCE and prejudice throttle attempts at creative work. They are the bane of reformers. The older workers

in the peace movement, for example, are depressed by the inability of the younger ones coming into the work to treat them or each other with anything like patience, kindness or respect. Indeed, the older ones are not always as magnanimous as they might be. Some time ago Mr. Joseph E. Sharkey of Paris, associated for over thirty years with the Associated Press, used before the World Press Congress in Geneva some interesting thoughts. During his remarks he said:

"The newspaperman should never be intolerant or prejudiced. His mind should be ever delicately attuned and ready to receive the faintest of facts or impressions which may be of value to man as a whole.

"To dig patiently for the truth and then to tell the truth clearly, fearlessly and fairly; to narrate the events of life, whether they be beautiful, disappointing, surprising or extraordinary; to expose without passion the problems which confront humanity; to uncover turpitude and injustice—such is the task of the press which should spread the light."

Surely, that was a good little sermon—for reformers.

STATISTICS for the layman should be accompanied by a key. We were told in July that for the first time Germany's "favorable trade balance" exceeded that of Great Britain. It is the common practice to call a trade balance "adverse" when imports exceed exports, and "favorable" when exports exceed imports. The same report that revealed the German "favorable" trade balance showed that over ninety million dollars of the German exports for the previous six months represented reparation deliveries in kind. Since these reparation deliveries are in the main a dead loss to the German people, it is difficult to see how they can be treated as contributing to Germany's "favorable trade balance." If we of the United States, for example, had been defeated by Germany, and should we now

find ourselves paying reparations to that country, it is doubtful that we should consider our reparation payments as adding materially to our "favorable trade balance."

AN Academy of Peace as a memorial to former Chancellor Stresemann is a project undertaken by a committee representative of politics, science, and finance. This committee met for the first time in Berlin on October 2. The idea, according to reports, originated with Professor Ernst Jäckh, the political scientist. Dr. Curtius, Foreign Minister, and Dr. Gaus, jurist of the Foreign Office, are energetically developing the project. With the cooperation of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace it is proposed to create a Stresemann Foundation as the financial basis for the Academy of Peace. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of the Carnegie Endowment, is associated with others in America who wish to promote the enterprise. British and French committees are also to be formed. Peace workers throughout the world will follow the development of this new enterprise in behalf of their cause with interest.

THE appointment of Joshua Reuben Clark, Jr., as Ambassador to Mexico to succeed Mr. Dwight Morrow is of special international interest for a specific reason. The reason is not that he is an able lawyer, nor that he has served our Government with distinction for a quarter of a century, although both of these are true of him. The fact of international interest is that Mr. Clark recently wrote the memorandum, published and distributed by the Department of State, that disavowed the Roosevelt corollary to the Monroe Doctrine "that in case of financial or other difficulties in weak Latin-American countries the United States should attempt an adjustment there-

of, lest European governments should intervene, and intervening should occupy territory—an act which would be contrary to the principles of the Monroe Doctrine."

Mr. Clark's memorandum holds that this corollary is not justified by the terms of the Monroe Doctrine "however much it may be justified by the application of the doctrine of self-preservation." Our new ambassador to Mexico, as far as the Monroe Doctrine is concerned, is on record as believing that "the Doctrine is now and always has been, not an instrument of violence and oppression, but an unbought, freely bestowed and wholly effective guaranty of their freedom, independence, and territorial integrity against the imperialistic designs of Europe." While Mr. Clark would not repudiate the Monroe Doctrine, he would repudiate the Roosevelt corollary which has led us into a number of enterprises in states bordering on the Caribbean, activities that have not always redounded to our credit in other sections of Latin America.

ANEW illustration of the modern temper has just appeared from Yale University. It takes the form of a new Yale undergraduate publication to be known as *The Harkness Hoot*. This new American hoot is a protest against the artiness, preciosity, lack of influence and self-conscious removal from campus interests of the staid old standby familiarly known as the "Yale Lit." *The Hoot*, it is announced, will rely on tradition "only as a basis to start from, not to fall back upon." It is reassuring to note that "tradition" is not to be hooted entirely out of existence.

THE world is never weary of making paper engagements nor of ignoring obligations to fulfil them. A moratorium on new promises and a good old-fashioned revival of existing obligations might be just now a healthy exercise for the ailing nations.

WORLD PROBLEMS IN REVIEW

Federation of Europe

IN HIS memorandum on a "Regime of Federal Union for Europe," sent to the 26 European nations, members of the League of Nations, on May 17, M. Briand, the French Foreign Minister, requested that each of the governments addressed should send in its observations on the subject by July 1. Each one of them responded in good time, and this enabled M. Briand to convene in Geneva, on September 8, a conference of the European powers members of the League for the purpose of discussing the momentous questions raised by his proposal.

Salient Features of the Replies

The replies to the Briand memorandum showed a universal agreement on the importance of the problem under discussion and on the need of a closer collaboration among the powers of Europe on questions involving their common interests. There was, however, a wide divergence of views as to the method to be pursued, and, in fact, very little support for the procedure originally proposed by M. Briand.

The principal point at issue was whether this scheme of European collaboration should be carried out by means of a new, strictly European organization, under a moral protectorate of the League of Nations, but operating through an independent and distinct administrative machinery, or by means of an organization within the League. The Briand proposal advocated the first course of action. Several of the replies, and especially that of Great Britain, categorically advanced preference for the second mode of procedure.

Some of the difficulties which were to be encountered in the process of transforming the proposal into a reality were plainly indicated in the replies of such countries as Germany and Hungary, which intimated that their public opinion would consider a revision of unsatisfactory treaty arrange-

ments in Europe as an essential accompaniment, if not as a preliminary, to any process of federation. The Italian reply stressed the need of bringing into the proposed organization of European countries not members of the League of Nations, *i.e.*, Soviet Russia and Turkey.

On the whole, a large number of the replies indicated the readiness of governments to discuss the question, but not to act, as yet, on any definite suggestions. In placing an analysis of the replies before the European conference convened by him on September 8, M. Briand emphasized this feature of the situation and limited his proposals at the conference to rather modest proportions.

The European Conference at Geneva

The discussion of the Briand plan at the European conference of September 8 was based on the assumption, conceded almost from the start, that any further development of the idea would have to come through action on the part of the League of Nations, rather than along the lines of the creation of an independent and distinct European organization. But here again a sharp division of opinion on the question of procedure developed as between the French and the British points of view. The French thesis, presented by some of her allies, rather than by M. Briand himself, was that the conference should, by means of resolution, create a committee of study and then inform the League Assembly, which was to convene two days later, thus placing the Assembly face to face with a definite action, officially emanating from outside itself. This would have constituted a more or less definite commitment on the part of the powers subscribing to the resolution. The British thesis was opposed to any commitments, and was in favor of handing the whole question over to the Assembly. After prolonged discussion, the following resolution was finally adopted by the conference:

The representatives of the European states, members of the League of Nations, meeting in Geneva on September 8, 1930, in pursuance of the decision taken in Geneva on September 9, 1929.

After taking note of the results of the inquiry instituted with a view to the organization of a system of European Federal union.

Convinced that a close collaboration of the European governments in all international activity is of capital importance for the maintenance of peace throughout the world.

Unanimous on the other hand in their conviction that this collaboration should be carried out in complete agreement with the League of Nations on the basis of respect for all the principles contained in the Covenant.

Decide to place the question on the agenda of the Assembly.

At the same time, M. Briand was requested to place the question before the Assembly of the League on behalf of the conference.

The Question Before the League Assembly

M. Briand carried out the task of placing the question before the League Assembly in a speech he delivered at the session of September 11. It was not a very happy speech. Neither in style nor in matter did it compare favorably with those which the Assembly has been accustomed to hear from him. The contrast between the fervor with which he propounded his scheme of European federation last year and the excuses which he made for it this year was a great disappointment to his admirers, and when he left the tribune he received nothing like the ovation which greeted his remarkable speech a year ago.

Speaking of the scheme of European federation he made a joke about the people who wanted to put his new specimen into a museum before it had ever been alive, and urged it was a problem which the League could not shirk. There was, he said, often specifically European work to be done when neither the Council nor the Assembly were sitting, and therefore no collective body was available. A regional understanding like the proposed European union would not, he claimed, weaken or embarrass the League, and opinion in the United States was favorable to the idea. There was still, in any case, unanimity in favor of the plan in principle among the

European states, and he bade the League to go on with it.

There was very little discussion of the scheme at the Assembly. But a committee of study was appointed, under the chairmanship of M. Briand, with Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General of the League, as secretary. This committee is to report to the next Assembly of the League, in September, 1931.

Criticisms of the Briand Plan

The Briand plan has aroused a tremendous volume of discussion all over the world. It has come in for a good deal of praise and a good deal of criticism. The discussion of the plan which has attracted perhaps most interest has been that contributed in the form of an article in the Paris *Petit Journal* by Lord Robert Cecil. Lord Cecil accepts M. Briand's theory of the unity of Europe not only as a simple geographical expression, but as denoting a common mentality, but he cannot agree that the time is ripe for the federation of Europe on the lines of the Constitution of the United States, or of the Commonwealth of Australia. The differences of race, of language, of religion, and the influence of tradition are too great to be swept aside in a moment. Moreover, *Europa contra mundum* would be a more formidable menace to peace than the rivalry of nation against nation. Even if that rivalry were to be feared only in the economic sphere, the fiscal union of Europe, with its inevitable tariff barriers, would be a 'danger to the world.

One thing, at all events, is clear, Lord Cecil adds, and that is that no British Government could enter into a European system which had any appearance of a continental *bloc* antagonistic to any other group, continental or international. If the average Englishman were given the choice of joining a European federation, or of maintaining a system of Anglo-American cooperation, he would certainly choose the latter alternative. Friendship with the United States ought always to be a cardinal point in the foreign policy of Great Britain. The fact that the British Empire is, in effect, a federation of closely allied free nations is another reason why Great Britain cannot enter an exclusively European organization. The solution of the problem which Lord Cecil offered was the

formation of a European section of the League of Nations, which should take the form of a permanent European committee called into existence by the authority of the League, and responsible to the League Council or the Assembly.

The German Election

ON SEPTEMBER 14 the world was startled by the unexpected outcome of the German parliamentary election. Held after a passionate electoral campaign, following upon a dissolution of the Reichstag because of its inability to deal with pressing financial questions, the election resulted in a sharp swing to the two extremes, especially to the extremists on the Right. A new political force in the form of the National-Socialist Party emerged upon the German scene overnight.

Events Preceding the Election

The pressure of financial problems in Germany had been steadily accumulating for some time. Successive governments failed to face the impending danger; the Reichstag had consistently been readier to vote expenditure than taxes. The budget income steadily increased, but the rising tide of expenditure steadily submerged it. Millstones were tied to future budgets by measures, like the 1927 increase in officials' salaries and pensions, which entailed vast financial obligations.

The finances approached a point where, as a Socialist Finance Minister said when budgeting for 1929, "neither the government nor parliament will be able to stem the flood." As Chancellor Brüning says, alacrity to saddle the country with measures of unknown implication and reluctance to share responsibility for urgent remedies combined to bring the country almost to the stage where "a normal solution is no longer possible."

The advice of the agent-general for reparation payments to hold expenditure within the limits of revenue was disregarded. Accumulated budget surpluses gave way in 1928-29 to a deficit of nearly \$40,000,000. In 1929-30 revenue, though higher than ever before, fell short of the

optimistic expectations, and expenditure far outran the estimates. \$155,000,000 saved under the Young Plan melted away and the deficit rose to \$130,000,000, apart from the cumulative deficit of \$200,000,000 in the extraordinary budget.

In these circumstances the Reichstag was required to ratify the Young Plan. It was illogical to subscribe a commitment for 57 years and to drift toward a crisis within a few months. The Center Party, the backbone of every republican government, which has often laid a steadying hand on the helm, realized that a reform of the finances was indispensable for the fulfilment of the Young Plan.

Events proved the Center right. The Young Plan was passed, but measures necessary to balance the budget were delayed by wrangling between the parties. The Socialists resisted proposals for checking the constant flow of money to the unemployment insurance fund, the coalition dissolved, and the government resigned.

Dr. Brüning then formed his minority government, which was the previous coalition without the Socialists and reinforced by the small Economic Party and representatives of the less intransigent Nationalists. He found a majority, in April, for the revenue measures. By June the uncalculations out, fresh revenue was urgently needed, and he invited the Reichstag to vote new taxes. The Reichstag was recalcitrant and Dr. Brüning ultimately dissolved it and obtained the President's signature to a decree imposing the taxes.

Results of the Election

The election resulted in heavy gains for the extremists, especially on the Right, while the Center and Socialists maintained their position. The four or five parties approximately representing Liberal and Conservative ideas suffered severely.

The feature of the election was the success of the Right extremists. The Hitler National Socialists (Nazis), who had only 12 seats in the old Reichstag, won over a hundred seats. The Nationalists under Hugenberg lost badly.

The Roman Catholic Center, which had 61 seats in the last Reichstag, was somewhat weakened. The Socialists—by far

the largest party in the last parliament—lost some of their seats.

Then came the election. Its results were as follows:

Party	Votes	Votes in 1928	Seats	Seats in 1928
Socialists ...	8,572,016	9,150,533	143	152
Communists	4,587,708	3,263,354	76	54
State	1,322,608	1,594,148	20	25
German				
Peasants .	339,072	480,947	6	8
Centre	4,128,929	3,601,980	68	61
Bavarian				
People's ..	1,058,856	954,304	19	17
German				
People's ..	1,657,757	2,678,207	29	45
Economic ..	1,379,359	1,395,684	23	23
Nationalists	2,458,497		41	
Conservative				
People's ..	313,748		5	
Hanoverians	144,000	4,380,196	3	78
Landvolk ..	1,104,853		18	
Land Union	193,899		3	
Christian				
Socials ...	867,377		14	
National				
Socialists	6,401,210	809,989	107	12
Total (with small "splinter" parties)	34,942,854	30,724,478	575	—

On the extreme Left the Communists did even better than was expected. The People's Party, which was so important a factor in parliament under Herr Stresemann's leadership, sank to an almost insignificant remnant. The new State Party, which it was hoped would prove to be a new and virile Liberal force, in many constituencies received even less support than the old Democratic Party from which it was largely formed.

After the results of the elections became definitely known, the Brüning Cabinet met to discuss the political situation, and following the meeting an official communiqué was issued stating that the Ministers were unanimous in the opinion that it is the business of the government to proceed energetically with the program of economic, financial, and social tasks which it undertook in the summer, and to make sufficient progress to be able to present definite measures to the Reichstag, which was to assemble on October 13.

Chancellor Brüning's Statement of Policy

The new Reichstag met on October 13, and after three days of rather stormy sessions, the Chancellor presented his statement of policy. After a defense of the government's decrees issued during the period since the dissolution of the last Reichstag, and an indication of the measures that were still to come, the Chancellor said that the supreme aim of any German home and foreign policy was the attainment of national freedom and moral and material equality of status. The road to this goal would, as hitherto, be the road of peace. The government of the Reich refused to consider a policy of adventure.

Since the experts concluded their reparation report last year the general economic situation in Germany and all over the world had become worse from month to month. In the leading industrial countries unemployment had reached a degree hitherto undreamed of. The world prices of the principal products had fallen to an extent that the present generation had never experienced. "The ratio of value between gold and goods has changed to the disadvantage of the countries which have international duties to discharge."

Herr Brüning declared that the authors of the Young Plan had clearly recognized that Germany's capacity to pay reparations was decisively dependent upon the expansion of world trade and upon international stability. Among the tasks they had entrusted to the Bank for International Settlements was to cooperate in opening up new markets, and thus to contribute to the solution of Germany's particular problem. It had purposely been made possible for the bank on its own initiative to take timely precautionary measures in case of economic difficulties and thus to assist in the surmounting of crises. After all, the experts had declared that the solution of the reparation problem was not Germany's task alone, but that it was in the common interest of all the countries concerned and required their cooperation. The German Government could not refrain from pointing out that no response whatsoever to this vein of thought had shown itself in the subsequent course of events.

Germany had met the new depression without economic and financial reserve, and the effects of the world economic crisis had

been the more devastating in Germany for that. This must on no account be allowed to deprive the German nation of the moral and social foundations of its life. "The immediate task of the German people is to do everything in its power to put its own house in order. The execution of the government's economic and financial plan is therefore an elementary requirement of German foreign policy and it depends upon that more, whether in consequence of the crisis we resort to the measures which are placed at Germany's disposal by treaty for the purpose of averting danger to her economic system and her currency."

For the time being the Chancellor has a precarious majority in the Reichstag which has so far enabled him to put through his program. The future, however, is badly obscured by the fact that the second largest party in the Reichstag is committed to a program of dangerous extremism.

The Rise of the Nazis

The National Socialist Party, known as the Nazis, is led by Adolf Hitler, an Austrian citizen, who served in the German Army during the World War. The party had its beginning in 1919, when Hitler, with some others, founded a "German Workers' Party" in Munich. It was "a group of six people, with no fixed aims, no program, only the desire somehow to struggle out of the muddle of those days"—a description not inapplicable to the present party, except that the six people have become $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions.

Hitler, returning from German Army service with the Iron Cross, had a gift for oratory which appealed to Bavarian audiences, and in 1920 he had 2,000 and in 1921 5,600 followers. In 1923 came an alliance with General Ludendorff's Völkische party. The Völkische were Nationalists unadorned; they shared the extreme Hitlerist views on anti-Semitism and racial purity, but not the social and economic ideas gained by Hitler during his laboring days in Vienna, which governed his appeal to the working class.

The alliance led to the abortive march on Berlin, which ended at Munich, where General Ludendorff was wounded and Herr Hitler made prisoner. The party, however, progressed and polled nearly 2,000,000 votes as the "Nationalist Social-

ist Freedom Party" at the election of May, 1924, its first parliamentary venture. This gave it 32 seats, but in December, 1924, its poll sank to 900,000 and its seats to 14, so that it was no longer qualified as a parliamentary "fraction." In May, 1928, when it had assumed its present title, its poll sank to 800,000 and its seats to 12, to rise to over six million votes and 107 seats in the election of 1930.

Hitler himself, not being a German citizen, is precluded from assuming the leadership of the party in the Reichstag. His principal lieutenants there are Dr. Goebbels, a journalist, a fiery orator, though physically a small man, so that Socialist election posters caricature him with the legend "chest measurement 27, mouth measurement 72;" Gregor Strasser, a Munich chemist and former reserve officer; Graf von Reventlow, who left the navy as lieutenant-commander in the nineties; Captain Göring, who has the *Ordre pour le Mérite*, and led the Richthofen fighter squadron in 1918; General Ritter von Epp, a vigorous free corps leader in the troubled times of 1919, and others. The list of over 100 Nazi members in the next Reichstag is mainly composed of former officers, small tradesmen, journalists, lawyers, and members of the middle class generally; there are a few working men in it, but not many.

Program of the Nazis

The Hitler Party has never issued a clear-cut statement of policy. The nearest approach to a program seems to be a list of 25 "theses" issued by it at the time of the election. The list contains the following "claims":

We claim the union of all Germans in a great Germany.

We claim equality of rights for Germany and the cancellation of the peace treaties.

We claim land (colonies) for the nourishment of the people and the settlement of the surplus population.

Only compatriots can be citizens. . . . No Jew can be a compatriot. . . . Public offices shall be held by citizens.

We claim the abolition of unearned income, the complete repayment of war profits; the nationalization of trusts; a share in the profits of big undertakings; the communalization of big stores and their lease at low rates to small traders.

These are some of the "National" and "Socialist" ideas which the party seeks to combine. One "thesis" claims the sequestration without compensation of land for public purposes. This evidently alarmed some of Herr Hitler's landed supporters and a footnote says "the party stands for private property"; the sequestration proposal was aimed "mainly at Jewish companies speculating in land."

New Canadian Tariff

SHORTLY before the British Imperial Conference opened in London on October 1, a significant modification occurred in the tariff policy of Canada, the most important of the British dominions. This modification of policy was preceded by a defeat at the polls of the Liberal Party, which had been in power for some years past, and the re-emergence, under a new and vigorous leadership, of the Conservative Party, pledged to tariff protection for Canada's industrial development.

The Bennett Cabinet

Following the defeat of the Liberal Party in the parliamentary elections held early in August, Mr. Mackenzie King, the Liberal Premier, tendered, on August 7, the resignation of himself and his cabinet. A new cabinet was immediately sworn in, headed by Mr. R. B. Bennett, the leader of the Conservative Party, as Prime Minister. The new cabinet is made up as follows:

Mr Bennett, Prime Minister, External Affairs, and Finance
 Mr. Hugh Guthrie, Justice
 Dr. Robert Manion, Railways
 Mr. H. H. Stevens, Trade and Commerce
 Mr. E. B. Ryckman, National Revenue
 Mr. Robert Weir, Agriculture
 Mr. Hugh Stewart, Public Works
 Mr. Arthur Sauve, Postmaster-General
 Mr. Alfred Duranleau, Marine
 Mr. Maurice Dupré, Solicitor-General
 Mr. Charles Cahan, Secretary of State
 Mr. Edgar N. Rhodes, Fisheries
 Colonel Donald Sutherland, Defence
 Dr. Murray MacLaren, Pensions and National Health

Senator Gideon Robertson, Labor
 Mr. Thomas Murphy, Interior
 Mr. W. A. Gordon, Immigration
 Sir George Perley, Mr. J. A. MacDonald, Ministers without portfolio

In making up his cabinet, Mr. Bennett has secured representative men from all Provinces. He has balanced the cabinet by the inclusion of old parliamentarians with administrative experience, such as Sir Perley and Mr. Stevens, while fresh blood has been brought in by the selection of untried members who give promise of a vigorous and progressive administration. Fourteen of the Ministers are Protestants, and there are five Roman Catholics, of whom three are French Canadians.

Five of the new Ministers have brilliant war records and decorations, while Sir George Perley was the wartime High Commissioner of Canada in London. The ex-service men in the cabinet include Dr. Manion, Minister of Railways; Dr. Murray MacLaren, Minister of Pensions, Colonel Sutherland, Minister of Defence, and Mr. Weir, Minister of Agriculture.

The New Leader's Career and Views

Richard Bedford Bennett is Canada's eleventh Prime Minister since the formation of the confederated Dominion. Born in 1870, he has long been identified with the political life of his country, although he has only recently emerged into a position of national leadership.

Mr. Bennett first appeared on the political stage as an opponent of the provisions about separate Catholic schools embodied in the new provincial constitution of Alberta and Saskatchewan. The reputation which he made in this matter won for him the leadership of the tiny band of Conservatives who were elected to Alberta's first Legislature in 1905. For six years Mr. Bennett fought at Edmonton an uphill and almost singlehanded fight against the strongly entrenched Liberals, but he grew weary of provincial politics and went into business. Having established his financial fortunes on a firm basis he returned to the political arena at the "reciprocity" election of 1911, when Calgary returned him as a Conservative by a handsome majority.

In his first Parliament Mr. Bennett made no notable mark apart from a wholly creditable revolt against certain railway

policies of the Borden Ministry. When he found himself out of sympathy with his leaders upon some of their policies in connection with the War and the project of a Coalition Ministry he decided at the election of 1917 to withdraw from politics and devote himself to the law practice and extensive business interests which he had acquired. He was with difficulty induced to join Mr. Meighen's reorganized and short-lived cabinet in 1920, but he did not contrive any serious renewal of his political activities until the general election of 1925, when he was again returned for Calgary. He then played a prominent part in the stormy session of 1926 and joined the second ministry as Minister of Finance. His spell of office, however, was against brief, although not long afterwards he became leader of his party and in 1930 led it to victory at the polls.

During the recent election campaign, he advocated a policy of "Canada First," and of almost violent economic nationalism. He defends this policy on the ground that, as North America has become since the War a great center of economic power, it will be better for the future of the Commonwealth that its North American unit should be economically strong and self-sufficient rather than that temporary succor should be given to some embarrassed British industries by tariff concessions which stunt local Canadian industries. But he has also proclaimed his belief that inter-imperial trade can only be developed on a lasting basis by a system of reciprocal preferences, and he holds that the conservation of the interests of efficient Canadian manufacturers who can supply the local markets with products of high quality is not incompatible with measures which will divert a great deal of trade now enjoyed by foreign countries to the mother country and dominions.

Upward Revision of the Tariff

Within a fortnight of assuming office, the new Prime Minister set machinery into motion to implement his principal election pledge, the adjustment of customs duties in such a manner as to safeguard the home market for Canadian producers. He first abolished the existing tariff board, clearing the way for the creation of a tariff commission more in line with his ideas, and then

set to work preparing for the September session of the Parliament a new tariff bill.

This bill, giving Canada the highest tariff ever known there, was introduced by Mr. Bennett in the House of Commons at Ottawa on September 16, and was passed by a substantial majority several days later. The principal changes introduced by the new tariff affect iron and steel, cotton and woolen textiles, silks, boots and shoes, paper, metals, minerals, common window glass, copper bars, kitchenware, heating apparatus, agricultural implements, and gasoline, all of which are subjected to an average increase of 25 per cent in duties. Imports from the United States will be severely curtailed, and shipments from Europe will also be restricted. Altogether, 170 items in the existing tariff are repealed, and 134 new ones enacted.

In introducing the tariff bill, Mr. Bennett said that the measure was not a general tariff revision, but only made changes that would give employment to a large number of men and women in Canada. There would be a general revision of the tariff in the next regular session of Parliament, the existing schedules being full of anachronisms and unsound in many particulars.

He then continued:

We have assurances that these tariff changes will give employment within a few weeks to more than 25,000 people. We propose to provide that the requirements of the 10,000,000 people living in Canada shall, as far as possible, be provided by Canadian producers. The countervailing duties against the United States are repealed, and, instead of living in a cloudland of conjecture and doubt, we have definitely stated in the schedules the rates that will apply. Ample duties are imposed that will be effective, and for them we offer no apology.

In connection with his new tariff, Mr. Bennett is trying an interesting experiment in price control, which he described in his speech in the following terms:

We have a definite and positive assurance from the manufacturers that the tariff increases will involve no increase of prices to the consumer, and the government has the right to reduce duties in the event of profiteering. Manufacturers have given assurances that there will be a reduction of prices as their plants reach maximum output.

Duties Raised Against the United States

A part of the impetus which had carried the Canadian tariff revision so quickly through the enactment stage undoubtedly came as a reaction to the upward revision of the American tariff. Many of the duties in Mr. Bennett's tariff are plainly directed against the United States. Such, for example, is the case of the general tariff on agricultural implements, which has been raised 10 to 25 per cent.

Farm machinery from the United States must now pay 25 per cent. Duties against other foreign countries are doubled on farm implements and farm machinery, while from Great Britain they are still admitted free. A heavy duty is imposed on farm tractors, which have hitherto been admitted free from the United States.

The duties on horses, cattle, sheep, lambs, live hogs, fresh meats, canned meats, eggs, butter, cereals, hops, wheat, flour, cut flowers, potatoes, and soups, which were covered by countervailing duties against the United States, are now specifically increased to the same level which the United States imposes against such products exported from Canada. The duty on adver-

tising and printed matter is increased to a minimum of 35 per cent against the United States, but remains unchanged in regard to other countries. Increases are made on paper sacks or bags, wrapping paper, and paper containers of all kinds. Petroleum oils and gasoline will be subject to higher rates from the British Empire—namely, two cents a gallon. Great Britain is also affected by an increase in the duty on earthenware and stoneware demijohns, churns, and crocks from 20 to 25 per cent; in the case of the United States the rate is raised to 35 per cent.

The duties on plates of iron and steel, hot or cooled rolled, are increased from all countries. The British preference rate is raised from \$2 to \$4.25 per ton, the intermediate rate from \$4 to \$6, and the American rate from \$6 to \$7. The intermediate rates on iron or steel shapes are raised from \$5.50 to \$6 per ton, and the rates on all other iron and steel products are substantially increased. The rate on British cast-iron or steel pipe is raised from \$5 to \$7 per ton, the rate for the United States from \$10 to \$14, and for all other countries from \$9 to \$12 per ton.

As Others See It

The latest adaptation of the turning of swords into plowshares is found in the use by Idaho farmers of 1,500,000 pounds of high explosive manufactured during the war to clear 6,000 acres of land of stumps.—*Christian Science Monitor*.

General Summerall says: "Desire for peace does not insure it." No, and desire for a meal doesn't satisfy hunger; but it does start you toward a restaurant.—*Cincinnati Inquirer*.

In the early days of the war the officer in charge of a British post deep in the heart of Africa received this wireless message from his superior officer: "War declared. Arrest all enemy aliens in your district."

With commendable promptness the superior received this reply:

"Have arrested seven Germans, three Belgians, two Frenchmen, two Italians, an Austrian and an American. Please say who we're at war with."—*American Boy*.

Christmas Eve Around the Most Wonderful of Trees

By THE EDITOR

GOOD evening, boys and girls. A merry Christmas, one and all!

Have you ever seen the most wonderful tree in all the world? No? That is interesting, for here it is, right here before our very eyes—this green, graceful tree, this, our Christmas lady all dressed up tonight in her silks and satins of shiny colored lights. There is no other tree quite so beautiful and wonderful as this, our own Community Christmas tree.

I am quite sure that I am stating a fact, for I have had some chats lately, several very private and personal conversations with this our mutual friend. Do you remember how the wandering father of the lively Miss Rosalind found—in the forest of Arden—books in running brooks, sermons in stones, good in everything, and, perhaps strangest of all, tongues in trees? Well, I have been surprised to find how easy it is to talk with this, our lovely lady. She has a real story to tell, and she told it to me.

It was this way. A few nights ago, it came to me that this charming person seemed to have most unusual refinement and cultivation, and that I ought to make her acquaintance. So, quite conscious that I had been very unneighborly, I went over to call. As we talked I soon learned that she is surprisingly gracious. When I asked her to tell me something of the story of her life, she seemed not at all embarrassed. Indeed, she was quite willing to tell me anything and everything I really wished to know about her. Here is a thing that impressed me especially—what she said was said so simply and naturally that I felt more deeply than I can say the exact truth of every word she uttered. While I know that I have forgotten much that she said, let me tell you what I seem to remember of her modest but fascinating tale.

"I was born long, long ago," she began, "in a wee country place, down a tiny side street called Little Tree Lane. I can't seem

to remember much about my parents, except that they were very good people, quite upright, who had to work very hard for a living; and they seemed to have a very good reputation. I remember I went to school to a smiling and kindly little man named Gardener, who looked after me and taught he how to behave and to be strong. He fed me things I liked to eat and showed me how to get along with my many, many playmates. But, somehow, I never was quite happy down there on Little Tree Lane, for something in me told me that with a father and mother such as mine, and a teacher such as I had always had, I ought to be somebody, a real somebody, and do something that would mean something.

"Well, one day a very pleasant man came down from the city to our wee country place and talked with me a long time. He consulted with my father and mother. He had a long conference with my teacher, Mr. Gardener. And, finally, he invited me to come up here to this pretty place, as he slyly added, 'to live with the boys and girls.' I just could not resist that temptation, and so here I am."

"And you are quite happy?" I asked.

"Oh, yes, I am very happy. I like this Christmas dress with all these velvety fabrics of color, over my ordinary gown of eternal spring. I have quite fallen in love with Santa Claus. I enjoy all your generous attentions. I confess I prefer good society."

She seemed to blush a bit, I thought, when she said this last. But it was said so quietly and sincerely, it all seemed perfectly natural and fine.

And then she told me some very personal things, which I can only hint to you. She told me where she gets her hats, green in summer and white in winter; her street clothes and what the dressmakers say about her taste. She told me where she gets her laundry done. She told me some of the things she hears boys and girls say as they

pass, some of them very sensible things, and some of them —; well, she had nothing unkind to say about any of our boys and girls. She spoke of the kindness of the people here next door.

But a thing that especially attracted my attention was to have her tell me how she gets her drinking water. It is very curious. Do you know, all the water she drinks comes from a sacred well; and, very stirring thing, it is brought to her every day by three very mysterious people, one called Norn Past, another called Norn Present, and still another called Norn Future. You and I may catch these mysterious persons, some day, carrying their water from the sacred well; for they must live out here, I am sure, just around some corner or other.

This story of the sacred well aroused my curiosity still more, and I said, "Please tell me more of yourself, it is all so charming. I am sure all our boys and girls will wish to hear everything." And so she went on, as nearly as I can remember, telling me first of her boughs or branches something like this:

"I have a strange trouble with these arms of mine," she said, slightly shrugging her green shoulders. "You see, I have many many of them, with many, many hands; but I have great difficulty in getting people to see either all of my real arms or all of my real hands. If you look very carefully, for example, you will see that one of my hands holds that light across the street; one of them that star on yonder cathedral; one of them that little child up the street who is ill in bed tonight, wondering hopefully about Christmas day; one of them that butterfly, until spring shall come; one of them the choir singing its Christmas carols; one of them the moon. Every star of heaven is in a hand of mine. These are only some of the things I hold in my hands. I love to hold them in my hands."

After a silence, lowering her tone of voice a little, she began again:

"You may have heard something of my roots. But, as with my arms and my hands, these, too, seem to be hard to follow and to understand. I heard a teacher of botany tell his class the other day that my roots, except what he called my main or 'tap root,' are only about two feet long, and that this main or 'tap root' is only about three feet long. Would you really like to know about my roots?" she asked.

"Of course," I said, "with branches such as yours, it must be that your roots are also very wonderful." And so she told me about her roots. She said, as I recall:

"I have roots in England, in France, in Germany, and all the lands of the earth; under all the seas, and in every little kindness of the past. Why, one of my roots is in the home of every good Scout where he did his 'good turn'; another in the hope that started the Community Chest; another in every square thing that was done when nobody was looking. One of my roots starts in the house of old man Scrooge after Tiny Tim had got through with him; and, of course, one of my strongest roots is Tiny Tim himself.

"Do you recall," she went on, "how, long, long ago, on a cold and wintry night, poor Julian, the ferryman, rowed a fainting leper across the stormy water; and how, taking him for warmth to his humble home, he found that his poor sick passenger was neither poor nor sick, but that he was Jesus the Christ? One of my roots begins at the hearth of that kindly ferryman, adored now by all as Saint Julian the Poor.

"But that main root of mine—I must tell you about that. The botanist was wrong. This 'tap root' is much more than three feet long. It goes down and down, by the center of the earth, right through the Kingdom of Death, to a place on the other side of the world where there are shepherds abiding in the fields and keeping watch by night over their flocks. And an angel of the Lord stands by them, and the glory of the Lord shines round about them; and the angel is saying unto them, 'Be not afraid; for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all the people, for unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord.' And with the angel there is a multitude of the heavenly host praising God and saying, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men.' And all this because of a babe lying in a manger."

And the tree told me other things which I could not seem to hear very well. But what she made clear to me I have told to you, just as I remember it.

Wonderful Christmas Tree! And so your trunk is topped by the farthest star.

Your boughs reach out and out, holding our homes, our schools, our churches, indeed, all of our loveliest things, in their hands. You drink from the pitchers of water brought by the three Norns from the sacred well. Your roots are from every yesterday of hope and love and decent deeds around the globe; and one, for us the main one, from

that little manger outside an inn of Bethlehem.

You are very beautiful. You are the most beautiful, the most wonderful tree in all the world. The people of the faraway Northlands, we suppose, would call you "Igdrasil." We shall always think of you as our everlasting Tree of Life.

Economic Tendencies Affecting the Peace of the World*

By ANDRÉ SIEGFRIED

Scope of the Subject

THE following resolution was adopted by the International Economic Conference of 1927:

"(a) Economic Tendencies Affecting the Peace of the World.

"The Conference, recognizing that the maintenance of world peace depends largely upon the principles on which the economic policies of nations are framed and executed,

"Recommends that the governments and peoples of the countries here represented should together give continuous attention to this aspect of the economic problem, and looks forward to the establishment of recognized principles designed to eliminate those economic difficulties which cause friction and misunderstanding in a world which has everything to gain from peaceful and harmonious progress."

The Assembly reminded the economic committee of the importance which it attached to the study of this aspect of the problem of peace, and the consultative committee expressed the hope that historians, economists and other students would give attention to this subject. Finally the economic committee, with the Council's approval, stated that this vast problem should be more closely analyzed "with a view to stimulating research and discussion among private persons and institutions competent in the matter." We should therefore endeavor here to consider the main subjects of the inquiry, which may continue for several years. It is to be hoped that in

this connection assistance will be received from many quarters.

We do not think we need examine at the moment whether economic interests are the principal or, in reality, the sole cause of war; neither do we consider it necessary to investigate to what extent, as compared with strictly political causes, economic tendencies may lead to war (in many—perhaps in the majority of cases—political and economic factors are so closely bound up together that it is impossible to analyze them separately). It will probably be more helpful to acknowledge at the start that the defense of economic interests may, and frequently does, lead either to the employment of force or to recourse to war—two forms of violence which it is often difficult to distinguish. We should therefore ascertain in what form and circumstances and under what conditions economic interests are the cause of misunderstanding, friction and war.

Psychological or Political Factors Connected with the Economic Situation which May Lead to War

Private economic interests are naturally tempted to appeal to their governments for support when those interests conflict with foreign interests. An attempt is thus made to replace pacific, reciprocal and equitable agreements by arbitrary pres-

* A memorandum prepared at the request of the economic committee of the League of Nations, but embodying only the views of the author.

sure—pressure which is virtually confirmed by force. Moreover, governments often anticipate this desire on the part of private interests for political support, which gives them a pretext to intervene, apparently on economic but, in reality, on political grounds.

A risk of conflict may thus arise and this is increased, or may even be created, if public opinion in any country regards, or is induced to regard, the dispute from a psychological standpoint, thus introducing an emotional element into the matter. Then the real cause of the trouble is no longer the economic dispute with which it began, but overexcitation of a strictly political sentiment.

Principal Economic Causes Likely to Lead to Misunderstanding, Friction or War

With these qualifications, the principal causes of misunderstanding, friction or war due to economic factors might, we think, be classified as follows:

1. First, we have causes relating to *conditions of production*, of which the chief cause in every country at the present time is undoubtedly the question of obtaining supplies of raw materials.

2. Then there are causes connected with factors relating to *international communications*; For instance, the international movement of ships, aircraft, railways, commodities, and even men; or, again, with the conditions under which a country communicates either with its colonies or with other countries by post, submarine cable, et cetera.

3. Lastly, there are causes connected with the *expansion of certain countries*; this expansion may take the following forms: The *expansion of trade* (exports and markets); the *expansion of capital* (foreign investments, exploitation of foreign countries or territories by means of capital investment, exploitation of colonies); the *expansion of population* (emigration and settlement colonies).

Practical Utility of Such an Inquiry

Once the principal causes likely to lead to friction, misunderstanding or war have been recognized, we shall be able to draw up more accurately, by contrast, the principles of a policy capable of reducing or eliminating friction, misunderstanding or

war. If they were put into practice by governments these principles would help to create an atmosphere and economic conditions conducive to peace.

I. Causes Relating to Production

Requirements of Production Which May Lead to the Employment of Force

A country is hardly likely to attempt to procure capital by force; it will more probably have to defend itself at times against overzealous investors who may nevertheless assert that they have the country's true interests at heart. Labor can be obtained by pressure or violence; by means of raids, for instance, or by methods of collective recruiting in which the contract is merely a matter of form. The main reason why such action does not lead to war is because it is generally taken against peoples who are too weak politically to resist.

It is the necessity of obtaining raw materials—the desire to procure or to monopolize the gifts of nature, freely bestowed in one case and denied in another—which is most likely to endanger peace and to cause force to be employed. The struggle is similar to that which ensues in connection with the division of territory in all parts of the world. Industrial development has made this the primary cause of misunderstanding, friction or war, because at the present time all great industrial countries have urgent need of raw materials which are unobtainable in their territory or are only procurable in quantities inadequate to meet their increasing requirements.

The Acuteness of the Need Varies According to the Class of Raw Material

In the case of agricultural produce, the need is less acute, because it is always possible to grow other crops in a similar climate; in short, there can here be no question of a monopoly at all events, in the long run.

With minerals, however, it is a very different matter, because it may only be possible to find them in a certain country; they can be sought for, discovered and exploited, but they cannot be planted or produced elsewhere. The gravity of this position is increased because it applies, not only to raw materials proper, but to fuel and to the sources of power which have

become absolutely essential to modern large-scale industry. While coal may be found to some extent everywhere, this is not the case with oil; water power may be obtainable in the vicinity, but on the other side of a frontier, and its use by a neighboring country will depend on the policy adopted by the possessor.

Large industrial countries are becoming by an irresistible movement more and more dependent on others for their supplies of raw materials. At first, they simply converted their own raw products, and this was the start of their development as manufacturing countries. Later on, however, the course of their industrial development, which it is beyond their power to control, forces them to import an increasing proportion of the raw materials which they require. In the case of the most highly developed countries, the need to import certain raw materials becomes a necessity of their existence, which is no less urgent than that of obtaining food. The proportion of imports of raw materials to the total imports of those countries clearly shows the extent of their economic dependence on others.

How the Above Situation May Lead to Misunderstanding, Friction or War

We must here distinguish between the point of view of the buying country and that of the selling country.

The buying country, rightly or wrongly, may fear that certain raw materials may become unprocurable by it, either because they may be kept by the producer or because others may monopolize them. In certain cases this fear may become a veritable obsession. Naturally the country will then endeavor to make sure of certain, lasting and, if possible, permanent supplies of the products which it fears may become unprocurable. For instance, it may attempt to *control* (in the American sense of the word, *i. e.*, to dominate) the undertakings which, in the selling country, produce the raw material required; or else it may urge the government of that country not to reduce unduly, by means of export prohibitions, excessive export duties or export quotas, the quantity of products which it requires and which it may not be able to obtain elsewhere. Various methods may be employed in connection with a safeguard-

ing policy of this kind, ranging from an absolutely normal and pacific form of contract to war and conquest. Effect may be given to this policy simply by the conclusion of a long-term contract or by contractual negotiations with the sovereign state in question. Requests may, however, be accompanied by pressure, threats or even by resort to force; the buying country may even attempt to obtain sovereign possession of the territory producing the coveted material, or, what practically comes to the same thing, to establish a protectorate *de jure* or *de facto* there. All these arguments are, of course, based on the assumption that the buying country is the stronger—otherwise pressure would be impossible. This shows the importance of force in connection with the problem of raw materials.

The selling country by its attitude may create an atmosphere favorable to peace or to war. If it refuses to sell, conflict ensues. The supposition is, of course, absurd, but there is a wide range open between full consent and complete refusal. We should inquire to what extent the refusal, whether total or partial, may cause annoyance. It will be so if discrimination is exercised in the treatment of any particular country, or if (even without discrimination) the refusal is actually intended to apply to a single or what is practically a single buyer, or if a certain price has been intentionally fixed by agreement for the home market and another and widely different price for the export market, and, in general, if the consumer in question is led to think that he is being imposed upon. The irritating nature of such an attitude is, however, only apparent when the producing country is not in a position to transform its own raw materials. A country which keeps its raw materials and only exports them in the form of manufactured or semimanufactured goods cannot be accused of acting in an aggressive manner. We must not, however, be too ready to assert that in such a case all possibilities of conflict are precluded.

Psychological or Political Factors Conducive to Peace

What actually happens when one country possesses the raw material needed by another country? As a rule, the stronger (perhaps we should say the larger or the richer) gets its own way. If it is a produc-

ing country, it will dispose of its products as it wishes. If it is a consuming country, it will be tempted to requisition in one form or another the materials which it requires. In that case it will perhaps be wiser for the weaker country to give way to a sufficient extent to prevent the stronger from attempting to resort to force; it will often be difficult for it to insure full respect for its sovereignty. It will usually be wiser for the stronger country not to go too far, because it can generally get what it wants without going to war, if not in every case without resort to force. If it desired to go further this would lead to the assumption that the economic argument was merely a thin disguise for an underlying political motive.

In these circumstances a reasonable attitude on both sides is more likely to insure peace. The sovereignty of the producing country doubtless gives it—in theory, at all events—all rights, but it may be wiser for it not to make full use of them. If it does not take advantage of the position in order to obtain undue privileges, if it does not attempt to bully the consuming country, the latter—feeling confident that it will not be imposed upon and will be able to obtain regular supplies of the materials which it needs—will not be tempted to resort to pressure or violence.

What causes are likely to lead countries to adopt an attitude of moderation? As a rule their own interests will, or should, guide them to do so, because the seller obtains no advantage from bullying his customers or the buyer from threatening his supplier. If they are blinded or carried away by passion, it is still possible for third parties, who are always affected by a conflict, to intervene.

This intervention may be beneficially exercised by international opinion and abuses may thereby be prevented. If an enlightened opinion, conscious of its own powers, were created and developed, it could affirm the recognized principles of what we may call a code of international economic morality in accordance with which certain practices would be condemned. The practical expression of an international opinion of this kind would take the form of the acceptance of common legislation based on general conventions in accordance

with the work already begun by the League of Nations.

Such legislation will not perhaps prevent the inevitable. Certain tendencies, apart from their morality, are too strong to be resisted. Nevertheless, by regulating trade and organizing it on normal lines, we should relieve the buyer of the fear of being unable to obtain his raw materials, to which we have already referred. We should remove the temptation to which he is exposed—or, at all events, any justification for this temptation—to resort to force. The producer would be protected from the excessive ambitions of the consumer, which might do him harm, and at the same time he would be discouraged from arbitrarily taking advantage of a situation the very privileges of which are likely to lead to threats and danger. Finally, the risk of a direct altercation fraught with the gravest dangers would be lessened or prevented.

II. Causes Connected with Factors Relating to International Communications

Countries Directly Affected by Factors Relating to International Communications

A self-supporting country will be little affected by factors relating to international communications. These are, however, of the utmost importance to a country which is economically dependent on others either for its imports (foodstuffs, raw materials) or its exports (foreign markets) or for the freedom of its communications in general, and failing which its equilibrium will be imperiled. As a rule a country whose economic equilibrium depends on these factors tends to become a naval power and to interest itself in the freedom or command of the seas.

These same considerations will also apply to a country, even though it is not economically dependent on others, which lies on the main world trade-routes. Such a country may either be tempted to take advantage of its position in order to make extortionate demands (as was formerly done by countries which collected arbitrary and excessive toll-dues) or—what is more probable at the present time—it may feel that its position is endangered by the intervention of powerful interests utilizing the routes which, geographically, it is in a position to control, to obstruct or even to close.

What Actually Happens in the Case of a Strait or an Isthmus

If the country owning the strait or isthmus is a strong country, it will itself regulate the conditions governing use. Its powers may be exercised in war-time by stopping the traffic and in peace-time by imposing excessive or discriminatory tariffs, or by subjecting traffic to irksome conditions. If, on the other hand, the country owning the route is not the strongest, it will doubtless be tempted to act as if it were, but in such a case the principal user will be certain to interfere if it is not granted favorable conditions and will end by controlling, that is to say, by itself regulating in its own interests, the conditions governing the traffic. The chief user may even be tempted to seize the position and the surrounding land, either by conquest, the establishment of a protectorate or by any other means affording it military control. If there are several powers whose strength is more or less equal and who are jealous of each other, they will agree upon joint control. In this case the solution will differ only in appearance, because it will always be dictated by the strongest country or the strongest group.

Policy in Regard to World Routes Which Powers Economically Strong but Dependent on Other Countries Tend to Adopt

This policy comprises certain principles which are nearly always adopted by powers desirous of extending their activities to all parts of the world. Their primary aim is to make sure of benefiting by the freedom of communications and transit, whether for vessels, aircraft, commodities, men or news to be transmitted by post, telegraph or submarine cable. In particular they desire the free use of international straits and channels. It is equally important for them to eliminate any factor likely to endanger the safety of the principal world routes or to take precautions in advance to deal with any such factors. In peace-time the freedom of the routes may be sufficient for the purpose, and the power concerned may be content with exercising what may be termed a "negative" control. In war-time, however, the freedom of the seas will tend to assume the form of supreme control by that power, *i.e.*, the command of the seas.

Powers with a world-wide radius of action thus feel the need for a large quantity of "political apparatus"—naval bases, coaling stations and oil depots, landing grounds for aircraft, submarine cables with control of the points at which they come ashore, a wireless station, international channels. A policy of this kind is not a peaceful policy except in appearance, or at all events it is only negatively so. In actual fact, a powerful country does not leave it to others to insure and guarantee the freedom and safety of its communications. It always aims at controlling these itself. This does not mean that it does not allow others to enjoy the safety and freedom established by it; it means that such a country continues to be the bestower. In these circumstances, there is a difference between actual liberty, which may exist and even be freely bestowed and final control, the source of which is arbitrary, because it is equivalent to the predominance of an individual country.

International Conditions Rendering the Foregoing Solutions Relating to International Communications Unnecessary

If we could be certain that a country enjoying a strategical position on world trade-routes would not take undue advantage of this position, or would not itself fall under the sway of another country which would use its power to promote its own exclusive interests, we should be right in thinking that exclusive control by the chief user would no longer be justified, and the latter might not even consider it necessary.

How is it possible to achieve this result? By the internationalization of certain regions, which is the classic solution; by treaties between the principal parties concerned, guaranteeing each other equitable conditions (for instance, the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty concerning the Panama Canal); by conventions in the application of which the principal parties concerned have sufficient confidence, in time of war as in time of peace, to refrain from taking *one-sided* action to protect their interests; by the international acceptance of what might be called certain principles of international morality in regard to world routes. For instance, the guaranteeing of a right of passage for all, irrespective of nationality,

or the guarantee that, in the application of tariffs, there shall be no discrimination in respect of the person or the destination (these two principles might now be regarded as generally accepted). From the purely economic standpoint, the solution would not need to be carried any further in peace-time. Such a solution may, however, appear inadequate to the powerful interests concerned, because, on the one hand, they do not know what would happen in war-time and, on the other, they may be influenced by political as well as by economic considerations.

The traditional policy of the great countries concerned has been to undertake the task of supervision themselves and it may be said that, as a rule, they have extended the benefits to all. Nevertheless, the precarious nature of such freedom cannot be denied. It is a peaceful solution only in the sense of being a *pax Romana*. At the same time there may perhaps be no better substitute today. It is certain, however, that, if a recognized code of international rights and obligations in regard to communications were established, unfair treatment of the users of the main world routes would gradually become less frequent, and the temptations and pretexts to establish exclusive and unjust control would be continuously reduced.

III. Causes Connected with the Expansion of Certain Countries

Conditions and Circumstances to Which Economic Expansion Is Due

When a country has reached a certain stage of development, either as regards the number of its inhabitants, its industrial progress or the standard of living of its population, it naturally feels the need for economic expansion. It then ceases to be completely self-sustaining, because its territory of its natural resources become inadequate for its increased requirements and it is forced to depend to some extent on other countries and, in one form or another, to obtain some part of its means of existence from abroad. Such a country then comes to take an interest in the affairs of the others. This may be conducive to peace, but it can also lead to war.

Expansion may take various forms. For instance, there may be an expansion of

manufacturing manifested in the form of exports and efforts to secure foreign markets. Expansion may also take the form of the export of capital—foreign investments, development of foreign countries (by the establishment of undertakings in those countries), exploitation colonies, *i.e.*, colonies regarded as places in which to invest capital and establish undertakings rather than as places in which to settle. Lastly, there may be an expansion of the population by immigration to foreign countries or by the settlement of territories which have no definite owner. A country may expand in all three directions simultaneously. If, however, expansion is not possible in one of these directions, it is proportionately increased in the other two. For instance, if an overpopulated country cannot dispose of its surplus population by emigration, it will have to create industries and export manufactured products.

This gives rise to grave problems. To what extent should other countries be required to submit to the invasion of an expanding country? In actual fact, expansion is due to developments over which men have no control, even though they may believe they have. It is, we think, futile to consider whether this expansion is legitimate; it must be accepted as a fact and efforts must be made to diminish its most dangerous consequences.

Experience shows that, even if it is pacific in appearance, the expansion of strong nations is based on force, and that expansion can only be resisted by force, even though, in this latter case also, it is still pacific in appearance. For instance, immigration laws could doubtless not be maintained in the face of the protests of the countries which they exclude unless they were directly or indirectly supported by political or military strength. When expansion is enforced or checked by compulsion in this way, it is liable to be enforced or checked without any guarantee of moderation. However, in the case of a natural disequilibrium—for which a remedy is essential—it is always premature to suppose that the question has been finally settled by force. If the initial causes of the disequilibrium persist, natural equilibrium will always tend to be restored sooner or later in one form or another. It is often difficult to say which is the more interesting—the

country whose population is obliged to emigrate or the country which is striving to avoid taking these emigrants, the country which needs to expand or the country which fears the expansion of others. It may perhaps be said that in general expansion is in the interests of production, if it is not always in accordance with moral principles.

In these circumstances and from an international standpoint, should these natural movements be opposed or encouraged? A satisfactory answer is impossible. Efforts might, however, be made to regulate such movements by subjecting them to certain conditions and providing safeguards for the country with a surplus population, the country receiving that population and for other countries.

A. Expansion of Trade

The extent to which a country needs to export.—While exportation may be regarded as a necessity for certain countries, this applies only to exports in general and not to exports to any particular market. It can hardly be maintained that one country has any right to export to a certain other country, because it is always possible, even though it may be difficult, to transfer sales from one set of customers to another. In these circumstances the desire to export is hardly likely to lead to war. It may, however, cause friction and a strained situation may ensue.

We must distinguish between the exportation of raw products and of manufactured products. As a rule the former are easily disposed of, and in many cases buyers are only too eager to obtain them (this brings us back to the difficulties concerning raw materials). On the other hand manufactured products are difficult to place and resistance to their importation is an obvious source of difficulties which may lead to political crises.

Conditions likely to lead to disputes in this connection, to aggravate them or to make them less acute.—General defensive measures, even if irksome, designed to prevent the importation of foreign commodities are less dangerous than measures involving discrimination against any particular country. On the other hand uniform customs practices—for instance, those which conform to generally accepted international principles—will create a pacific

atmosphere, even with a considerable amount of protectionism, if they counteract or eliminate any unfair treatment in individual cases. The work undertaken in this connection by the economic committee of the League of Nations makes any comments on our part superfluous.

B. Expansion of Capital

Various forms of this expansion.—This expansion may take many different forms: Loans to states with a view to political domination (such cases, which are very frequent, are of a political rather than an economic nature, and consequently do not come within the scope of our subject); the investment of capital in a foreign country, either in the form of a private loan or to a foreign state, or of loans to private persons or companies in a foreign country; the management of undertakings by foreigners in a country and, in particular, *concessions* obtained from a state including the grant of special privileges. There are many fine gradations between investment pure and simple and concessions involving partial loss of sovereignty for the state granting the concession.

Political consequences of these various forms of investments.—In the first case (political loans), these may easily lead to the establishment of a protectorate, *de facto* or *de jure*. In the second (investment of capital), pledges may often be demanded at a given moment, and these may sometimes involve an actual loss of sovereignty. But international opinion, mainly influenced by envious third parties (and not so much as a question of principle), is inclined to disapprove the taking of these pledges or, at all events, to demand that this should be done internationally. It cannot be denied, however, that very powerful countries, in regions which they regard as under their influence, refuse to permit this internationalization of their action. In the third case (undertakings and concessions), the final result is usually the establishment of an exploitation colony in a more or less open form.

Circumstances which may promote or check these developments.—The foreign lender, investor or owner of an undertaking will naturally be tempted to have recourse to political intervention (*i.e.*, to urge his government to exercise political pressure)

if he does not feel certain of the security for his loan, if his operations are hampered or are in danger of being hampered by a revolution, by new legislation injurious to his interests, or by bullying or interference on the part of the local authority.

On the other hand this political intervention will be delayed or even avoided altogether if the undertaking can be carried on under stable conditions, provided, however, that the owner of the undertaking has no ulterior political motive (in which case he could always find some pretext or other for a complaint). Similarly intervention will be avoided if the country in which the undertaking is being carried on is strong enough to resist or has another power behind it to back it up; this will also prove to be the case if there are several owners of different nationalities who are jealous of each other (unless they agree upon joint intervention, in which case the independence of the country in which their activities are being pursued is again endangered, although in a different manner).

Problems raised in this connection.—The most important problem concerns the right to exploit, the right not to exploit, the duty to exploit and the right to exploit in place of the country which does not do so—for instance, if one state does not work its resources, is another state entitled to do so in its place? If one state has not the right, can this wealth be exploited by a group of states? From a moral standpoint, it would be hard to find an answer.

What actually happens is that the *will to produce*, which is a form of the *will to live*, always conquers in the end. This means that production will take place unless it is prevented by a stronger power. At the present time (we may ask whether this has always been the case) it seems more difficult to prevent production on the part of mankind than to promote it. If this is so, a wise country will not oppose what is in fact a necessity, but will merely endeavor to safeguard its independence in spite of this necessity.

Solutions.—The solutions to be adopted can thus be foreseen.

In these circumstances a sovereign state cannot defend its rights, or, more correctly, its existence, unless it refrains from insisting too strongly on respect for all its rights. Otherwise, sooner or later, its resistance

will be broken down by force or it will be corrupted by money—the vital impulse which urges humanity to produce is stronger than sovereign rights.

The dangers resulting from this fact are obvious. There is a danger of servitude for the state which is forced to submit. For third parties there is a danger that their interests may be injured if intervention benefits one party only. If servitude and the perils of servitude, both for the victim and for third parties, are to be avoided, the state making concessions (even against its will) must do so without any risk to its independence. The state making the application must respect the reasonable rights of third parties (can these, however, be defined?). The state to which applications for concessions are made must feel that it is protected by international opinion; and the state applying for concessions must also feel that it is being watched by this opinion.

As we have already observed, supervision of this kind has always been exercised spontaneously through jealousy, but it should be made more dignified, more permanent and more responsible. Principles should first be established, setting forth the attitude which each party is expected to adopt, demands which will be considered legitimate, guarantees which may be demanded and obtained. The rules of conduct based on these principles might develop into international practices. A complete policy might be built up in this way, for instance, with regard to international credits, undertakings in foreign countries whose sovereign rights might possibly need protection, et cetera. The mandate system, as it has been applied since the Treaty of Versailles, affords an example of intervention of this kind.

C. Expansion of Population

Emigration without the political support of the emigrants' government.—We must distinguish between emigrants who can and those who cannot be assimilated.

If the emigrants belong to a race which can be assimilated by the new society in which they settle, they will probably be so assimilated, unless they arrive in sufficient numbers to impose the stamp of their race on the original inhabitants. If the emigrants belong to a nonassimilable race, they

will only be able to settle in the country individually if their standard of living is higher than the average standard of the people among whom they establish themselves (they will then become the heads, the managers or foremen of concerns). If, on the other hand, their standard of living is lower, then they will replace the lower strata of the original population.

What naturally happens in these two cases? In the first case (assuming, of course, that there is no political intervention) difficulties will rarely ensue. In the second case the result will be the substitution, by surreptitious means as it were, of one civilization for another, rather than a political conquest. Thus a former settlement-colony may gradually be converted into what is practically an exploitation or plantation colony. The former race will now exist merely as supervising personnel, while the character and race of the workers will have changed. This contingency has not escaped certain non-European countries, and this explains their uncompromising refusal to accept emigrants belonging to races which they do not consider assimilable.

Emigration with an ulterior motive on the part of the emigrants' government.—In this case emigrants, even if assimilable, endeavor to avoid assimilation by the new society in which they settle. Their government, at all events, desires them to remain separate. If this policy is successful, they intentionally and systematically form homogeneous and separate groups; in some cases they claim special political rights—rights which might possibly endanger the political unity of the state in which they form a foreign element.

The result of immigration of this kind is eventually to destroy the moral, and in some cases the political, unity of the state. Force or war may be employed to support the immigrants' claims, which are naturally resisted. If these claims are finally conceded, the probable result will be the *de facto* establishment of a colony.

Problems raised from the point of view of overpopulated countries.—We must first consider to what extent a country needs to find outlets for part of its population. As an alternative to emigration the country must export more goods, or possess exploitation colonies (*i.e.*, colonies for which it

provides capital), or reduce either its standard of living or the size of its population.

On the other hand if the people emigrate, are they to go no matter where? Obviously not, since only certain climates will suit them. Again, they can only emigrate to sparsely populated territories. If they emigrate to countries which already have a large population, they will only be able to settle among peoples whose standard of living is higher than or the same as their own.

Lastly, to what extent have emigrants the right to refuse to be assimilated by the country in which they settle? The individual may do what he likes without attracting much attention. When the emigrants are considered collectively, however, especially when they are definitely supported by their government, the question assumes an entirely different aspect. If their number is sufficiently large, if they possess sufficient moral and physical strength and form a collective body, the immigrants can, either entirely or to a very large extent, avoid assimilation by a relatively weak society. If, on the other hand, they are themselves weak while the other country is strong, they will not be able to hold out. But apart from all political action, if they belong to a nonassimilable race and are more frugal in their habits than the people among whom they settle, they will end by securing their position, as it were, biologically.

Problems raised from the point of view of the countries receiving the immigrants.—To what extent are such countries entitled to refuse immigrants? This refusal is, of course, strictly within their sovereign rights. In practice, however, they only can refuse if they are strong enough to do so, because, in reality, immigration laws are only maintained by military strength; otherwise those whose interests are thereby affected would use force to have them withdrawn.

On the other hand is it possible to discriminate between immigrants—that is to say, to refuse those who are nonassimilable or are so regarded, to discourage those whom it is difficult to assimilate, and to reject those who are not willing to be assimilated? Can exception be made not only in respect of races but in respect of countries? In short is discrimination, which we

are endeavoring to eliminate in regard to the exchange of commodities, to remain in the case of the exchange of population?

The gravity of these problems will be recognized by all, especially as we have to ask ourselves to what extent these refusals are anything but political solutions. Experience shows that artificial barriers to prevent immigration may prove impossible to surmount. Nevertheless, can force be regarded as a final solution in the case of a permanent racial disequilibrium? It is well to remember that although this is a political, it is not a biological, solution.

The possibilities of international action.—In the long run it is doubtless difficult and even impossible to fight against biological disequilibrium; if barriers are raised, they will last as long as a country is strong enough to maintain them, but the pressure will continue and will in all probability take other forms.

Nevertheless, agreements can be drawn up between countries exchanging their inhabitants, especially as, in certain cases and subject to certain guarantees, immigrants may be welcomed and desired by the countries receiving them. There have

been, and still are, a large number of treaties concerning the admission, refusal and limitation of immigrants or labor. There is no reason why concessions and advantages should not be equitably granted by both parties to such treaties.

In future it may perhaps be possible to go further and to determine or influence by agreement the actual size of populations—for instance, in order to reduce the international pressure of an overpopulated country. Shall we one day witness an international conference for the limitation of births in certain countries or groups of countries?

In the same spirit we might inquire whether it will be possible, in regard to this same question of the exchange of population, to pass from the contractual to the international sphere. Can we devise principles of international value to be embodied in international conventions which would diminish the grave dangers resulting from the disequilibrium of populations? It is premature to attempt to answer this question, the problem is certainly one that can be studied and is deserving of study.

Headway

By ALICE LAWRY GOULD

Thank God for this: That men may speak for peace
Without the gag, the prison, and the cross;
May speak against mad butchery and loss;
And work as well as pray that war shall cease.

The voice of reason is no longer dumb,
And youth demurs to die as it has died
Too often, tricked by fear and greed and pride.
Now heaven be praised for this: the rest will come.

For where thought travels, thither goes mankind;
The goal it cherishes, it will attain.
Enlightened people, spurning gory Mars,
March onward toward the government of mind,
United for achievements great and sane,
Beneath impartial sun and moon and stars.

The Revolutionary Disturbances in South America

By GASTON NERVAL

Mr. Nerval, a South American, writes on Latin American affairs for a number of journals, Washington *Evening Star*, Detroit *News*, *Christian Science Monitor*, New York *Evening Post*, etc.—EDITOR.

IT IS due to a mistaken impression that the recent political disturbances in South America are interpreted here as merely the continuance of a long, traditional series of domestic upheavals having no other motives than personal ambitions or the gratification of a restless spirit of civil disobedience which is supposed to be characteristic of the Latin temperament.

Such seems to be the way most American editorial writers regard the latest domestic incidents in Bolivia, Peru and Argentina, where three similar revolutionary movements have recently taken place.

Not even so authoritative and supposedly well-informed a writer as former President Calvin Coolidge has escaped the influence of such an erroneous attitude. In one of his daily comments on world affairs he refers to the Peruvian outbreak as a "curse," and tries to explain it as only

"an attempt to seize a government that is doing as well as it can under all the circumstances surrounding it for the purpose of getting the power and spoils of office."

He adds that when a revolution

"means only a loss of life and property in order to substitute a new régime that is no better than the old it accomplishes no constructive purpose."

This is not the case with the Peruvian and the Argentine revolutions, nor was it with the Bolivian one, two months ago. This time we come upon an entirely different phenomenon—not quite so new to Latin America, for two other nations went through it before Bolivia, Peru and Argentina, with similar results—but evidently new to the majority of political observers of South American conditions in this country. If we wish to understand the real significance of the latest *coups d'état* in those Latin republics, we must consider first the circumstances preceding them, and get away from the idea that they are a mere repetition of meaningless, passionate, capricious domestic

quarrels, which until recently were the unfortunate fate of Latin American politics. Only thus shall we be able to arrive at a correct interpretation of these events in current history.

In Bolivia

The Bolivian movement was not one aimed solely at the substitution of one certain political régime for another, nor was it the result of selfish rivalry. On the contrary, it was one undertaken in defense of the national constitution; one which, regardless of partisan purposes, sought the reestablishment in the country of lost democratic liberties. It had become clearly evident that President Siles intended to have himself reelected—in spite of a constitutional provision forbidding a president to succeed himself—and to remain in the government for another four years. Thus President Siles seemed to be desirous of following the example of other southern executives who, during the past decade, had been perpetuating themselves in power. A new personal dictatorship loomed in the Latin political horizon. To avoid this, and after all the protests of civilian leaders had proven useless—only a few days before the holding of popular elections for a parliament which was to comply with Siles' designs—the army intervened and proceeded to take control of the situation by force in all the important interior cities of Bolivia. A military government was established in Oruro, the second largest city, which demanded the withdrawal of Siles and his followers and the preservation of the constitution.

That public opinion was not in favor of the dictatorial ambitions of the Siles régime, accused of following bad economic policies and nondemocratic practices, was shown by the fact that the country at large pledged itself to the revolution and supported it. After slight resistance, the *coup*

d'état succeeded and a military junta took over the government. The first act of the junta was to declare the military government to be but a provisional one which would only aid in bringing the republic back to a normal and legal political status, and save the nation for democracy.

This pledge has been so far splendidly kept. The members of the military junta have refused any personal intervention in political matters, have promoted an agreement between the leaders of all existing parties in Bolivia for the nomination of a "single coalition ticket" for the next presidential elections, and they are, in a general way, quietly promoting national concord and reorganization. An instance of their disinterestedness is found in the fact that they refuse any extra salaries for their services in the civil government, and also encourage policies of strictest economy for the country.

The result is that today all political factions are united in Bolivia. They have just selected the heads of the three parties to be "national candidates" for the presidency and the two vice-presidencies in the elections of next January. All personal liberties have been restored. There is no press censorship, there are no political prisoners, and there are no administrative embezzlements.

Far from being a pitiful repetition of selfish, personalistic, political uprisings, the Bolivian military *coup d'état* tends to put an end to these. An end which means the beginning of a new and more democratic era in that South American republic.

In Peru

The situation in Peru was only different from that in Bolivia in that it was worse. President Leguia, who came into power eleven years ago as a "dictator," had succeeded in changing the Peruvian constitution arbitrarily so that he could perpetuate his hold upon the government. Twice, in 1924 and in 1929, he was reëlected by his political friends, and for eleven years he had ruled that country as a "strong man" whose word was law.

This is not the place nor is this the moment to analyze conditions under the Leguia régime, but whoever lived in Peru during the last ten years has had an opportunity to understand the extent of the eclipse that all

personal liberties were undergoing. Slowly but tenaciously President Leguia exterminated all opposition. The most outstanding party leaders were exiled or imprisoned, newspapers were expropriated by the government, and the slightest sign of opposition punished with extreme severity. The dictatorial ways of President Leguia became internationally known, and he himself was called the "South American Mussolini."

And this departure from democracy was not the only sin of the Leguia régime. Economic conditions in Peru had been growing worse and worse during recent years, and although some material improvements and public road building may have given the impression of economic prosperity, the real situation of the country's finances was critical in the extreme. Allowing for the natural exaggeration of his enemies' charges, it cannot be doubted that the overthrown dictator should have had some responsibility in the management of Peruvian national funds. He was accused of being too liberal in the distribution of public funds to his political friends. This is one of the charges upon which he is at present held in prison by the new authorities of the country.

Only the rigorous policies of the dictatorship and Leguia's "iron hand" had prevented for a long time the outbreak of violent resistance against such an unpopular régime. Without the support of the armed forces, however, any opposition was hopeless and one after another several attempts at rebellion failed with little struggle. As in Bolivia in June and probably influenced by this example, the Peruvian army intervened and, forcing President Leguia to resign on August 25, has established a military government in Lima, which will see that democratic liberties are restored to the people and Peruvian economic problems duly studied and solved.

Like the Bolivian movement, this is not a mere political uprising for a change in ambitious *caudillos* in the government of Peru. It is a "legalistic" *coup d'état*, inspired by the intellectual class of the country—almost entirely in exile—and carried out by the army, not in detriment to but in defense of the original constitution and for the sake of individual liberties.

It might so happen that selfish political opportunities may try to take advantage of the situation and thus give rise to civil

struggle, but this is only a possibility and a distant one. In such case it would be justifiable to regard Peru as having gone back to unfortunate conditions of political unrest and anarchy. But until that happens there is no reason why a democratic and orderly move to save the country from despotism should be mistaken for that typical Latin restlessness which one sees so much exploited in moving pictures and books of fiction. Until that happens it is not right to call the Peruvian *coup d'état* a "curse," only entailing "loss of life and property," and with "no constructive purpose to accomplish."

In Argentina

When the news of the Peruvian upset was still hot, a military movement of the same character was breaking out in Argentina, a highly civilized republic, where internal peace had prevailed for forty years and where no one could suppose the existence of low, pitiful sentiments of selfish rivalry dominating national affairs. The civic and the material progress attained by the Argentine Republic in the last quarter of a century make her immune from such supposition. Even if the political maturity of most of the Latin republics has often been doubted, European and North American observers have always pointed to Argentina as an example of democratic development in the southern continent and praised her for the solidity of her institutions.

Yet this time the Argentinians, too, have turned against their government and have taken recourse to force to overthrow it and substitute for it a more liberal and more popular one. The barking of cannon was also heard in Buenos Aires, the huge Argentine metropolis, just as it had been heard a few days before in Lima, the capital of Peru, and two months earlier in La Paz, Bolivia. Dead and wounded victims of street fighting were also reported there. Army units went over to the side of the people and marched, too, against the government palace, and a long-established president was also forced to pen his resignation on September 6 and surrender to the triumphant revolution.

The Argentine movement has all the characteristics that distinguished the Bolivian and the Peruvian upsets. The Irigoyen régime, inaugurated two years ago, was an arbitrary and personalistic one; it

paid little attention to constitutional precepts and preferred strong dictatorial ways, although these were veiled by a legalistic appearance. Although not as arrogant as the Siles régime in Bolivia and not half as absolutist as the Leguia régime in Peru, the administration of President Irigoyen was far from being a democratic one.

As in Bolivia and Peru the students were the first to sound the call to action. With public meetings of protest, strikes and ardent oratory, they encouraged the opposition and awoke the passionate sentiments of the masses. As in Bolivia and Peru it was the army that decided the situation by turning its guns against a despotic government and going over to the side of the people, and, as in Bolivia and Peru, it was high army officers and not politicians who directed the movement. After this succeeded, the national armed forces took control of the administration and began an energetic and thorough process of reconstruction. As in Bolivia and Peru the military leaders in charge of the country have solemnly declared that their exercise of power is only temporary and that they will return to their professional duties as soon as a new and constitutional civil government has been established with the support of the people.

Finally, as in Bolivia and Peru, this revolution in the Argentine Republic was precipitated by economic factors. Behind the political movement there are strong economic issues at stake. It was the financial crisis of the administration and a general business depression in the country that served to show the old régime to be in a delicate and feeble position, trying unsuccessfully every imaginable scheme to hold public confidence. Just as in the two northern republics mentioned, it was not until this economic crisis made itself felt that the situation became serious in Argentina and revolutionary unrest began to take shape.

Similar conditions, aggravated by the contagious psychological influence of the Bolivian and the Peruvian upheavals, have led in Argentina to similar results. The Argentine military *coup de'état* is only another chapter of that general political disquiet through the Latin hemisphere, which seeks to reestablish lost democratic liberties and create more liberal and more public-spirited governments. And the last

chapter of which, it may be well to add, has probably not yet been written.

I referred to two other South American republics which have previously gone through a political phase similar to that now existent in Bolivia and Peru. They are Ecuador and Chile, and it seems important for a better understanding of the situation to mention briefly the results attained in those countries.

In Ecuador

In 1925 the Ecuadorean army revolted against the government in power and thus put an end to a serious state of affairs, both politically and financially, in that republic. It was thought then, too, that this militaristic *pronunciamiento* was but another plot of political agitators moved by personal ambitions. Instead, the army officers of high rank in provisional charge of the government, themselves refusing to mix in politics, selected an honorable and impartial man and entrusted to him the direction of national affairs. In this way the government of Dr. Ayora, a practicing physician, was inaugurated in Ecuador and all domestic unrest came to an end. Dr. Ayora has since been developing an exemplarily good administration, and his standing as a statesman grew so rapidly that in 1929 he was elected constitutional president by a large popular majority. Internal conditions are better in Ecuador, the finances of the country have been straightened out, the administration brought to a high moral standard, educational and social reforms encouraged, and the national credit tremendously strengthened abroad. Political complications or disturbing personal ambitions have not arisen, nor has the "militaristic menace" endangered the normal and legal existence of the republic.

In Chile

In Chile the process was rather difficult, but the results the same. After a series of domestic quarrels, during which several political leaders tried to take personal advantage of chaotic conditions, the leadership of a strong man was felt necessary to avoid political anarchy in the country. This man appeared in the person of a colonel in the army, Carlos Ibañez, who, also with the coöperation of the armed forces, took control of the situation and extricated

the nation from vicious political strife. As in Ecuador, the army saved the country from anarchy and from economic bankruptcy, although in this case behind the army there was an officer of extraordinary ability and ambition. Colonel Ibañez was elected President of Chile and since that moment Chilean conditions began to change. The material progress of the country can only be judged by the great improvement in its financial status; political unrest has been entirely banished; the outstanding international problem of Chile has been solved in an unexpectedly favorable way for the Chileans; and, in a word, the southern republic is much better off with Ibañez than she was before. Although this time the intervention of the army did not have a democratic outcome, it saved Chile from civil struggle and gave the country the best government it has had in a long while.

With these two instances of such recent occurrence, it does not seem fair to condemn so hastily the army interventions in Peru, Bolivia and Argentina, or to associate them with the beginning of domestic anarchy in that part of the world.

If, instead of considering each particular case by itself, we wish to generalize and explain as a whole this widespread domestic restlessness in Latin America, which has resulted in military *coups d'état* in Bolivia, Peru and Argentina, and menacing disquiet in Cuba and Brazil, we must take into account three fundamental elements, one political, one psychological, and one economic.

Politics

The political factor may be characterized as the awakening of feeling in Latin America against dictatorial régimes, the reaction of public sentiment against the "strong-man" policy which has grown so rapidly in the southern continent since European leaders set the example in the old world. The success of Mussolini in Italy and the apparently successful imitation of it by Primo de Rivera in Spain awoke the ambitions of several Latin American executives, who, believing themselves to be the chosen of Providence, decided, whether or not sincerely, to help their countries by staying indefinitely in power. At first public opinion seemed to favor this dictatorial trend, which was giving splendid results in two

European nations of Latin origin. Later on, however, the Latin Americans were enabled to see that Fascist methods are an exclusively Italian phenomenon and that there were reasons to doubt the real success of the Primo dictatorship in Mother Spain. The consequences of such change of opinion, intensified by the mistakes and abuses on the part of the "iron-handed" régimes in Latin America, can be observed in this general reaction against dictatorial forms of government which is now producing its results.

Politically speaking, this can be described as the denunciation of dictatorial power by Latin America—perhaps as her first step toward true democratic maturity.

Psychology

There is also a psychological element in the situation. Just as with individuals, the masses are extremely susceptible to intellectual contagious influence. The power of suggestion is master of crowds. The propagation of political ideas in the minds of the masses is extraordinarily contagious. Just as a suicide is never an isolated case in a community, but is always followed by two or three or more suicides which scientists are agreed in attributing to psychological influence, so it happens that any political trend in a Latin American country is almost invariably followed by similar phenomena in the neighboring nations which have, moreover, their origin, traditions, and political background in common.

Economics

And last but not least, the economic factor has played this time a most important part. It gave a concrete form to the political ideal and really determined the time of action. It has precipitated events. Until economic crises appeared on the horizon, revolutionary ideas did not go beyond mere intellectual aspirations in Bolivia, Peru,

Cuba, et cetera. But when the tin crisis seriously affected the financial situation of Bolivia, a country almost entirely dependent on its tin exports, the political problem reached its point of saturation, and made a change of administration imminent. In like manner real revolutionary unrest was not seriously felt in Peru until the government finances began to fail seriously after the early days of this year. In Argentina the Irigoyen régime found itself defenseless under the poor economic conditions prevailing in the country. In Cuba the government's position is now being greatly embarrassed by the sugar crisis and all menaces of rebellion are intimately connected with this critical economic factor. In Paraguay and Brazil the recently reported internal discontent is also coincident with troublesome economic conditions in those southern republics.

On the other hand in Venezuela, where financial conditions seem to be in good shape and the oil revenues will permit the government to cancel the entire foreign debt by the end of this year, the Gomez régime stands solidly and there is no indication that the "strong man" who has been at Venezuela's helm for the last twenty-two years will be disturbed or expelled from his retreat in Maracay. Once more we must acknowledge the fact that in this century of ours economic principles and economic elements are the real makers of political conditions, both domestic and foreign.

Conclusion

And in summing up, we must conclude that instead of regarding this as just another novelistic chapter of Latin restlessness or selfish rivalry, the real interpretation of the present political inquietude in Latin America is that of a general reaction against dictatorial forms of government, encouraged by psychological influence and precipitated by strong economic factors.

Closing Address, 26th Conference Interparliamentary Union*

By the Rt. Hon. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD

MR. PRESIDENT, I am sorry indeed that your visit to London coincided with specially heavy business for the members of the British Government. The result has been that whilst you have been deliberating at this end of the Palace of Westminster we have been working so hard in committee rooms at the other end that unfortunately we have seen far too little of each other.

But if I might touch a personal note, it has been a great pleasure to me, on the only occasion that hitherto has been provided for me, to meet so many old friends. I felt last night that we were in one of our old family international gatherings, but that somehow or other we had all blossomed out into evening dress. [Laughter.]

Well, the first thought that comes into my mind in, I suppose, almost winding up this Conference, is a thought of sadness that the Duke of Sutherland is not able to be here this afternoon—not able to be here on account of a very heartrending and a very tragic accident to a member of his family yesterday. He has all our most sympathetic thoughts, and we hope that he and his relatives may find both light and strength to go through the very trying days immediately ahead of them.

Well, Mr. President, we are met here as representatives of the parliaments of the world, and I have often felt in our international work, not merely our international work for peace but our international work on economic arrangements, that we have not yet made so efficient as it ought to be our interparliamentary contact. Prime ministers meet, foreign secretaries meet, officials meet, but, sir, we will never make the machinery of international contact perfect until somehow or other parliaments also have an opportunity of meeting (applause). But we find in the negotiations of experts and in the international meetings

of experts that somehow or other we are all bound on account of our position to assume the very worst, and to negotiate on the assumption that the very worst may happen. So long as we are compelled to negotiate with each other on the assumption that the very worst may happen the progress of a complete international understanding is bound to be slow (hear, hear).

In the parliaments you get more freedom, you get more popular aspiration, you get more of the idealism of the human mind and human outlook. In parliaments, in the representatives of parliaments, you get a combination of the sense of responsibility, which so often overwhelms ministers, and the determination to progress, which so often moves the masses of the people outside, but moves them ineffectively. Here, as representatives of Houses of Commons, Chambers of Deputies, and so on, we feel our responsibility to our nations, but we also feel our responsibility to the idealism of our electors, and the more international contact is pushed ahead, is sprung forward by the mind of the common man and the common woman, as we say here, by the mind of the mass, the more that our international contacts are sprung forward, are pushed forward, by that idealism, the idealism and the aspirations of the common mind, the quicker will our progress be in international understandings, and that quickness of pace will in no respect jeopardise national security and national safety.

In all our international relations we have to bring into play every force that creates the public opinion of our various countries, and therefore Geneva is great, conferences like the recent London Naval Conference are important, but the parliaments must devise some means by which, when two international statesmen or representatives talk together, the parliaments themselves must be present in their minds, and the parliaments must be the contact between the men very often overburdened by re-

* From the official reporter's record.

sponsibility and the men who demand that certain things should be done without caring very much how they are done provided they are done legitimately. That is the tremendous advantage of the Interparliamentary Union and conferences such as this.

We are not only out for peace. The cause of peace is, I think I may say, the greatest cause in front of the world now. No nation can afford to contemplate war and prepare for it. Science is subduing war by making the conditions of the next war so horribly unthinkable. But peace, in the forefront as it may be of international causes, is not the only cause that we can advance. A peaceful world to me is of very little value unless the human life lived in the world is lived upon a high level. Mere material gain is comparatively of little value. We must bend our attentions to qualities of men as well as quantities of possessions, and the parliaments of the world must not, therefore, merely pass resolutions in favor of peace; the parliaments of the world must bend their attention to great programmes relating to social well-being. If in some of your countries your labor is sweated, if in some of your states you are content to allow your families to be brought up in conditions that deserve the adjective bestial applied to them, do not expect us, and do not expect any other country, to go on stretching out, out and out, always out to higher and higher standards of human efficiency. Those of you who in your parliaments tolerate these low conditions are the common enemies not only of your own nations and your own people but of every nation and every people on the face of this earth. [Applause.]

There is a law in economics known as the Gresham law, and in accordance with that law low standards of coinage elbow out from circulation coins of pure metal. That law is universal in all life. No single nation can divide itself, can separate itself, can alienate itself from the general economic laws of the whole world, and therefore as enlightened nation after enlightened nation prescribes by legislation and by administrative action higher and higher standards of life for its people those of you who are backward keep it back, those of you who are not doing your duty are preventing the high-standard nations from doing what they

conceive to be their duty. Social legislation is becoming more and more an international effort, and, my friends of the parliaments, of Europe in particular, it is your duty, irrespective of your party, irrespective of the political sections to which you belong—it is your duty to come with us, to come with the other leaders of parliaments, to agree to common standards which enforce upon the economic controlling powers common conceptions of human justice, mercy and righteousness. [Applause.]

That is another great mission of redemption which you and I—we are all together—must undertake, not in the English tongue, not in the modes of the British Constitution, but we must undertake it speaking French and German and every other language, and using every parliamentary procedure recognized in countries where democracy works through representative institutions.

We must all be gratified that yesterday the United States Senate ratified the Naval Treaty (applause). I am not going to be rash, although there is nobody more tempted to be rash, I think with more reason, than anyone who is Prime Minister of Great Britain. But I am a Member of Parliament whether I sit on the front bench or on the back benches. I am friendly; I have sat in international conferences with scores of you, and this afternoon I am going to forget special positions and remember old days, old friendships, and old common efforts. And I am going to say this to you about this naval agreement—

[At this point there was a call from the galleries for a Division in the House of Commons, and several British Members of Parliament left for the lobbies. The Prime Minister, who had already had to leave for one Division, after some hesitation decided to remain and finish his address, remarking, amid laughter and applause, "Perhaps some Conservative Member would be good enough to pair with me." Resuming his address he said:]

As a matter of fact, I was just beginning to see the daylight through the forest [laughter], and was about to finish what I had to say. But I would like to say this to you. I do hope, my friends in the foreign parliaments, that you will create an effective public opinion on the question of disarmament. No country, just as I said about

social reform and social advance—no country in military affairs can run away from others. If a country is a very small country it may argue that any army or any navy that it could create would be as mere dust in the balance if trouble arose. But a big country, a country with power and responsibility, cannot argue in that way. If we are going to have disarmament it can only be effective by international agreements carrying disarmament stage by stage until the job is finished. [Applause.] And very often there will be disappointments. Our friends whose whole hearts and souls are enlisted in the cause of peace are bound always to be disappointed whatever the agreement may be, because it is perfectly easy for them to maintain that we might have built one cruiser less and provided for half a dozen fewer submarines. But by going along steadily, maintaining an equilibrium in force, which means relational national security, coming lower and lower and lower as moral and political instruments of security are strengthened, then, my friends, at least we can present to the eyes of those who look down upon the world the very happy and pleasing spectacle of unarmed nations securing peace because they are not armed (hear, hear). The only national security which will enable you to go about your business from one end of the world to the other without fear or trembling as to conspirators and conspiracies against you, without fears of alliances formed against you, without fears that diplomacy is being used simply as an instrument in military operation and military force—the only condition which will enable you and justify you to feel that final and assured and calm security, is your effort by cooperation to disarm all the nations of the world. [Applause.] I appeal for an instructed and active public opinion watching lest its government may not be doing all they can in cooperating towards disarmament.

I must bid you adieu. This is your last meeting at this time. I do hope, Mr. President, that you and those in front of me have enjoyed yourselves whilst you have been here. The mere meeting with each

other is of tremendous importance. That gathering at the Guildhall last night, so generously provided by the city corporation of London, is just as valuable as many discussions and many conferences and many resolutions. It is the personal touch which is wanted; it is the personal touch which removes misunderstanding. If I were perfectly assured that there was no misunderstanding in the world I should not worry much about passing resolutions. When we are in the resolution-passing stage we confess that we are not quite sure of each other. [Laughter and applause.] The resolution-passing stage is absolutely necessary, I do not say a word against it, but when we have gone beyond the rocky, rugged, rough, trying road, when, whether we like to confess it to ourselves or not, we are always looking over our shoulders with an eye which shows in its glance inbred suspicion, we have not attained to a complete understanding of each other; and until we come into personal contact, until we have sat down side by side at a common meal, until we have discussed our national literature, our national associations, our national and international art, until we have appreciated you all in terms of the value that you have given to human culture in art and science and in literature, we will never be that type of citizen which understands other types of citizens and has no fear and no suspicion in his heart about them.

That has been provided, or at least we have tried to provide that, for you, and I hope we have succeeded. I hope, in a final sentence, that you will go away not only satisfied with the work that you have done but with the welcome that you have received. I hope you will carry away memories of the London Conference, memories of personal contacts, but, if I may say so, above all memories of the British people, especially those of us who are here in London. We are very, very glad indeed to see you, and to welcome you as the representatives of parliaments with which we desire with all our hearts to be in closer and more fraternal contact. [Loud applause.]

The 26th Conference of the Interparliamentary Union

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

Executive Secretary of the American Group

FIVE members of the United States Senate, thirteen members of the House of Representatives, the Parliamentarian of the House, the Executive Secretary of the American Group, an assistant secretary—together with wives, sons, daughters and other friends—attended the 26th Conference of the Interparliamentary Union held in the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords, London, July 16 to 22 last. Afterwards many of them, with some two hundred other law-makers of the world, were privileged to be the guests for several days of the Irish Group, in Dublin.

The roll of the American party was as follows:

The Roll

Representative Andrew J. Montague, President of the Group, Mrs. Montague and her friend Mrs. Isabel Ball Baker, of Virginia; former Representative Richard Bartholdt of Missouri, founder and life member of the American Group; Representative Sol Bloom, Mrs. Bloom and their daughter Miss Vera Bloom, of New York City; Representative Carl Chindblom of Chicago; Representative Thomas C. Cochran, Mrs. Cochran and their daughter Miss Cornelia Cochran, of Pennsylvania; Representative Roy G. Fitzgerald of Ohio, Representative Franklyn W. Fort, Mrs. Fort and their daughter Miss Fort, of New Jersey; Representative Burton L. French of Idaho; Representative and Mrs. Morton D. Hull of Chicago; Representative Fiorello H. LaGuardia and Mrs. LaGuardia of New York City; Representative Ruth Bryan Owen of Florida; Representative Bertrand H. Snell, Mrs. Snell and their daughter Miss Snell, of New York; Representative George R. Stobbs and his sons Hamilton and Russell Stobbs, of Massachusetts; Senator Henry F. Ashurst and Mrs. Ashurst of Arizona; Senator Alben W. Barkley and his son, of Kentucky; Senator Tom Connally of Texas; Senator Millard Tydings of Maryland; and Senator Burton K. Wheeler and his son John, of Montana. Mr. Lewis Deschler, Parliamentarian of the House; Mr. Leo Pasvolksy, Assistant Sec-

retary and Mrs. Pasvolksy, and the Executive Secretary of the American Group, of Washington, D. C.

Certain Backgrounds

The purpose of the Interparliamentary Union as officially defined is to study all questions of an international character suitable for settlement by parliamentary action. That is no small order. Indeed, it opens up so many interesting questions that no apology need be offered for calling attention here to some of the activities of the Union.

Thirty-two parliaments were represented at the London Conference by four hundred fifty delegates. The greatest number of governments ever represented at any of the conferences was forty-one; that was at the twenty-third of the series, held in Washington, D. C., in 1925.

It has been my happy lot to accompany members of our Congress now to nine gatherings abroad of the Interparliamentary Union, to have been the Director of the 1925 Conference, held in Washington, and to have been Executive Secretary of the American Group since 1919. That these gatherings of men and women—for many of the parliamentarians now are women—serve profitable ends has become with me a growing conviction. I could name, if I dared, a number of our leaders both of the Senate and of the House who received a new birth of leadership by their contacts with parliamentarians of other lands at one or more of these conferences of the Interparliamentary Union. Indeed, nothing has impressed me more—hack and bondslave of the American Group that I am—than to observe the virus of new vistas working in the minds of American statesmen as a consequence of their contacts with the Interparliamentary Union.

Organizing and carrying on the Interparliamentary Union is a big story all by itself. The meeting out of which the first



(reading from left to right)

Honorable Rennie Smith (*Member of House of Commons*), Representative Burton L. French (*Idaho*), Representative Thomas C. Cochran (*Pa.*), Representative Morton D. Hull (*Ill.*), Representative Ruth Bryan Owen (*Fla.*), Lewis Deschler (*Parliamentarian of the House*), Representative Andrew J. Montague (*Va.*), President of Group, Senator Henry F. Ashurst (*Arizona*), Representative Carl R. Chindblom (*Ill.*), Representative Roy G. Fitzgerald (*Ohio*), Senator Tom Connolly (*Texas*), Representative George R. Stobbs (*Mass.*), Representative Sol Bloom (*N. Y.*), Dr. Arthur Deerin Call, Executive Secretary of Group, Representative Fiorello H. LaGuardia (*N. Y.*). (Ovals, left, reading down) Representative Franklin W. Fort (*N. J.*), Senator Alben W. Barkley (*Ky.*), Senator Burton K. Wheeler (*Mont.*). (Ovals, right, reading down) Senator Millard Tydings (*Md.*), Honorable Richard Bartholdt (*Mo.*), Representative Bertrand J. Snell (*N. Y.*).

MEMBERS, AMERICAN CONGRESS COMING FROM CONFERENCE WITH PRIME MINISTER RAMSEY McDONALD, NO. 10 DOWNING STREET, LONDON, JULY 21, 1930.

Conference grew was held in Paris, October 31, 1888. That meeting—due to the initiative of William Randal Cremer of the British House of Commons, aided by Frederic Passy of the French Chamber of Deputies (nine English and twenty-five French Parliamentarians attending)—was called especially to study the problem of promoting arbitration treaties between the United States, Great Britain and France. It was there decided to call an interparliamentary conference to be held in June of the next year; and such a conference was held in Paris during the World Exposition, June 29-30, 1889, nine parliaments being represented, including representatives from the United States and Liberia. That was the first Conference of the series.

The List of Conferences

Conferences held since that time have been as follows:

Second, in London, 1896; third, in Rome, 1891; fourth, in Berne, 1892; fifth, in The Hague, 1894; sixth, in Brussels, 1895; seventh, in Budapest, 1896; eighth, in Brussels, 1897; ninth, in Christiana, 1899; tenth, in Paris, 1900; eleventh, in Vienna, 1903; twelfth, in St. Louis, U. S. A., 1904; thirteenth, in Brussels, 1905; fourteenth, in London, 1906; fifteenth, in Berlin, 1908; sixteenth, in Brussels, 1910; seventeenth, in Geneva, 1912; eighteenth, in The Hague, 1913; nineteenth, in Stockholm, 1921; twentieth, in Vienna, 1922; twenty-first, in Copenhagen, 1923; twenty-second, in Berne and Geneva, 1924; twenty-third, in Washington, D. C., and Ottawa, Canada, 1925; twenty-fourth, in Paris, 1927; twenty-fifth, in Berlin, 1928; twenty-sixth, in London, 1920.

Since 1896 the Congress of the United States has been represented at every one of these conferences.

Structural Organization of the Union

The organization of the Interparliamentary Union is comparatively simple. It starts with the national *Groups*, of which there are now listed thirty-three, ranging from Allemagne to Venezuela. Each Group, consisting of members of parliament, possesses its own organization, with by-laws, officers and committees. Some of the Groups include all the members of their parliaments. Slightly over 50 per cent of the members of our House of Representatives and nearly 50 per cent of the mem-

bers of the Senate comprise the membership of the American Group.

The delegates from these Groups make up the international *Conferences*, where, theoretically, every member is entitled to take part, and where nearly everyone seems anxious to speak. I am often reminded that the name "Parliament" began in a French word which means "to speak." Each Group, however, is entitled only to a limited number of votes, determined by a rule as follows: Each Group has a minimum of five votes; additional votes are allowed on the basis of population. Furthermore, each group with a membership of at least 50 per cent of the members of the lower house of parliament is entitled to an extra vote; if at least 60 per cent, two; 75 per cent, three; and 90 per cent, four extra votes. While every member present at a conference has the right to demand voting by roll call, I have never seen a vote otherwise than by a show of hands. If twenty or more members demand it, the election of officers has to be by secret ballot. I have never seen this done, either, except by acclamation.

The governing body of the Union is called the *Council*. The Council is composed of two members from each Group. This is the body that fixes the agenda, determines the date and place of conferences, drafts the budget and the like.

There is an *Executive Committee* of five, elected by the Conference. This is the inner circle that prepares the work of the Council.

It has been found that this kind of organization operates successfully in many ways. If, for example, a highly inflammable proposal is brought up in one of the conferences, it can be "referred to the Council" for examination and report. If it prove to be too hot for the Council, it can be "referred to the Executive Committee" for advice. By the time, however, it reaches the Executive Committee, everything is usually cooled down below the point of explosion and everything is all right. Indeed, by that time the whole thing may be utterly forgotten. It is thus that the Union has been able to weather every storm.

At this writing the Executive Committee is made up as follows: M. Fernand Bouisson, Speaker of the French Chamber of Deputies, *President*; Dr. Walter Schücking

of Germany, Senator Henri LaFontaine of Belgium, Dr. L. Moltzen of Denmark, and M. Cicio St. Pop of Rumania. The President of the Executive Committee is also President of the Council. It is he who is the nearest approach we have to a President of the Interparliamentary Union. The Secretary-General, upon whose shoulders rests the whole works, is Dr. Christian L. Lange of Norway. Dr. Lange's headquarters are at 5 Place Claperède, Geneva, Switzerland. This Geneva office, known as the *Interparliamentary Bureau*, deals directly with the Groups, prepares the publications and carries on the work of administration.

The Interparliamentary Union is supported by the Groups. These Groups, in turn, get their money mainly from government grants. The United States Congress now votes annually \$10,000 for this purpose.

Of course, these are only a few high spots in the background of the picture.

Place of the Conference

When the parliamentarians met in the Royal Gallery, Wednesday morning, July 16, to begin the Conference, there was little to distinguish the gathering from a meeting of similar size, say, in New York or Chicago. Styles of dress for both sexes have become shamefully standardized around the world. This was very apparent at the conference, for there were delegates from:

South African Union, United States of America, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Danzig, Dutch East Indies, Egypt, Esthonia, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, British India, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Rumania, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey.

It was due largely to the initiative of Sir Howard d'Egville, Secretary of the Empire Parliamentary Association, that there were delegates from South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and British India.

Great credit is due to the members of the British Group, not only for their gracious hospitality, but also for making the best of a difficult situation. Both Houses of the British Parliament were sitting throughout the sessions of the Conference. This meant that many of the British lawmakers were unable to attend the sessions of the Conference. It meant, also, the shifting of the

Conference into the Royal Gallery, which is the gorgeous hall, high, in the Gothic style, through which the King always marches in state for the opening or proroguing of Parliament. But even with the aid of the loud speakers, the place cannot be praised especially for its acoustic excellence.

And yet, to be able to ascend the "Royal Staircase," to check one's hat and coat in the "Norman Porch," to go for information to the "King's Robing Room," and to sit even through long sessions in the "Royal Gallery"—with the "Royal Court" on one side, the "Chancellor's Court" on another, and with only the "Prince's Chamber" separating the Conference from the House of Peers—all within one of the finest buildings in all the world (that masterpiece of Barry's where the Mother of Parliaments continues to carry on!) such things have their recompenses for an American still young enough to love the pomp and ceremony of England, in England.

Entertainments

Not the least important features of these conferences are the entertainments. As was to be expected, this was especially true in London. Arrangements were made for the visitors to inspect the library at the headquarters of the British Foreign Bible Society, where were found original editions of the Bible in all languages. On July 15 officials welcomed the Council of the Interparliamentary Union, on behalf of the British Group, at a luncheon in the "Harcourt Room" of the House of Commons. In the evening of July 16, His Majesty's Government gave a reception to all delegates and those with them at Lancaster House, known as the London Museum. On July 17, a visit to the Wallace Collection of art was arranged for the ladies and other friends accompanying the delegates; after which Lord and Lady Luke gave a tea to the party at their house in Portman Square. In the evening of the same day Lady Astor received the delegates and those accompanying them at her house at No. 4 St. James Square, where Bernard Shaw held high discourse, Mrs. Shaw won everybody with her quiet charm, and where one met nearly everyone prominent just now in the public life of England. Many other homes were opened for teas and receptions, especially to the ladies. Special arrangements were

made for those who wished to visit the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square during the morning of July 19. At the invitation of His Majesty the King, the delegates and those with them were privileged to go by specially provided conveyances to Windsor Castle on the afternoon of the same day, where tea and refreshments were served. The Duke of Sutherland, President of the Conference, entertained the heads of delegations, Sunday July 20. Monday, July 21, His Majesty the King received the heads of delegations—President Montague representing the American Group—at Buckingham Palace. On the afternoon of that day those accompanying the delegates were entertained at tea on the Terrace of the House of Commons by the Chairman of the Hospitality Committee, Sir Kenyon Vaughan-Morgan. Because of the number it was found necessary to divide this entertainment between two days. The Corporation of the City of London invited the delegates and their ladies to a conversazione at the Guild Hall the evening of the 21st, where there was music, dancing and a fascinating exhibition of many of London's treasures. Those accompanying the delegates were escorted over the Tower of London in the forenoon of July 22. The official entertainments closed on the evening of that day with a banquet given by the Government at the "Connaught Rooms," where, under the leadership of the Lord High Chancellor Sankey, aided by the impressive and inimitable Harry Orchard, a number of the American delegates learned for the first time how a toastmaster should perform. President Montague of the American Group, Prince Tokugawa of Japan, and Sir Arthur Shirley Benn were among the speakers.

Of course, there were other entertainments. Lieutenant Commander J. M. Kenworthy, President of the British Group, entertained the American delegates to a very pleasant dinner in the House of Commons. Sir H. Huntington-Whiteley and Lady Whiteley, because of their appreciation of their entertainment in the United States in 1925, entertained at dinner in the Carlton Club a number of their old friends from America. The American Ambassador and Mrs. Dawes entertained the entire American delegation at an elaborate but beautiful dinner, Friday evening, July 18.

The Conference

The President of the Council, Monsieur Fernand Bouisson, opened the Conference at 10 a. m., July 16, with an address in which he expressed his gratitude to His Majesty the King, to the British Government and to his colleagues in the House of Commons and the House of Lords, for their hospitality. Amidst applause he reminded the Conference of the great part the British Parliament had played in the development of the representative principle. He recalled the history of the Union, the work of the League of Nations, the Briand-Kellogg Pact, the efforts in behalf of the federation of Europe, and especially the work of the Interparliamentary Union. In conclusion, amid honest applause, he proposed that the Conference should elect His Grace, the Duke of Sutherland, Chairman of the British Group, as President of the 26th Conference of the Interparliamentary Union.

In taking the chair, the Duke of Sutherland welcomed the delegates and showed by his remarks that he has a friendly interest in the history and the future of the Interparliamentary Union. In his delightful, a bit bashful way, he called the attention of the Conference to the fact that the Interparliamentary Union and he are exactly the same age, namely forty-one years. It soon became apparent to all that the Duke of Sutherland embodies in his own person those infinitely fine qualities which everyone has learned to associate with an English gentleman.

Other speakers of the morning were Mr. Arthur Henderson, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; the Rt. Hon. Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, M. Berzeviczy of Hungary, M. Borel of France, and M. Papanastasiou of Greece. Their remarks extended from welcomes, through discussion of armaments and a "United States of Europe," to a "Union of the Balkan States."

All of these discussions were supposed to relate to the report of the Secretary-General. By custom this has become the subject for debate for the first one and a half days of the conferences. The discussions of the afternoon were carried on by Mr. Dembinski of Poland, Mr. Stodola of Czechoslovakia, Mr. Schücking of Germany and M. Carton de Wiart of Belgium. Thus, according to custom, the debate of the report of the Secretary-General extended

through the forenoon of July 17. There were speakers from Rumania, Belgium, Germany, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, India, Italy and Latvia.

Beginning with the afternoon sitting of Thursday, July 17, the subject for debate was the "Control of International Trusts and Cartels." This subject was laid before the Conference in the form of a report by the Special Committee on Economic and Financial Questions by Baron Szerenyi of Hungary. The speaker raised the question whether or not the report was justified in calling trusts and cartels "natural features of economic life," and in encouraging them as such. This was discussed at length by a number of delegates, including Senator Alben W. Barkeley of the United States. Senator Barkeley explained the relation of the Congress of the United States to the forty-eight States of the Union, and of these to institutions such as trusts and combines. He pointed out that our dual form of legislatures places the United States in a position apart. He pointed out that the American Group felt that it must take certain exceptions, not "reservations," to the expression "natural phenomenon" as used. He hinted that cartels and trusts might in certain cases be very unnatural outgrowths; although he was quick to point out that the American Group approved the principles laid down in the resolutions. He confessed to feeling a bit shy in the presence of the word "reservations," as he had been led to understand that America had gained the reputation abroad of being the country par excellence of reservations. When the Senator closed his remarks by saying he was convinced that it is in the interest of peace that an international assembly should consider these economic rivalries which had in the past been a more fruitful cause of wars than all the armaments of nations, he was greeted with "great applause."

United States Participation

The delegates from the United States played a larger part in the deliberations of the Conference than has been usual in the past. They were regular in their attendance and outspoken in their approval of the Union. Representative Ruth Bryan Owen, attending for the first time, had a special reason for being interested because, speaking before the 14th Conference, held in Lon-

don in 1906, her illustrious father delivered one of his best-known orations. Since the Conference, Mrs. Owen has written to me some of her impressions as follows:

"The Interparliamentary Union, at which the members of the parliaments of thirty-two nations discussed together the problems of mutual vital interest, marked another definite forward step in international understanding. No battleships were sunk nor any governmental action taken which focused public attention, yet the contact of these legislators, who handle the legislative problems of the various nations, must inevitably have an effect on the future peace of the world.

"There was one note which was struck by speaker after speaker in various languages and in differing phraseology—'War is a crime against civilization.'

"The frank statement that the nations must find a way to settle their disputes without resort to arms and the earnest effort to recognize and deal with those factors which in different countries militate against a peaceful settlement of international disputes were the underlying bases of discussions. Such a conference renews hope for the dawn of a day of better mutual understanding between the nations."

Mr. Stobbs writes:

"The interesting feature of any conference of the Interparliamentary Union is, of course, the interchange of viewpoints between representatives of the parliaments of various nations. . . . The keen interest displayed in the discussion of the Paris Pact and the various suggestions to strengthen it and to modify existing rules to make world public opinion capable of enforcement in some tangible way instead of letting the Pact remain a mere expression of policy was to my mind the outstanding feature of the Conference."

Mr. French:

"In my judgment, the meeting of the Interparliamentary Union in London last July was an event calculated to promote world peace through the opportunity the Conference offered to the delegates from thirty-one of the world's great legislative bodies to become acquainted with the problems that concern the several nations, the point of view with regard to the same and the very earnest and frank discussions of ways and means by which they may be met.

"It seems to me that the peoples of all great powers desire to do the right and honorable thing toward other peoples. They sometimes fail because they do not see a problem that causes difference from the standpoint of a rival.

"The discussions in the Interparliamentary Union, the personal contact of the delegates present and the good-will that must have been developed should combine toward building a powerful force leading to friendship and accord among the nations of the world."

Among the others who have sent to me similar views, Ex-Representative Bartholdt, writing somewhat at length, closes with this paragraph:

"To me, as the founder of the American Group, it was a source of great delight to note not only the large attendance of members of our Congress, but also their effective participation in the debates. On the whole the London Conference has again demonstrated the vitality of the Union and its permanent usefulness as a mentor of parliaments and governments."

But the American delegates not only attended the conferences with interest; they took part. President Montague was always where the President of the Group should have been, ready with ripened counsel and the happy word. Mr. Chindblom, as a Vice-President of the Conference, presided at a number of the sessions. Besides the address by Senator Berkeley, there were prepared addresses before the Conference by Mr. LaGuardia, Mr. French and Mr. Hull. At the dinner given in the House of Commons to the American Group by Commander Kenworthy, it was Senator Ashurst who proposed the toast to the British Group, to which toast the Duke of Sutherland replied.

In his address on the morning of July 18, Mr. LaGuardia pointed out that the Interparliamentary Union, as a world-wide institution, has won the confidence of all countries. During his address he pointed to the duty facing the Interparliamentary Union to see that its principles are put into practice. He reminded the Conference that the problems of peace cannot be left wholly to professional diplomats; that representatives of the people, obliged as they are to keep in touch with their electors, are more fitted to interpret the will of those electors.

Mr. French, speaking on the afternoon of July 18, called attention to the incongruity of the expanding armaments of the world, following the general acceptance of the Paris Pact for the Renunciation of War.

For purposes of economy and for the firmer establishment of security this incongruity must be overcome. He associated himself with Mr. Arthur Henderson in the view that the principles of disarmament would be the acid test of our honest acceptance of the Paris Pact.

Morton D. Hull

The major contribution of the American delegation, however, was due to the careful work of Mr. Morton D. Hull. Mr. Hull was the Rapporteur of the Commission on the Reduction of Arms and the Commission on Juridical Questions. As such he had prepared the very able report entitled, "Certain Possible Implications of the Paris Pact for the Renunciation of War." This report, printed and distributed in advance of the Conference, served as the basis of one of the most fruitful of all the discussions. In presenting this report during the morning session of July 18, Mr. Hull briefly reviewed the suggestions contained in the report. He pointed out the contract nature of the Paris Pact; that because of it each has an interest in the behavior of all; that every nation, therefore, signatory to the Pact has the right, without violating international courtesy, to make friendly representation to other nations parties to the Pact who may be threatening war, and to inquire of them the causes of their differences; that in case of such friendly inquiry there would be the right to expect an answer and the right to sit in judgment as to the sufficiency of the answer.

Thus, after analyzing the nature of the Pact, Mr. Hull addressed himself to the question as to what might happen if the Pact be broken. Among other things he pointed out that the Pact provides no sanctions; that there are no expressed obligations imposed on any nation party to the Pact. "It is true," said Mr. Hull, "that in the preamble to the Pact it is provided that any signatory state seeking to promote its national interests by resort to war should be denied the benefits of this treaty. But this is only a threat of sanctions undefined. We have noted also that a breach of the treaty would be a breach of the Covenant of the League of Nations. For nations members of the League, the course of conduct is apparently charted by the Covenant. How far the course so charted will be fol-

lowed remains to be developed by events."

Mr. Hull raised the question as to whether or not Article XI of the Covenant of the League of Nations, providing that, "Any war or threat of war . . . is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action they may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of the nations" means anything. Mr. Hull asked: "Does it express the real conviction of world opinion? Do the people of the United States believe that Mr. Coolidge was right when he said in his Memorial Day speech in 1928: 'Whether so intended or not, any nations engaging in war would necessarily be engaged in a course prejudicial to us'? Do they believe that Mr. Hoover was right when in his Armistice Day speech of last November he said: 'From every selfish point of view the preservation of peace among other nations is of interest to us'?"

Mr. Hull went on to say: "These questions addressed in my own country to the man on the street would probably elicit an answer somewhat as follows: 'Yes; war anywhere probably does affect all but not in the same degree. Why, therefore, should we be drawn into these affairs, when they concern more directly remote parts of the world?' He will admit academically that war anywhere affects him, but the thought lacks graphic significance to him, and he probably is right when he says that war anywhere does not concern all equally."

What Mr. Hull said further should not be whittled down by any attempt to paraphrase. Here is what he said:

"When, therefore, we say in the report of the American Committee that neutrality as previously defined must be abandoned altogether, or redefined in terms that will be fitted to modern conditions in the associated life of nations, we are inclined to the alternative of a redefinition. The abandonment of neutrality is something that to the layman means belligerency. He has no alternatives between them, and he does not care to see his country drawn into war in matters that primarily affect others. It is this consideration that has prompted one commentator to suggest the recognition of a new status for a nation not party to war—a form of neutrality but not neutrality as previously known, viz., partiality. It was this consideration that prompted the suggestion in the report of the American Committee that the application of a discriminatory embargo against a cove-

nant-breaking state would not be an unneutral act. It would be an unneutral act under past definitions. But if a breach of the Pact of Paris toward one is a breach toward all, it would seem that third party states, whose right to have others keep faith has been broken, might at least, without inviting a claim for damages against themselves, place a discriminatory embargo against the covenant-breaking state.

"The covert threat of the preamble of the Pact of Paris, that any nation violating the Pact of Paris 'should be denied the benefit of this treaty,' points to the need of some such action on the part of the nations which are parties to the Pact. We are not considering what action the rest of the world who are parties to the League Covenant may take under its provisions. What action may the nations who are parties to the Pact of Paris take? The benefits of the Pact of Paris are the assurances of friendly relations in the world community of nations.

"If a nation violates the treaty and becomes an aggressor against a neighboring nation, it has been amply advised by the preamble to the Pact that other nations to the Pact are absolved from the obligation of friendly intercourse.

"It may be said, too, that this interesting declaration in the preamble points the way of duty to the neutral states to deny to the aggressor state access to its markets for the purpose of supplying itself with the essential materials of war, or, indeed, with any materials in war where 'contraband' is all-inclusive.

"This duty may be stated as a moral duty. It seems to me that it may well be stated as an international obligation, whether legal or moral, of binding force, built upon the common world-wide conception of the Pact of Paris as an agreement to outlaw war—an obligation which cannot be shunted or put aside by any casuistry of the legalistic mind; an obligation which, whether you call it moral or legal, is compelling and cannot be evaded and which in the long run marks the way of self-interest.

"In conclusion, permit me to say that the states which are members of the League of Nations have fairly definitely charted their course in case of the outbreak of war by the provisions of Article XVI of the Covenant of the League. As to states not parties to the League, and particularly my own country, I may say that the Pact of Paris charts a course of conduct more by inference, perhaps, than by express terms, and that that course of conduct runs parallel with, if it does not coincide with, the course charted in the League Covenant.

"It would be well, perhaps, if that chart might be more explicitly defined, but I see no early promise that it will be.

"To the thoughtful and orderly mind interested in the building up of a complete scheme of international relations that shall keep the peace among the nations, the Pact of Paris may seem a very feeble and faulty document. Perhaps it is. But as in the case of the development of the individual it is sometimes more important to know in which direction he is headed, than where he is at any particular time. So I think we may look at the Pact of Paris, and the Covenant of the League, and the Locarno treaties, and the Permanent Court as significant indications of the way the world is headed, and find our satisfactions in helping on the effort for a world better fitted for the more abundant life of mankind, than the warring world of the past."

Enough has here been said of Mr. Hull's work to justify Dr. Lange's characterization of it as "a very remarkable report." The discussion on the points raised by Mr. Hull was instructive to the highest degree. To quote again from Dr. Lange:

"Rarely has an international assembly had the chance of realizing so clearly the different conceptions reigning among politicians of our day with regard to the vast problem of the organization of peace."

Mr. Hull's report led the Rt. Hon. Viscount Cecil of Chelwood to ask Mr. Arnold-Forster to prepare a paper carrying on the points raised by Mr. Hull. As said by Viscount Cecil:

"Taken with Mr. Hull's paper, the two give an excellent survey of the international situation resulting from the acceptance of the Pact of Paris. Broadly, the Pact may be said to give to the nations of the world the chance of securing peace—if only they are prepared to pay the price. For peace, like other desirable objects, cannot be obtained for nothing. If we want it, we must pay for it. It is not a question of eloquent speeches or admirable documents. We must set up tribunals; we must accept responsibilities; we must abandon prejudice; above all, we must recognize the rights and claims of others.

"Even this is not enough. Unless we can secure a real measure of international disarmament, all other methods may prove vain. The task is tremendous. But we can accomplish it if we are really in earnest. Are we? Have we counted the cost? Do we know what the position really is? Time will show."

Further Work of the Conference

The general results of the Conference are set forth in the final Resolutions appearing elsewhere in these columns as an "International Document." As a part of the general discussion of the Paris Pact, M. Bastid of France submitted a report which set forth with great clarity the differing views relative to the relation of armaments to security. Unfortunately the limitations of space make it impossible more than to mention the two remaining subjects that gave rise to illuminating debates; namely, the "Evolution of the Parliamentary System," which held the attention of the Conference throughout Monday, July 21; and the debate on the "Problem of Minorities," the following day.

The closing address of the Conference, Tuesday, July 22, was by the Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald, Prime Minister of Great Britain. This address, appearing elsewhere in its entirety, was as fitting a valedictory as could be wished.

Guests of the Irish Group

The delegates of the various Groups and their families became the guests in Dublin of the Irish Group of the Interparliamentary Union the day following the Conference in London. The entertainments lasted through Sunday, July 27. The Americans—some of whose ancestors, indeed, came from there—had anticipated with special pleasure this visit to Ireland. The Americans remember with pleasure the Irish delegates who journeyed to the Washington Conference in 1925: the Honorable Michael Hayes, Speaker of the Dail Eireann, the Irish Chamber of Deputies; Honorable Thomas Johnson, now a member of the Senate; Patrick McGilligan, Minister of Industry and Commerce; and General Richard Mulcahy, former Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Minister of Defense. As there never was a reason to doubt, these gentlemen are not only most agreeable guests, they and their ladies are ideal hosts as well. Mr. Hayes and Mrs. Hayes were everywhere during our delightful stay in Ireland and with a grace and efficiency which we all soon learned to associate with the Irish folk as a whole. The Irish are a most hospitable people.

Immediately upon our arrival in Dublin, Wednesday, July 23, the agreeable courtesies began. We were received that evening at Leinster House, the present seat of the Irish Free State Parliament. The next day a luncheon was given to the delegates by the President of the Council of Ministers at Mansion House. At this luncheon there were addresses of welcome by heads of the government, and responses by representatives of various Groups, including a characteristically graceful speech by President Montague. During the afternoon His Excellency the Governor-General gave a perfect garden party on the lawn of his residence in Phoenix Park. Whether or not Hoban, the Irish architect of our White House, took for his model this ancient residence of the Governor-General, the similarity of façades is very striking. During this reception, the delegates had the privilege of meeting practically all of the leading personalities of the Free State. It was a colorful, happy and always-to-be-remembered experience.

On the following day the delegation enjoyed an excursion to the Vale of Avoca, with its remains of ancient Irish civilization; to the ruins of Glendalough, and to the Lake with its gloomy tale of Kathleen and Saint Kevin. That evening Mr. and Mrs. Hayes received the delegates at Leinster House, a feature of which reception was an opportunity to see with the aid of the curator the archeological collections

masterfully arranged in the State's famous Museum.

On Saturday, July 26, the delegates visited a number of interesting institutions in Dublin. Some went to the National School of Agriculture at Glasnevin, and to the large Guinness Brewery where luncheon was given.

On Sunday, July 27, the delegates were conducted in charrs-à-bancs to the Valley of the Boyne, with its memories of the battle between the armies of William III and James II, and with its remarkable pre-historic remains.

Following all these delightful experiences, a number of the Americans remained to tour further amid the idyllic hills, lakes and dales of Ireland.

In Conclusion

A sketch such as this can aim no higher than to arouse a little additional interest in the backgrounds, the structure, the aims of this unofficial effort of official lawmakers to iron out certain misunderstandings, to let in light where now only darkness reigns, and to ease their common task of holding their jobs by the rights of statesmanship. The place of this last Conference, the social contacts, the subjects discussed, the quality of those discussions, leave no room for doubting the values inherent in the Interparliamentary Union. Then, too, there will always remain the minstrel memories of—*Erin! the tear and the smile in thine eyes.*

*Erin! thy silent tear shall never cease,
Erin! thy languid smile ne'er shall increase,
Till, like the rainbow's light,
Thy various tints unite,
And form in Heaven's sight
One arch of peace!*

—Thomas Moore

International Documents

Resolutions, Twenty-sixth Conference Interparliamentary Union, London, July 16-22, 1930

I

The Control of International Trusts and Cartels

1

THE 26th Conference of the Interparliamentary Union declares that cartels, trusts, and other analogous combines are natural phenomena of economic life towards which it is impossible to adopt an entirely negative attitude. Seeing, however, that those combines may have a harmful effect both as regards public interests and those of the state, it is necessary that they should be controlled. This control should not take the form of an interference in economic life likely to affect its normal development. It should simply seek to establish a supervision over possible abuses and to prevent those abuses.

An efficacious means of fighting such abuses and a basic condition for eventual control is to be found in publicity, which implies the obligation for cartels and similar combines to announce their existence and to register in the books of the state. To this should be added a stipulation making compulsory written agreements for such combines.

Conventions which have not been made in writing, or which have not been communicated and submitted to the competent authority within the given time, should not be considered valid and should not be entitled to claim legal protection.

Registered cartels, trusts and similar organizations should be made publicly known within a given time by the office of registry, whereas the agreements themselves should only be published, either partly or as a whole, in the event of well-ascertained abuses, according to the gravity of the case.

In order to examine and to decide whether registered agreements do not contain provisions dangerous to public interests or to the state, and in order to examine and decide whether abuses

have been committed, there should be created in each state a committee on trusts and cartels, independent of the government and as strictly limited in number as possible, on which the consumer and the worker should be represented.

The committee on cartels should be intrusted *ex officio* with all inquiries of a general nature, whereas particular cases should only be made the object of an inquiry at the request of the highest competent official authority. The conclusions of the committee should be made public.

On the basis of the conclusions reached by the committee, the competent central authority should be entitled to institute proceedings for the punishment of abuses and in certain cases to obtain that treaties should be declared void before the competent courts.

The 26th Conference of the Interparliamentary Union recommends that its national groups shall endeavor to obtain the adoption of these principles by their governments.

2

As regards international economic combines, cartels and trusts, the 26th Conference of the Interparliamentary Union considers that a special control is equally necessary. The chief instrument for the present lies in the development of publicity, which means the obligation to declare the existence of such combines and to register. Here the appropriate body with which registration should be made would be the League of Nations or another international body, whose duty would be to examine the treaties and agreements, to exercise a permanent supervision over all that concerned cartels and trusts, and to make, on the basis of the experience gained, proposals for the further international regulation of the question.

In order to make such an international regulation possible an agreement must be reached between the individual states by which they pledge themselves to give legal protection to and to recognize only those international combines which have announced their formation and registered with the League of Nations or another international body to be created.

3

The 26th Conference of the Interparliamentary Union decides to communicate the above resolutions to the General Secretariat of the League of Nations.

II

Security Problems: Implications of the Paris Pact of August 27, 1928

A. Paris Pact of August 27, 1928

1

The 26th Conference, comprising the representatives of 32 national parliaments, welcomes the taking effect of the Paris Pact for the renunciation of war of August 27, 1928, as an event of the greatest importance, both in itself and for the prospects it holds out.

The conclusion of the Pact and its ratification by 57 states represents in the eyes of the Interparliamentary Union a revolution in international law. Whereas until the taking effect of this Pact, international law considered war, subject to certain attenuations, as a legal means of solving disputes between states, the Paris Pact condemns recourse to war for the settlement of international disputes, thus sanctioning the theory expressed by the Union in 1924 at the Berne-Geneva Conference, and proclaimed by the League of Nations Assembly in the Geneva Protocol of the same year.

B. Settlement of International Disputes

2

Seeing that the application of this new principle will necessarily have effects, both for international law (system of sanctions) and for the internal legislation of states, notably constitutional law and penal legislation, the 26th Conference declares that the Interparliamentary Union will henceforth devote all its efforts to the study of these effects, and requests the Committee on Security to continue its work.

1

Seeing that the Paris Pact of August 27, 1928, declares in Article 2: "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"; recalling that the Interparliamentary Union, since its foundation in 1889, has considered its main object to be the sanctioning by international treaties of amiable or judicial methods for

the settlement or solution of such disputes or conflicts; seeing that, in the interest of the unification and development of international law, it is of the greatest importance that the states should adhere to general treaties; the 26th Conference warmly recommends to the states which have not yet done so:

a. To give their full adhesion to the General Act of Geneva of September 26, 1928 for the pacific solution of all international disputes.

b. To give their full adhesion to the optional clause of Article 36 of the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice for the judicial settlement of disputes of a legal nature.

It also recommends to the states signatories of the Inter-American treaties of arbitration and conciliation of January 5, 1929, to give them their full adhesion.

2

If, for particular reasons, concerning which the Conference abstains from expressing an opinion, certain states should think it impossible for them to adhere to the general treaties mentioned above, the 26th Interparliamentary Conference, in the interest of peace and of the pacific settlement of disputes, recommends to such states the conclusion of regional or bilateral treaties with the same general objects as the forementioned instruments.

Treaties of this kind would have, between neighboring states, a particularly important significance.

The Conference draws the attention of such states to the model treaties recommended by the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1928, of which the list is as follows:

1. Bilateral treaty of pacific settlement of all international disputes.

2. Bilateral treaty of judicial settlement, of arbitration and of conciliation.

3. Bilateral treaty of conciliation.

3

The 26th Interparliamentary Conference requests each of the national groups of the Union to examine, in the light of the preceding resolutions, the situation of the state it represents, and to take the necessary steps within its parliament and with its government to give effect, at the earliest possible date, to the desires expressed above.

It therefore requests the Interparliamentary Bureau to transmit the preceding resolutions to all the groups of the Union, accompanied by as complete information as possible on the situation of the different countries in this respect.

The Bureau is in addition requested to transmit the above resolutions to the governments and to the parliaments of all countries.

III

Present Evolution of the Parliamentary System

The 26th Interparliamentary Conference, comprising the representatives of 32 parliaments, expresses its faith in the parliamentary system. That system is the only one which allows the people to exercise a decisive influence on the formation of the government and a supervision of its actions. It also contributes to the education of the people by calling upon all citizens to take part in public life by universal suffrage and by the practice of the essential democratic liberties (liberty of political, social and religious opinion, liberty of assemblies, liberty of association, liberty of the press, liberty and secrecy of vote).

Seeing that the people have in parliamentary institutions the best guarantee of their personal liberties and of their civil and political rights, but seeing that the complexity and the technical nature of the problems which arise in our times, particularly in the economic and social fields, demand from parliaments and governments not only a more considerable and more specialized work, but also its more rapid execution, the 26th Conference, while recognizing that the customs and traditions of the different peoples render uniform solutions impossible, proclaims that the Interparliamentary Union should give its assistance in the strengthening and perfecting of parliamentary institutions.

With this object the 26th Conference proceeded to examine the following questions whose solution will be of the greatest influence on the future of representative and democratic institutions:

1. The superiority and independence of parliament and government both with regard to organizations of an economic nature and to professional groupings, at the same time insuring within the framework of the national institutions the participation of these organizations and groupings in the preparation and application of laws.

2. The assignment to certain regional or local organisms, such as provinces, counties, municipalities, et cetera, of powers of regulation and execution within the frame of national legislation.

3. The instruction of children attending elementary schools on the first notions of government, constitutions, parliaments, popular councils, electoral franchise, the duties of citizens toward their country, in order to give them the means of com-

pleting by experience, observation and study their preparation for the accomplishment of their functions as citizens.

4. The suitable means of correcting the action of a certain part of the press which too often presents its readers with a deformed picture of parliamentary debates, and of informing the public in an objective manner of the activities of parliament.

5. The improvement of parliamentary technique and procedure in order to avoid delay in the taking of decisions and to insure the better drafting of laws and a more rational distribution of work between the committees and the plenary meetings.

IV

The Problem of National Minorities

1

The 26th Interparliamentary Conference reminds the national groups of the resolution passed by the Copenhagen Conference in favor of the conclusion of a convention between the states, based on the principles laid down in the "Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Minorities" annexed to that resolution. It further declares that the extension of the system for the protection of minorities to all states is in the interest of peace and good understanding between the nations and would effectually contribute towards the development and perfecting of the existing juridical rules relating to minorities.

2

The 26th Interparliamentary Conference further invites the national groups to take action with their respective governments and parliaments with a view to the completion of the procedure followed by the League of Nations for the protection of minorities on the basis of the following suggestions:

1. That the Council of the League of Nations should, if possible, be relieved of the task of examining minor individual cases which do not raise any question of principle.

2. That a clearer distinction should be made between the organ for preliminary investigation, whose duty it is to establish the facts, and the body appointed to examine the dispute from the legal standpoint, to deliberate upon it and give an award.

For this purpose, the Conference regards it as of particular importance that bodies should be created within the states signatories of minorities treaties, for the preliminary examination of questions relating to minorities likely to give rise to a

complaint to the League of Nations, with the object of finding the means of meeting such complaints.

The authority chosen to act as a board of conciliation, or the organization of the new body created for that purpose, must be of a nature to inspire complete confidence both to the majority and the minority.

3. Finally, that the parties (petitioners and the government) should be informed in a suitable manner of the action taken by all the bodies concerned with regard to petitions, and of any decisions reached by those bodies. The reasons upon which those decisions were based should, if possible, be communicated at the same time. Such information should not be of a nature to give rise to unfriendly feelings between representatives of the majority and the minority.

3

The Interparliamentary Union shall, moreover, exert all its influence in order that the life in common of different nationalities within the same state, which is the inevitable consequence of the intermingling of peoples, should be organized by the legislation of the country with a view to the establishment of peaceful relations, by guaranteeing the equality and free national and cultural development of the minorities in the spirit of the resolutions passed at the Interparliamentary Conference at Copenhagen in 1923.

European Federal Union

Text of the British Reply

THE reply of the British Government to the French Government's memorandum on the organization of a system of European Federal Union was officially issued as follows:

1. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have examined with profound interest the proposals for the organization of a system of European Federal Union made by the French Government in their memorandum of May 17. They are of opinion that proposals so important in their purpose and in their scope require careful and prolonged consideration. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom would furthermore feel it their duty to undertake that consideration in consultation with all his Majesty's Governments in the British Commonwealth.

2. They are nevertheless desired to comply with the request of the French Government that they should send in their observations on

the proposals put forward in the memorandum not later than July 15. They have accordingly decided to address this note to the French Government, but they wish it to be understood that the comments and suggestions which it contains are of a preliminary and tentative kind.

3. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom understand from the memorandum that the fundamental purpose which the French Government have in view is to divert the attention of the peoples of Europe from the hostilities of the past and from the conflicts of interest between them which are sometimes alleged to exist, and to fix their attention instead upon the more important common interests which today they share. The French Government hope that by their proposals they may promote closer cooperation among the nations and governments of Europe, and thus strengthen the safeguards against another European war.

Points of Agreement

4. With this purpose his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom are in the fullest sympathy. It is an axiom of his Majesty's Government's policy that the first of British interests is peace, and measures calculated to insure peace will therefore secure their ready and warm support. They earnestly hope that the initiative of the French Government may bring about a better understanding by the European peoples of the common interests which they share, and may thus lead both to greater mutual confidence and trust among their governments, and to a diminution of the obstacles to international trade and economic cooperation which now exist.

5. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom are also in agreement with the French Government in thinking that it is primarily in respect of economic relations that closer cooperation between the nations of Europe is urgently to be desired.

6. They further agree that, if effective economic cooperation and concerted action are to be secured, it is essential that economic questions should be considered not one by one, nor in respect of isolated interests, but as a whole, and from the wider point of view of the general interests involved. Progress on such questions depends on the extent that governments and public opinion in the various countries can be brought to realize the vital importance of their common interests and the advantages each will derive from measures of greater international solidarity. While, as the French Government

recognize, the independence and national sovereignty of each country have to be respected, as well as the specialties affecting particular groups of nations, much can be done by political authorities to promote a wider outlook on economic questions, and, insofar as political action is directed to that object, his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom agree to the proposal made in the memorandum for the association of economic and political authorities.

7. In respect, however, of the methods proposed by the French Government for the realization of their purpose, his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom feel more difficulty. They are not confident that mature examination will show that the establishment of new and independent international institutions is either necessary or desirable.

8. If they have rightfully understood the proposals contained in the memorandum, the French Government suggest the creation of a new European Conference and Executive Committee, and perhaps also of a new European secretariat. These bodies would in no way derive their authority from the Covenant or from Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles; they would in no way be controlled by the rules and safeguards which those instruments provide; they would be in no way organically connected with the League of Nations; they would only correlate their work with that of the organs of the League insofar as they decided by specific and spontaneous decisions to do so in any given case that might arise. Since the organs of the League have already begun work on virtually the whole of the program of practical action which the memorandum puts forward, it is difficult to see how these new European institutions could operate without creating confusion, and perhaps also a rivalry, which, however little it might be intended or desired by the European governments, could hardly fail to diminish both efficiency and the authority of the organs of the League.

British Empire Interests

9. Apart from this very difficult problem of coordination, his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom think it possible that an exclusive and independent European Union of the kind proposed might emphasize or create tendencies to intercontinental rivalries and hostilities which it is important in the general interest to diminish and avoid. It is in their view essential that the measures taken for closer European co-

operation should not cause anxiety or resentment in any other continent. Unless this object is kept continually in view, his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom are satisfied that even wider interests, both of Europe and the world, may be seriously endangered. It will be plain to the French Government that in this connection there are special considerations of which his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, must take account.

10. Moreover, his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom are inclined to believe that the purpose which the French Government have in view can be effectively secured by so adapting the proposals put forward in the memorandum as to bring them fully within the framework of the League of Nations. They are impressed by the fact that the Warsaw Health Conference of 1922, and the reconstruction of Hungary and Austria—to name only a few of many examples that might be taken—were matters of European interest and concern, and yet were effectively dealt with by the existing machinery of the League. They are, therefore, convinced that it would be possible, perhaps by establishing European Committees of the Assembly, of the Council and of the technical organizations of the League, or perhaps in other ways, to create whatever machinery is required for promoting closer European cooperation without incurring the risks and difficulties which a system of new and independent institutions might involve.

11. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom believe, however, that these are questions which can only be adequately dealt with in open discussion among the governments concerned, after each government has had time to examine fully and in all their aspects the proposals which have been made. Since, for the reasons above suggested, these proposals affect intimately not only the governments of Europe, but the governments of all the members of the League, his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom hope that the French Government may think it desirable that their memorandum should be placed upon the agenda of the next Assembly.

12. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom earnestly hope that these tentative comments and suggestions may meet with the approval of the French Government, and that by some such procedure as that above suggested, practical results of real value may be secured.

News in Brief

NEW THINGS in peace memorials are constantly cropping up. This time it is an International Peace Garden, thousands of acres in extent, to be laid out on the boundary line between Canada and the United States to commemorate the century and more of peace between the two neighbors. More than fifty national and international organizations promise to cooperate with the National Association of Gardeners, sponsors of the plan.

BILATERAL TREATIES of arbitration, conciliation or of judicial settlement to the number of 106 were concluded between various nations during the period from 1920 to 1929. Sweden leads the list with 34 such treaties; France and Italy bring up the rear with 7 each. The United States had in force in October, 1930, general arbitration treaties recently concluded with 23 states, besides six similar treaties concluded in 1908-1909 by Secretary of State Root which are still in force.

CLASSIC FRENCH DRAMAS were presented this fall in some eleven secondary schools and evening institutes in London. The company giving the plays included actors from the "Comédie Francaise" and other well-known French theaters.

OCTOBER IN ITALY was marked by elaborate ceremonies in honor of the poet Vergil, whose bimillenary it is. Many places memorable by association with the poet's life or words were the centers of celebration during the month.

VALOR IN PEACE-TIME is now to be recognized in the United States Army as soon as its new medal for that purpose is completed. The design made by Gaetano Cerere, sculptor, of New York City, has been approved by the Arts Commission. It will be studied by officials in the War Department before it is submitted to the Secretary of War for final approval. When finally completed it will be the only decoration which can be given officers or privates during peace times. It will be awarded for such deeds as prevention of major accidents, life-saving and other valorous acts not associated with war.

PEACE AND QUIET INDOORS by the use of a Maxim silencer seems to usher in a bit of the

millennium. The inventor of the Maxim gun silencer has now perfected an appliance by the use of which office, hospital or house windows can be opened for ventilation without letting in a hurley-burly of noises. Mr. Hiram Maxim—the inventor, considers it his most important invention. He hopes it will "make life livable for everyone."

ROADS FOR YUGOSLAVIA are definitely under way. Seven hundred million dollars are now allotted by the government for new road construction and improvements. Among the most important new roads is one between Belgrade and Subotica, which will be asphalted. The enterprise is largely financed by French banks.

JAPAN IS BUILDING twenty-five raido stations to be completed by the end of 1932.

THE AMERICAN EMBASSY in Paris is the recipient of a valuable collection of books on Franco-American relations. It is presented by Mr. Hugh Campbell Wallace, former American ambassador to France.

EX-SECRETARY OF STATE KELLOGG has been chosen to fill the unexpired term of Charles Evans Hughes as a judge in the International Court of Justice at The Hague, and to a full term membership on the bench, beginning in January.

JAPAN RATIFIED on August 21 the protocol relating to revision of the statute of the World Court in order to permit the entry of the United States.

POLAND PROPOSES to encourage building. This is her plan: All dwelling houses, factories and workshops erected between the 16th of September last and the 31st of December, 1940, are to be exempt from taxation for fifteen years from the date of completion. Persons who transfer capital to building operations will be exempt from income tax to the amount sunk in house property. In some cases the saving made in this way may amount to as much as 20 per cent.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE, so much discussed of late, is already in effect in some form in twenty countries. Systems vary considerably, but economists are studying the comparative merits and results in those countries which have begun experiments on this line.

CHILDREN, whether in town or country, their health and protection, is the general theme of 140 reports drawn up after a year's study by 1,100 experts. These reports, boiled down, have

been handed to Secretary Wilbur, chairman of the White House Conference on Child Welfare, which convenes in Washington, November 19. The four main sections of the conference are medical service; public health service and administration; education and training; and the handicapped. Seventeen committees function under these general sections.

ARE WE EMBARKED upon a new kind of warfare? The ether seems to be the field of hostilities just now. Germany is reported to be much excited over the new powerful radio station located at Strasbourg by France. Since France begins operations with a program of German music, it appears that she is expecting to lure German listeners to propaganda which is coming later. Construction of the new German superpower station at Stuttgart will be speeded up, with the hope of drowning out that at Strasbourg. In the east a powerful station at Thorn, Poland, will be countered by another German station in East Prussia. With proposed Russian stations completed and with those already operating in Czechoslovakia and Switzerland, certain groups in Germany feel that their country is completely surrounded and isolated. Fortunately an international radio conference is scheduled to meet in Madrid in 1932.

THE CHURCHES are seriously embarked on the problem of world peace. The fifteenth annual meeting and Good Will Congress inaugurated by the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, met in Washington the week of Armistice Day. President Hoover addressed the memorial Armistice Day meeting, which had as patrons many government officials and diplomats from foreign countries.

THE EXPORTS OF THE UNITED STATES declined in the first six months of 1929 13 per cent as compared with the same period of 1928. For the same time the exports of Great Britain decreased 16 per cent; of Japan, 19 per cent; of Canada, 21 per cent; of Australia, no less than 32 per cent. It is plain, therefore, thinks our Department of Commerce, that trade and industrial depression are not purely domestic matters.

THE IRRESPONSIBLE MEANDERINGS of the Rio Grande, boundary between the United States and Mexico, will be permanently held in check if the plan of the International Boundary Commission, completed this last summer, goes through. The scheme calls for a newly straightened and shortened channel from El Paso to the Box Can-

yon, safeguarded by a system of flood channels and levees. Necessarily this involves the exchange of small parcels of land between the two countries. The plan will, if approved by the two governments, serve as a basis of negotiation. The expense, properly apportioned, will apparently be amply compensated by the increased usefulness of a boundary which is no longer an erratic vagrant, curvetting to and fro.

MISS ALICE MASARYK, for years a student of social work in the United States, now specially forceful in Red Cross work in her own country, Czechoslovakia, read a paper on "A Red Cross Truce" at the 14th International Conference of the Red Cross at Brussels in October.

GERMANY HAS the two fastest passenger steamships afloat, the largest flying boat, the airship of greatest achievement and best-proved reliability, and she has in the *Ersatz Preussen* a "pocket battleship contrived to outrun anything that she can't outwit and outwit anything that she can't outrun." And there are possibilities to flip the imagination in the Kruckenbergs Zepplin-shaped, propeller-driven rail coach, in the Stratosphere airplane and in the carburetor which is to permit the use of crude oil in the ordinary motor. Disarmed Germany is still busy and progressing.

MUSIC IN LATIN AMERICA is encouraged by scholarships, in some cases granted by governments, allowing talented students to study in European music centers. Many such students have achieved such marked success that the special gift in music of Latin America is generally recognized abroad. In this country appreciation of Latin American music is stimulated by a series of concerts given by the Pan American Union in which music of Latin-American composers is rendered by Latin-American musicians aided by Army and Navy orchestras. Fifty-two such concerts have now been given, some of them broadcast by radio.

MUSIC AND RADIO together are also doing their bit in other cases to aid international interest. In August a program of American composers was broadcast in Great Britain.

SAFETY IN THE AIR, already a matter of study, is now to be a matter of conference. France has called the first International Congress on Aerial Safety to meet in Paris December 10 to 23, 1930. Five delegates from the United States will attend.

A CONVENTION OF EXILED RUSSIAN scientists and men of letters was held during September in Sofia, Bulgaria. The society was formed to keep alive the cultural life of prebolshevist Russia. This was its fifth annual meeting. It was attended by over 100 delegates from all over Europe. Some 200,000 Russian exiles from all classes, now living in Paris, have built up there a complete colony with its own unofficial legal, educational and religious institutions.

THE PAN-PACIFIC WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION, newborn child of the Pan-Pacific Union, held a congress in Honolulu, August 9 to 23. This was the second Women's Congress and it effected at this session a permanent organization.

THE PAN-PACIFIC UNION, of which the heads of all the governments bordering on the Pacific are honorary presidents, claims a large and growing family of children. These are, according to an editorial in the Honolulu *Advertiser*: The World Federation of Education Associations, Pan-Pacific Institution, Institute of Pacific Relations, Surgeon's Pan-Pacific Association and the Women's Pan-Pacific Association. A Pan-Pacific Agricultural Association will doubtless soon be organized and proposed medical and botanic conferences may result in organizations of permanent character.

LABOR URGES the assignment of one of the ninety cleared radio channels to its use. The recent convention of the American Federation of Labor endorsed Bill No. 334, pending in Congress, which, if passed, would instruct the Federal Radio Commission to allot one channel to the Department of Labor, one to the Department of Agriculture, and a third to the Department of Interior, Bureau of Education.

THAT GASOLINE TAXES should go exclusively for upkeep and building of highways was a principle unanimously approved by sixty-one nations in the recent Roads Congress held in Washington.

THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF STATISTICS held its nineteenth session in Tokio in September. American delegates were Harold G. Moulton, President of the Brookings Institution, Walter F. Wilcox, of Cornell University and H. A. Butts, commercial attaché to Tokio. Another piece of work carried on by Mr. Moulton on this visit to Japan is the compilation of an economic survey of the Japanese Empire. Some time ago Mr. Inouye, then Governor of the Bank of Japan, invited the Institute of Economics of the Brookings Institution to make such

a survey. With the assistance of Japanese statisticians this study has been going forward for some two years. It will shortly now be completed.

Book Reviews

GEORGE WASHINGTON, THE SAVIOR OF THE STATES, by *Rupert Hughes*. Pp. 810 and index. William Morrow & Co., New York, 1930. Price \$5.

Now, it can be told, thinks Mr. Hughes. The continually dissolving Revolutionary Army under Washington, many of the officers about him, often the Continental Congress over him were stupid, self-seeking, crooked or cowardly. As to Washington himself, Mr. Hughes never did admire the man delineated by Parson Weems. He suspected from various bits of evidence that the stiff, marble-monument type was not really Washington. Furthermore, Mr. Hughes is not averse to creating a sensation, particularly among organizations based upon Revolutionary descent. So with infinite pains, be it said, as to scholarship and, too, with growing sympathy as an interpreter of his main character, he has written now three books of a biography, the last volume of which takes the history down to the close of the Revolutionary War in 1781.

Needless to say, nothing racy is omitted or glossed over. He elaborates and emphasizes mistakes of Washington, and relentlessly the faults and foibles of other American leaders, and always and continually those of the majority of Americans in and out of the army of whom he has a very low opinion indeed.

The author documents his statements thoroughly so that one is obliged to admit a solid historical background for many astonishing conclusions. Yet there is certainly overemphasis upon things which show the rank and file of Americans of that day so generally despicable. Washington himself had a very much greater trust in the ultimate courage and good sense of the people than anything in this book would imply. Lack of organization and training was inevitable in that stage of events. Can it be that irritation at Washington's stupendous and seemingly avoidable difficulties is due to the author's own worship of his hero? This would indeed be an interesting criticism of a self-confessed debunker. But perhaps the recent war experience of Mr. Hughes enables him to enter into the trials of camp life and battlefield; perhaps it adds extra venom to his sarcastic treatment of the ineptitude of the Continental Congress and to his hatred of grafters and quitters. Here all would agree with him without losing their respect for the great body of common people who worked heroically under Washington, as best they knew, and who loved and honored him as their country's father.

This is true: The Washington who "had to win the war with what material he found and build a nation while he restrained its centrifugal forces" is surely a greater hero in these histories than in all the biographies of the Weems type put together.

THE UNKNOWN WASHINGTON. BIOGRAPHIC ORIGINS OF THE REPUBLIC, by *John Corbin*. Pp. 439 and index. Charles Scribner's Sons Co., New York, 1930. Price \$4.

Mr. Corbin, like Rupert Hughes, shows Washington a real and likable human being. However, the book is unlike those of Hughes in purpose. It builds up a chain of evidence to show that in his correspondence, his diaries and most of all in his actions, Washington preceded most of those prominent in discussions at the Federal Convention of 1787 in his ideas as to a united country, a supreme court and a balanced form of government with suitable checks upon tyranny and precipitancy. A reader interested in the subject will see also from quotations given by the author that Washington considered the method of enforcing laws upon States as a matter for very grave consideration. He rather more than hints to Madison his belief that armed force would be inapplicable.

Unlike Mr. Hughes, whom he considers in some respects the best informed and most sympathetic interpreter of Washington, Corbin appreciates the actual trust which Washington had in the common people. "I cannot conceive," said Washington to Gage, "of a more honorable rank than that which flows from the uncorrupted choice of a brave and free people, the purest source and original fountain of all power." Entertaining this faith he did not, however, quite agree with Jefferson's ideas of democracy nor, on the other hand, with the aristocratic ideas of Hamilton. He combined, thinks Mr. Corbin, the best part of both. Certainly the Constitution as finally drafted did express the ideas which are shown by many citations to have been long the ideas of Washington, especially the idea of a balanced government by constituted authorities for the whole people, properly represented, but a government not too instantly responsive to public panic or, indeed, immature propaganda. National liberty, said Washington, came first; personal equality, second.

The book has discriminating chapters on Jefferson and Madison, both of whom it decidedly underrates, however. There is, too, a valuable appreciation of John Adams, long overdue, and that without glossing over his faults.

In fact, many leaders of that day whose names are household words today are studied with special reference to their relation to the completed Constitution. It is therefore both an interesting study of the Constitution and an informing collection of biographical essays using much little-known material. Of them all it is Washington who stands out as greatest still.

THE LAST FULL MEASURE, by *Honoré W. Morrow*. Pp. 340. William Morrow & Co., New York, 1930. Price \$2.50.

This new and final novel of Abraham Lincoln is no less dramatic and human than the preceding two of the trilogy. The first one, *FOREVER FREE*, takes up the life of the Lincoln family in the White House at the beginning of the Civil War. Incidents and conversations move with as much free-

dom as though springing from the brain of the author. Yet they are wonderfully consistent with history. Mrs. Lincoln, the boys, the Southern spy governors, are all vivid. Plot is breathless. Senators, Cabinet members and generals act with spontaneity; all are convincing. Especially so is Lincoln himself, humorous, patient and big.

The second volume, *WITH MALICE TOWARD NONE*, carries the story on to the fall of Richmond. The character of secondary interest to Lincoln and his wife in this book is Charles Sumner—his differences with Lincoln, their political contests, their friendship and Sumner's brief love story.

THE LAST FULL MEASURE, the last book of the trilogy, covers the last period of Lincoln's life. After the weary anguish of the war comes his lone battle for Southern reconstruction without revenge or punishment. While his fine intelligence is grappling with this problem and the political contests implied, Booth and his associates are plotting first the kidnaping of Lincoln, then, failing this, his assassination.

It is amazing how Mrs. Morrow has been able to use this material, so much worked-over already, to create as she has a spirited and living picture of the Great Emancipator. He emerges humorous yet never a clown, picturesque but not stiffly statuesque; and always, even to his last wrestling with the idea of mortality, a lovable human being.

The books are fascinating as fiction, reliable as history, and distinguished by Mrs. Morrow's literary power.

THE LETTERS OF LAFAYETTE AND JEFFERSON, with an introduction and notes by Gilbert Chinard. Pp. 438 and index. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1929. Price \$8.50.

Lafayette, enthusiastic, resourceful and sympathetic, had "an incredible gift to conciliate," says Professor Chinard. This is shown vividly in the letters written during Lafayette's Virginia campaign when Washington with the main part of the Revolutionary Army was in the north. Thomas Jefferson, then Governor of Virginia, cooperated as well as he could with the young French major general; but distress was widespread, the militia badly organized and the American-French Army was obliged to live off the country. Only the utmost tact and resourcefulness on Lafayette's part could have carried through the campaign in Virginia at all.

The letters, hitherto unpublished, collected in this book show the beginnings in that Virginia campaign of the lifelong friendship between Jefferson and Lafayette. They go on from that period to the time when both men were in France, through the period of the French Revolution, the Consulate and the Empire down to 1826. The letters together with the comments of Professor Chinard constitute vital portraits of the two men and their political theories as touched and influenced by the stirring events of the times. The one needed touch of perfection is added to the book by the fact that it is the French scholar Chinard who unearths, edits and comments upon the correspondence.

THE INTERNATIONAL MANDATE, by *Aaron M. Margalith*. Pp. 228, bibliography and index. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1930. Price, \$2.50.

The system of mandates controlled by the League of Nations is only vaguely understood by the "man who runs." The idea of care of backward nations is not of course a new one. Colonizing powers have for many years indicated their policies in this line by the assumption that they were offering protection to the conquered people. As long ago as 1830 Chief Justice Marshall called the American Indians "wards of the Government." The mandates under the League, however, add to the old theories that of responsibility to international public opinion as expressed in the League. Furthermore, Article 22 of the League Covenant attempts to classify the types of mandates according to the civilization and power of self-government of each country considered. These are of course moot questions in many instances and may lead to endless future disturbance. However, this book is a study of the mandates as they exist, the ideas that went into their establishment, the history of Article 22, an analysis of it, of the legal aspects of sovereignty and of other legal matters involved. To cap the technical part of the study a brief chapter of summary and conclusions leaves the reader with a basis for opinion as questions concerning mandates arise in the day's news. The whole is written lucidly and in the scientific spirit.

BLACK DEMOCRACY. THE STORY OF HAITI, by *H. P. Davis*. Pp. 365 and index. The Dial Press, New York, 1929. Price \$5.

Recent troubles in Haiti and the intervention of the United States there have caused many public-spirited American citizens to wish they knew more of what lies back of present conditions in Haiti. To such this book, interesting, informed and unprejudiced, will prove a boon.

The island, now divided between the black Republic of Haiti and the mulatto Dominican Republic, was discovered by Columbus on his first voyage. "No country in the world," says Mr. Davis, "civilized or uncivilized, has had a more dramatic, a more distressing history." Beginning with the first so-called buccaneers, the story moves on over the war-torn island. There are arrant rascals aplenty, white and black, and a few real leaders. As to L'Ouverture, Dessalines and Christophe, all negro leaders, the author has made a connected narrative out of much conflicting material, and in an appendix gives documents almost as interesting as the narrative.

The final chapter, "What should be done?" makes a temperate analysis of the present relations between Haiti and the United States. It is, however, positive in tone and most reasonable. The Haitians and all Latin-Americans need to be convinced of our good faith. A constructive policy should, he thinks, be publicly announced and put into execution by a civilian high commission.

Since the publication of this book the Forbes Commission has achieved a solution of the im-

mediate political crisis. But for a long time to come Americans will need to keep themselves informed as to Haiti and our duties there.

LITTLE PILGRIME TO PENN'S WOODS, by *Edna Albert*. Pp. 300. Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1930. Price \$2.

A juvenile tale of an 18th century family emigrating from Germany to Pennsylvania and settling there. The long trip by river boat from Wërtheim to Rotterdam occupies more than half the book, and should lead to a more familiar friendliness toward one of the lands of American origin. The story is simply told from the viewpoint of a child and closes with charming home scenes in early America. A good Christmas book for children.

THE TREATY VETO IN THE AMERICAN SENATE, by *Denna Frank Fleming*. Pp. 315 and index. G. P. Putnam's Sons Co., New York, 1930. Price, \$2.

The failure of the League of Nations Covenant in the United States Senate has aroused many persons to scrutinize the system of checks and balances involved in our Constitution. It was a system dear to the heart of Washington, who, though he believed in the ultimate good sense of the people, had only too much reason to fear the hastiness of mob rule. It was dear also to Hamilton, Madison and others of the framers, who tried to look ahead to any probable eventuality and provide for national steadiness. Dr. Fleming, however, leans to the school of Jefferson and finds himself restive under the veto power of the Senate. He questions rather futilely whether treaties ought not to be referred only to the House, or at any rate jointly to the House and Senate, thus casting aside completely the idea that all States, great and small, have equal concern as States in foreign commitments. He also suggests that a mere majority of the Senate would be better than the present two-thirds for the passing of treaty approval.

The book studies the history of the treatment of treaties in the Senate. It is a varied history containing some regrettable mistakes. The author believes that in modern times, with a more rapid method of public information, it would be safe and advisable to reduce the present power of the Senate to obstruct treaties. Still the fact that in 1929 the United States Senate passed some 42 international treaties as against an annual average of 15 for the other years of the century, may perhaps show that a popularly elected Senate is not entirely isolationist in these modern days. While the arguments advanced by Dr. Fleming are worth consideration, we are not convinced that there is no substance in the theory that some body of men should by length of public training and educated experience be able to hold in check sudden public clamor—and that in the interest of an abiding freedom.

MAKERS OF MODERN EUROPE, by *Count Carlo Sforza*. Pp. 407. Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, 1928.

Count Sforza, former minister of foreign affairs of Italy, gives his book the subtitle "Portraits and Personal Impressions and Recollections." It is a chatty book, full of personal-contact stories and anecdotes. Count Sforza's experience has covered some thirty years in the career of diplomacy. This means that he has had dealings with many of the public men of Europe before, during and since the World War. He was ambassador from Italy at Paris at the time of Mussolini's memorable "March on Rome." His summary of Fascism in Italy is that of one opposed to it; yet lacks bitterness, though he is quite candid in his expressions. Because of his former services the short articles on European and Asian statesmen are lighted continually by his own comments and political philosophy as well as being intimate glimpses of men long in the public eye. One receives, too, a portrait of Sforza himself—quite unconsciously drawn, a man of culture, modernism—and frequent glints of humor.

A SCANDINAVIAN SUMMER, by *Harry A. Franck*. Pp. 397. Century Co., New York, 1930. Price \$4.

For some five and twenty years Harry Franck has been traveling about the globe and writing of his experiences. Often he has gone afoot, calling himself a vagabond, looking with considerable scorn upon those who are limited to vehicles for their means of transportation. He has often chosen tropic lands and has always lived much among native inhabitants, sometimes earning his way by the work of his own hands. This newest book records the sort of trip that might be undertaken by almost any traveler. The author maintains, however, his freshness of attention and breezy narrative style so conspicuous in former books. He unearths out-of-the-way bits of information. Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Norway and Iceland are the countries toured. Interesting in themselves, they are here described in a manner to make a delightful volume for fireside travel this winter.

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION, by *Arthur N. Holcombe*. Pp. 391 and Index. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1930. Price \$4.

Such a study as this by Professor Holcombe of Harvard contributes indirectly to a much wider field of inquiry than its own, which is confined to the Chinese revolution. It will by comparison cast light on other problems of world politics. Professor Holcombe's intention, namely, to estimate the influence of China's revolution upon the relation of the powers in the Far East, necessarily began with a study of its effects upon China herself. The outcome of this investigation, made while he spent many months in the Orient, is this up-to-date, thorough and well-balanced book.

We find a China to whom western forms of democracy and Russian forms of communism are alike alien, but a China whose own governmental forms are emerging. The disruptive forces within and without, the turmoil and confusion incident to the downfall of the Manchus and mandarins cannot hide the fact, thinks this author, that China has shown the political capacity to set her house in order. Let the powers exercise patience and thus help, in the long run, tranquility and peace for the Far East. In fact, the present acknowledged period of tutelage which China is undergoing seems to the reader to be leading, in spite of disasters, out to political structures which are nearer China's capacity to erect than at any other time since Sun-Yat-Sen.

SOCIAL CHANGES IN '1929. *William F. Osburn*, Editor. Pp. 223; paper. University of Chicago Press, 1930. Price \$1.

This book—like the two earlier volumes on the same topic published, one in 1928, one in 1929—contains essays by experts interpreting or merely studying such changes in American social conditions as have become evident in the year just past. The studies frequently involve review of much more than a single year, since roots of new developments may run back a decade or more. However, all topics are those of immediate, often pressing public interest. All are practical rather than theoretical in their treatment. The present volume covers such subjects as Public Health, Education, Labor and Labor Legislation, Natural Resources, Unemployment, Foreign Policy. One excellence which we have not seen before in books of similar type is the system of placing at the beginning of each article an abstract, brief but clear, of the paper following. This adds decidedly to its usefulness as a book for ready reference.

THE AMERICAN YEAR BOOK, 1929. *Albert Bushnell Hart*, Editor. Pp. 862 and index. American Year Book Corp., New York, 1930. Price, \$7.50.

Outstanding American achievements for the year 1929 appear here in a series of essays by authorities in their several fields. The seven classifications of these articles are: Historical; American Government and Governmental Functions; Economics and Business; Social Conditions and Aims; Science, Principles and Application; and the Humanities. The book is compactly printed but in clear type; the columns are attractively broken by subheads. While the matters reported originate in America they carry the interest around the world; wherever, in fact, American interests travel. As the topics indicate—also because written by undoubted experts—the articles will appeal to men of varied and broad interests. Its quality is attested by the standing of the 46 scientific, philosophical and legal societies cooperating in its production.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF DIPLOMATIC EVENTS IN MANCHURIA, by *Sir Harold Parlett*. Pp. 93. Oxford University Press, New York, 1929. Price, \$1.25.

Events in the Far East are still in a state of flux. Confusion reigns in much of China. Still one cannot even begin to understand the news from there without a background of information on which to picture the present. Manchuria is an important part of that background. Russia, Japan and China have warred across her territory for ages. Manchurians themselves have several times invaded China. In the 12th century they ruled over all north China. Again in the 17th century they established the Manchu dynasty on the dragon throne which was not overturned until the revolution of 1911. During the Manchu dynasty there was a period of Russian aggression in Manchuria, and since that time Japan was actively busy there until checked by the Washington Conference of 1921.

Sir Harold Parlett in this scholarly brochure divides Manchurian diplomatic history into four periods and narrates their events in readable fashion. In considering readability one should not omit mention of the clear outline map which is inserted at the end of the book, folded in such wise that it can be open for constant reference during perusal of the book. This is an excellence too often forgotten in publishing discussions based upon geographical knowledge.

EMINENT ASIANS, by *Josef Washington Hall*. Pp. 511. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1929. Price \$5.

Mr. Hall, better known by his pen name of Upton Close, is probably one of the best-informed writers on Asia today. He has served as secret agent for the United States in China; he was on the staff of General Wu when he was dictator of China, and edited a Peking daily. As lecturer and author he has already interested a large public in Asian literature and politics.

In this collection of brief biographies the prolog does a service in discriminating between East and West, especially in their emphasis upon personality, so strong in the West, so lacking in the East. Orientals have in the main "lacked the sublime but fortifying arrogance to appropriate God as founder of their causes and justifier of their methods." Leaders, therefore, have had to surmount the weakening sense of their fallibility, heritage of Oriental philosophy, unless they have been modified by the terrific new winds from the West. With this contrast in mind the biographical studies that follow gain heightened interest. They are of Sun-Yat-Sen, Yumagata and Ito, Mustapha Kemal, Stalin and Gandhi. That he includes Stalin of Russia in the Oriental category appears to be amply justified by the story as he writes it. The book is worth putting on your shelves for comparison with other biographies written in later times.

DESTINY *

*We are what we imagine, and our deeds
Are born of dreaming. Europe acts today
Epics that little children in their play
Conjured, and statesmen murmured in their creeds;
In barrack, court and school were sown those seeds,
Like Dragon's teeth, which ripen to a fray
Their sowers. Dreams of slaughter rise to slay,
And fate itself is stuff that fancy breeds,*

*Mock, then, no more at dreaming, lest our own
Create for us a like reality!
Let no imagination's soil be sown
With armed men, but justice, so that we
May for a world of tyranny atone
And dream from that despair—democracy.*

—Percy MacKaye.

* *The Boston Transcript*.

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

Religion

Justice

Peace Movement

Magazine

News Sheet

Library

Bulletins

Surveys

Speakers, etc.

Business Men

Bankers

Agriculturists

Labor

Professions

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.*

